

Central Asia

MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES AND IDEAS FROM
TIMES PREHISTORIC TO MODERN

Edited by
AMALENDU GUHA



BARNES & NOBLE, Inc.
NEW YORK

PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS SINCE 1873

*First Published in the United States, 1971
by Barnes & Noble, Inc.*

ISBN 389-04447-4

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Published in India by
Vikas Publications, 5 Daryaganj, Ansari Road, Delhi-6

P r e f a c e

THE PRESENT VOLUME offers a record of the papers presented and discussions held at the International Conference on Central Asia. The Conference was organised in February 1969 at New Delhi under the joint auspices of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and the Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco. In some respects it was a natural outcome of the first Asian History Congress which was sponsored by the Council in 1961. The Council was encouraged by its success to plan a series of seminars and conferences in order to focus attention on the need for systematic study of the movement of peoples and ideas between India and other countries of Asia. Having thus organised an international seminar on India and the Arab World in 1965 and another on India and South-east Asia in 1966, it was but natural to think of one on Central Asia. By a happy coincidence, Council's plans coincided with the adoption by Unesco of its project on the study of the civilizations of Central Asia. We are grateful to Unesco and its Director-General for their interest and help which enabled us to meet the cost of international travel for several of the distinguished delegates from abroad who were invited to the Conference.

It is our hope that this volume will stimulate greater interest in the subject and will prove useful in promoting the study and understanding of the civilizations of Central Asia.

The Council is happy to avail itself of this opportunity of expressing its deep appreciation of the contribution made by the Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco, members of the Preparatory Committee, and the delegates from India and other countries; without their collaboration, the Conference could not have been as successful as, we are assured, it was.

March, 1970

NEW DELHI

INAM RAHMAN

Editor's Note

IN ARRANGING THE material for this volume, the order in which the papers were originally presented at the Conference has undergone only marginal alterations. It has not been possible to publish the contribution of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, as it was received in the form of a bare synopsis. The same is the case with Dr. A.Z. Khoi's paper on "Alberuni's Kitab-i-Saidna". Dr. Kemal Balkan's paper which thematically belongs to an earlier period but was, under compelling circumstances, presented to the session devoted to medieval times has, in this volume, been restored, together with the discussion that followed it, to its proper place. All speeches and Mr. M.K. Ahang's paper have been slightly abridged in their published form.

The careful reader will not fail to note that some of the published contributions are not strictly relevant to the main theme of the Conference, though interesting otherwise. However, on wider considerations we decided to include them and they are few. They were accepted by the Conference itself as relevant to the countries involved in Central Asia.

Pursuant to a decision of the Conference, the rapporteurs' reports were circulated amongst the delegates, and comments were invited. The comments thus received have all been incorporated into the reports. For any errors of omission and commission in this respect, the fault is that of the editor and not of the rapporteurs.

We have also refrained from any attempt at achieving uniformity in orthography and transliteration, as heterogeneous proper names and place names hardly fit into any generally acceptable scheme of standardisation. This matter has been left to the individual taste of the contributors, who are experts in their respective fields. We have followed the same practice also in the use or omission of diacritical marks.

The absence of delegates from Pakistan was unfortunate; invitations were extended but there was no response. The Conference nevertheless

succeeded in emphasizing the essential unity of the entire Central Asian region as a culture-complex through the ages and in focussing on its needs and problems. At the present juncture, when hot and cold conflicts between neighbours are hindering intra-regional mobility of men and ideas in Central Asia, the Conference struck an altogether different note—one of cultural cooperation and a multilateral regional approach to the solution of diverse problems, including those in the field of communication. It is to be hoped that the current academic research on Central Asia, past and present, embodied in this compendium, will not fail to provoke further international endeavours towards better intra-regional understanding in this vital area, particularly among scholars in social, cultural, economic and scientific fields.

1 January 1970
22, Cavalry Lines, Delhi-7

AMALENDU GUHA

C o n t e n t s

| | |
|---------------|-----|
| Preface | v |
| Editor's Note | vii |

Inaugural Session

| | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| Welcome Speech by J.N. Khosla, President, Indian Council for Cultural Relations | 1 |
| Speech by G.K. Chandiramani, Secretary-General, Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco | 3 |
| Speech by Salah-El-Din Tewfik, Representative of Unesco | 5 |
| Speech by Academician B.G. Gafurov (USSR) | 7 |
| Inaugural Address by Triguna Sen, Minister of Education | 8 |

Section I : Prehistoric and Protohistoric Period

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| India and Central Asia in the Old Stone Age— <i>S.P. Gupta</i> | 15 |
| The Middle Palaeolithic Cultures of India, Central and Western Asia and Europe— <i>H.D. Sankalia</i> | 25 |
| Iranian Influence on Early Indo-Pakistani Cultures— <i>H.D. Sankalia</i> | 53 |
| Central Asia and India during the Neolithic and Chal- colithic Period— <i>B.K. Thapar</i> | 75 |
| The Appearance of the Indo-Europeans and Indo-Aryans in Anatolia— <i>Kemal Balkan</i> | 84 |
| RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT— <i>S.P. Gupta</i> | 91 |

Section II : Ancient Period

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| India and Central Asia: Historical-Cultural Contacts in Ancient Times— <i>G. M. Bongard-Levin</i> | 97 |
| India and Central Asia from 6th Century B.C. to 6th Century A.D. — <i>G.R. Sharma</i> | 110 |
| Ta-Hsia and the Problem concerning the Advent of Nomadic peoples in Greek Bactria— <i>B.N. Mukherjee</i> | 121 |

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Yakshi or Kinnari Pot from Begram— <i>R.C. Agrawala</i> | 130 |
| Hariti-Lakshmi from Dandan-Uliq in Central Asia— <i>P. Banerjee</i> | 139 |
| RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT— <i>R. C. Agrawala</i> | 147 |

Section III : Medieval Period

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| India's Influence on the Development of Social Thought among the peoples of Central Asia— <i>B.G. Gafurov</i> | 151 |
| India's Cultural Relations with Central Asia during the Medieval Period— <i>K.A. Nizami</i> | 157 |
| Some Observations on the Impact of Central Asian Ideas and Institutions on the Structure of Society and Ad- ministration in Northern India between the 10th and 12th Century A.D.— <i>Satish Chandra</i> | 167 |
| Central Asia and Early Indian Cavalry (c. 200 B.C.—1200 A.D.)— <i>R.S. Sharma</i> | 174 |
| Between OXUS and INDUS : a local history of the frontier 500 B.C.—1925 A.D.— <i>J.P. Singh Uberoi</i> | 183 |
| Armenian Traders in India in the Seventeenth Century— <i>Surendra Gopal</i> | 200 |
| RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT— <i>K.A. Nizami</i> | 214 |

Section IV : Modern and Contemporary Period

| | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Indian Literature and Art in the USSR— <i>M.A. Drobishev</i> | 219 |
| The Democratic Trend in the Central Asian Literature in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century — <i>Devendra Kaushik</i> | 227 |
| Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi— <i>S.A. Mikoyan</i> | 236 |
| The Study of Islamic philosophy in Contemporary Iran — <i>Mehdi Mohaghegh</i> | 242 |
| Foreign Intervention as an Obstacle to the Diffusion of Thought in 19th and 20th century Afghanistan — <i>Mohammad Kazem Ahang</i> | 248 |
| Central Asian Economic Relations: their Impact on 20th century Afghanistan— <i>Amalendu Guha</i> | 259 |

CONTENTS

xi

RAPPORTEUR'S REPORT—*Amalendu Guha* 288

Concluding Session

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE 297

Appendix I: Members of the Preparatory Committee 301

Appendix II: List of Delegates 302

Appendix III: The Final Report on the Dushanbeh Conference 308

Inaugural Session

Welcome Speech by J. N. Khosla, President, Indian Council for Cultural Relations

IT GIVES ME great pleasure to welcome you all on behalf of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and on my own behalf to the inauguration of the International Conference on Central Asia.

From times immemorial, our history has been inextricably bound up with that of Central Asia. With indomitable courage and in quest for knowledge and adventure, saints and seers, students and teachers, artists and traders have travelled widely through the ages and contributed to the cross-fertilization of cultures in this region. Streams of culture have floated into India and have been absorbed producing the rich culture which is India today. Recent researches indicate that the Aryans first met the Dravids in Khwarezm and at the Indus Valley. After the waves of Aryans converged on India, came the Greeks followed by the Shakas and Kushans, and then the Huns, Afghans, Turks and the Moghuls. They all took almost the same route and they all had their roots in Central Asia.

For the historian, Central Asia offers the scene of the most momentous developments from the earliest times till recent days, the meeting place of civilisations, the clearing house of ideas which further pushed horizons of human development and left a deep historical mark on political, economic and social life on many continents. The early Central Asian art exerted considerable influence on the artistic development of Europe as well as upon China and the Far East. It was by way of Central Asia that new inventions, new ideas, new manners and customs spread from India and China to Europe and the Middle East. Even the greater measure of the communication bet-

ween India and China took place through the mediation of Central Asia and of Central Asians. It was through Central Asia that Buddhism spread from its original home to other countries, completely revolutionising the cultural life of nearly all peoples in the Far East.

It is only befitting that we should seriously undertake the study in depth of all the historical data and facts relating to the movements of ideas and peoples from Central Asia to other parts of Asia and the world, to analyse and interpret their significance and impact and to consider ways and means of further promoting cooperation with and among the Central Asian countries in the new historical context. The context has certainly changed in the present day world. Many of the Central Asian regions have become parts of other countries which have arisen as important powers in the modern world. The old concepts have changed and the new realities will have to be taken into consideration in studying the present Central Asia. I am confident that as a result of the deliberations and the efforts of the participants in this seminar, we shall have a new and deeper understanding of the history of Central Asia and of the modern currents.

Our past history as much as the demands of the present world situation lay a special responsibility on us to revive and strengthen the old ties and to forge new links which may lead to better international understanding and goodwill.

It was with this objective, which is also the objective of the Council, that we organised the first Asian History Congress which was held in this very place in 1961. The success of that venture encouraged us to undertake similar programmes on a regional basis. In 1965 we had an international seminar on "India and the Arab World" and in 1966 on "India and Southeast Asia". It was but natural that the next step for the Council should be to organise a similar get-together on Central Asia.

By a happy coincidence, our plans for this Conference and the adoption by Unesco of its project on the study of the civilisation of Central Asia came up about the same time. We are grateful to Unesco for agreeing to collaborate with us in the organisation of this Conference, and for placing at our disposal a grant which has enabled us to invite many distinguished delegates from other countries of Central Asia.

Our thanks are due to our co-sponsors, the Indian National

Commission for Cooperation with Unesco, for all their help and their close association with this Conference.

It is a matter of deep satisfaction that distinguished delegates from Afghanistan, Iran, Mongolia, Turkey, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.A. and Italy and of course from our own country have responded to our invitation. Their presence gives us confidence that the deliberations of the Conference will prove useful not only for us in India but also for all the countries which are represented here and indeed for the whole world.

Speech by Shri G. K. Chandiramani, Secretary-General, Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco

On behalf of the Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco and on my own behalf, I am very happy to welcome here today the participants in the International Conference on Central Asia. India has long and historic ties with the countries of Central Asia and we feel it a privilege to host this Conference which will discuss the movement of peoples and ideas between the countries of Central Asia and India. The civilizations of India and Central Asia have interacted on one another for centuries. There have been extensive borrowings between the cultures in this area, and there are common patterns in different fields such as art, philosophy and literature. Archaeological finds in countries like Afghanistan, Soviet Central Asia, Pakistan and India have revealed common cultural links in the past between these countries.

After the completion of the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, Unesco decided to initiate in 1967-1968 a new project concerning the study of Civilizations of the peoples of Central Asia during the four years 1967-1970. The principal aim of this project is to promote extensively at the international level a study of the cultures of Central Asia and the contribution which the people of that area have made for the development of World Culture. This project, which was adopted by the 1966 General Conference of Unesco has two aspects viz., (1) deepening of scholarly knowledge of the cultures of Central Asia, and (2) dissemina-

tion of information about the cultures of Central Asia among the general public through publications and studies of the archaeology, history, science and literature of the countries concerned. The geographical area covered by the Unesco project consists of Afghanistan, Northern India, Eastern Iran, West Pakistan and Soviet Central Asia. The study has been divided into five themes, which have been allotted to the different countries. The theme allotted to India is the History of Ideas and Philosophy in Central Asia. We have asked the Centre of Advanced Study in Philosophy in the Madras University to take up this theme. With financial assistance from Unesco the Centre has already carried out a preliminary study on the present situation of the History of Ideas and Philosophy in Central Asia.

As a part of the project, the USSR National Commission for Unesco organised an International Conference on the History, Archaeology and Arts of Central Asia in the Kushan period at Dushanbeh from 27 September to 7 October, 1968. The Conference made important recommendations for the study of the Kushan period in which India is interested since the Kushan Empire had historical connection with this country.

With the present Conference, a further stage will be reached in the development of international cooperation for the promotion of studies on Central Asia.

As you know, the main theme of this Conference is the movement of peoples and ideas between the countries of Central Asia from the prehistoric era to the modern period. Since the movement of peoples is linked with the spread of ideas, the history of ideas and philosophy in Central Asia will receive due attention at this Conference. The discussions will cover the period from the earliest times to the 20th century and will also embrace within their scope, the movement of ideas in social and economic fields as well as in literature, art, science and philosophy. The Conference will also devote attention to the ways and means for developing closer collaboration between the countries of Central Asia, a term which in the present context, will include India also.

Although the Indian National Commission is co-sponsoring the Conference, most of the arrangements and preparations have been made by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations with the cooperation of cultural institutions in the country. I want to express my appreciation of the valuable work done by the Council and the con-

cerned institutions in this connection. I also take this opportunity to thank Unesco for having assisted us financially in holding this Conference. I am sure that under the aegis of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and with help from the National Commission, the Conference will have a successful session and make concrete and valuable recommendations to Unesco and to the participating member countries.

Speech by Salah El-Din Tewfik (Unesco)

By the first century B.C., the oldest and longest trade route known to man—the Silk Road—was firmly established along which semi-diplomatic and commercial missions travelled from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean across the Middle East, Bactria, Samarkand, India, the Central Asian region to China. Through the northern and the southern branches of the Silk Road, trade and ideas were exchanged and transmitted.

By its nature, the project “Studies on the civilisations of the peoples of Central Asia” is a research project. It is felt that the history of the peoples of Central Asia and their civilisations have not been studied sufficiently, and are unfortunately not well known to the world. It is mainly because of this reason that the project was introduced into the present Unesco programme. It is felt also that progress in this important field of study cannot be achieved until close cooperation of scholars from the area itself and from other countries of the world is organised on a practical basis, and that Unesco was ideally suited for organising such cooperation.

The area covered by Unesco project, as defined by the General Conference, comprises Soviet Central Asia known in Russia as “Middle Asia”, the whole of Afghanistan, the northern part of West Pakistan and India, and the north-eastern part of Iran. Our concern is with this area where the ancient states of Bactria, Soudiana and Khorezm grew up. It was the birthplace of a civilisation which in its long history was closely connected with inter-related Iranian and Indian civilisations, and was influenced greatly in the last centuries of B.C. by the Hellenistic culture. Here the Kushan Empire was built up and flourished throughout a period of almost five centuries.

Though this area was the birthplace of two religions yet the Buddhist religion received here a new impulse and so did Islam at a later stage.

There are five themes of study under this project :

(i) Archaeology, history and art of Central Asia in the Kushan period ; Afghanistan has the international responsibility for this theme in coordination with the other four countries of Central Asia.

(ii) Art of the peoples of Central Asia in Timurid times; the USSR is responsible for coordination.

(iii) Contribution of the peoples of Central Asia in the development of Science ; Pakistan is responsible for this coordination.

(iv) Literature of the peoples of Central Asia; Iran has the responsibility of coordination, and

(v) History of ideas and philosophy, where India has the responsibility for international coordination.

The follow-up of the Conference will be greatly facilitated if only a small number of well-defined subjects could be selected for future international co-operation. One aspect of this Conference is of special interest, since it represents the first exploration of a new perspective during the last General Conference concerning the Central Asian project. In the Approved Programme and Budget of Unesco for the current biennium, it is said, *inter alia*, that the inclusion of contemporary aspects of Central Asian cultures will be one of the main developments of the project in 1969-70.

Among the themes of the kind recommended by the experts and approved by the General Conference are : "The great communication routes and the contemporary social and cultural development of the peoples of Central Asia" and "The literatures of the people of Central Asia in the modern period (XVI-XIX centuries)".

It is evident that these themes cover all kinds of communications between peoples of the area and call for the study of ideas, literatures, arts, cultural contacts and social development in the modern period, which are expressions of the human mind. On the other hand, the programme of this meeting includes the consideration of practical means for implementing studies on these subjects and it is looked forward to reach some concrete recommendations.

This is indeed a rare opportunity for convening distinguished scholars from countries of Central Asia as well as from other countries whom I welcome here. This opportunity should be used to the utmost for the discussion of practical ways of international co-operation not only in the field of philosophy but in the study of other themes of the project.

Tender thanks are extended to the Government of India for being host to this meeting. It is clear that India has at its disposal many excellent scholars whose participation will be very valuable for the progress of this Unesco project.

Thank you very much.

Speech by Academician B. Gafurov of U.S.S.R.

It is a privilege for me to greet all the participants of this Conference on behalf of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union and on behalf of all the Soviet scholars. It is also a privilege and honour for me to thank the organisers and hosts of this conference on behalf of all the foreign participants.

We think that this conference is very important. All the people of all the mankind have contributed to the common course of human civilisation but the contribution of the great Indian people to this noble course is very important. India has given the world great thinkers and great philosophers. India is one of the centres of civilisation. All humanity, all mankind is proud of the achievements of Indian civilisation. Many of us have covered thousands and thousands of miles to come here. It took us 6½ hours to reach Delhi from Moscow. But every time when I come to India I cannot help remembering the words of great Persian poet Rodaki who said :

“There are many hardships and difficulties on the way to India,
but it pays.”

Last time when we worked together it was at the Dushanbeh Conference. I am glad and happy to see here in this conference the faces of many of those who participated in that conference. Again, I cannot help quoting Rodaki who said, "There is nothing sweeter in this world than to meet friends". I am sure the conference will be very fruitful.

The development of existing contacts amongst scholars, the establishment of new contacts and fruitful discussions will be very important. We are sure that we shall be able to make an important contribution to the study of the civilisation of India, Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and the Soviet Central Asian Republics.

I wish this Conference complete success. I thank you very much for the welcome. And in this connection I would like to say once more thank you, thank you very much, to the organisers of this Conference.

Inaugural Address by Dr. Triguna Sen, Minister of Education

Some time ago when I was invited to inaugurate this Conference, my first reaction was to ask to be excused, for the obvious reason that I cannot claim any specialised knowledge of the subject. However, on further consideration I agreed to come here as I firmly believe that in this fast shrinking world of today no man, whatever be his station or vocation, can stand apart and remain uninvolved in what happens around him. One of the basic urges of humanity, and indeed a necessary condition for human survival in future, is for peace, international understanding and human brotherhood. Throughout my life it has been my endeavour and good fortune to be closely associated with the urges and aspirations of people of all age-groups and in many parts of the world. There is no doubt in my mind that the urge for peace and human brotherhood is asserting itself and gaining strength day by day and therein lies the hope for mankind.

I am therefore happy to associate myself with this Conference which has been convened not only to discuss the past history of a particular region but also to reinforce the existing links between

different peoples which would lead to the promotion of international understanding.

The region of Central Asia has witnessed the rise and spread of some of the earliest and greatest civilizations of the world. From the earliest times, that is as far back as we can go in history, the destiny of India has been closely interlinked with the developments in the north and even the mighty Himalayas could not divide and isolate us from the countries beyond. As you know so well, geography is a compelling factor in history, and India is so situated as to have become inevitably the meeting point of the great movements of peoples and ideas which have taken place in Asia since times immemorial. There is therefore much substance in the saying that "The history of India is a long history of her relations with the other countries of Asia." On its part, India has made many a significant and lasting contribution to the civilization of Asia and thereby to that of mankind as a whole. Thus, for example, the message of Buddha, spreading throughout Central and Eastern Asia, paved the way for international understanding and peace. Or, in relatively recent times, the Indo-Islamic cultural amalgam has demonstrated to the world the tremendous capacity of the Indian soil to forge a synthesis even out of elements that may appear to be widely different. Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi or Sufism of several Indian saints are examples par excellence of this kind. The work of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and Swami Vivekananda is yet another example of Indian resilience.

We owe it to ourselves and to humanity at large to revive and strengthen this spirit of give and take, this spirit of generous cooperation in culture. In order to achieve this intermingling of cultures and recognition of affinities, we have to rid our minds of the prejudices and aberrations of local history that continue to divide us, and, with a spirit of intellectual detachment, seek out the treasures that have universal value. We must keep in touch with each other and be guided by the experiences we gain in our efforts to train the minds of the young towards a fellowship of culture which will bring humanity together in mutual respect and understanding.

The time has come when we must think in terms of human civilization and not merely in terms of a country or region. It is necessary therefore that the much needed cooperation between the countries of Central Asia should be thought of and developed in the

larger context of world cooperation. To whichever land we may belong this must be our common mission, our united effort— “to achieve goodwill between man and man, to establish a secure foundation of fellowship which will save humanity from suicidal war and the savagery of fanatical superstitions. We must usher in the age of reason, of cooperation, of a generous reciprocity of culture which will reveal the richness of our common humanity.”

In this context, I would like to pay a tribute to Unesco which has dedicated itself on behalf of all member-States to building the defence of peace in the minds of men. During the course of a comparatively short time of just over 20 years, Unesco has undertaken several major projects to promote better appreciation and understanding of different cultures and civilizations. The project for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia is one such programme and I must say that it has been initiated not a day too soon. I would also like to congratulate the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and the Indian National Commission for Unesco who have thought of collaborating with each other in organizing this Conference as part of the Unesco project. In one way or another I am connected with the two organizations but that should not stop me from expressing the view that this Conference could not have been held in India under better auspices.

On behalf of the Government and the people of India, I extend a cordial welcome to the distinguished foreign delegates who are assembled here to participate in the Conference. I have no doubt that their presence here will be a source of strength and encouragement to the organisers and that their meetings and discussions with Indian colleagues will bear fruit.

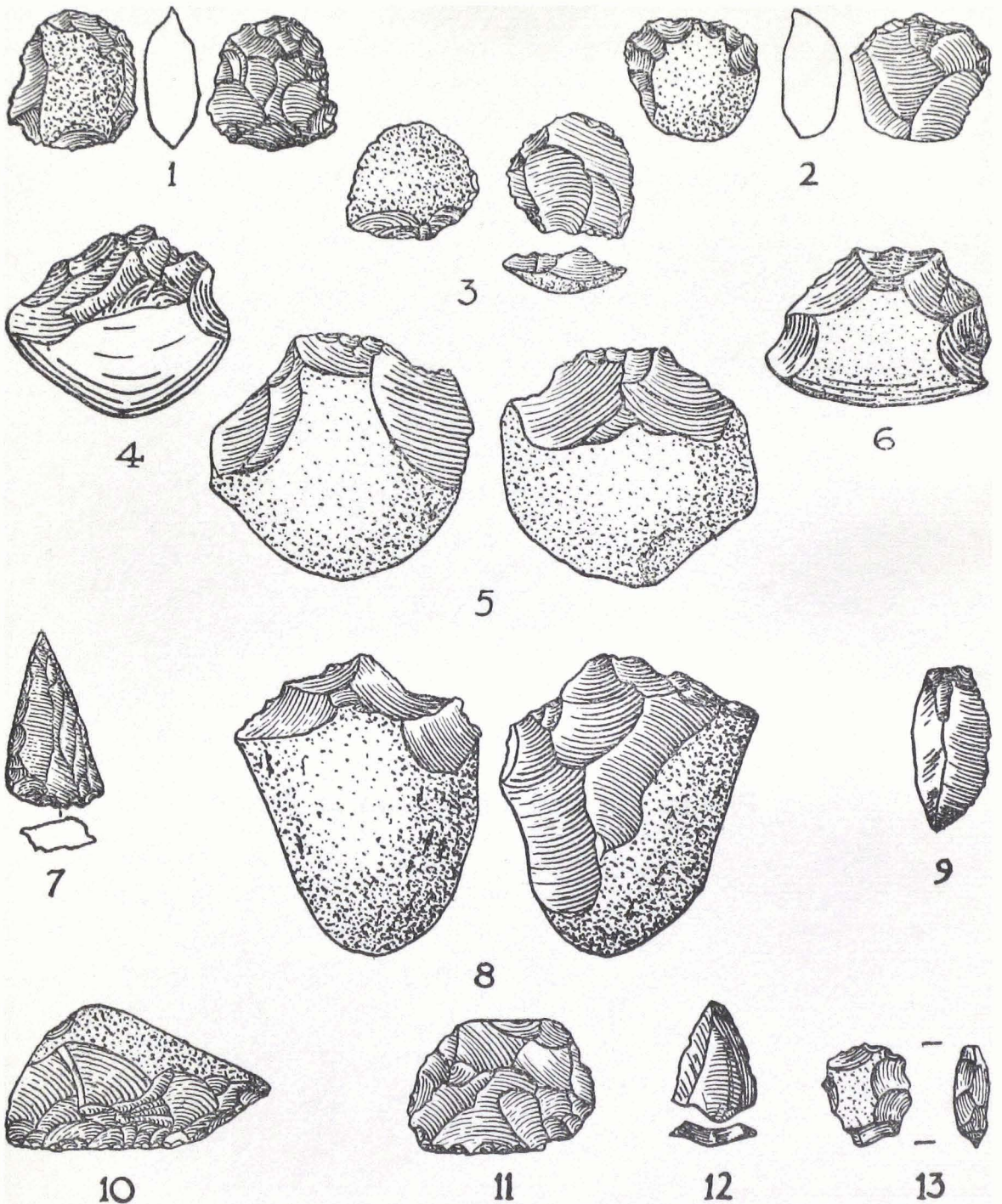
I hope that out of your deliberations at the Conference will emerge not only a better appreciation of the past contacts and the present developments in Central Asia but, what is more important, some specific suggestions for closer cooperation between the countries of Central Asia. In this context, I am glad to tell you that the Archaeological Survey of India has, in the coming financial year, a programme of carrying out conservation and chemical preservation of the world-famous Buddha images and paintings at Bamiyan in Afghanistan. Also under Government's consideration is a project to undertake archaeological investigations in a Central Asian country. Through such mutual cooperation we may come to know each other even better,

and the whole world may be the richer as a result of deeper understanding of the great civilizations of Central Asia, which are the common heritage of mankind. Friends, on this occasion of International Conference, the Council has also organised an Exhibition of Books on Central Asia in its Library.

It is with great pleasure that I inaugurate this Conference and the Exhibition and wish you all success in your deliberations.

SECTION I

Prehistoric and Protohistoric Period



STONE TOOLS FROM CENTRAL ASIAN AND INDIAN SITES

From Kara Bura, Tadzikistan, Central Asia

- Nos. 5 and 8 : Chopping tools (Early Stone Age)*
Nos. 1, 2 and 3 Micro-cores (Mousterian associated)
Nos. 7, 10 and 11 : Mousterian point, scraper and core

From Sohan sites, India

- Nos. 4 and 6 : Chopper-chopping tools (Early Sohan)*
Nos. 9, 12, 13 : Points and Core (Late Sohan)

India and Central Asia in the Old Stone Age

S.P. GUPTA

INTRODUCTION

INDIA'S CULTURAL CONTACTS with Central Asia during the Buddhist time are well-known. But how far back in time the inter-relation and spread of ideas between India and Central Asia can be traced is a matter worth consideration. Here I would confine myself to the earliest period of human activities, namely, the Old Stone Age.

Interest in the Old Stone Age cultures in India, Pakistan and Central Asia is comparatively a recent development. It is more so in the case of explorations in the Himalayas and the Pamirs; the regions with which we are immediately concerned here. In the Himalayan region it started with the Yale-Cambridge Expedition in 1935 and in the Pamirs in 1953 when the pebble tools were first discovered by Okladnikov.¹

In the Himalayan foothills, the Siwalik formations, traversed by the Indus system, from the Peshawar valley in Pakistan to the Kangra valley in India, formed the original habitat of the Old Stone Age men of India. In the low ranges of the Pamir, the Gissar, Babatag, Zarafshan, etc., traversed by the Amu and Syr and their tributaries, from Southern Kazakhstan to Tadjikistan, formed the original habitat of the Old Stone Age men of Central Asia. Geographically, these two areas are contiguous, a factor that must have facilitated physical and cultural contacts of the peoples of these regions. Recent researches in both the

areas have, in fact, thrown some welcome light in this direction. We are now in a position to visualize not only a parallel and similar development of the Old Stone Age cultures in India and Central Asia but also their occasional contacts. The exact nature of such contacts, however, will only emerge in coming years when more work is done. Although attempts have been made by Ranov and others to associate the tool-collections with river terraces and geological formations still at present, our analysis is based upon tool-typology alone.

FIRST STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT

In the Indian context the earliest stage of the Old Stone Age culture in the Himalayas is known as the Soan, after its first identification on the banks of the river of that name. In Central Asia, however, the earliest stage of the Old Stone Age culture is known as Borykazghan, designated after the type-site in southern Kazakhstan. The tool-repertoire of both the cultures are astonishingly similar.

The tools of the first stage of the Soan, known as Early Soan, were originally divided into three groups on the basis of patination and the state of wear. De Terra and Paterson, however, saw in them three successive stages of development.² Recently, Paterson and Drummond³ have divided the same collection from the Upper Terrace (T₁) in Middle Soan A and Middle Soan B; Middle Soan A is similar to Early Soan A but Middle Soan B is similar to Early Soan B and C, combiningly. Paterson and Drummonds' division is akin to the division attempted by Ranov⁴ for Central Asia, so far as this early stage of the Old Stone Age is concerned.

The Early Soan A consists of crude pebble chopper-chopping tools, often rolled and patinated. They are either flat based or rounded. A few discoidal cores and Clactonian flakes were found at some places. A few handaxes of Chelles-Acheulian type were also discovered in a non chopper-chopping context but belonging to the same horizon.

The evidence of the Soan Valley was further strengthened by the discovery of tool-bearing terraces in the Beas-Banganga valley by Lal⁵ and Mohapatra.⁶ T₁ of this valley consisted of pebble chopper-chopping tools and a few Clactonian flakes. Almost the same is the picture in the Sutlej basin at Bilaspur, explored by Krishnaswami and the present writer.⁷ The story is found repeated in the Sirsa valley explored by Pruffer and Sen.⁸ It may be noted that a few handaxes have been found at distinct points in the same horizon as the pebble tools, but only in the Soan region,⁹ Jammu¹⁰ and the Kangra valleys.¹¹

In the Central Asian Republic of Kazakhstan, at Borykazghan and Tanir Kazghan there is a predominance of 'roughly cut' implements of the chopping type which are rolled and covered with patina. They are made from pebbles and flint nodules and are often quite shapeless. The collection includes a few handaxes and cores, the latter are mainly discoidal, with flakes removed from one or opposite sides. There are some small sized chopper handaxes.¹² The chopper-handaxes, however, are not handaxes; they are unifacial pointed pebble tools, like Lal's pebble-handaxes. They are not the bifacial tools of the handaxe family employing the technique of alternate flaking.

The two complexes are so very similar that Ranov designated the Borykazghan assemblage as the 'Soan Culture of Central Asia.' It seems quite probable that the Soan culture originating in the Beas-Sutlej basin moved westward in the Soan region, crossed the Himalayas and reached the Pamirs at a very early stage, somewhere during the Middle Pliocene period. However, in order to establish it clearly we should be able to find out some good sites of the Borykazghan stage in southern Tadzhikistan and in definite geological formations which may be correlated with the Indo-Pak sites.

SECOND STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT

The second stage of development of the Soan culture in India and Pakistan would be Early Soan B and C of De Terra and Paterson and Middle Soan B of Paterson and Drummond. Paterson and Drummond's classification goes quite favourably with that of Ranov adopted for Central Asia.

The Early Soan B and C combinedly consist of fairly fresh chopper-chopping tools of standardized forms. Discoidal cores, flaked all over one surface, like the Early Levalloisean discoidal cores, are also found. Apart from the usual Clactonian flakes, a few flakes having low-angled simple faceted platform, 'suggesting a Proto-Levalloisean influence' are also discovered. As a rule, retouch is absent. Almost similar is the picture in the Beas-Sutlej basin. From T₂ of Banganga Lal discovered chopper-chopping tools, 'pebble handaxes', Clactonian flakes and Proto-Levallois flakes. From the Upper Terrace of the Sirsa a tributary of the Sutlej, Pruffer and Sen discovered pebble choppers and crude Clactonian flakes. From Bilaspur on the Sutlej Krishnaswami collected crude choppers and heavy Clactonian flakes from T₂.

Comparable picture could be noticed at Tokaly in Kazakhstan and On-archa in Kirgizia. Ranov preferred the name of Tokaly to designate this stage. Here the chopper-chopping tools 'are somewhat smaller and more streamlined. The Tokaly group is distinguished by a new form of well cut cores of a steady shape.'¹³ Levalloisean cores are also there, although the number of examples is limited. The handaxes, so far found at Tokaly, are only three in number. The Clactonian flakes are also found. Proto-Levallois flake-blades are collected in good number. Similar artifacts are picked up at Kairaghach, Isfairam Sai, Sarai Arka and other places.

The above details make it quite clear that the directional change in the tool-typology, and also in the assemblage as a whole, in both the regions is the same. It is, however, difficult to say at the present state of our knowledge if this coincidence occurred through the transmission of ideas leading to independent growth of a similar culture in Central Asia, or it was due to any physical contact of the two cultures, although the possibility of the latter is more than the former.

THIRD STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT

The third stage of development of the Soan culture in India and Pakistan is represented in the Late Soan A of De Terra and Paterson and Upper Soan A of Paterson and Drummond. This stage developed and got matured in the Late Soan B of De Terra and Paterson and Upper Soan B of Paterson and Drummond. In their recent work, the latter group of workers have indicated the existence of an 'intrusive' culture-complex in the Soan region to which they give the name of Upper Clacton (Punjab), divisible in A and B groups, A older than the B. According to them the Late Soan culture is marked by the presence of pebble chopper-chopping tools while the Upper Clacton (Punjab) culture is marked by its total absence. In consequence the latter is purely a flake-blade culture. In its time-sequence it overlaps with the Late Soan A and persists throughout the time-span of Late Soan B, existing even slightly beyond it. The Late Soan, therefore, should be considered as a major stage in the growth and development of the Old Stone Age culture in the Himalayan zone, with several important groups of tool types, tool-technology and tool-assemblages. Within its own channel of development, it received new elements of the cultural changes which were occurring in the neighbouring countries—in Afghanistan, Iran, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, etc. One such element was the 'Asiatic Mousterian'. In Central Asia the stage comparable to it has been termed as 'Kara Bura', after the type-site in Tadjikistan.

The Late Soan as a whole is characterized by smaller, neater and finer chopper-chopping tools than those observed in the Early Soan stage. They are also rich in variety. During this stage the Levalloisean technique was greatly improved. Even the Clactonian flakes were now smaller and shaped. The flake-blade element of the Late Soan A witnessed the impact of the Mousteroid trait, and during the Late Soan B times the form that it assumed can be termed as 'Levallois-Mousteriod'. Points and scrapers, largely unretouched, were made on the flakes or flake-blades of the proto-Levallois or Levallois type. "This phase shows a general resemblance to the Late Levalloisean of Europe", observes Krishnaswami.¹⁴ Looking from another point of view, for the Upper Clacton, Paterson and Drummond¹⁵ observe that "this industry is of the Mousterian tradition within the Clactonian" since the Mousterian-like disc-cores form near about 30% of the collection.

From T₃ of the Banganga Lal collected chopper-chopping tools, Clactonian flakes with retouch and proto-Levallois flakes. From the same terrace Mohapatra excavated chopper-chopping tools and flakes with prepared platform.

From the Middle terrace of the Sirsa, Sen¹⁶ collected tools which exhibit predominance of the flake tools of small size. Scrapers, points, knives and borers are found made on proto-Levallois flakes. Tortoise-like cores are also reported. From T₃ of the Sutlej, Krishnaswami collected neater and better formed pebble chopper-chopping tools and Clactonian flakes, than those which he got on T₂.

Probably, as the late-contemporary with the Late Soan B and Upper Clactonian (Punjab) B are the tool assemblages recently excavated by Dani¹⁷ at the Sanghao Cave in the Peshawar valley, Pakistan, and explored by Puglisi¹⁸ at Hazar Sum in the valley of the Samangan river, Afghanistan.

The Sanghao Cave yielded a homogeneous "flake-blade and scraper" industry along with a few discoidal and tortoise cores. The tools are mainly scrapers, points, burins and awls. According to Dani¹⁹ 'the tools show a technical tradition which comes closest to the Levallois-Mousterian flaking technique of Europe and Western Asia'. Allchins²⁰ feel that 'the nearest site at which an industry of this kind has been found is Tashik-Tash, in a similar situation of a tributary of the Oxus in Soviet Tadjikistan'.

The Hazar Sum open air sites have yielded side scrapers, discoidal scrapers, knives and pointed flake tools; some of them were retouched,

and some of them patinated. These were produced on Clactonian or Levalloisean flake or flake-blades. Puglisi²¹ feels that the 'implements are of the Levalloisean and Mousterian technique'.

Now, what is the source of the Levallois-Mousterian complex of the Indo-Pak-Afghan region? Certainly it is not in the Peninsular India where there is no typical Mousterian element. It is, therefore, quite probable that it came from Central Asia. However, it is equally probable that both Central Asia and Indo-Pak-Afghan region derived this element from a common source in Iran²², or Iraq²³, or even Palestine²⁴. The hither Asian element in India is, however, devoid of typical Mousterian scrapers and points with typical Mousterian retouch. It is, in fact, 'Asiatic Mousterian', so to say. Its tools are Mousteroid rather than Mousterian of France.

In the Central Asian Republic of Tadjikistan an assemblage that resembles the Late Soan B, Upper Clactonian B, Sanghao and Hazar Sum in some of their dominant traits, is found at Kara Bura. At Kara Bura small and neat chopper-chopping tools with finely cut surfaces, and a wide variety of other forms are found. Other implements of the assemblage 'are perfectly developed Mousterian points, scrapers and cores, some of which are of Levallois type'²⁵ with faceted platform. The Mousterian points are 0.2%, scrapers 1.4%, irregular scrapers 4.8%, flake-blades 4.0%, blades 0.8%, other forms 0.4%, flakes 60%, cores 17.2%, choppers 0.5%, chopping tools 6.4% and cores without good forms 4%. In total, 3124 tools were found in the excavations.²⁶ Levallois-Mousterian tools are found in large numbers at Zhar-Kutan, Karai Kom and Semi Ganj in Tadjikistan. They are also found at To Sor in Kirgizia. In Turkmenia they are found at Tom Chi Su and near Kresnavotka. Uzbekistan cave-sites, like Tashik-Tash, Aman Kutan, Khoja Kent, Obi Rahmat, also yield some similar assemblages. Near Farghana there are several sites of this complex, the more important being Angrain.²⁷

The above details once again show the similarity in the tool-typology of the two regions. But as said above, at the present state of our knowledge we cannot categorically indicate the mechanization of the process which resulted in such a marked similarity in the tool typology of the two regions.

FINAL STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT

The final stage of development of the Soan culture is seen in the Late Upper Palaeolithic of De Terra and Paterson or Evolved Soan of Movius or the Final Soan of Paterson and Drummond. 'The pebble

**CHART SHOWING TENTATIVE CORRELATION OF OLD STONE AGE CULTURES OF INDIA,
CENTRAL ASIA, PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN**

| <i>Central Asia</i> | <i>Pakistan</i> | | | <i>India</i> | | | <i>Afghanistan</i> |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Republics | Soan Valley | | Peshawar Valley | Banganga Valley | Sutlaj Valley | Sirsa Valley | Samangan Valley |
| Ranov | De Terra & Paterson | Paterson and Drummond | Dani | Lal and Mohapatra | Krishnaswami & Gupta | Prufer and Sen | Puglisi |
| Karasu Stage | Late Upper Palaolithic or Evolved Soan | Final Soan Upper Clacton (Punjab) | Sanghao Cave B Assemblage | Banganga T4 Assemblage | | | Hazar Sum Assemblage |
| Kara Bura Stage | Late Soan B | Upper Soan B Upper Clacton (Punjab) A | | Banganga T3 Assemblage | Bilaspur T3 Assemblage | Nalagarh Middle Terrace Assemblage | |
| | Late Soan A | Upper Soan A | | | | | |
| Tokaly Stage | Early Soan C | Middle Soan B | | Banganga T2 Assemblage | Bilaspur T2 Assemblage | Nalagarh Upper Terrace Assemblage | |
| | Early Soan B | | | | | | |
| | Early Soan A | Middle Soan A | | Banganga T1 Assemblage | | | |
| | | Lower Soan A | | | | | |

tools and the discoidal cores are identical with the Sohan series, and the flakes with convergent and parallel primary flaking are similar to those of Late Soan A'²⁸. This assemblage is, however, not so cogent as the previous ones, although some similarity can be observed here also.

In Central Asia the final stage of the Old Stone Age is represented at Karasu in Kazakhstan. Here typical choppers were excavated together with the implements of the final stage of the Mousterian period.²⁹

CONCLUSION

The short survey of the Old Stone Cultures in India and Central Asia presented here brings out certain pertinent examples which show significant similarities which indicate parallel directional changes in the culture-complex of the two regions. Their contemporaneity has as yet not been determined satisfactorily, although such a possibility does exist. Similarly, although their occasional contacts may be visualized, the intervening areas between the two regions have still to be explored for a definite proof in this direction. However, it may be pertinent to quote Ranov here : 'It seems that Central Asia in Stone Age was the scene of development of autochthonous cultures of the outskirts of large Palaeolithic regions. These processes that took place in the specific conditions of the mountainous regions, were affected by frequent migrations of ancient tribes with different technical stone cutting traditions.'³⁰ The writer, however, does not accept Ranov's 'autochthonous' theory, although he is conscious of the fact that more work is needed to prove finally the hypothesis of diffusion put forward in the paper.

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The Middle Palaeolithic Cultures of India, Central and Western Asia and Europe*

H. D. SANKALIA

A DETAILED SURVEY of the tools or industries called or included in Series II, Middle Stone Age or Middle Palaeolithic or Nevasian shows that these have a very wide extent, covering the whole of Maharashtra, Mysore (but excluding the coastal areas which have not been explored), Madras (perhaps excluding the extreme south, though this needs fresh exploration), Andhra (excluding the West and East Godavari Districts), Orissa, West Bengal (excluding the deltaic regions), Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (excluding the Gangetic Valley proper), the whole of Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat-Saurashtra (though perhaps absent in the Sabarmati Valley), East and West Rajasthan, Sindh, and East and West Punjab. For Sindh no stratigraphical evidence is available, but such evidence can be had in Kutch, and so where the Indus alluvium and sand has not completely hidden the older rocks, these are likely to be found. In particular, search should be made in the Baluchi hill slopes

* After this paper was read at the Central Asian symposium, the writer had an opportunity to participate in the symposium on Homo Sapiens organised by the UNESCO at Paris. There all the Middle Palaeolithic tools here illustrated were exhibited and these were examined among others by Professor and Dr. (Mrs.) Bordes. Both these French scholars agreed with the view here put forward that there was a definite affinity between the Mousterian of France and the Middle Palaeolithic tools of India and they also thought that this influence should have been through Iran, Baluchistan and Sindh/Panjab.

I am obliged to Dr. R. S. Pappu and Dr. M. L. K. Murty, for taking the trouble to select the tools from the Decan College collection and to Dr. Pappu for getting these drawn and arranged in plates.

—Author

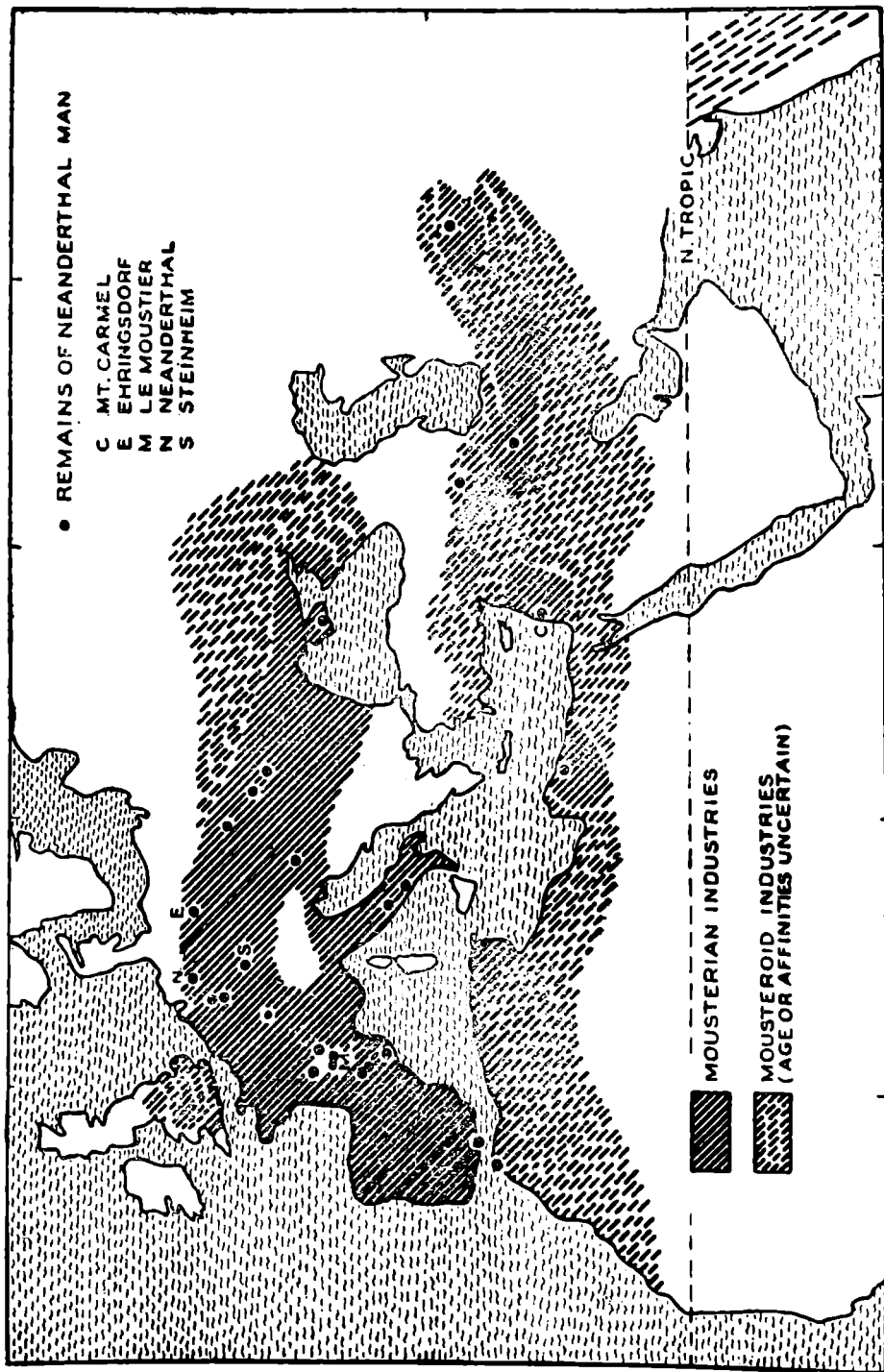


Fig. A

Map showing the distribution of

(a) *Mousterian Industries*

(b) *Mousteroid Industries in Europe, North Africa and India.*

for if such tools are found there, they might give a clue to the development of the later blade industries.

The occurrence of this culture in the Sanghau cave near Peshawar not only extends its limits, but brings it to the very fringe of the Levallois-Mousterian Cultures recently discovered in Afghanistan, Central Asia and Iran, and in two instances in association with Neanderthal type burials and human skeletons.

This widening frontier or horizon has necessitated a re-consideration of the cultural affinities of this culture in India with similar cultures in Africa, Western Europe, Western and Central Asia. Such a consideration will also help in refixing the designation of this culture.

At the outset we may say that the conditions are more favourable for such a discussion than six years ago. In the first place, more evidence has come forth from India, and Central Asia. Secondly, and this is very important, we have had the benefit of the views of Professor Boriskovsky who studied the Indian material at the Deccan College for three weeks. Thus there is one scholar who knows and has handled the European, Central Asian and Indian material.

Before embarking upon such an extensive comparison we should very briefly note its

- (i) stratigraphical position,
- (ii) chief features, and
- (iii) the general position in the evolution of the stone-using cultures in India.

Enough evidence has been cited to show that the tools assigned to the Middle Stone Age or Middle Palaeolithic occur in sandy, at times cross-bedded, gravels which lie between the earlier or earliest pebbly gravel and the topmost sandy gravel and brown silt. At Haripur on the Banganga river, District Kangra, now in Himachal Pradesh, these tools are found in the silt of Terrace II (from below). The pebbly gravel contains a pebble tool and hand-axe cleaver industry, while the top gravels include variously blade and microlithic industries.

True blade and burin industries comparable to the Western European and Palestinian occur at three or four sites in Peninsular India. Though not well stratified, their position is invariably above layers associated with the Middle Stone age industries. The microliths invariably occur in the topmost deposits, which as will be shown below,

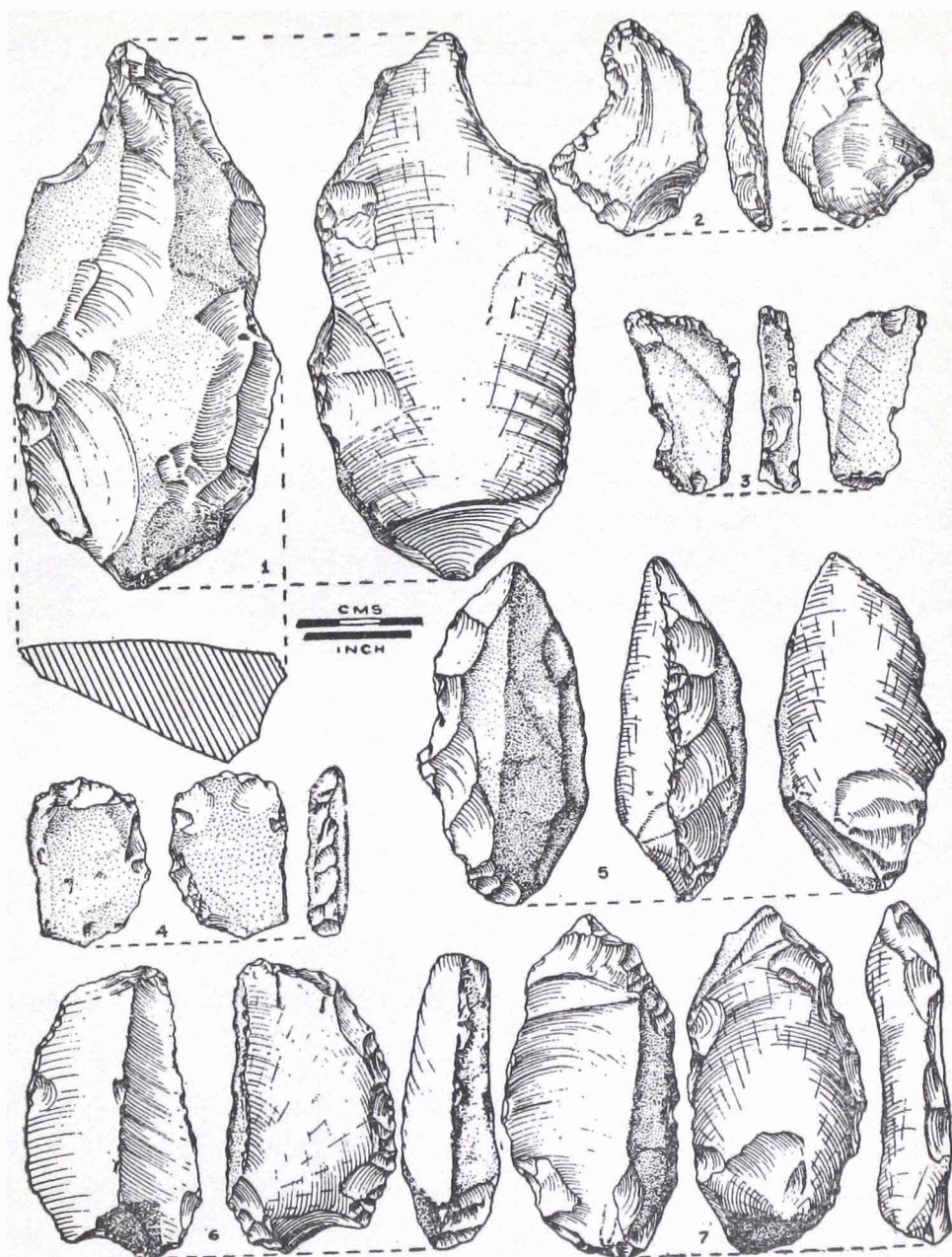


Fig. I

1. *Concave sided scraper (Notch) and Point, Lokhond (Kutch), Gujarat.*
2. *Concave sided scraper (Notch), Nevasa, Maharashtra.*
3. *Steep ended scraper, Belpandhari, Maharashtra.*
4. *Side-and-End-scraper, Dhaneri, Rajasthan.*
5. *Single-sided scraper (Denticulated Tool), Luni, Rajasthan.*
6. *Convex-sided scraper, Anagawadi, Mysore.*
7. *Convex-sided scraper, Kurnool, Andhra.*

in three or four regions at least antedate the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures. Thus the Middle Stone Age industries have an undoubted stratigraphical antiquity. Palaeontologically this is not later than the Late or Upper Pleistocene and might in truth be the closing stage of the Middle Pleistocene or the beginning of the Upper. Three C-14 determinations indicate roughly the absolute age of this culture in Maharashtra, which by extrapolation, in view of the close similarity of the tool types with those of the rest of India, we might regard as applicable to or true of the whole of India, allowance being made of a couple of hundred years for the spread (?) or the independent origination of cultures in different parts of India. Thus 30,000—35,000 B.C. is here accepted as the date of the Middle Stone Age Culture.¹

CHIEF FEATURES OF THE INDUSTRY (INCLUDING ENVIRONMENT)

The lithic tool complex or industry comprises :

- (1) Scrapers of various types on flakes, nodules and occasionally cores.
- (2) Awls, or borers on flakes, nodules and occasionally cores.
- (3) Points of various types on flakes, nodules and occasionally cores.
- (4) Small choppers.
- (5) Small handaxes and very rarely small cleavers.
- (6) Burins or burin-facet tools, not always intentionally made. Both are rare, and stratified examples are few.

On a percentage basis, the industry has to be called a flake industry, though the making of the flake was not essential. For man *almost all over India*, utilized flake-like nodules as well as flakes for turning out a scraper, point or borer.

In flaking, direct percussion by a stone hammer figures prominently, though indirect punch technique was also employed. Full or partial Levallois technique, often called prepared core and faceted platform technique, is evident, all over India, but its use is infrequent, and sporadic, characterized as it does, fine as well as crude material.

The tools are comparatively small and could have been used, some after hafting in a bone or wood handle, for wood-work, skinning and hunting (with a bow and spear). These in the currently fashionable terminology are light-duty tools. For heavy work, such as felling trees,

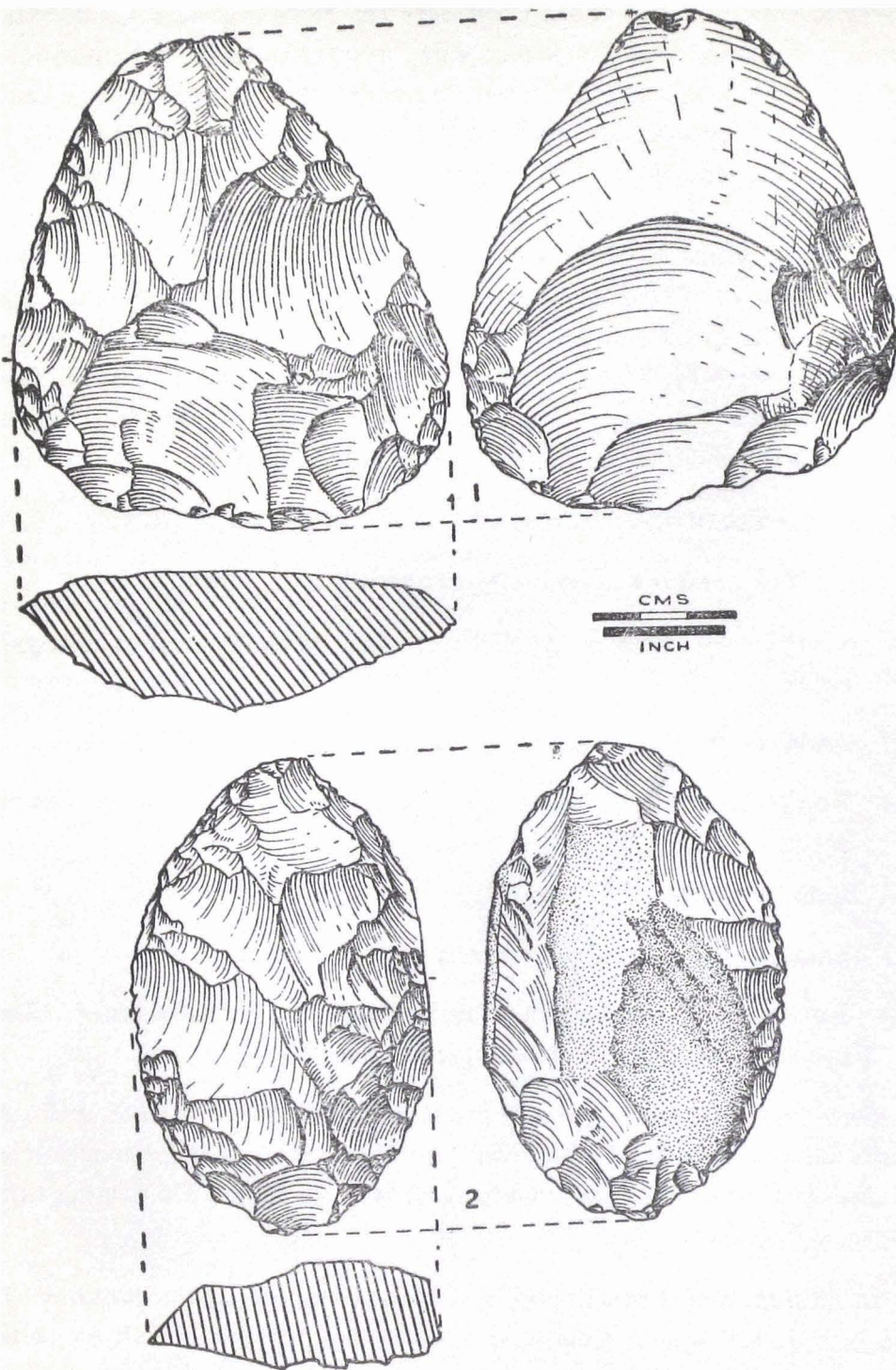


Fig. II

1. *Scraper worked on three sides on a triangular flake recalling Mousterian of Acheulian tradition, Renigunta, Andhra Pradesh.*
2. *Bifacial ovate scraper or "Limace" (Double-pointed scraper-retouched all around). Upper Son Valley, Madhya Pradesh.*

and digging, heavy massive tools should have been there. And these, alternatively might be of stone, or wood and even bone.

The man wielding these light tools lived not only along the banks of rivers, and foot-hills where the raw material was easily available but sometimes in regions which are comparatively in the interior, and heavily forested today. This could happen because it was easy for man to take these tools along with him, if he willed.

While about his vegetarian diet we can only speculate, his animal diet was not quite different from his predecessor's. Of frequent occurrence is the *Bos* (cow/bull), and then the elephant *antiquus* and even *hysudricus* and *insignis*.

The existence of these animals, particularly the elephant, and the laboratory study of a few of the river deposits, at Nevasa² definitely suggests that the climate in Ahmednagar District at least, was more humid than today and the river flowed at least 15 ft. (5 m.) above the present water level. Extrapolating this evidence we might say that the conditions elsewhere in India were not (or could not be) radically different.

WESTERN EUROPE

Our comparative study may start with the "classical" land, viz. Western Europe where Middle Palaeolithic has been now known for over a hundred years. Here the stone-using cultures which go under the name of Middle Palaeolithic are the Levalloisian and the Mousterian. For France, there is the latest review by Francois Bordes.³ He tells us that the Mousterian may be derived from at least two sources :

- (1) From the Clactonian complex which flourished during the Riss Glacial.
- (2) From the Acheulian complex of the Last Inter-glacial (Riss Würm)

The true Mousterian evolved in the Last Glacial which has four sub-divisions (Würm I-IV) in France, but in Central Europe only three.

FRANCE

The Mousterians of France lived in

- (i) caves and rock-shelters situated in the valleys of southern and eastern France.

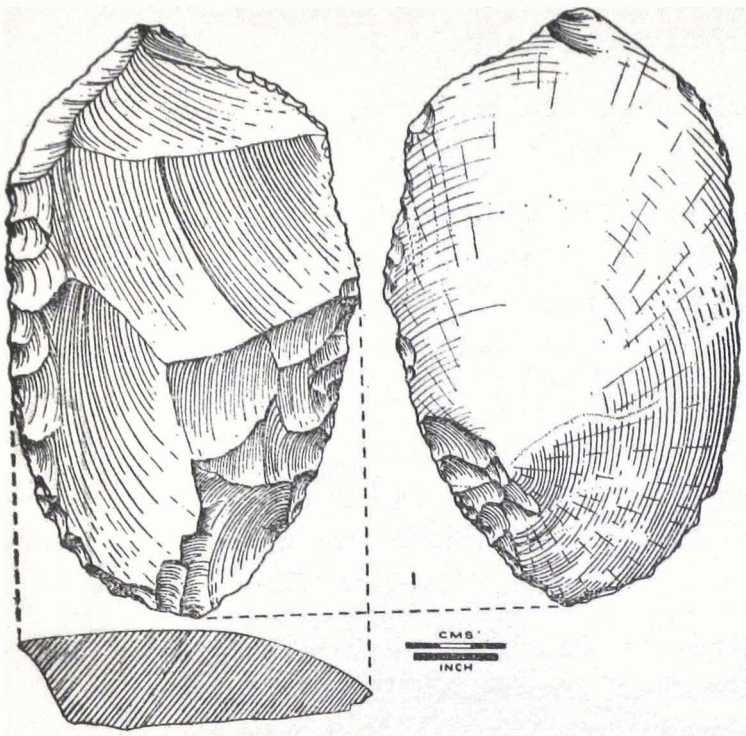
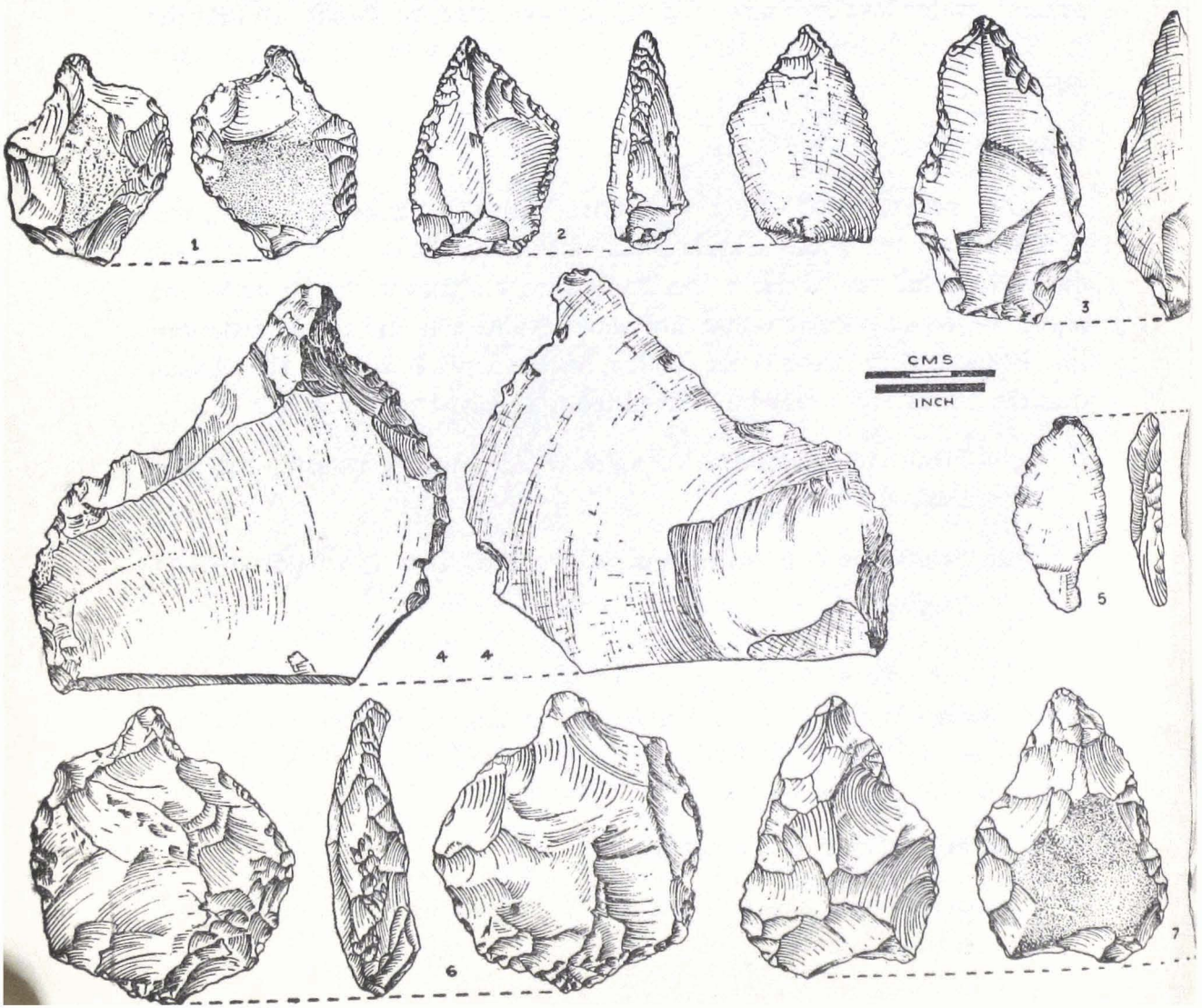


Fig. III

1. *Transverse scraper recalling Mousterian of Acheulian Tradition. Renigunta, Andhra Pradesh.*

Fig. IV

1. *Borer, Anagwadi, Mysore.*
2. *Unifacial Point recalling typical Mousterian point, Kalegaon, Maharashtra.*
3. *Unifacial point, Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh.*
4. *Borer, Dhaneri, Rajasthan.*
5. *Tanged point, Belpandhari, Maharashtra.*
6. *Borer, Bundelkhand, Madhya Pradesh.*
7. *Bifacial point, Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh.*



- (ii) open-air sites on the great loessic plains of the north-west and the plateaus of the south.

The climate, though cold, was in the beginning more damp than cold, and the summers were fairly long and warm. These "extremes" of temperature had effect upon the cultural equipment of the people as well as their limestone shelters.

The fauna was "cold", with reindeer etc. but also included such big game as bison, wild ox and the mammoth.

Careful stratigraphical excavations as well as statistical studies have brought to light the following groups of Mousterian industries or cultures.

- (i) *Mousterian of Acheulian* tradition found in Würm I and II with two phases or types. In type A, there are
- (a) numerous handaxes, but particularly triangular and heart-shaped forms
 - (b) fairly good number of side-scrapers
 - (c) a small number of denticulate tools
 - (d) a few triangular points
 - (e) a few flake knives blunted with abrupt retouch
 - (f) backed knives
 - (g) end scrapers
 - (h) graters
 - (i) borers
 - (j) truncated flakes.

The last four are regarded as Upper Palaeolithic in type. The type B phase is called "evolved". This culture follows the comparatively mild cold phase—interstadial—Würm I/II.

The chief features are :

- (i) The great decrease in the number of handaxes.
- (ii) The side scrapers are also less, not more than 10 per cent.
- (iii) The number of backed knives increases, and these are made on blades as well as flakes.
- (iv) Denticulate tools go upto 25 per cent.

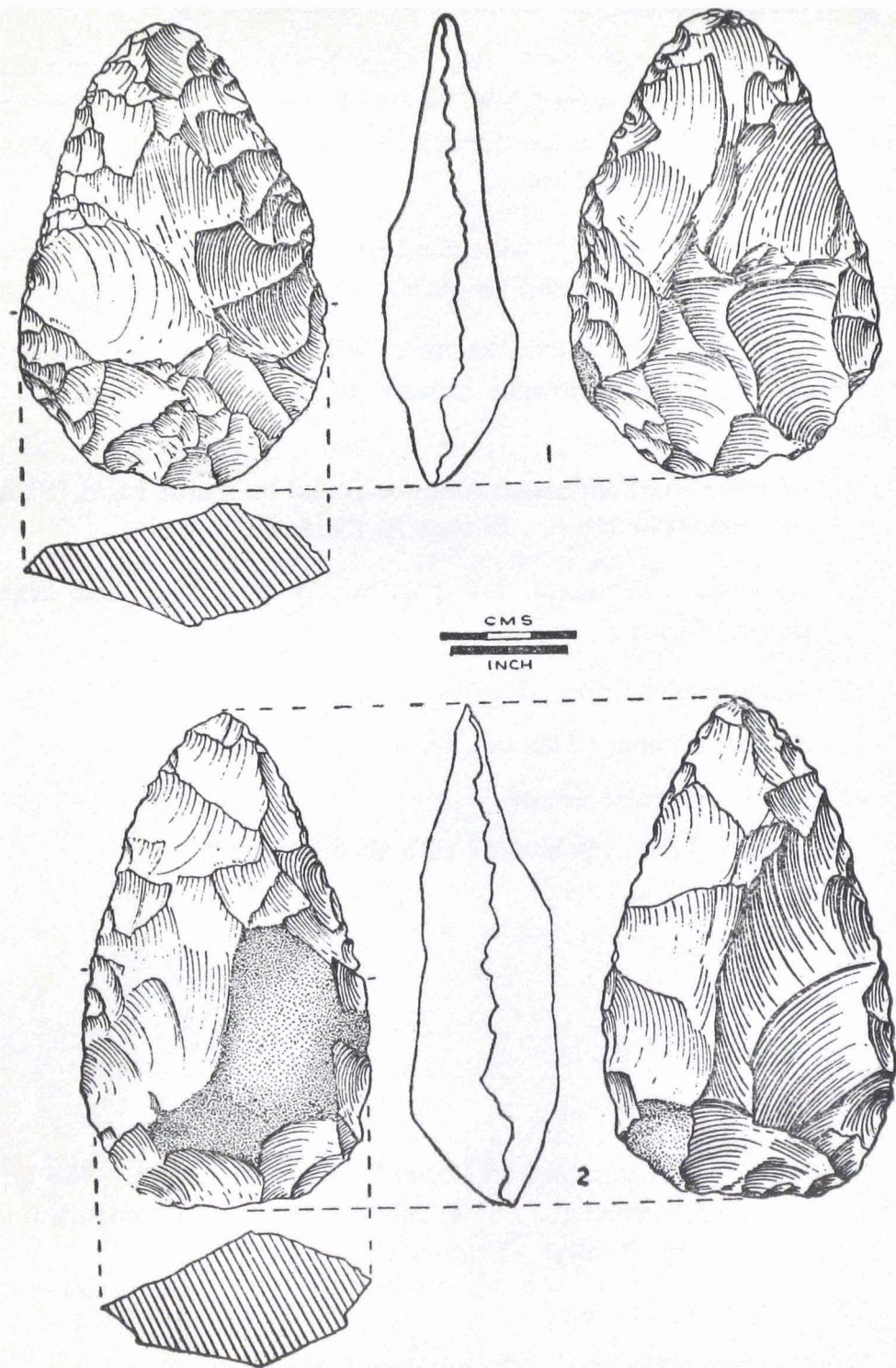


Fig. V

1. *Ovate on a flake recalling Mousterian of Acheulian Tradition, Renigunta, Andhra Pradesh.*
2. *Pointed ovate on a flake recalling Mousterian of Acheulian Tradition, Renigunta, Andhra Pradesh.*

- (v) The flaking technique is more laminar, and bladelet cores appear.

This tool-complex is not much different from the Early Perigordian I. The latter evolves into Upper Perigordian or Gravettian, dropping the typical Mousterian tools.

Typical Mousterian is the next. It comprises :

- (i) Points.
- (ii) Scrapers (side, double, notched or concave, end)
- (iii) Levallois flakes.

DENTICULATE MOUSTERIAN

This has (i) Side Scrapers (ii) Denticulate tools (iii) Notched or concave-edged tools and (iv) Borers.

There are no handaxes and knives and this is regarded as significant difference between the Mousterian of Acheulian tradition and typical Denticulate Mousterian.

QUINA MOUSTERIAN

This is the fourth group. This is characterized by

- (i) Absence of handaxes and backed knives.
- (ii) Side scrapers—numerous—some magnificent, and others special.

The latter are made on thick flakes, have a convex edge, with fish-scale-like overlapping retouch.

- (iii) Bifacial scrapers with
 - (a) Shallow and flat flaking on one side and scalar retouch,
 - (b) Edges unworked or crudely worked,
 - (c) Both the edges were equally worked.
- (vi) Denticulates
- (v) Notched tools
- (vi) Burins
- (vii) Borers
- (viii) End scrapers—nose type (Fig. 3, 7).
- (ix) "Limace," a slug-shaped tool (Fig. 3, 4). This is an ovalish, double pointed tool, found abundantly now, but occurs also in the typical Mousterian.

So far the typological grouping of the Mousterian, Bordes further warns us about distinguishing between a typical Levalloisian culture,

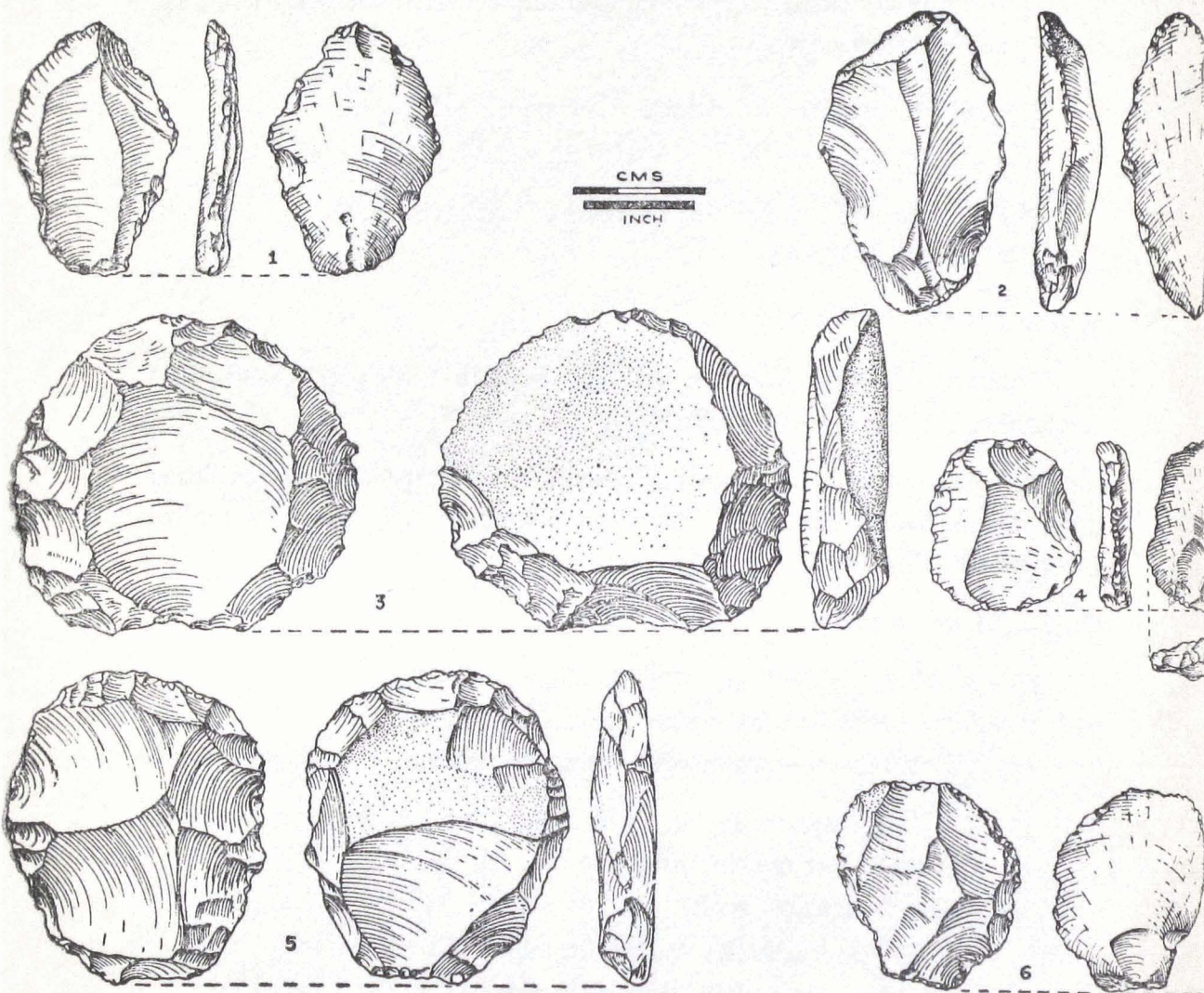


Fig. VI

1. *Levallois flake, Nevasa, Maharashtra.*
2. *Levallois flake, Luni, Rajasthan.*
3. *Levallois Round scraper, Nittur, Mysore.*
4. *Levallois flake, Nevasa, Maharashtra.*
5. *Levallois Round scraper, Upper Son Valley, Madhya Pradesh.*
6. *Levallois flake, Lalitpur, Uttar Pradesh.*

characterized by the use of numerous unretouched Levallois flakes and the hypothesis of seasonal variation, according to which the Mousterian peoples are believed to have changed their tool assemblage four times a year, according to season. So also the hypothesis of cultural evolution was negated by the excavation in the cave at Combe-Grenal, near Domine (Dorodgne). For here were found interstratified, almost all types of Mousterian.

Nor can we link, asserts Bordes, the tool assemblages to the environment. For it can be shown that Mousterian people who lived under very different environmental conditions had the same type of tool assemblages. The truth seems to be that varied culture groups existed within the Mousterian complex.

With regard to the cultural origins of these four Mousterian groups, Bordes says that the first, Mousterian of Acheulian tradition was typically derived from the Upper Acheulian, but for the rest there is no certain evidence.

Whether the ways of life of these four groups differed is not known, for excavations have been not large enough, and secondly when the layers are thin it is not always possible to make precise differences in cultural horizons. The use of fire was known, and that some of the dead were buried. Handaxes were possibly made outside the shelter and some groups like the Denticulate Mousterians favoured horses as game, while the Typical Mousterians preferred red deer and wild oxen.

Bordes speculates that Mousterian tribes may have numbered 31 to 50 individuals and must have had weapons with which they could fight cave lions and cave bears whose remains are at times found in occupation layers.

With regard to the tools, which are often described as "crude", Bordes concludes that many of the tool types which were developed in Upper Palaeolithic times by *Homo sapiens*, such as true blades, backed knives, and burin-cum-end scrapers are found in Late Acheulian and Mousterian assemblages. That means these had been invented by the Acheulians or the Mousterians and only developed or made on a mass scale by the Upper Palaeolithic people.

This latest review by a French prehistorian is extremely significant to us. For in India though we have not yet found, and perhaps never shall find, such stratigraphical evidence as is available in caves and rockshelters of France and Germany, and other countries in Europe,

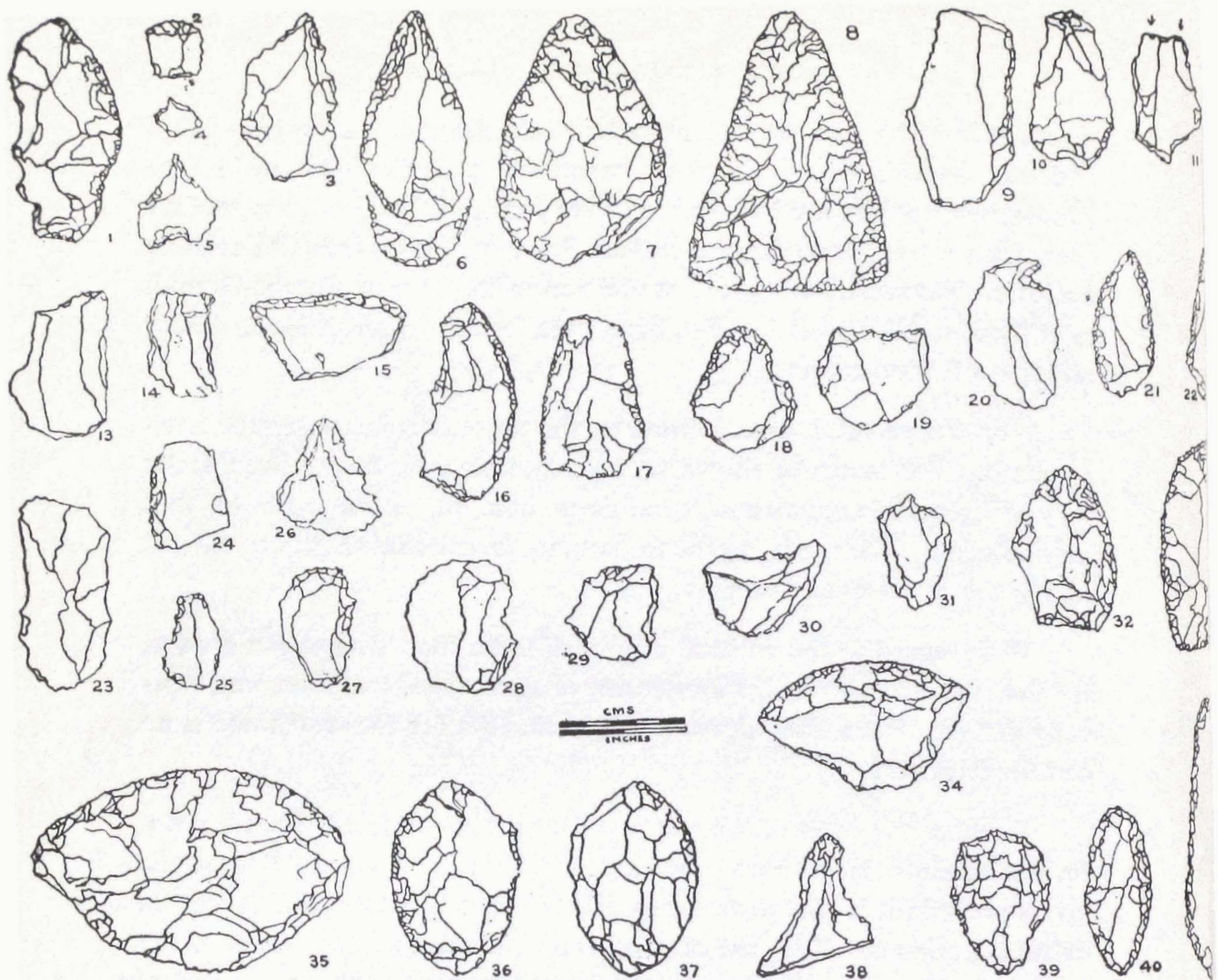


Fig. VII

Mousterian Tools

(These have been reproduced from Borde's article in Science)
Mousterian of Acheulian Tradition (Type A)

1. Side scraper. 2. End scraper. 3. Denticulated Tool. 4. Borer. 5. Borer.
 6. Point. 7. Cordiform Handaxe. 8. Triangular Handaxe. 9. Backed knife.

Mousterian of Acheulian Tradition Type B (Evolved)

10. End scraper. 11. Double burin. 12. Backed knife. 13. Truncated flake.
 14. Bladelet core.

Typical Mousterian

15. Transverse scraper. 16. Side scraper. 17. Doubleside scraper.
 18. End scraper on a flake 19. Denticulate tool. 20. Notch. 21. Point.
 22. Point. 23. Levallois flake.

Denticulate Mousterian

24. Side scraper, 25. Denticulate Tool. 26. Denticulate Tool.
 27. Denticulate Tool. 28. Notch, 29. Notch. 30. Notch. 31. Borer.

Quina type Mousterian

32. Side scraper. 33. Side scraper. 34. Transverse scraper,
 35. Transverse scraper. 36. Bifacial scraper. 37. Bifacial scraper.
 38. Nosed End scraper. 39. End scraper. 40. Limace. 41. Retouched Blades.

still as far as the tool types are concerned, it is important to note that even in France the four groups are so far based on typology, from which one cannot deduce any evolution or development. More important, almost all the tool types can be matched type by type in the Indian collections of this period.

MOUSTERIAN TOOLS "CRUDE"

Just as scholars have called the Mousterian tools "crude", so also the Middle Palaeolithic tools from Nevasa and elsewhere show a fairly good percentage of crude workmanship use of nodules, retention of the cortex on the surfaces, indifferent retouch, still at the same sites we have definite evidence of the employment of Levallois-technique, and fine retouch extending over one or both the surfaces. Occasionally one does come across true blades, fine Quina-like scrapers, burins or burin-cum-scraper, and above all small hand-axes. Pointed attention to such mixed features was drawn by me from the beginning.⁴

Just as the Mousterian in France (and Western Europe) technologically exhibits several techniques and forms, such as the Levalloisian, blade and the earlier Acheulian-Abbevillian stone-hammer techniques of flaking, and serves as a bridge between the Early and Late Palaeolithic and at the same time shows its independent character, so also the culture called Middle Stone Age of India or Palaeolithic links the Early and Late Stone Ages through the blade and burin cultures, known hitherto at some sites only.

What we have not yet come across is the typical Mousterian environment—rock shelters and caves and the "cold" fauna. So we might not venture to call our industries or cultures Mousterian. However, there is no reason now in not calling them Middle Palaeolithic. For our industries are definitely homotaxial, and can be placed in the Early Upper Pleistocene. It may be and this is natural that it had an earlier beginning in France and Western Europe, whereas in India, Central Asia, Palestine, Iraq, and Iran, it might have a late beginning and late end. But unlike the Early Palaeolithic we have well marked and dated route from Western Europe, across Western Asia.

LEVALLOIS-MOUSTERIAN IN THE LEVANT

As recently as 1959 Howell⁵ reviewed the evidence for human occupation throughout the Upper Pleistocene in the Levant, the Westernmost region situated between the Mediterranean Sea and the Syro-Arabian

deserts. He discusses in turn the climatic, stratigraphic and human stone industries, and C-14 determinations wherever available (1) beginning with the littoral, here particularly the evidence from caves on Mt. Carmel, (2) caves in the uplands of the Judean Desert, just west of the Dead Sea, situated mostly in the Wadi Khareitoun, (3) Proceeding further inland and eastwards are :

- (a) caves (ez-Zuttiyeh and el-Emireh) at the northern end of the Sea of Galilee (typologically connected with those on the coast),
- (b) caves—mostly unpublished—from southern Kurdistan. Here only one cave has yielded any stratigraphical data,
- (c) Three important rock-shelters of Yabrud on the eastern slope of the Anti-Lebanon mountains in Syria.

Howell has made it very clear that except at Mt. Carmel, and to some extent in the caves or shelters of the Judean Desert, elsewhere it is not yet possible to say anything definite about the climatic phases and their correlation with those on the coast. Only typological comparisons might help in tying up the scattered evidence of varying value.

From our point of view the most important features of this work are the geographical links which these areas provide with the countries adjacent to India, in addition to the typological and stratigraphical succession and the occasional C-14 dates.

The Tabunian, paralleled with the Tayacian of Western Europe, is left out of consideration.

THE FINAL ACHEULIAN OF YABRUDIAN FACIES

The most interesting is the Final Acheulian of Yabrudian facies, which was first called Acheulio-Mousterian and later Micoquian from the rich level E of et-Tabun. Here 44,000 artifacts were collected. These included a large percentage of handaxes, and four types of scrapers, a few choppers, and still less points, burins and blades with nibbled retouch. The assemblage was rightly regarded as providing a base for the subsequent blade tool industries of the Upper Palaeolithic by Garrod.⁶

At Qumim-Qatafa, the comparable type of assemblage was present in level D₁, but with much fewer handaxes, and one cleaver, several scrapers of various types, borers and burins⁷. The handaxes were also reduced in size and occurred in smaller numbers, whereas

there was an increase in the quantity of Mousterian points and side-scrapers.

Thus in the Late or Upper Acheulian industries of the Levant and the interior Levallois-Mousterian and Upper Palaeolithic elements, that is flake-scaper and blade-burin elements are seen. These become more prominent in the next stage, with the consequent reduction of the Acheulian elements. It is this which is relevant to our discussion.

MOUSTERIAN OF LEVALLOIS FACIES IN SOUTH-WESTERN ASIA

The Mousterian has been found to appear as an industrial complex with several developmental stages as well as technical facies within the complex. The industry exhibits widespread use of the Levallois technique and tool types such as side-scrapers, points, flake end scrapers. For the sake of avoiding racial (?) and industrial mixing the industry has been termed "Mousterian of Levallois facies".⁸

At Mt. Carmel Mousterian levels occur over the Acheulian in the cave el-Tabun. Here are associated with a few handaxes, a large number of triangular Levallois flakes, side-scrapers, retouched points, backed blades and a few burins.

Similar evidence was obtained from the cave of Shukba in the Western Judean Hills, though the handaxes numbered only two.

The evidence from the shelter of es-Skhul, up the Wadi from el-Tabun is not much different. But important is the occurrence of human burials which McCown and Keith thought to belong to the same type as those of Mt. Carmel, whereas Howell regards them somewhat later.¹⁰

Of the two caves in Galilee, Djebel Qafzeh, South and West of the Sea of Galilee near Nazareth is worth noting. Here the lowest of the seven Mousterian levels yielded human skeletal remains. The handaxes were absent from all levels, but the rest—scrapers, points, burins—were found in varying proportion.¹¹

JUDEAN DESERT

Several Mousterian sites have been found in the Judean Desert. These provide not uniform but different facies of the Mousterian industry. In the Anti-Lebanon mountains the most important site is Yabrud Shelter I in the Wadi Skifta. It has a long stratified succession—25 levels of the Mousterian. The Biface handaxe-element is very little, and the flakes have been produced by Levallois technique.

Hence Howell designates it as Mousterian of Yabrudian facies. This is later followed by a local Mousterian of Acheulian tradition. The top levels bore a general and often close resemblance to the earliest stages of the Mousterian of Levallois facies, and a kind of diminutive Mousterian.¹²

CENTRAL SYRIA

Finally, the cave of Jerf Ajla, in Central Syria near Palmyra has given definite use of Levallois technique and the usual assemblage; a few handaxes, side scrapers, points, occasional burins. The next to the topmost Mousterian horizon has provided a C-14 determination of $43,000 \pm 2,000$ years. It is believed that the Mousterian horizons probably belong to the initial phase of the Last Pluvial.¹³ This date is later by about five thousand years than the first absolute date in Europe, viz $+ 48,300 \pm 2,000$ for Lebenstedt, north of the Hartz mountains.

Of the several Mousterian sites in the Zagros foot-hills of Southern Kurdistan, the cave of Hazor Merz has yielded a Mousterian of Levallois facies with only two handaxes from the basal deposit.

Coming to the evidence from Shanidar cave and Babkhal, on the edge of the Diyana plain Hazar Merd, in the former two adult skeletons have also been found. However, none of these assemblages can be dated, for an Upper Pleistocene succession has not been established. Finally, the basal deposits at Barda Balka near Jarmo, yielded a few handaxes on flakes, unifacial and bifacial river cobbles, and scrapers on flakes. This mixed assemblage has been called Acheulian Soan, for the choppers recall the Asian chopping tool tradition.

Since Howell wrote, the various layers from Shanidar cave have been dated by several C-14 determinations, whereas a study of the animal bones and pollen grains has enabled the respective scholars to say something more positively about the climatic conditions (though interestingly enough they have reached contradictory conclusions).

Shanidar cave is situated about 400 km. due north of Baghdad within the outer folds of the Zagros Mountains. Four seasons excavations by Solecki¹⁴ have given a long perface to Mesopotamian history. Fourteen metre thick deposit has yielded a sequence beginning at the base with Middle Palaeolithic (Mousterian) through the Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, Proto-neolithic to the modern.

Here we shall confine our attention to the Mousterian. This occurs in Layer D which is the thickest in the cave (about 8.5 m.)

Pollen analysis indicates that initially the climate was much warmer than today; then it became exceedingly cool, and again warm. Thus between 8.5 to 4.25 m. three different climatic phases are witnessed. Fortunately they can be dated by C-14 determinations between 48,000 B. C. and 44,000 B. C.

The Mousterian industry which apparently began much earlier (about 100,000 years ago), shows little change! It includes typical points, borers, scrapers, all made on flakes of flint, and surprisingly without any trace of Levalloisian or Acheulian element. This typological difference between Mt. Carmel and Shanidar, for instance, is attributed by Solecki to difference in environment. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the morphological features of the five adult skeletons,¹⁵ found near the top of layers D are similar to the Tabun skeleton of Mt. Carmel which post-date the Shanidar Neanderthals by at least 5,000 years.

Hence Solecki regards the Shanidar Mousterian a reasonably good example of the Mousterian culture horizon which ranged from Western Europe and North Africa to Uzbekistan, Central Asia in a rough ellipse around the Mediterranean, Black, Caspian and Aral Seas.

This only underlines the fact that the Mousterian Culture had not only unusually large geographical extent, but a long time range during which it spread and managed to survive in nooks and corners of the Western and the Eastern world.

TESHIK-TASH, UZBEKISTAN

Proceeding further eastwards we have the famous site of Teshik-Tash and few others in its vicinity in Baisun Region, Uzbekistan. This region today forms a part of Soviet Central Asia. The site cave of Teshik-Tash was excavated nearly 30 years ago by A. P. Okladnikov.¹⁶ It lies 18 km (11½ miles) north of Baisun, and 144 km (90 miles) due south of Samarkand, at an elevation of some 1,500 m. (5,000 ft.) above sea level and above 400 m. (1,300 ft.) above the Turgan-Darya, near Machai. In front of the cave there is the Zautolosh-Dara Sai or Gorge, a tributary of the river mentioned above. The gorge has very high, at places, overhanging cliff, which excludes sunlight from the cave mouth except for an hour or so each day.

There is a single ovalish cave, 20 m. deep, 20 m. wide and 7 m. high with an opening in the ceiling. Because of this hole it is called Teshik-Tash (stone with an opening).

More than half the area has been excavated. That is the central portion leaving out the interior on the southeast. The cave seems to have been briefly occupied on five successive occasions. Each cultural layer from bottom upwards is separated by sterile layers of clay, sand and coarse silt laid down during intervals when the cave was flooded with water. This is supposed to have happened when the narrow *nala* was temporarily dammed up by huge blocks that had crashed down from the cliff walls flanking the Gorge. Whether this took a considerable period of time or it happened comparatively rapidly, it is difficult to say. But neither the industry nor the fauna—both mammalian and bird—show any change. Hence it is inferred that the climate was not markedly different from the present. It is alpine, scrub forest type, today. While Movius would tentatively assign it to the Third Interglacial, Okladnikov and others had earlier proposed either Mindel-Riss or immediately post-Riss.¹⁷

Important from our point of view is the nature of the industry. While it has typical forms such as discoid nuclei, a few core tools, Levallois-type flakes, and scrapers and points with resolved or step flaking, or two *limace* (or slug-shaped tool), there are blades or flake-blades which were removed from fluted or prismatic cores. But, and this should be noted, in all these types a portion of cortex often adheres to the upper surface, exactly as in Indian Middle Stone Age industries. Again though Levallois technique is inferred to exist from the nature of the flakes, “no tortoise cores are described from the site”.¹⁸

Two or three other sites have yielded a few Mousterian types, but their number is very small.¹⁹ The same is the story from the Samarkand Region.²⁰

Meanwhile important tool-types from Teshik-Tash are illustrated.

TADJIKISTAN

Ranov has discovered and described a number of palaeolithic sites from Tadjikistan in Central Asia. Here meet, as he says in a very brief summary of his Russian monograph, three traditions—Proto-Oriental, Mongolo-Siberian and East Asiatic.²¹ Of all these the most important is the Levallois-Mousterian Culture. Here it is interesting to find cores, scrapers, and points, still retaining their cortex, as we find in many Indian specimens, and only the broad cutting edge retouched.²²

KAZAKHSTAN SOUTHEAST SIBERIA

Professor Boriskovsky also kindly drew our attention to the remarkable discovery made by S. I. Rudenko²³ in a cave site, the Ust-Kanskaia, in Kazakhstan in south-west Siberia. Not only this is the first Palaeolithic cave site from Siberia, but it was rich in fauna—mammals and birds—and an industry which is typically Levalloiso-Mousterian and Upper Palaeolithic in character. There are cores—discoid and tortoise—scrapers of various types, fine points and also blades. The fauna—cave hyena and spiral horned antelope—dates this earliest Siberian culture to the warm phase just preceding the last Altai glaciation.

In the first edition²⁴ the influence of or the origin of the Middle Stone Age Cultures from Africa—North or South of the Sahara—was very briefly mooted. Since then some more evidence, particularly C-14 dates have been obtained for several cultures and areas²⁵. This has prompted a little more detailed comparison, though such a comparison can be properly attempted by one who has personally handled both the Indian and African material.

Such a comparison however would be expected when we concluded in the section on Early Stone Age that in the present state of our knowledge with such an early and well developed Stone Age industry in East Africa between 1.8 and 1.0 million years, it was very likely that the handaxe-cleaver industry was ultimately derived from East Africa, though it could be North Africa as well with such well stratified industries in Morocco.

MOROCCO

The latter alternative is important because here again we have well documented Levalloiso-Mousterian industries, followed later by Aterian complex. The excavations in Wadi Derna and the Cave of Haua Fteah on the Libyan littoral have yielded mostly simple miniature discoid-cores made from "a thick flake or flattened tabular nodule". However, tortoise cores do occur, as also cutting and scraping tools made on Levalloiso-Mousterian type flakes.²⁶ More important than the industry is the association of fossil human mandible and the existence of hearths, indicating here, as in Europe, that man knew and used fire. The charcoal from the latter approximately date this culture to 43,000 B. C. According to R. W. Hey there is sufficient geological evidence to place the Cyrenaican Late Pleistocene chronology in the Last or Rise-Wurm Interglacial of European succession.²⁷

SOUTH OF SAHARA : THE FAUERSMITH CULTURE

South of Sahara there are first the cultures of the First Intermediate Period, and secondly the cultures of Middle Stone Age.²⁸

The former includes the Fauersmith and the Sangoan. The Fauersmith is said to be confined to the open country, the high plateau and grasslands of the southern parts of the continent. It further possesses much more of the traditional stone culture of the Earlier Stone Age and is regarded as the logical outcome of the Chelles-Acheul. The tools are almost invariably made on indurated shale and include almond-shaped and pointed hand-axes, as well as others, small and crude cleavers, broad side-scrapers, on a concavo-convex flakes, endscrapers, trimmed points and flakes, and long, slender blades, polyhedral stones, and burins or chisel-like tools. There are three types of cores : discoidal for the removal of Mousterian-like flakes, Levallois type for the removal of broad flake with faceted platform, and prepared cores for the removal of flake-blades and blades.

The Fauersmith shows typological differences outside the indurated shale-areas.

THE SANGOAN CULTURE

The Sangoan is typically a Central African Culture of the woodlands and forests and it centers round the equatorial forests of the Congo basin. But it has variants which approach more towards the Fauersmith in the high or more open country such as that of the Southern Rhodesian plateau and northern Bechuanaland.²⁹

THE KALAMBO FALLS

The Excavations³⁰ at the Kalambo Falls (formerly Northern Rhodesia) definitely indicate that this culture was heralded by the onset of the cooler and wetter climatic conditions, displacing the handaxe (large-cutting tool) traditions, suitable to warmer and drier times.

The Sangoan tool kit consisted primarily of heavy, handheld core-axe (chopping tool) and numerous small tools used on wood or its by-products. Clark further suggests that this industry can be identified with the Proto-Stillbay, and to this period he would assign the fossil *Homo rhodesiensis* from Broken Hill.

The Sangoan from Kalambo Falls has been placed between 40,000

years B. P. by C-14³¹ while both the Fauersmith and the Sangoan have been dated to 38,000 B. C. in his paper on prehistory cited above.³²

Then there are the various Middle Stone Age and its variants, all belonging to the Gamblian Pluvial. Typologically they are quite different from the Indian Middle Stone Age and also considerably late. So these are left out of consideration.

We have not to choose from but consider only the Fauersmith and the Sangoan. Both these compare favourably taxonomically with our Middle Stone Age. The former has a much larger tool kit, includes as it does several kinds of handaxes, cleavers (though characteristically both comparatively small) scrapers on flakes, etc. It appears to be truly derived from the Chelles-Acheul. In India, on the contrary, cleavers are almost absent, and handaxes are usually small and very, very few or non-existent from several collections. The cores and flakes do possess the Mousterian and Levalloisian elements. However, the Sangoan differs from our Middle Stone Age still more. We have none of the heavy, pebble, butted handaxes, though there are no doubt several types of scrapers on flakes and flat nodules, all of which must have served as excellent wood-working tools, while the points could have been used as spear-heads, lance-heads and perhaps as arrow-heads.

On the present evidence the Fauersmith has more features in common with our Middle Stone Age. Our Middle Stone Age Cultures or industries have so far failed to indicate the existence of any heavy (duty) tools. Such tools should have been there, and probably will be found when a living site is excavated, and a full or total picture of life in the Middle Stone Age is available.

Geographically, the Sangoan would have had perhaps more chance of reaching India than the Fauersmith.

However, between the Fauersmith of Africa and the Levalloiso-Mousterian Cultures with a small percentage of hand-axes of Western and Central Asia, we think the latter had a greater and much easier access through the land-route (s) to India, while for the former we shall have to postulate a low sea-level or the ability of man to cross the seas to reach India. Moreover Paterson and Drummond have already postulated the existence of Mousterian-Levalloisian in Western Punjab and Mohapatra has undoubted evidence from Eastern Punjab (which we have seen and examined), whereas Dani does so from his evidence at Peshawar. Thus we have well spaced and well dated (geologically,

climatically and in a few instances absolutely) outposts of Levalloiso-Mousterian Cultures from Western Europe across the Mediterranean to the African and Western Asiatic littoral, then through Palestine, Iraq, Iran, and Central Asia, (possibly Afghanistan), Western Pakistan, to the heart of India.

The implication of this diffusion is obvious in a definite or positive existence of the Levalloiso-Mousterian Culture in the Indian sub-continent. There is some evidence to attribute or credit this diffusion to the Neanderthal race in Central Asia, Iran, Iraq, the Libyan littoral, Palestine, but we cannot infer for India unless some human skeletal remains are found. And these might be found, because as said in the first edition there is a double change—in the types of tools and the material used for making them during the Middle Stone Age. And this normally does indicate an ethnic change, besides the change in the environment. Finally, taking into consideration all these new evidences, and the probability of diffusion from Western Europe, we should call the culture Middle Palaeolithic and not simply Middle Stone Age.

CONCLUSION

Our review has shown that in the Indian sub-continent we have a Stone Age industry or culture which has many typological parallels with cultures called Levalloiso-Mousterian (with varying traditions), and treated under the heading "Middle Palaeolithic" in Western Europe, Western and Central Asia, Northern Africa and Africa south of the Sahara. Broadly these cultures flourished between 45,000 B. C. and 30,000 B. C.

Though we might not yet call our culture Mousterian in *sensu stricto* because so far we have not a shred of skeletal data, whereas climatically the culture can at best belong to humid phases in many parts of Peninsular India, still stratigraphically it has been shown conclusively that it is old. Some idea of this age is indicated by the associated fossil fauna and three C-14 dates from Maharashtra. Thus the culture definitely belongs to the Pleistocene period, most probably its Late or Upper phase. It is certainly not recent.

Thus assured with evidence of pure blade industries preceding the Mesolithic cultures in several parts of India, we would feel justified in designating our Levalloiso-Mousterian flake culture "Middle Palaeolithic". By so doing we might not be breathing fresh air, but we have seen that what is called "fresh air" is not quite fresh. So instead of

putting old wine into allegedly new bottle, let us put old wine into old bottle.

Once we, provisionally even, agree to call our Stone Age Culture which stratigraphically succeeds the Handaxe-Cleaver Culture as "Middle Palaeolithic" we can think of it in the larger world context.

Within India and outside, it shows an extensive distribution or spread. From this Clark and Piggott conclude that "the Middle Palaeolithic phase witnessed the beginning of that process of geographical expansion into climatically more difficult territories, in which man could not exist without some form of clothing, that has been completed in our own day".³³ Thus though the men of this period were hunters as their predecessors, their hunting technique had not much advanced. Besides stone-tipped spear-heads, there were probably wooden spears. The existence of the bow and arrow is extremely doubtful though some of the smaller points could have been used as arrow-heads. Besides stone tools there is little evidence of work in bone or ivory. The man was not an artist, though he was a skillful craftsman, for some of his points and scrapers, having extremely symmetrical outline, are things of beauty.³⁴ They are "endowed with a perfection of form beyond that dictated by their function". This feature has been noted in India and outside.³⁵

It is presumed that the man had a rudimentary kind of skin clothing which did not need sewing.³⁶ The sewing could have been done with several kinds of large pointed tools, first by boring a hole and then passing a very thin thong, skin-strip or a natural fibre from trees through it, exactly as a cobbler in India does today. These skins must have been scraped, and smoothed with several kinds of scrapers. The latter could also have been used for smoothing wooden handles and shafts of spears and the like.

This is all that we could infer about the life of Middle Palaeolithic man in India. But by extrapolating the evidence from France, Italy, Palestine, Iran and Central Asia we might say, as has been done by Clark and Piggott, that Neanderthal man whenever he stayed in caves and under rock shelters displayed signs of spirituality—the care for the dead and anxiety for a future life—because he buried the dead and that too in an extremely flexed posture, so that the dead would be prevented from coming back to haunt the living or because it would economize the chore of grave-digging, which meant excavation of rock.³⁷

Lastly, what we so often lack today, *viz.* sympathy, and care for our disabled brethren in society seems to have been shown by the Neanderthal man of the Shanidar cave, Iraq. For here was found the skeleton of a 40-year old, arthritic, one-armed cripple. Even today such people find it difficult to survive. That he did live for nearly 40 odd years³⁸ when hunting was the main preoccupation of the life was in no small measure due to the care with which he must have been looked after by his brethren—clan or tribe. This was humanity in the highest and purest sense. And if this be so, what right have we to deny Neanderthal types being included in pure “human” types, even if they are not so physically, and different from Homo-Sapiens? Even this has been questioned now. For fresh studies indicate that the former reconstruction of the Neanderthal face and skull emphasized too much the ape-origin of the man, when he was nearer the Homo-Sapiens. Another most unexpected fact of his life has been revealed by the study of the pollen grains, collected from deep inside the cave, where the men were buried. This study by Madam Leroi-Gourhan suggests that the man had prepared a bed of flowers collected from the valley outside and laid the dead body over it.³⁹ Is this practice not “modern”?

POST SCRIPT

Shri S.P. Gupta and two other scholars participated in the discussion which followed the reading of this paper. Shri Gupta thought that there was not sufficient evidence as yet to regard the Indian Middle Stone Age industry as Neanderthaloid. Shri Thapar enquired whether it was proper to change the name from Middle Stone Age to Middle Palaeolithic. Dr. Sankalia in reply, said that he has sufficient evidence as discussed fully in the article and more so in his book **PREHISTORY AND PROTOHISTORY IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN** to show that we should now call our industry Middle Palaeolithic and Middle Stone Age. Regarding its character it was pointed out by him that the large collections in the Deccan College were studied by Prof. Boriskovsky and it was his view that there was sufficient Levallois element in the Middle Stone Age industries of India to regard it as comparable to that of Europe. As regards the character, it was now admitted by several scholars who have been mentioned in detail in Dr. Sankalia's article that there is no uniformity and, therefore, if there are 70% or more of elements in the Indian Middle Stone Age, it can be compared with that of similar industries from France, Palestine and Central Asia. There is no reason why we should not expect a Neanderthaloid element in India. He himself pointed out that unless

we get actual human remains, it will not be proper to regard it as the work of Neanderthaloid Man.

NOTES

1. There are three dates kindly supplied by the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. T. F. 217=39,000 B. P., T. F. 345=31,000 B. P. and T. F.=31075... 5540 3245 using 5568+30 years as half-life value.
2. Based on oral information given by Shri S. N. Rajguru.
3. "Mousterian Culture in France," *Science*, Vol. 134, 1961, pp. 803-10.
4. A. I., No. 12, 1956, p. 507, PPIP, p. 76 and *Science*, Vol. 146 (1964) pp. 365-75. This has been confirmed by our survey of the Ghod river at Inamgaon, Poona District.
5. Howell, F. Clark, "Upper Pleistocene Stratigraphy and Early Man in the Levant," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 103 (1959), pp. 1-65.
6. Garrod, 1937, 1938. Cited by Howell.
7. Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
8. Howell, p. 19.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 20
11. *Ibid.*
12. Howell, p. 23
13. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
14. Solecki, Ralph S. "Prehistory in Shanidar Valley, Northern Iraq", *Science*, Vol. 139, 1961, pp. 1-16.
15. According to T. Dale Stewart, of the U. S. National Museum cited by Solecki, *Ibid.*
16. This account is summarized from Hallam L. Movius, Jr.'s "Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Sites in Soviet Central Asia", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 97 (1953), pp. 384-421.
17. Movius, *Ibid.*, p. 400.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 390.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 400.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
21. Ranov, V.A. *Stone Age of Tadjikistan (Asia Centrale)* in (Russian).
22. *Ibid.*, pl. III, 9, IV, 1, 2; VI, 2. Recently a fine borer was found at Inamgaon, District Poona, where this feature is beautifully exhibited.

23. Rudenko, S. I., "The Ust'-Kanskaia Palaeolithic Cave Site, Siberia", *American Antiquity*, Vol. 27, 1961, p.p. 203-15.
24. Sankalia, *PIIP.*, p. 126.
25. Clark, J. Desmond, "Prehistory" from *The American World : A Survey of Social Research*, Ed. Robert A Lystad. Published by Frederikb A. Praeger. 1965 and several other excellent summaries by Clark, the reprints of which he has kindly sent me.
26. McBurney, C. B. M., *The Stone Age of Northern Africa* (1960), p. 168, Figs. 17-18.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 163.
28. Clark, J. Desmond, *The Prehistory of Southern Africa* (1959), p. 144 ff.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
30. Clark, J. Desmond, and E. M. Van Zinderen Bakker, "Prehistoric Culture and Pleistocene Vegetation at the Kalambo Falls" *Nature*, Vol. 201 (1964), p. 1 (Reprint).
31. Clark, *The Prehistory of Southern Africa*, p. 149.
32. "Prehistory", (1965) p. 21 (Table I).
33. *Op. cit.*, p. 60.
34. Sankalia. H. D., *Science*, *op. cit.*, p. 8 (Reprint). This has been again confirmed by some beautiful points, borers and scrapers from Inamgaon, Poona District.
35. Clark and Piggott, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. Assuming that this disability he had from his birth. It is also possible that it was quite recent.
39. *Science Today*, November, 1968.

Iranian Influence on Early Indo-Pakistani Cultures*

H. D. SANKALIA

IRAN AND Indo-Pakistani sub-continent are close neighbours. Linguisticians tell us that the Rigvedic Indians and the Avestan Iranians must have lived together for sometime, before they separated, one group proceeding to India, and the other remaining in Iran.

Until now these linguistic and cultural affinities between Iran and India have not been adequately documented by well-stratified archaeological data. Fortunately excavations in India, Pakistan and Afghanistan during the last 10 to 15 years have given evidence of contact between India and Iran or Western Asia from about 2500 B. C. (though according to the new data, the affinities of the stone tools from the caves of Iran with similar industries from Sanghau cave near Peshawar, the old Late Soan culture and the newly discovered Middle stone Age industries

* This paper was originally prepared for the Vth International Congress of Iranian Arts and Architectures to which the author was kindly invited by the Ministry of Culture and Education, Iran. Owing to the unforeseen circumstances, he was unable to participate in this conference, but later (September 1968) had an opportunity to pay a brief visit to Tehran as the guest of the Ministry. This is therefore, a revised paper and takes note of the study in the Archaeological Museum (Iran Bastan) and the British Institute of Persian Studies at Tehran. For extending all facilities he is thankful to Dr. Nagabahn and A. Sarfaraz and Dr. Stronach and Dr. Blow, authorities in charge of the two Institutes respectively, and to the Ministry of Culture and Education for making possible the visit to Iran. He is also thankful to the Ministry of Education in India and to the Indian Embassy in Iran for manifold courtesies.

in India, contacts might go back to a very remote period, 30,000 years ago).

I had reviewed this evidence five years ago.¹ I would summarize this evidence briefly.

A comparative study of specific shapes and designs in pottery—such as the channel-spouted or tea-pot-like vessels from Periods III-IV at Navdatoli.

- (ii) Footed cups or wine and champagne cups;
- (iii) Effigies or theriomorphic pots from Nevasa and Chandoli;
- (iv) Spouted Grey Ware vessels from Piklihal, (and now from Tekkalkota, Sangankal);
- (v) Three-legged bowl, from Chandoli;
- (vi) Designs—Dancing figures, stylized antelopes, and animals with elongated legs and bodies, and true spirals from Navdatoli and Daimabad;
- (vii) Four general shapes of vessel from Navdatoli and one from Nevasa with similar types of vessels from Iran or Western Asia; and
- (viii) Beads or spindle whorls from Ahar and Anatolia.

It was shown that reasonable ground existed for postulating contact between India and these Western countries. And since the dates of the Chalcolithic cultures in Central India, Maharashtra and Andhra-Mysore are fairly well settled by several and independent C-14 determinations, it was possible for the first time to indicate the time of this contact. Briefly, this contact was continuous and took place between 2000 B. C.—1200 B. C.

In this connection, I may briefly refer to two objections which I have heard, but not seen so far expressed in writing. The first objection is that these Indian counterparts—such as the channel-spouted bowl and the pot-hook spiral in India—were considerably earlier in date than those found at Giyan and Londo, etc. in Iran and Baluchistan respectively.

These objections can be easily met. The channel-spouted vessel has a long history in Western Asia (and in Iran itself, as first hand

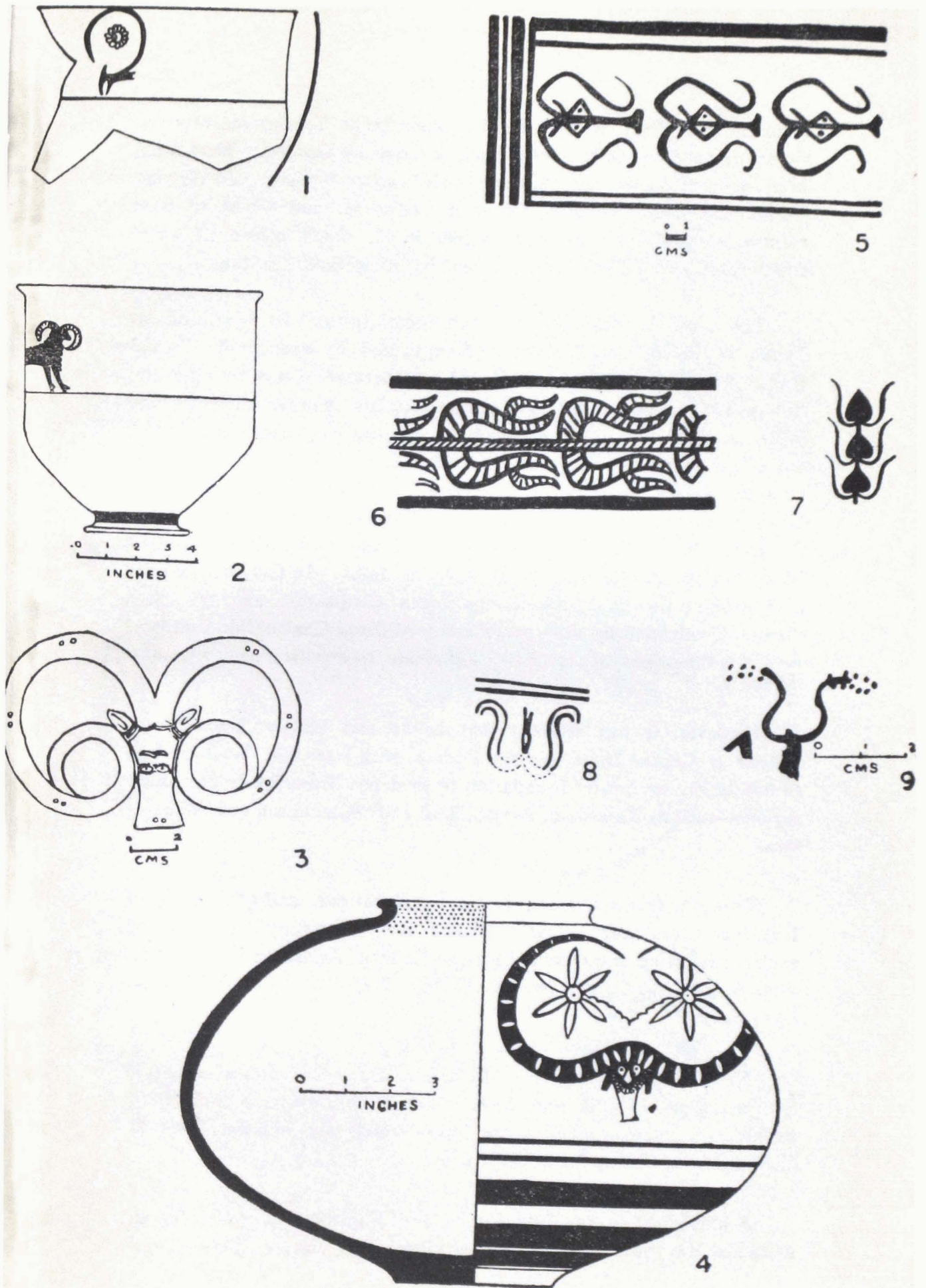


Fig. 1

The evolution of the Buccranian (bull or wild sheep motif in Iran and India).

study of the objects in Iran Bastan museum at Tehran recently has shown me) and has been traced back to Crete by Gordon. Now it has been found at Khirokitia in Cyprus in still earlier deposits. So the view is that this shape gradually migrated eastwards, and seems to have reached Central India in about 1500 B. C., much before its exact counterpart is found at Giyan and Marlik, for instance, in Iran.

The same is true of the pot-hook spiral. Its evolution at Togau in Baluchistan has been demonstrated by Beatrice de Cardi.² It is also found in Phase Ic at Amri³ and therefore if it is found in the rare dish at Navdatoli, which is centuries earlier than the one occurring in Londo Ware, it is quite reasonable. For this particular design motif has a long history, and it seems to have reached Navdatoli fairly early, or in the middle phase of its development, and not towards the end, as Gordon thought because to Gordon, the Chalcolithic Cultures were not older than 800 B. C. This view has been found to be quite unjustified by several excavations in different parts of India. In fact, we are now able to fill up the gap between the Indus Civilization and the early historic Civilization by well-spaced and well-dated Chalcolithic Cultures. And it is the origin of the latter that seems to owe to renewed Iranian influence.

However, it was realized that the contact between such distant regions as Central India, and the Deccan with Iran and Western Asia should be put on a surer foundation by evidence from the Intermediate regions—such as Rajasthan, Panjab, Sind and Baluchistan and Afghanistan.

Towards this end I had planned explorations, and excavations in Rajasthan, Ahar near Udaipur yielded very interesting but tantalizing evidence pointing to a contact between Eastern Rajasthan and Anatolia in about 2,000 B. C., and between Eastern Rajasthan and Iran at about this time.

Now, fortunately evidence is available from four sites which lie in between Central India and Iran. Though this evidence is not quite definitive, it supplies a few more links—which are well-dated—in the chain between Central India and Iran.

A number of sites in Sind, Punjab and Rajasthan have revealed the existence of a widespread pre or proto-Harappan culture. The first clue

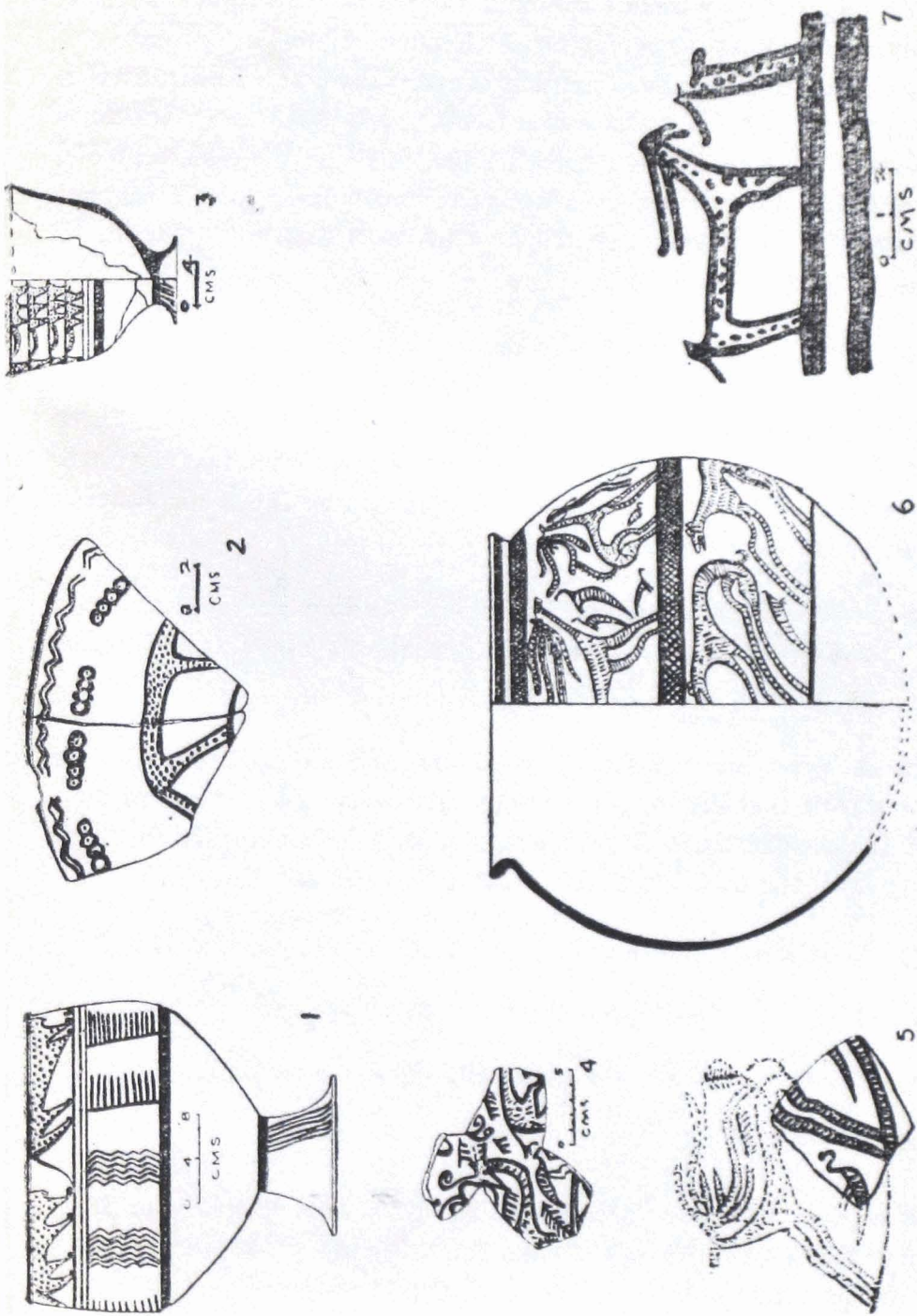


Fig. 2

Elongated animal forms depicted on pottery in Iran, Baluchistan and India

of its existence was given by the 1947 excavation at Harappa, though much earlier (1929), the late N. G. Majumdar had drawn attention to a pre-Harappan culture at Amri in Sind. Fortunately, this has been now excavated by Jean Casal and the results published. Then we have the startling discoveries by Dr. F. Khan of a pre-Harappan township, including stone-based fortification at Kot Diji, Khairpur subdivision, Sind. That this was not a freak development or a feature of the pre-Harappan culture has been demonstrated by the discovery of a mud-brick fortification and evidence of town planning at Kalibangan in Northern Rajasthan excavated by Shri B. B. Lal and Shri B. K. Thapar.

Though it is too early to say whether all these pre-Harappan cultures originated from one source, still they all shared a few common characteristics. Besides townplanning and fortification which is attested to from Kot Diji and Kalibangan, but not from Amri which affords evidence only of large mud-brick houses in phase III of the Amri or pre-Harappan culture, we have :

- (a) A Wheel-made pottery, having many common fabrics, shapes, and decorations, which are cumulatively and singly different from those of the Harappan.
- (b) A lithic blade industry on agate and chalcedony with the result that the tools are comparatively small and not so large as the chert and flint blades, met with in the Harappan, made from the excellent material from Sukkur and Rohri.
- (c) Artistic figurines in the round and toys in terracotta (Kot Diji).
- (d) Absence of *lingas* and *yonis*.
- (e) Absence of beads of faience and detached carnelian beads.
- (f) Absence of any sort of writing.

Of these traits or features of the pre-Harappan cultures in Sind, Northern Rajasthan and Baluchistan the only important features for a comparative study are, firstly pottery, and to some extent the blade industry. The latter may be disposed off first.

Though the chert blades and cores from Kot Diji are slightly smaller than those in the Harappan deposits from the same site, still

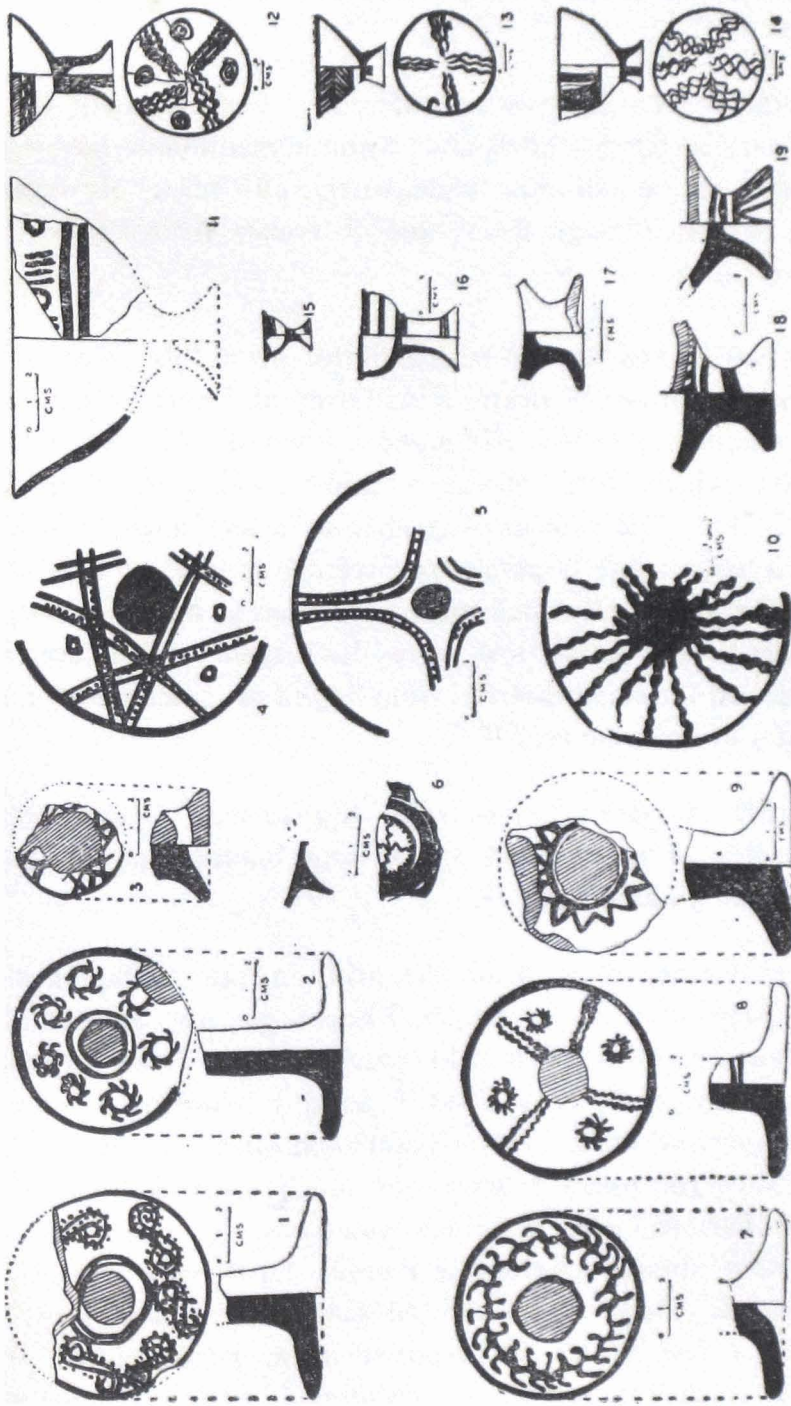


Fig. 3

Wavy lines on the base of the footed cup or goblet in Iran, Baluchistan and India, 12-14 : Hissar. 1-10 ; 17-19 from Navdatoli. 6 : AMRI. 11 : Rana Ghundai. 15-16 : Kalibangan.

the latter seems to have been made on the crested ridge-guiding flake technique as proved by the occurrence of two such flakes, while for the former we have no definite indication, but the same technique should have been employed as can be seen from the regularity of the cores and the blades.⁴

The evidence from Amri is not different.⁵ Unfortunately, the blade industry is very sketchily treated and without mentioning how it differs from period to period and most inadequately illustrated. However, one does notice a crested ridge flake⁶ and it comes from Period Ic,⁷ the mature Amri phase.

Baluchistan has so far not been explored from this point of view. But the trial excavations of Beatrice de Cardi at Anjira yielded a small amount of microliths—mostly flakes and a few cores, in the lower levels (Periods I-II)—which does include a guiding flake or crested ridge. (Fig. 9, No. 28).⁸ The number of geometrics is very small. This is not because such lunates, and trapeze were discarded as inferred by Gordon,⁹ but possibly because these small tools were used as barbs for harpoons and arrow-heads and hence lost once discharged.¹⁰ Whatever it be, Gordon regarded the small material from Anjira as indicative of a flake-blade industry of neolithic type.¹¹

Very little evidence comes from Afghanistan. Excavations at Mundigak seem to have yielded a few long blades, and fine points, but no cores and guiding flakes.¹²

However, the beginning of the Neolithic in Iran can be taken back through the Mesolithic to the Upper Palaeolithic, through the almost complete sequences with Carbon-14 determinations from the Belt and Hotu caves, excavated by Prof. Coon.¹³ And in between lie the earlier evidence obtained at Sialk, Tepe Hissar and other old and also newly discovered sites (of which I have not much information). At the former site, Periods I and II yielded comparatively small blades, of flint and other stones, whereas in Periods III-IV very long blades of flint were found. However, no crested ridge flake is mentioned.¹⁴ At Hissar, only a few blades are reported from Periods I and II, but Period III is noted for very symmetrical oval, double pointed arrow-heads.¹⁵

Broadly, the Neolithic blade industry with the crested ridge technique in Iran and Western Asia as shown some 10 years ago by the late

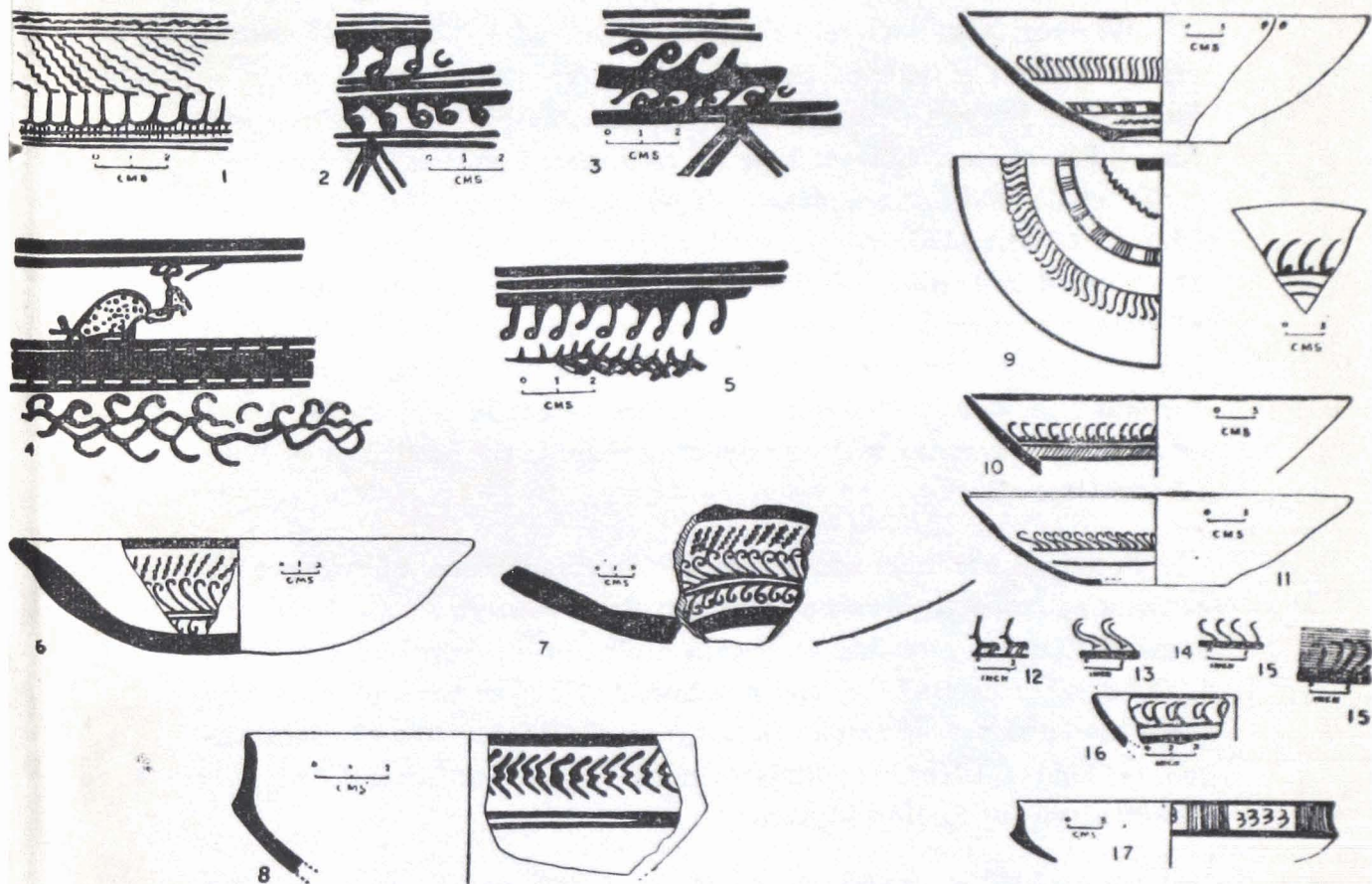


Fig. 4

Pot-hook or crook design starting with wavy horn in sheep or deer. 1-7 : 17 :
 Navdatoli. Amri : 9-11. Togau : 12-15.

Professor Subba Rao,¹⁶ seems to have had its origin in Western Asia¹⁷ and what we are having, almost all over Western Pakistan and India, as far south as Mysore and Madras, a much later manifestation, datable at present to a period not earlier than 2200 B. C. (or 2400 B. C., according to the C-14 determination of a sample from Kodikal on the border of Mysore and Maharashtra).

Whether the technique originated independently in India from the earlier Mesolithic cannot be decided. There is no trace of it at Sangankal, District Bellary, Mysore, where we have discovered a true Mesolithic phase. But we have to remember that even this—and the earlier blade and burin industry of which we have very fine evidence from a site near Madras—had much earlier beginning in the west. Thus an eastward migration of these industries may be postulated, though we have not enough evidence to say whether this migration was of ideas spreading like eddies, or a migration of men at various periods. Anyway Iran with its strategic position between India and the West, can be reasonably credited with an important share in the passing on of these ideas or men.

Pottery is our next and the most important piece of evidence for postulating contacts between India and Iran/Western Asia. Formerly, some 20 years ago, we had some evidence¹⁸ for this contact, but it was isolated, often unstratified and not dated. Now we have not only data from Iran, much more amplified, but from (2) Afghanistan (3) Baluchistan (4) Sind (5) Northern Rajasthan (6) Malwa or Central India (7) Maharashtra (8) Andhra-Mysore.

Fortunately, the Indus or the Harappa Civilization does not stand quite alone. Excavations both in India and Western Pakistan have revealed an earlier civilization at Amri, Kot Diji and Kalibangan which shows admittedly more Iranian influence than the Harappan. This influence could have come only through Afghanistan/Baluchistan. Fortunately, again, this is documented by a few excavations, which are dated typologically or by carbon-14 determinations. Further it can be shown that the Central Indian Cultures, particularly the one at Navdatoli, seems to be related to the pre-Harappan culture at Kalibangan, and to some extent with Amrit and Kot Diji.

Further a close comparative study of the Harappan pottery forms and the pre-Harappan, as far as known today, from Amri, Kot Diji, Kalibangan and Harappa itself, by one of my pupils, Mrs. Omi Manchan,

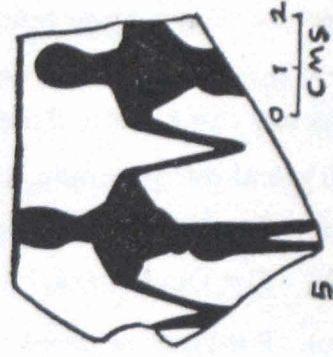
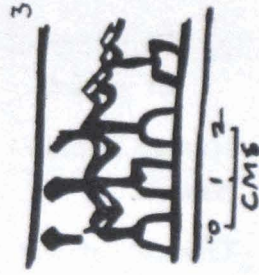
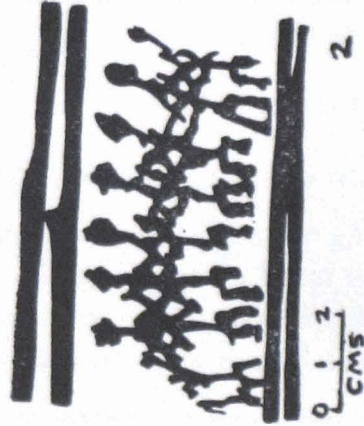
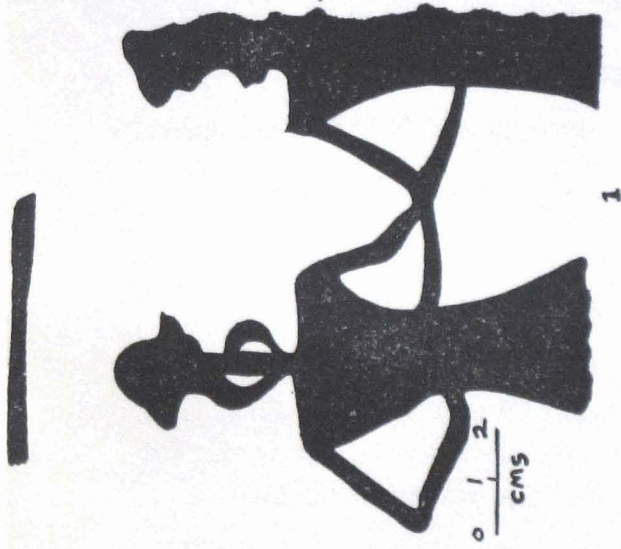


Fig. 5

Dancing human figures or human figures standing with hands clasped or simply holding some objects in hand. 1-4 Navdatoli. 5 : Sialk.

has revealed that at least a part of the repertory of the Harappan forms may be derived from the pre-Harappan. Thus a good workable chain between India and Iran may be forged.

The present comparison takes note of only :—

- (i) characteristic pottery forms (very common types are excluded, as not being useful from diagnostic point of view)
- (ii) Typical design-motifs, such as
 - (a) The Buccranian, (bull or wild sheep horn motif)
 - (b) The Double axe,
 - (c) Pot-hook or crook spiral (starting from wavy deer or sheep horn)
 - (d) Elongated animal forms.
 - (e) Row of ducks.
 - (f) Dancing human figure, or human figures/standing with hands clasped or singly holding some object in the hand and over its head.
 - (g) Paintings of wavy lines on the underside of the footed cup or goblet.
- (iii) Human (female) effigy or Mother Goddess from Hissar and Nevasa.
- (iv) Theri. Morphic vessels or figures.

These are briefly discussed below, showing how the idea has spread from Iran to India.

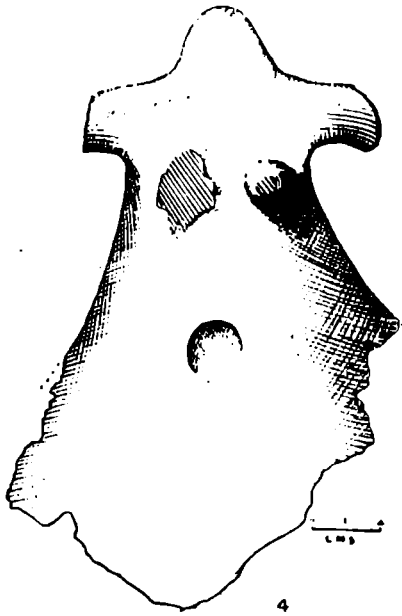
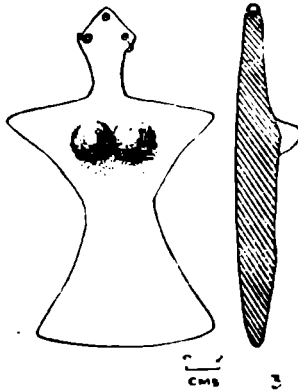
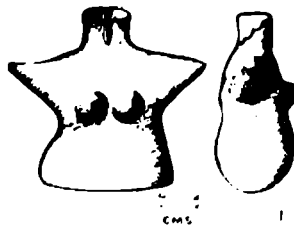
THE BUCCRANIAN MOTIF

The first design-motif is the buccranian or the bull-horn motif.

Leaving out other Western Asiatic parallels, as far as Iran is concerned, this motif is found first in Hissar IB and Sialk III (Pl. I, 1, 2). In the mouflon-head, the horns are curved downwards, but in the bull (Pl. I, 1), the horn is very much elongated and curved upwards.

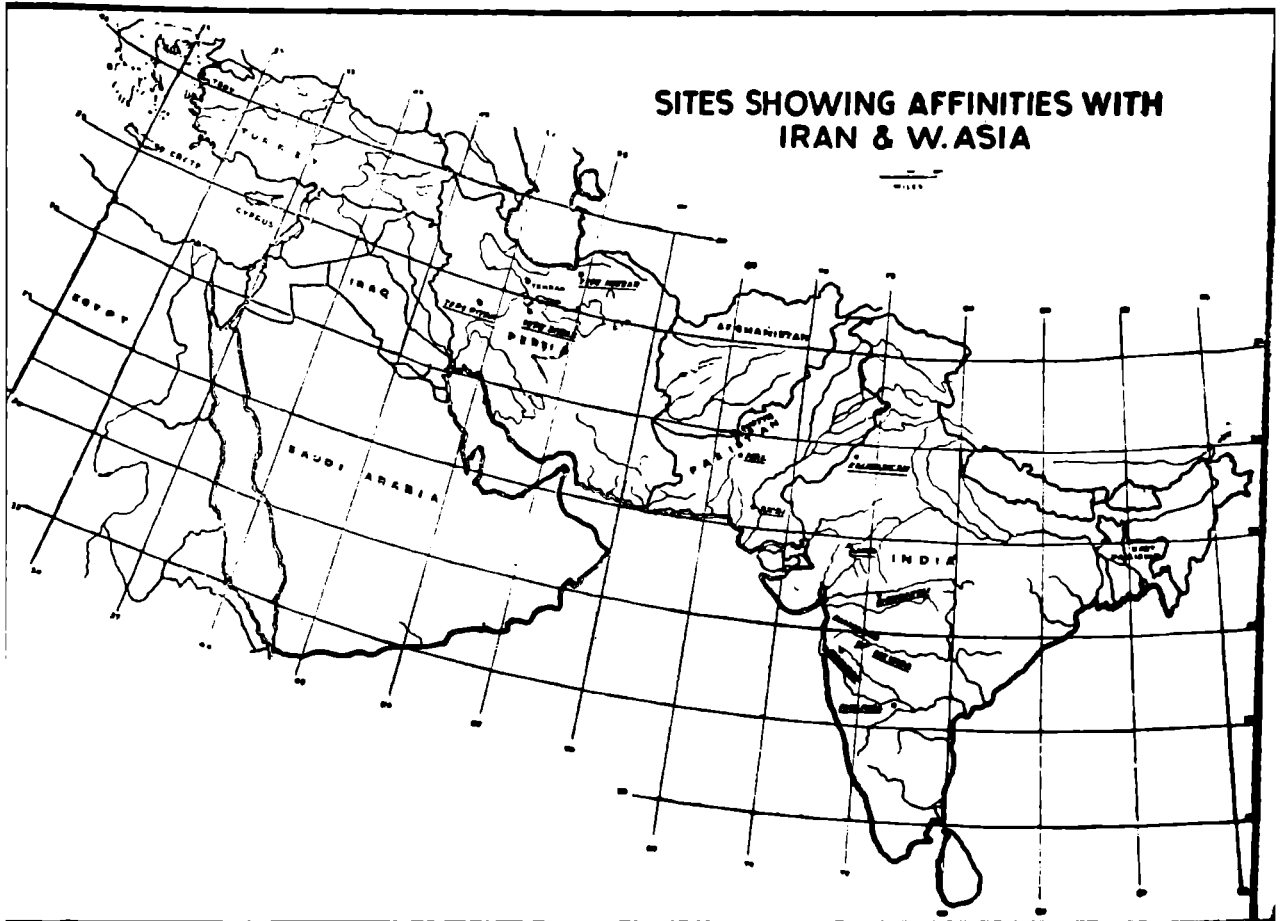
This motif seems to acquire a religious significance in Hissar IIIC, as the gold sheet from a hoard suggests Pl. I, 3).

At Kot Diji, West Pakistan, it is this very motif, I think, which has been anthropomorphized in the unique paintings on a vessel (Pl. I, 4)



← Fig. 6
Human (female) effigy or
Mother Goddess from Hissar
(1-3) and Nevasa (4).

Fig. 7
Map of India and Western
Asia showing the sites men-
tioned in the article.



which occurs at the junction (Layer 3A) of the Kot Diji and Harappan culture.

Such Kot Diji figures seem to be the ancestors of the well-known Harappan figures with bull-horns and three faces, and known popularly as proto-Siva (p. I, 4a)

PAINTINGS OF ANIMALS WITH ELONGATED BODIES

Another interesting design motif is the painting of animal, usually a tiger or a deer. The body of this animal as well as the legs are stretched out and variously hatched or stippled. The motif is first met with at Hissar and Sialk (Pl. II, 1-3) and later found in the Central Indian Chalcolithic pottery. Specially striking are the rare pieces from Prakash and Daimabad (Pl. II, 5,6). Be it noted that this particular motif is absent among the Harappan design motifs. Thus this negative positive evidence is indeed very suggestive.

PAINTINGS ON THE BASE OF FOOTED CUPS

Equally striking is the motif which appears on the flat base of the footed cups. So far as I have been able to see, it occurs in Hissar and at Navdatoli (Pl. III, 12-14, 1-3, 4-5, 7-10) and in a rare piece from Amri I (Pl. III, 6) and at Periano Ghundai and Rana Ghundai. Such a feature is conspicuously absent in the Harappan, and from many Chalcolithic cultures of India, including Rangpur.

FOOTED CUPS WITH LOW, HOLLOW PEDESTAL

Allied with this motif is the footed-cup with a low, hollow pedestal. This is a feature of the Hissar goblets, as well as the few ones found at Navdatoli and the unique small goblet found in Kalibangan-I. (Pl. III, 12-14, 11, 17-19, and 12, 16 respectively).

Footed cups also occur at Rangpur, after the close of the Harappan cultural phase (Pl. VII). So far Navdatoli is the only site where these goblets figure in such profusion.

POT-HOOK SPIRAL MOTIF

The pot-hook spiral or hook has a long pedigree, but surprisingly it does not occur among the Harappan design motifs. In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent it is found at Togau, where Beatrice de Cardi has observed the evolution of the motif in four phases (Pl. IV, 12-15). Later this pot-hook motif becomes the chief motif at Londo.

Now it is interesting to find this motif in Amri I on a fairly large open-mouthed bowl (Pl. IV, 9-11) and then at Navdatoli. Here it is found to figure both in the early stage of its development (Pl. IV, 1) as well as in its later forms (Pl. IV, 2-7), but most noteworthy is its occurrence on a dark red-slipped wide-mouthed dish or bowl (Pl. IV, 6-7). But for the wavy oblique lines, it compares very well with the one from Amri (Pl. IV, 11).

This pot-hook motif as well as the *sigma* or design on a carinated bowl of almost identical shape at Amri I and Navdatoli (Pl. IV, 8 & 17) suggests a relationship between both these distant sites.

DANCING HUMAN FIGURES

Attention has been already drawn to the dancing human figures on a white-slipped ware from Navdatoli, and those from Iran, Syria, etc. Now in addition to this, a striking parallel can be cited between a design motif in which large human figures, holding each other's hands have been shown in solid black at Navdatoli (Pl. V, 1) and at Sialk in Period III (Pl. V, 5).

THE MOTHER GODDESS

The mother-goddess figure has again a long history of development in Iran apart from the fact that it occurs also elsewhere in Western Asia. The earliest might be the extremely stylized figures in clay from Tepe Khakhiya and Tepe Sarab in southeast Iran. This has no face or head but only a stick-like vertical projection and two breasts and painted tapering legs. (A fine example of impressionistic "Modern art" !). While this might be compared and derived from similar motifs of the Upper Palaeolithic period in Europe, particularly around Brüno; a couple figure of a woman appears at Tureng Tepe, north of Hissar. The facial features are delineated and in addition the figure wears bangles on both the wrists and necklaces on the neck and chest. It is dated to the 3rd millennium B.C. Later at the same site we have a figure with pinched nose and holding the breasts with two hands but without ornaments. It is in clay and 9.5 cm. broad and 24.5 cm. high (*Archeologie Vivante*, p. 38, Pl. XI).

Lastly, the female figurine with a hollow cylindrical head or solid triangular head with one or more holes for suspension, stumpy outstretched arms and prominent breasts and lower part body flat and flaring out, but otherwise featureless.

At Hissar, this figure occurs in alabaster and bone in Period III, Band IIIC, and, very likely, is derived from still earlier Iranian and Anatolian forms to which Evans had drawn our attention long ago. This was also recognized by Gordon.²⁰

Though Mohenjodaro and Harappa have given us a large number of terracotta female figurines, some of which are undoubtedly mother-goddesses, still this particular form is missing there. Surprisingly, figures, almost identical with those at Hissar, turned up at Nevasa. The one shown in the Plate VI, 4 is the largest mother-goddess figurine found so far in a Chalcolithic context which is well-dated to 1200 B. C.

CHANNEL-SPOUTED BOWL

This has a long history in Iran itself, and does not appear for the first time at Tepe Giyan or Marlik between 1200 and 100 or 800 B. C., as usually supposed.

A painted bowl with a pinched lip or small channel-spout (*Bol a petit bec versoir*) occurs at Ismailabad, a site 80 Km. northwest of Teheran. It is 22.5 cm. broad and 18 cm. high and dated to 5th millennium B. C. (*Archeologie vivante*, Paris, 1968).

Then Sialk IV (c. 3000 B. C.) has a vessel in cream slip and is without a handle. Of the same date is a small bowl in dark red with black painting and short pinched lip from Kara Tepe, Shahriar. Sialk VI has also a vessel without handle. It is in whitish slip with crimson painting.

This list can be enlarged. Suffice to emphasize once again that vessels with or without handles, and with short or long spouts were current in Iran for thousands of years. Their spread in India might have occurred at different times. This explains the almost complete identity between a copper/bronze vessel from Susa (c. 2500 B. C.) and exhibited in the Teheran Museum and the one found by us at Khurdi in Rajasthan.²¹ The latter is only slightly smaller in size.

That this form was current contemporaneously in varied sub-types and fabrics is best illustrated by Dr. Negahbhan's recent excavations at Marlik, where we have channel-spouted vessels in black burnished ware—one vessel having a very broad spout, without handle,—and also in red ware, but more long or high than wide.

Hence no longer should we regard the occurrence of so many channel-spouted bowls from Phase III-IV at Navdatoli as accidental.

A strong Iranian influence possibly represented by a definite group—ethnic or religious—of people was certainly responsible for its introduction there as well as all over Malwa.

The use or function of this bowl was for a ritual purpose, for pouring libations in a sacrifice or so. This is suggested by its form, for it must be held in the palms of both of the hands and the liquid slowly tipped into the fire (?) Exactly similar vessel with channel-spout further extended by placing it on a stand with a long channel is currently used for offering libations in sacrifice in the Kanyakumari Sthan at Sakori, District Ahmednagar, Maharashtra.

This inference is further supported by the fact that the vessel was painted on the inside base with the figure of a man, with dishevelled hair, and holding long spearlike object in his hand.

Such figures occur on pottery at Sialk, Susa, Bakun and Musyan, and the nearest parallel to the Navdatoli figure is from Musyan (*Archeologie vivante*, p. 20), though I have no means to say at present in what context it appears at Susa. Possibly the dancing figure motif from Navdatoli has a similar significance. And the Journal cited above figures all such human motifs.

RUNNING DOG, OR DOG-LIKE ANIMALS

Comparable too are the striking running animal (dog from Giyan and Bakun) and the similar motif from Chandoli and Nevasa.

THERIOMORPHIC VESSELS

These vessels are found in Iran and elsewhere and earlier attention had been drawn to a vessel from Hissar III, but an identical terracotta figure of a bull on wheel was found in the ruins of the Temple at Nuzi (Starr, 1937, II, pl. 103).

From the ruins also came the breast, an eye, of the goddess *Ishtar*, and figures of the lion and boar, and other objects, all indicating some ritualistic significance. Of the greatest importance are two terracotta plaques overlaid with geometric and conventionalized tree of life design (*Ibid*, p. 131). Almost similar design is found on a pot at Daimabad, and described as symbolized version of a human pair in copulation (Sankalia, *Arthibus Asiae*, Vol. XIII (1969), Fig. 19).

The Temple A was dated to 1475 B. C. as clay tablets bearing a letter from Saushshattar, king of Mitanni was found (Starr, I, p. 122).

Further a figure of mother-goddess, more or less identical with the one from Nevasa, is found in the excavation at Tall-I-Bakun (Langsdorff and McCown, OIP, Vol. LIX, pl. 6, 23 and pl. 7)

From the two objects found in cult association at Nuzi, Yorgon Tepe, near Kirkur, Iraq, and the figure or mother goddess at Hissar, Bakun and elsewhere, and similar objects found at Nevasa, Chandoli, Daimabad, all in Northern Maharashtra, we might say that the kind of cult followed in Western Asia was also practised in prehistoric Maharashtra.

Since the source of the Iranian influence was not direct but very distant and spread over a long time, some thing like a thousand years, what we see today is a feature here and a feature there; though as I have shown elsewhere we can associate certain features with certain linguistic areas, such as, incised spindle whorls with Eastern Rajasthan, footed cups with Navdatoli, and highly carinated pots with vertical spouts with the Godavari Valley; and this from as early as 2000 B. C.

The sub-stratum of these cultural regions might be ethnic, partly indigenous tribes and partly various foreign tribes which might have entered India at various times during a long prehistoric past.

What was the nature of this Iranian influence ? Though we have no other documentary evidence, except the archaeological, which at best is fragmentary, we might say it was something like the Mauryan and the Mughal during the historical period.²² The former was undoubtedly inspired by the Achaeminian emperors' monumental architecture and excellent polish as well as the method of proclaiming the emperors' conquests ; but this Iranian inspiration was completely Indianized, as witness the Asokan edicts with the beautifully polished *dharmachakra* and the lions and other animals seated back to back.

In the same way the Mughals—whose early ancestors had passed through Iran on their way to India, had tasted the Iranian wine had admired the Iranian gardens and the delicate Iranian arts and crafts—introduced all this into Indian life, to a much greater extent than what their predecessors did. The result was the exquisite Mughal art and architecture.

It was something in this way, which cannot be yet fully demonstrated, that Iranian culture—ways of life as illustrated by the peculiar pedestalled pottery at Navdatoli with its specialised designs—fertilized, first the neighbouring region—viz. Afghanistan and Baluchistan, then Sind, Rajasthan and later Saurashtra and Central India and the South.

In every case, the original Iranian impact was modified by the existing people and cultures, but the nature of the modification depended upon the vitality of the indigenous or pre-existing cultures and the force of the newly arrived people or influences. In every case, the resultant product was different from the respective parent cultures. Nevertheless, the ancestry of these influences may be traced, and in this search for the pedigree, it will be found that

- (i) the pre-Harappan cultures of Sind and Rajasthan show considerable affinities with the Iranian and Baluchi.
- (ii) the Harappan exhibits a lot of new features, because it had developed its own—particularly highly specialised—pottery, though some of the traits in latter can be traced back to the Iranian through the pre or proto-Harappan at Amri, Kot Diji and Kalibangan.
- (iii) the post-Harappan and the cultures contemporary with the late Harappan or the closing phases of the Harappan show once again certain Iranian traits. These, however, are seen at their best in the Navdatolian, particularly in its numerous goblets of varied shapes, the channel-spouted bowls, and in the design elements such as;
 - (a) the pot-hook or crook spiral,
 - (b) animals with elongated limbs, and filled up in various ways, first seen in Sialk III5 and Hissar IC,
 - (c) the Buccranian, with a figure of a full-blown flower under one of the horns; first seen in the Hissar IB and Sialk III7, then at the junction of the Kot Dijian and Harappan at Kot Diji and then the unequivocally in several post-Harappan cultures (Prakash, Nagda, etc.)
 - (d) the Zoomorphic figure from Nevasa, and Chandoli (not yet found elsewhere or recognized, for instance at Daima-

bad, or several sites on the Tapi and the Purna and their tributaries in Khandesh, Dhulia, Jalgaon).

- (e) The Mother Goddess with cylindrical or conical stumpy head, and short, outstretched arms, and unspecified lower part of the body).

In the light of this fresh study of the relationship between—I. the Iranian or West Asiatic, II. the pre- or proto-Harappan, III. the Harappan, IV. the post-Harappan Chalcolithic, one has to say that the Harappan influence on the Aharian, Navdatolian and Jorwe-Nevasian, and the distant Neolithic of Brahmagiri, was considerably less than the Iranian. Even a close study of a Russian Scholar²³ has revealed only two or three percent Harappan influence on the Central Indian Chalcolithic. Not only the forms but designs are admitted to be completely different from the Harappan.

The same thing is to be seen in Saurashtra. Here as at Rangpur, the Harappan Culture continued to survive in a degenerated form towards the close of Period II and in Period III. But though the Harappan was not completely wiped out, the force or the character of the new culture is clear. It is seen in the increased and varied types of goblets with a highly carinated sides a feature which was absent in the Harappan. Thus all over Northern, Central and Western (and according to some scholars even in Southern or Peninsular) India, we witness new cultural influences. These are so far best seen in new pottery fabrics, forms and design motifs. According to our study, these show a great affinity with the Iranian, particularly with those from Hissar, Sialk, Susa and Nuzi and to some extent Giyan.

This Iranian influence reached India in several waves, getting modified on the way. Hence it is that we do not find a *cent per cent* Iranian form or design, even at Navdatoli where the Iranian influence seems to be strongest, the resultant product, as I have said above, was like the Maurya or the Mughal, a typical Indian Culture, with a definitely Iranian impact on it.

CONCLUSION

Though thus the Iranian influence is undoubted on the development and even the birth of the Chalcolithic cultures of Rajasthan, Malwa and the Deccan, say between 2000 B. C. and 1000 B. C., still we are not yet in a position to explain everything that occurs in India,

and the route or routes by which the influences have travelled. So far I have failed to find exact parallel to the vertically spouted vessels from Jorwe-Nevasa and elsewhere in Maharashtra, the nearest parallel being a vessel in cream slip, painted in vermilion from Susa, and dated around 2000 B. C.

Nevertheless, the few parallels cited and briefly discussed above have now convinced me that we have to look to Iran and Western Asia for their ultimate origin, though we cannot say who the people were, who brought these ideas to India. The Aryan or Sanskrit-speaking people might be one of these groups. However, there is little doubt that depending upon the original impetus, the people, or ideas once reaching India soon got crystalized into various regional cultures, which we today call Malwa, Khandesh, Vidarbha, Maharashtra and Saurashtra. (Sankalia, *Science Today*, September, 1967).

In every case the indigenous elements have so modified the parent foreign elements that as in the Maurya and the Mughal we cannot designate the resulting cultures as Iranian though the Iranian web is indeed there. This was long suspected owing to the linguistic affinity of Sanskrit with other Indo-European groups of languages, particularly the Avestan. This, almost invisible web is atleast being detected by archaeology as a result of last 20 years' work in the Indian sub-continent.

POST-SCRIPT

Only there were 3/4 objections of which Dr. Niharranjan Ray's objection seems to be more important. But here we have taken due consideration both of the form and the function and, therefore, it is not right that similar comparison has been made without taking into consideration this important point. In fact, the so-called wine-cups are not found in India before the Navdatoli Culture and after. They are absent in the Harappan and they are also absent in the Early Indian Cultures pottery as well. Therefore, both as regards the space and time relationship is concerned, the Navdatoli goblets compare very well with those of Iran in particular and Western Asia in general. With regard to the channel-spouted bowl, it is not right to say that in Iran there are no bowls without handle. In fact, all these objections have been taken into consideration and replied specifically in my article. For instance, the copper bowl from Susa is only slightly smaller than that of Khurdi in Rajasthan. Otherwise it was identical in shape and function with that of Susa dated 2,500 B.C. in Iran. The same thing is true of the various designs to which attention has been drawn by Dr. Sankalia. Only those designs which are peculiar and not found in the Harappan or other cultures have been noted in my article.

NOTES

1. Sankalia, H.D., "New light on the Indo-Iranian or Western Asiatic relations between 1700 B. C.—1200 B. C." in *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXVI (1963), pp. 312-32.
2. *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 2 (1965), p. 129, Fig. 10.
3. Casal, Jean-Marie *Fouilles D'Amri* (For full reference, see below).
4. *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 2 (1965) p. XXXIV (a) Harappan ; (b) Kot Diji Culture.
5. Casal, Jean-Marie, *Fouilles D'Amri* Vol. II, pl. xxvii, A and fig. 115, 10 *ibid*, Vol. I, p. 147.
6. *Ibid*.
7. *Ibid*.
8. *Pakistan Archaeology* (PA), No. 2, pp. 122-25, Fig. 9, No. 28.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
10. See Sankalia, "Socio-economic significance of the Lithic Blade Industry of Navdatoli," *Current Anthropology*, June, 1967, pp. 252-68.
11. Gordon in *PA*, No. 2; p. 123.
12. Casal, Jean-Marie, *Fouilles De Mundigak*. Vol. II, 1961, Figs. 135-136.
13. Coon, Carleton, S. *Seven Caves*, 1957, p. 203. In fact, one witnesses a fairly good development from the Acheulian through the Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic as the few objects discovered by Braidwood from southwest Iran exhibited in the Teheran Museum Show.
14. Ghirshman, *Fouilles De Sialk*, Vol. 1, Pl. LV, & Pl. XCVII.
15. Schmidt, *Excavation at Tepe Hissar*, p. 121 and pl. XVII, and pl. LXIII.
16. Sankalia, H. D. Subbarao, B., and Deo, S. B. *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navdatoli*, 1952-53, Poona-Baroda 1958 pp. 41-65.
17. The technique has been found in the Upper Perigordian in France, See Bordes "Considerations sur la Typologie et les techniques dans le Palaeolithique" *Quarter*, Bd. 18, 1967, p. 44, Fig. 5.
18. See Piggott, Stuart, "Dating the Hissar Sequence, The Indian Evidence", *Antiquity*, Vol. XVII (1943), pp. 169-82 and also *Ancient India*, No. 1 (1946), pp. 8-26, and Wheeler, R. E. M., "Iran and India in Pre-Islamic Times" *Ancient India*, No. 4, 1947-48, pp. 85-103.
19. Khan, *PA*, No. 2, p. 57.
20. Gordon, D.H. in *Iraq*, Vol. XIII. p. 59.
21. Sankalia, *Artibus Asiae*, 1963, p. 316 and Fig. 5.
22. This fact has been pointed out in more detail by Wheeler, R. E. M. in *Ancient India*, No. 4.
23. Shchatenko, A. Ya. "On the origin of the Eneolithic Cultures of Central India" tr. into English by Koichi Inooue and revised by M.A. Konishi in *Cultural Anthropology* No. 1, p. 204.

Central Asia and India during the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic Periods

B. K. THAPAR

1. GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS

BEFORE DISCUSSING THE subject it would perhaps be appropriate to define geographically the areas of our study. At the same time it would also be conceded by all of us that in dealing with such themes as the movement of peoples and ideas, political boundaries have little relevance. By India I would mean the Indo-Pak subcontinent, for it is a feasible unit of study and remains valid as a geographical expression. As for Central Asia, in contemporary Soviet usage, it is taken to mean all the Turkestan area from the Caspian Sea to Lake Balkhash, comprising the territories of Turkmenia, Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan and Kirghiz Republics also the southern part of Kazakhstan Republic. The European term for this area would, however, also include eastern Turkestan and Mongolia. The entire region may roughly be described as comprising these vast basins, elevated and partly drainageless, which extend from east to west through the central half of Asia.

Within this area, stretch the great barren foothills of the Himalayan range, the mighty mountain mass of the Pamris which extends to the Tien Shan on the north and the ice-clad Hindukush on the south. On this range lies the watershed between the drainage areas of the Oxus and the Tarim, and it is this range which demarcates Russian Turkestan from the Chinese.

Now to the lines of communication : The 'Silk Route' connecting the far-away China with the Oxus basin is well-known to all of us. The

lines of communication lead through or past the Pamirs into the Tarim basin. These run both on the north and south of Taklamakan desert and connect Kashgar with Lou-lan. On the southern flank, the routes leading up the valleys of Yarkand river and its tributaries converge upon the Karakoram pass which is the only line of communication giving access to the uppermost valley of the Indus in Ladakh area. There is yet another route through Gilgit and Sarhad connecting Srinagar with Yarkand and Kashgar. On the side of the Indo-Pak sub-continent, there are numerous passes, notably the Khyber, the Bolan and the Gomal, through the inhospitable young folded mountains of the north-west. Over these passes run the routes to Central Asia, China and Persia. These passes come down into the great plains of the Indus basin and in turn run into two regions, viz., Sind and the Punjab. Through these routes great number of peoples and many kinds of external influences have come. The part played by them in the course of Indian History and as arteries for the trade and cultural relations is widely familiar and need not be recounted here.

2. BASIS FOR COMPARATIVE STUDY

A distinguished archaeologist, while commenting upon the interrelationship between the Indus Civilization and the cultures of comparable period in West Asia, remarked that 'ideas have wings'. This is a somewhat tendentious statement and gives rise to the obvious question : can ideas travel without people and if so what is the mechanism of their diffusion ? A closer analysis would show us that ideas can spread from one area to another only with people and not by themselves, otherwise it would mean like working of man's minds under like conditions. Now, in the former situation, they are in fact diffused by trade, by cultural contact and by the movement (migration) of people, while in the latter they are considered to have been evolved separately and developed independently. The conflict between these two views — evolution versus diffusion—does not very much concern us here. In the present scope of this study I would like to analyse the conditions and the levels of economy for determining the agencies or mechanism of diffusion.

In human cultural development, the Neolithic period brought about a momentous social change, marking the appearance of the effective village farming communities. Although there are four distinct traits viz. (i) food production, (ii) stock raising and husbandry, (iii) grinding

of tools, and (iv) manufacture of pottery) associated with this way of life, the effective settlement and subsistence pattern and not the presence of a particular trait is taken into consideration for determining in the economy of a community. The problem of the early development of agriculture is rooted in the environmental and cultural conditions obtaining at the end of the Pleistocene. This development did not take place as a single chain of events in a single small region. It has been suggested that the beginning of food production started in various nuclear areas or life-zones from where it spread outwards. Now, the question arises as to whether the ideas relating to this cultural change and level of economy spread to different areas through the agency of trade or trait infiltration or of movement of people. The answer would perhaps lie in the last mentioned method, for at that functional level of economy trade intercourse would not be required. The most impressive features of the early agricultural manifestations are their apparent lack of contact with one another and the diversity of their responses to differing local resources and opportunities.

Coming to the Chalcolithic Period, we find that the knowledge of metallurgy led to new demands and this together with agriculture created new opportunities for trade, notably in raw materials, finished products and surplus food, and for the growth of specialized craft skills. The self-sufficiency and isolation of the neolithic villages was thus broken, and conditions were ripe where the movement of both ideas and people could take place. An invention like bronze might pass through only a few score individuals socially designated as specialists in, let us say, chalcolithic metallurgy. A distinction, however, has to be maintained between diffusion by way of commercial relations and the propagation of a technique.

Lastly, as archaeologists we should be aware of the pitfalls in studying a single element without considering the different complexes of which it may be a part and in which its value to the whole culture may vary widely.

Against this background the comparable material of the periods under study is discussed below.

3. MATERIAL EVIDENCE

The limited size of this paper does not permit a detailed analysis of all the material concerning this problem. Only the broad outlines are, therefore, enumerated here.

A. The Neolithic Period

A large number of neolithic settlements have been discovered in the steppe regions of Mongolia and Manchuria, as a result of which the basic features of the neolithic of this region have been quite well-defined. Among its characteristic traits are small prismatic and conical cores and micro blades, including perforators and points. P. Teilhard de Chardin had applied, though imprudently, the label 'microlithic' to the neolithic of this region. Recent investigations have revealed that the neolithic of this region is connected with that of Cis-Baikal, Trans-Baikal and Yakutia, thus comprising a single cultural ethnic province which could be labelled Siberian-Mongolian culture. Both on the south and on the east of this area, the neolithic cultures lacked the blades. Louilan, a site located on the International trade-route in the Tarim basin of Chinese Turkestan, and a few other sites in the Lop Nor desert have also yielded neolithic implements. The characteristic traits of the assemblage include the presence of; (i) blades, including fluted cores; (ii) ground stone axes, including perforated ones and adzes, chisels, etc.; and (iii) handmade pottery of two varieties, black and grey.

The neolithic cultures of Soviet Central Asia consist of three main cultural complexes, *viz.* (i) the Djeitun Culture, (ii) the Keltminar Culture and (iii) the Gissar Culture.

The Djeitun culture, with its distribution in south Turkmenia, is characterized by the use of (i) microlithic flint industry, (ii) bone sickle handles (iii) bone implements including needles, (iv) stone axes and querns, and (v) handmade pottery, occasionally painted in reddish brown on a cream background. There was evidence for the domestication of goats and sheep and for the production of barley and wheat. The Djeitun Culture, which is dated to about 6000 B.C., shows links with the early farming settlements of the Near East.

The Keltminar Culture, with its distribution near the Aral Sea, is distinguished by the use of (i) chert microliths (ii) bone implements and (iii) handmade pottery, sometimes bearing incised and stamped decoration. It is dated to about 3000 B. C.

The Gissar Culture, with its distribution in different parts of Tadjikistan and Uzbekistan Republics is marked by the presence of (i) scrapers of chopper-chopping variety, (ii) microliths including

blades and fluted cores; (iii) ground stone axes, including the crescent-shaped sickle, and (iv) bone implements. The evidence for the use of pottery requires further investigations. This culture is dated to about 3000 B.C.

Referring to the position obtaining in India, we find that three principal neolithic culture-complexes—northern, southern and eastern—have been determined. Of these, our understanding of the content as also of the chronological span of the eastern one is still very insecure and fragmentary. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence to suggest Chinese and South-East Asian origin for the specialized tool series which these industries represent. The Eastern Neolithic Culture, therefore, does not fall within the scope of our present study. As regards the Southern Neolithic Culture, which is dated to circa 2400-1000 B.C., a hypothesis has been advanced that the grey burnished ware, one of the principal ceramic industries of the Culture, shows a broad similarity with that of Hissar, Turang Tepe and Shah Tepe in north-eastern Iran. In the absence of more positive indications of the occurrence of this specific ware along a projected route and with defined traits, the hypothesis seems to be untenable.

The Northern Neolithic Culture, exemplified by the sequence at Burzahom, has a distinctive assemblage which singles it out from the other Neolithic Cultures of India. Two phases of occupation have been recognized. In Phase I, the beginning of which is dated to about 2300 B.C., the material culture included : (i) coarse grey or black burnished pottery, often with mat-impressed bases; (ii) bone tools, including awls, needles and harpoons; (iii) pecked and ground stone axes (iv) ring-stones. The inhabitants lived in pits, dug into the *karewa* soil. In the succeeding phase, which seems to have continued till about 1400 B. C., the pit-dwellings gave place to structures built on ground. Other innovations included the introduction of the potter's wheel. Towards the end of this phase came the knowledge of metallurgy (a single arrow-head of copper) and pierced rectangular or semi-lunar knives known as harvesters. To this phase also belong human and animal burials. The absence of stone blade industry throughout the two phases of occupation is significant.

Most of the traits of this Culture, viz., lunar knives, pit dwelling, perforated celts, are paralleled on sites in central and northern China. We have already drawn attention to the occurrence of the grey ware

in neolithic association, on sites in the Tarim basin which shows a blend of east and west.

B. The Chalcolithic Period

For the Chalcolithic period the discussion is being restricted to the affinities of the three cultures, *viz.* the Harappa Culture, the Central Indian Chalcolithic Culture (post-Harappan in time-range) and the Steppe Bronze or Tazabagyab Culture.

Recent researches in the Soviet Central Asia have brought to light some similarities between the objects of the Harappa Culture and those obtained from Bronze Age sites in south Turkmenia, assignable to Namazga V (circa 2100 B.C.) which is associated with the formation of urban civilization. Analogies can be seen in (i) a seal showing a triple-headed beast, (ii) ivory sticks with incised circles on the sides, (iii) segmented faience beads, (iv) bronze flat dagger blades without a mid rib, (v) bronze handled-pan (vi) solid wheels of the terracotta toy-carts and (vii) such typical pottery forms as perforated cylindrical jars and dishes-on-stand. These similarities can be explained by the movement of ideas through restricted or occasional trade. It may be recalled that the Harappan trade with the cities of ancient Elam and Mesopotamia, being mainly through a maritime route, was on a much larger scale as evidenced by the occurrence of numerous inscribed seals of Indus type of origin and other characteristically Harappan objects in the latter region. The existence of an overland trade-route connecting Indus plains with south Turkmenia is now suggested. In this connexion, the recent discovery of a pre-Harappan occupation near Taxila, holding out possibilities of the extension of the Indus Civilization in this region, assumes further significance.

The Chalcolithic Cultures of Central India have recently been examined with a view to ascertaining their already postulated relationship with the Chust Culture of the Farghana Valley. A closer analysis has shown that the component elements of the cultures in their respective regions are quite different. Two factors stand out more prominently (i) the occurrence of iron in the Chust Culture as against the use of only copper or bronze in the Central Chalcolithic Culture and (ii) the use of hand-made pottery in the Chust Culture as against the wheel made one in the Central Indian Chalcolithic Culture. Besides, the chronological span of each is different—(1750-1000 B.C. for the Central Indian as against 1100-750 B.C. for the Chust Culture).

Lastly, we may review the position of the steppe cultures of the late Bronze and early Iron Age periods. Two such cultures concern us here, *viz.* the Steppe Bronze Age or the Tazabagyab and the Kairakkum Culture. The time bracket for these cultures extends from the middle of the second millenium B.C. to the first quarter of the first. Numerous burials belonging to these Cultures have been excavated in southern Tajikistan by Soviet archaeologists who affirm that the Steppe Bronze Age Culture might be related to the great wave of Indo-European, Indo-Iranian and Iranian tribes. Grey ware, made on potter's wheel, bronze daggers, knives, mirrors stone and bone-arrowheads were obtained from the graves. The ceramics, however, were found to be similar to those of Namazga VI. A recent examination of the materials at Dushanbeh showed us that none of the shapes of the pottery belonging to Steppe Bronze Age Culture shows analogies in either the Painted Grey Ware of the Ganga-Yamuna *doab* or the Gandhara Grave Culture of the Swat valley, both of which claim association with some wave of Aryans, and both of which represent cultures of the interregnum following the disappearance of the Indus Civilization.

4. CONCLUSION

It would be seen that the similarity between the assemblages of Northern Neolithic Culture of India and the Neolithic Cultures of Central and North China would have resulted from the movement of people and culture into the sub-continent from the north, perhaps through the passes connecting these areas. The hypothesis for the similarity of the burnished grey ware of the Southern Neolithic Culture with that from Hissar and Shah Tepe, etc., if substantiated, would also form a case for the movement of people through perhaps the Gomal Pass, leading down from northern Baluchistan. In studying the spread of the neolithic cultures, the geographical and ecological background and the various stimuli, *viz.* of pressure and of new-ground have to be taken into consideration.

During the chalcolithic stage of economy, however, trade and exchange led to the movement of ideas, as demonstrated by the occurrence, in south Turkmenia, of objects of Harappan affinities without seriously affecting the pattern of culture obtaining in that region. In studying such interrelationship we should determine the tokens of affiliation.

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The appearance of the Indo-Europeans and Indo-Aryans in Anatolia

KEMAL BALKAN

CUNEIFORM RECORDS FROM the Near East, that is to say from Mesopotamia, Syria and Anatolia, dating back to the first half of the second Millenium before Christ, inform us about the movement of peoples of different ethnic and geographical origins.

The majority of these peoples entering Near East were Indo-Europeans some of whom are recognized as Indo-Aryans or simply Indians.

Restricting myself to Anatolia and to its close neighbours in the South, I should like to give a resume about the new elements in this area just mentioned.

Let me begin by mentioning the nature of the so-called 'Cappadocian' or 'Kultepe tablets', the cunei-form documents, left by Assyrian merchants who established trade relations between Anatolia and Assyria, between the years 1950-1750 Before Christ.

We learn from these documents which were of mercantile character and written in a semitic language (old Assyrian) that Central Anatolia was populated by non-Indo-Europeans. They were named later by Hittites as Hattians, by modern scholars as Proto-Hattians.

From the same records—especially from proper and geographical names, names of deities, and appellatives—we also learn that an Indo European infiltration into Anatolia had already begun. The appearance

of these Early Indo-Europeans is to be dated between 1950-1850 B. C.

For the period between 1700-1200 B. C. Hittite cuneiform records found at Hattusas, the capital of Hittites, help us to follow the ethnic composition of this country. For the same purpose we can use another type of records, namely the Hittite Hieroglyphic documents which shed light to some extent from 1300 until 700 B. C. on the population of Anatolia.

Now come back to the beginning of the second Millenium B. C. Among the Indo-European invaders the following ethnic groups have been recognized :

The Hittites : Traces of the Hittite language found in Kultepe tablets indicate that some clans of this people were already in Anatolia at the beginning of the second Millenium B. C.

Increasing knowledge of Hittite language has clarified the question regarding the exact position of this language within the Indo-European family.

It was observed that the main features of the so-called 'satem' languages, especially Indo-Aryan (change of the original *k* to *s*; *qu* to *k*; and *e* and *o* to *a*) are not to be found in Hittite. It was generally agreed upon that Hittite belonged to the 'CENTUM' group (which comprises Latin, Greek, Celtic and various Germanic languages)

Second Indo-European language traced in 'Cappadocian', tablets (between 1950-1850 B.C.) is Luwian. Towards the end of the second Millenium, Luwian, apparently replaced Hittite, to which it was closely related.

The so-called Hieroglyphic language, the records of which increased in number after 1300 B. C.; was the dialect of Luwian which actually replaced Hittite in Anatolia (Another dialect of Luwian developed to be called the Lycian during the classical epoch)

Together with Hittites and Luwians we encounter another Indo-European element in cappadocian tablets. Some of the scholars (Land-berger) named it as Ahshu language—because of the fact that *ahshu*, "meaning perhaps 'son' appears frequently in proper names. (Other elements in personal names are : *ahshushana* 'daughter' ?;—*uman* 'man', *sar* 'woman'.

Around the middle of the second Millenium the elements of Ahshu language disappeared from the scene to be replaced by another, again tentatively, called by some scholars (Landsberger) as Muwa-language *muwa* 'noble son'; *muwati* 'noble daughter?', *ziti* 'man').

It is maintained that there was a close relationship between this Muwa-language and that of the Indo-Aryans or Mitanni, a fact which has to be explained by close contacts during prehistoric periods and by linguistical affinity.

It is a curious fact to observe that invasion of Anatolia by Muwa people, apparently coincided with the so-called 'dark age' of Anatolia which falls between 1600-1400 B. C. The invasion of Muwa-people seems to have also coincided with the following events in Anatolia and in neighbouring countries.

- (a) A new state was founded in Kizwatna (Cilicia the plain of Adana) in the South and Southwestern Anatolia by Indo-Aryans around 1500 B. C. The rulers of this country clearly carry Indo-Aryan names such as *Pariya—watri*; *shuna—shura*; and, *patta-tishshu*.
- (b) In southeastern Anatolia and in Northern Mesopotamia, that is to say in HANIGALBAT, at the same period (1500 B. C.) the state of MITANNI was founded, again, by Indo-Aryans or Indians (some of the names of the Kings of Mitanni; *Kirta. shuttarna parsatatar, saushatatar, Artatama, Tu (i) shratta*).

Shortwhile after the assassination of the Hittite King Murshili I (1550 B. C.) Indo-Aryan nobles invaded not only Kizwatna (cilicia) in Anatolia, Hanigalbat in Northern Mesopotamia, but they also took over in Syria upto the frontiers down to Egypt. These nobles, ruling over countries or cities, were called Mariannu.

(Some of the Indo-Aryan elements from these regions are as follows : *zana, zina* 'noble son' (compared with skt *jana* 'man', 'crace' *zani* 'noble daughter'—ashur (a) 'Mann' (The identity with skt *cura* 'hero' is denied)

—*tarna; tatar, —rata, —ruta,*
Uantar—,Intar, Mitar (Mitra), etc;

The fact that a minority of Indo-Aryans dominated and ruled the state of Mitanni of which the majority of population were Hurrians, was known for a long time. Their superiority in power made them be

accepted as rulers by Hurrians, who were from a different ethnical origin.

The Indo-Aryans, just mentioned, had no relationship with the Indo-Europeans in Anatolia under Hittites. The appearance of the Indo-Aryans in the Near East has to be connected with the immigration of Iranians to South-western Iran and Indians to India.

From a treaty concluded between Hittites and Mitanni we know that the rulers of Mitanni worshipped Indo-Aryan deities such as *Indra*, *Mitra*, *Varuna* and the *Nasatya* twins. On the other hand, as is well-known, these deities appear with the same names in Vedic Pantheon.

It is not yet proved whether the deity Agni occurring in Hittite rituals, is identical with Agni the Indian fire god.

The archive of Bogazkoy disclosed the clue which explains the superiority of Indo-Aryans over other ethnical groups in the area into which they immigrated.

A very well preserved cuneiform text in Hittite, consisting of four tablets, reveal the instruction of a certain KIKKULI of the land of Mitanni on the training and acclimatization of horses. The horses were being properly trained to be harnessed to war chariots used in Hittite army. Hence we must draw the conclusion that the Indian clan advancing westwards brought with them their special knowledge of horse breeding, war chariots and that it was from them that the art was learnt by the peoples of Western Asia.

At the end of my talk allow me to mention the terminology used by Kikkul of Mitanni in his instruction of horse training.

As is well known, technical terms mentioned in this text are seen to contain vocabulary closely related to Sanskrit, the ancient speech of the Aryans of North India. They are :

| | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <i>aika-wartanna</i> | 'one turn' compare Sanskrit, | <i>eka vartana-m</i> 'one turning'; |
| <i>Tera-wartanna</i> | 'three turns' Cf. skt. | <i>tri vartana-m</i> 'three turnings'; |
| <i>Satta-wartanna</i> | 'seven turns'; Cf. skt | <i>sapta vartana-m</i> 'seven turnings'; |
| <i>Nawoertanna</i> | 'nine turns', Cf. skt | <i>nava vartana-m</i> 'nine turnings'. |

DISCUSSION

A. L. BASHAM : I should like to know if I have understood Prof. Balkan right. He gives the story of the tablets and so on. It seems that these people who brought these horse-training terms came from India. Were they actually from the Indian sub-continent or were they Aryans who had re-migrated to the West Asia, or were they Aryans on this way to West Asia or to India or were they some sort of a branch who branched off from the main hordes. What is his feeling about this ?

K. BALKAN : Aryans together with Indians who were living on the Steppes or the highlands of Iran around 1,500 B. C. Then a group went to Southern Iran. Another group went to India whereas small clan advanced westwards towards Mediterranean. So they did not come from India but they were on their way to India.

N. RAY : In what context these words "*aika wartanna*", "*Tera wartanna*" appear ?

K. BALKAN : They were used in connection with the training of horses for Hittite army.

G. M. BONGARD-LEVIN : I want to ask one question. Will you please tell me what proofs do you have to connect these Indo-Aryans with the Aryans who came to India ?

K. BALKAN : I mentioned that there was a muwa language. That language was before 1600-1700 B. C., and it was mixed with Indo-aryan elements. We have proper names half muwa and half Indo-Aryan showing infiltration by the early Indo-Aryans. But during that time the Aryans themselves were on their way to India. So they must have separated from the main group around 1500 B. C., and went westwards. They established their superiority over the people there and ruled them for a few centuries.

B. N. MUKHERJEE : Will you please elucidate the statement which you have made in your paper ? "The Archive of Bogazkoy disclosed the clue which explains the superiority of Indo-Aryans over other ethnical groups in the area into which they immigrated."

K. BALKAN : As I said they were a clan. They were not many in number. They were ruling over the people who had been in the country before 2000 B. C. Though they were so limited in number,

they were able to govern all those people who were highly sophisticated. But how were these ancient civilizations subjugated by these people? They must have had some technical superiority. They had these war-chariots drawn by horses and that changed the whole situation in the Middle-East at that time.

R. S. SHARMA : Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we could widen the context on which this Aryan problem is being discussed because the main context here is linguistic. Can we widen the scope and take into account archaeological factors also? For, in India we have been chasing the Aryans archaeologically for the last so many years and we have not been able to establish their identity. Many archaeologists are present in this gathering. We have as many as a dozen theories about the archaeological identification of the Aryans in India. But I am thinking at the moment in terms of archaeological identification of the Indo-Aryans in Western Asia in Anatolia, and what could be the possible material elements which could be associated with the presence of the Aryans in this area. Of course, horse chariots have been mentioned. But did we really discover parts of chariots in Anatolia? Have we really discovered the remains of horses and so on in Anatolia archaeologically? Of course, it is also suggested that one of the ways for identifying the Aryans archaeologically is the association of iron implements with them. Of course, for that the Hittite evidence is given. But I would like to have some archaeological evidence regarding the appearance of Indo-Aryans in Western Asia, and if we have some evidence, how do we correlate this archaeological evidence with the linguistic evidence that we have?

CHAIRMAN : This is a very vast question and we should have a separate conference for this purpose. But I would like Dr. Balkan to answer very briefly the point about archaeological evidence.

K. BALKAN : Very briefly, we have certainly archaeological evidence in Anatolia. But first of all we pay attention to these texts. After that will come the archaeological evidence. First, if we have written documents, it is enough for us to judge. But I can assure that in Anatolia we have plenty of the remains of that period.

G. M. BONGORD-LEVIN : It was a very interesting report from Dr. Balkan. We should be very careful in connecting these Indo-Aryans in Mesopotamia with Indians who came to India itself. The linguistic evidence is clear. They were a clan, and the Indo-Aryan dialect of

this group was closely connected with the Aryans. But it was differentiated from the group who came to India. I also want to stress that this period—1800 to 1400 B. C.—was a period of their spreading. So it was a period when the Indo-Aryans were differentiated from the Iranians because here we have got not Indo-Iranian position, but we have clearly got the Indian position. But it was not actually India, but we have got all their positions in Rig Veda. The two main problems are : by which way these people came to India—directly from Anatolia or from Caucasus and northern Afghanistan; and the second problem is: Can we or can we not connect these Anatolian Aryans with the spreading of the Aryans to Iran and other places. These two problems are not there now, but we should be very careful in identifying any tribe.

K. MENGES : My point has partly been answered, but I want to say something definitely. The material shows that it was an Indian dialect of the ancient Indo-Aryans and not Iranians. We have clear evidence of linguistic facts which show that they were connected with the ancient Indo-Aryans. But how did they emigrate to Anatolia ? This infiltration problem cannot be solved as long as we do not know the original homes of Indo-Aryans and as long as we do not know whether the Indo-Aryans came to the sub-continent in one way or in two or more ways. But the linguistic material is irrefutable.

CHAIRMAN : Thank you Prof. Balkan.

Rapporteur's Report for Theme-I (Sessions I & II)

S. P. GUPTA

THE FIRST SESSION of the Conference started in the morning of the 11th of February, 1969 with A. Ansari of Afghanistan in the Chair. In this session only two papers could be read; one by S.K. Chatterjee dealing with the movement of languages in Central Asian countries during the prehistoric times and the second by S.P. Gupta dealing with the movement of ideas and peoples in the Old Stone Age. The second session started in the afternoon with S.K. Chatterjee in the Chair. In this session three papers were read—two by H.D. Sankalia and one by B.K. Thapar. All the three papers dealt with the pre and protohistoric periods.

Chatterjee gave a general background of the geographical, racial and linguistic divisions of the vast area between the Mediterranean countries on the one hand and Japan on the other. He then traced the movement of peoples of different language groups in the prehistoric times and showed the influence of one over the other. He particularly emphasized the impact of the primitive Indo-European speech on the languages of Central Asia.

In this connection the question of the relationship between the Dravidian languages and the Uralo-Altaiic languages was raised by K. Menges. A.L. Basham also raised the question of the relationship between the Basque and the Dravidian languages. In the discussion Bira, Lokesh Chandra, G.M. Bongard-Levin, B.N. Mukherjee and others participated.

The paper presented by S.P. Gupta tried to show that the relations between Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India go back to the Old Stone Age, anywhere between 200,000 years and 50,000 years from now. He specifically quoted the astonishing similarity that exists between the Soan culture of the Himalayan region and the Borykashgan and Tokaly cultures of Central Asia. He tried to trace the different stages of the development of the Soan culture and their relationship with the similar stages of the Old Stone Age cultures in some of the other countries of Central Asia. G.R. Sharma, however, felt that both Soviet Central Asia and India formed a single unit during the Old Stone Age. In reply, Gupta pointed out that his observations were correct but a single culture complex could normally arise at different places simultaneously and that, too, in such a small homogeneous geographical entity. Movement of ideas and peoples certainly did exist behind the cultural similarity between the two regions even in the Old Stone Age. H.D. Sankalia, B.K. Thapar, and A.L. Basham also participated in the discussion.

In the first paper presented by H.D. Sankalia it was shown that the movement of ideas and peoples continued even in the Middle Stone Age, between 39,000 and 30,000 years from now. He indicated that the Acheulian Mousterian complex of Hither Asia and Central Asia found their entrance in Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. He preferred to use the term 'Middle Palaeolithic' for this complex which was questioned by B.K. Thapar and S.P. Gupta. Gupta thought that there was not sufficient evidence as yet to regard the Indian Middle Stone Age industry as Neanderthaloid. Thapar enquired whether it was proper to change the name from Middle Stone Age to Middle Palaeolithic. Sankalia in reply said that he has sufficient evidence, as discussed fully in the paper, to do so. Regarding its character, he informed that the large collections in the Deccan College (Poona) were studied by Prof. Boriskovsky and it was his view that there was sufficient Levallois element in the Middle Stone Age industries of India to regard it as comparable to that of Europe. He further argued that, as admitted by several scholars, there was no uniformity and, therefore, if there were 70 per cent or more of elements in the Indian Middle Stone Age, it could be compared with that of similar industries from France, Palestine and Central Asia. However, he agreed that, unless we get actual human remains, it will not be proper to regard it as the work of Neanderthaloid Man, although there is no reason why we should not expect a Neanderthaloid element in India.

B. K. Thapar showed in his paper the continuance of the relationship between India and Central Asia in the succeeding periods of Neolithic and Bronze ages. He presented the case of Burzahom Neolithic culture and the Harappa culture to indicate the cultural relationship between the two countries during the 3rd and 2nd millennia B. C. He, however, did not agree with Dr. Zadneprovsky's views regarding the relationship between the Chust culture of the Farghana valley and the Indian Chalcolithic culture of Malwa. A. L. Basham, R. C. Agrawala, S. P. Gupta, G. M. Bongard-Levin, G. R. Sharma and others took part in the discussion.

In his second paper, H. D. Sankalia drew our attention to the archaeological evidence from his excavations at Navdatoli and other chalcolithic sites in India and from some of the sites in Iran—e.g., Gian, Tepe, Hissar, Nuz—to show that during the 2nd millennium B. C. a wave of the Iranian people came to India, and that these people might have belonged to one of the Aryan waves coming to India. While opinion differed on the latter suggestion, the former found support from some quarters. N. Ray, S. P. Gupta, G. M. Bongard-Levin, B. N. Mukherjee and others participated in the discussion.

N. Ray raised a very fundamental question of methodology, when he pointed out that a mere formal similarity could be deceptive. He was afraid that Sankalia had mixed up, in course of his argumentation, functional similarities with formal similarities, and stylistic similarity with the similarity of shape. Prof. Sankalia, however, reiterated his view point, stating that, while comparing the objects he had taken into due consideration both their functional and formal aspects.

On the whole, the papers and discussions brought out three things very clearly :

First, that while considering Central Asia culturally the present-day political boundaries are often misleading. It should include countries like Mongolia, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and China, besides Soviet Central Asia.

Secondly, the movement of ideas and peoples in the Central Asian countries goes back to the Old Stone Age and does not start only in the

second century B. C. Further, that this was a continuous process seen throughout the major periods of pre- and protohistory.

Finally, in order to appreciate this process in a correct historical perspective, it is essential that more work is done in the field of pre and protohistoric research, for which close collaboration of scholars of different Central Asian countries is necessary.

SECTION II
Ancient Period

India and Central Asia

Historical-Cultural contacts in Ancient Times

G. M. BONGARD-LEVIN

HISTORICAL-CULTURAL CONTACTS between Central Asia and India can be traced back to the hoary past, when these two major regions of the East were seats of original cultures and centres of two of the world's earliest civilisations. During certain phases of their history, when some areas of Central Asia and India became part of the same state formations, cultural and economic ties between them were particularly strong. Many aspects of these ties have come into prominence in recent years following archaeological excavations in Central Asia and India. Large-scale investigations of archaeological sites conducted by Soviet researchers in Central Asia have brought to light many previously unknown cultures, ancient cities and settlements; new trends of cultural exchange have been traced.

These researches have also made it possible to solve certain general problems of historical-cultural contacts between India and Central Asia and some specific problems.

Archaeological data reveal a certain typological affinity between the cultures of South Tajikistan and the Soan culture of North-West India as early as in the Palaeolithic. In the Neolithic many territories of Central Asia and North India were included in the vast area where similar agricultural cultures prevailed; similar processes of social development occurred in the area, giving rise to urban civilisations and states.

New researches by Soviet archaeologists in South Turkmenia have brought to light the existence of ties between the towns of the Indus

Valley and the settlements of South Turkmenia in the period of the mature Harappa.² Some of the finds from South Turkmenia have counterparts in the Harappa culture, e. g. metal and ivory articles, segmented faience beads, pottery. Apart from objects imported from India (ivory articles, beads) there are those bearing unmistakable traces of Indian influence—above all, a silver seal in the shape of a three-headed monster (analogous representations occur on Harappa seals).³ There are also the South Turkmenian teracottas which resemble those manufactured by the Indus people. We do not know yet how these contacts materialised and whether they were direct or indirect,⁴ but the existence of links between Central Asia and India at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennium B. C. is beyond doubt. Researchers are still confronted with the task of establishing the specific features and the trend of the cultural influence exerted by Central Asia on the Indus Civilisation; in all probability, this was a reciprocal process.

Contacts between Central Asia and India apparently existed also in the period immediately after the florescence of the Indus towns. Some of the Soviet archaeologists are inclined to see traces of affinity between the post-Harappa Jhangar culture, discovered in Chanhu-Daro above the Jhukar level and in several Sind sites, and the cultures of Central Asia of the period of so-called barbarous occupation.⁵

The problem of the "Aryan invasion" of India, i. e., of the coming and spreading of Indo-Aryan tribes in North India, is still a much discussed issue. Researchers' opinions vary as to the ancient homeland of the Indo-Iranians and the routes along which the Indo-Aryans came to India. Some name Central Asia as the starting-point of the Indo-Aryan migration; others think that the Indo-Aryans reached India from the west, for they believe them to have passed through the Caucasus. Irrespective of how this moot question is decided, it is possible to speak of the existence of certain ties between Central Asia and North India in the post-Harappa epoch.

The era of the Achaemenian State and of Alexander the Great should be regarded as a special phase in the history of relations between Central Asia and India. Some regions of Central Asia (Bactria, Soghd, Parthia, Khorezm) and territories of North West India (the Gandhara region and the Indus territories) became parts of the same empire. We know from Greek sources that there were Indian soldiers in the Achaemenian army, into which men from Central Asia were also

drawn. Reciprocal relations were greatly stimulated at the time of the campaigns of Alexander the Great, when Central Asian regions and large areas of North West India became a part of his empire.

In the 2nd century B. C. when the Saka (in Indian sources, Saka) tribes migrated from Bactria to North India via the Pamirs, they carried with them elements and traditions of Central Asian culture. There are, for example, the distinctive iron swords discovered at Taxila, which apparently can be traced back to Central Asian tribes, and specific disc-shaped bronze mirrors, which were spread in Central Asia.⁶

But, of course, ancient relations between Central Asia and India reached their zenith in the Kushan period, with the rise of the Kushan Empire incorporating many territories of Central Asia and a considerable part of North India.

Judging by the inscriptions of that period, men from Central Asia went to live in India; they embraced Buddhism and even held official posts. A Kushan inscription from Taxila mentions the building of the Buddhist *chaitya* by a Bactrian. Inscriptions from Sarnath mention Vanaspara and Kharapallana—two Kshatrapas who were Buddhist donors. The name XAPOBAAANO occurs on a Kushan gem with an inscription in Bactrian letters (published by A. Cunningham); this suggests a comparison with the name Kharapallana, mentioned in the Sarnath inscription⁷ and indicates its Bactrian origin. The same apparently holds true for the other name, Vanaspara-Bactrian (Wanaspar from *Wanas-para*, “appealing for victory”).

The Kushan sculptures from Mathura show the influence of Central Asian traditions as concerns weapons, clothing, etc. A case in point is the distinctive Indo-Scythian helmet worn by the statues of kings from Mathura⁸—a head-dress unusual for India but typical of Central Asia.⁹

The Kushan pantheon, amply represented on Kushan coins, attests to the spread of Zoroastrianism (current at that time in Central Asia) and its co-existence with the Indian religions of Buddhism and Sivaism.

In the early period of the Kushan State, the main direction of cultural exchange was from Central Asia to India. Indian influence was little felt at the time; it was later, in connection with the spread of Buddhism, that the impact of India's cultural traditions became quite

substantial. This is clearly seen when studying the art of Kushan Bactria.

A few years ago, the art of Kushan Bactria was discussed merely in terms of its imitation of or departure from the Gandhara school, which was considered to be the sole and all-embracing school of Kushan art and was often regarded as purely Buddhistic in character. The art of Central Asia was sometimes proclaimed to be a cross between Indian and Graeco-Roman traditions, with a superposition of barbarian elements.¹⁰

The discoveries made by Soviet researchers, primarily by G. A. Pugachenkova at Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe (South Uzbekistan), induced a radical revision of this appraisal of the origin and character of Kushan art. We can now speak of the existence of a distinctive, original Bactrian school of Kushan art,¹¹ which arose independently of India's Gandhara school and before the latter took final shape. Moreover, the Bactrian school, with a marked secular stream in it, exerted a telling influence on the formation of the Gandhara school and of Kushan art as a whole. Later, in connection with the spread of Buddhism, the influence of Indo-Buddhist traditions could be traced both in the art of Kushan Bactria and the whole of Central Asia. These processes are illustrated by the monuments of Khalchayan, Dalverzin-tepe, the Buddhist monuments of Termez (Kara-tepe) and the reliefs of Airtam.

The most striking of the figures of the Airtam frieze is that of the harp player. S. F. Oldenburg has suggested that the musicians depicted on the frieze represent the *pancamahusabda*, or Five Great Sounds of Indian mythology. G. A. Pugachenkova thinks that it is a reflection of the *Parinirvana jataka*.¹² The Airtam frieze does personify the influence of India's cultural traditions (specifically those of Mathura and Gandhara), but it is undoubtedly based on local traditions, of features on the Bactrian school.

A comparison of sculptures from Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe yields interesting results. The figures from Khalchayan are highly realistic portrait sculptures, untouched as yet by the influence of Buddhist traditions. The statues from Dalverzin-tepe, where a Buddhist shrine was discovered, date from a later period and they illustrate the evolution of Bactria's local artistic traditions inseparably linked with Hellenistic and Indian traditions. Particular interest attaches not to the

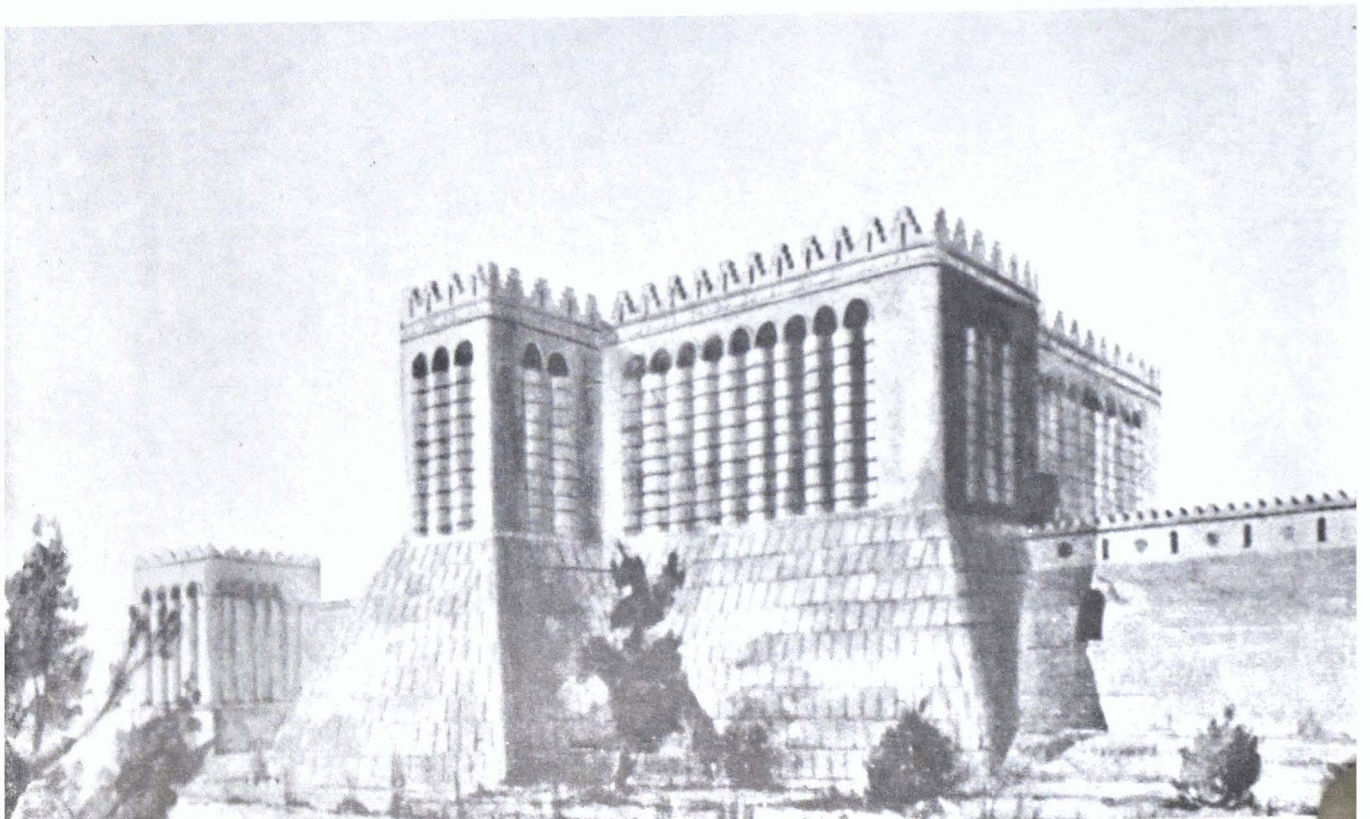


1. The head of Bodhi-
sattva from the
Buddhist Monastery
at Adzina—tepe.

2. The Varaksha Palace
Reconstruction.

1

2





3. The fragment of Airtam frieze—the girl playing lute.

4. The Buddhist relief from Jerneer





5. The Head of the Kushan Prince from Khalchayan.

Buddhist personages from Dalverzin-tepe but to the statues representing secular characters. The Buddha and the Bodhisattvas are fashioned in accordance with the canon as interpreted by the Gandhara school,¹³ while the secular personages are treated in keeping with the traditions of local art. Similarly to Khalchayan, these are portrait sculptures—but the treatment is more generalised. According to G. A. Pugachenkova, Dalverzin-tepe indicates the beginning of the idealisation of characters.¹⁴ The date of Dalverzin-tepe coincides with the period when Buddhism penetrated to Kushan Bactria.¹⁵

G. A. Pugachenkova makes the perfectly correct conclusion that in the first centuries before our era India did not play any substantial part in the formation of Bactrian architecture and sculpture. At that time it was Bactria and Eastern Parthia that produced the basic influence which, blending with the purely Indian artistic tradition, affected the formation of the so-called Gandhara school of sculpture in India. But in the first centuries of our era, under the Great Kushan, a reverse process was taking place, when the Gandhara school with its life-giving Buddhist conception over-whelmed the art of Tukharistan.¹⁶

This second stage is well illustrated by the excavations of Kara-tepe (led by B. Y. Stavisky).

The Buddhist monastery discovered at Kara-tepe is a convincing proof of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia, which it reached from India, its homeland. The architecture of this cave monastery, the finds of a number of objects (lids ornamented with lotus flowers, chatras, etc.) as well as inscriptions in Brahmi and Kharosthi indicate clearly the influence of Indian traditions and Indian culture (thus, cave structures are not typical of Central Asia, but they occurred widely in ancient India).¹⁷

At the same time, one should bear in mind that the local population creatively assimilated outside traditions, including the Indian. This is seen, for example, in the layout of the structures (the building of processional corridors—a characteristic feature of the local building canon). The creative principle in assimilating Indian, Buddhist traditions is also illustrated by epigraphic data.

Not only did the adepts of Buddhism in Bactria translate Buddhist texts from Sanskrit, but they gave their own interpretations.¹⁸ Local versions of the Indian scripts were elaborated, although the marked affinity between the inscriptions of Kara-tepe and certain Indian inscrip-

tions indicates the penetration of the traditions of writing directly from India, without any intermediary stages.¹⁹

Written sources give us an idea of the important part played by Bactria's Buddhist monks in the development and dissemination of Buddhism. According to the Buddhist tradition, Ghosaka, a Tukhara, was one of the compilers of a commentary (*Vibhasa*) to *Sutra-Vinaya*,—and *Abhidharma-pitakas* which were approved by the Buddhist Council in Purushapura at the time of Kanishka. *Abhidharmamrta-sastra* was also attributed to him. Chinese sources credit Dharmamitra, who was born in Termez (Tarmita) with having supplied a commentary for the "*Vinayasutra*". He translated works of the *Vaibhasika* school into Tokharian.²⁰

As we proceed from the above, it appears that during the period under review the *Vaibhasika* school gained ground in Central Asia (or, more precisely, in Bactria-Tukharistan). This school was connected with the *Sarvastivada*.

Central Asia played an important role in the dissemination of Buddhism in the Far East. There were many monks from Central Asia in China in the first centuries A. D., who translated and annotated Buddhist texts, actually introducing Buddhism to the Chinese.²¹

B. A. Litvinsky has correctly noted that the sojourn of many monks from Central Asia in the countries of the Far East—monks engaged in translation and annotation work—testified to the wide spread of Buddhism in their homeland, Central Asia.²²

Of great importance is the discovery at Kara-tepe of Sanskrit inscriptions in Brahmi and Kharosthi. These inscriptions prove beyond doubt that men from India found their way into the area around Termez, bringing, in addition to the teaching of the Buddha, elements of Indian culture and learning.

An analysis of the fragmentary inscriptions on Kara-tepe pottery has led J. Harmatta to the conclusion that there were adepts of the Buddhist schools of *Vaibhasika* and *Mahasanghika* in Bactria in the Kushan period²³ (the present writer does not believe this conclusion to be fully warranted).

Cultural exchange between India and Central Asia continued to develop in the post-Kushan period, too—true, on a smaller scale. New

researches by Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia give us a better idea of this exchange, supplementing the evidence of written sources known before.

Of particular interest are excavations at Pianjikent, Varakhsha and Adzhina Tepe.

Excavations at Pianjikent, famous for its remarkable painting, have yielded frescoes that have parallels in Indian art—*e. g.*, the fragment showing people playing dice, reminiscent of a Bharhut relief and the Ajanta frescoes.²⁴

In 1962 a composition was discovered at Pianjikent representing a blue dancer, his body draped in a tiger skin, with a trident behind him. A. Pelenitsky is justified in thinking that the blue dancer is traceable to the iconography of Siva, the Hindu god who is often depicted *nataraja*; this is connected with the legend of how Siva became *nilakantha* (blue-necked).²⁵

Another outstanding find is the painting of the Varakhsha Palace (excavations, there, were for many years led by V. Shishkin).²⁶ The main point of interest is the so-called Red Hall in the king's palace, decorated with a hunting scene. The king rides an elephant, his men are with him, they fight ferocious animals (tigers). There have been special references in the literature to the effect that the idea of hunting on elephant-back was apparently borrowed from India, since this mode of hunting was not known in Central Asia.²⁷

The scene has some points of similarity with the frescoes of Ajanta (similar clothing, ornaments, etc). Yet this is undoubtedly Central Asian art rooted in local artistic traditions, with parallels in other Central Asian schools (Pianjikent, Balalyk-tepe). These traditions may stem even from the Kushan period, from an earlier trend in the art of Bactria-Tukharistan.

Central Asian sculpture, too, merits attention inasmuch as some of its specimens undoubtedly demonstrate the influence of Indian culture, of Indian schools of sculpture. Wooden sculptures, which are known to have been popular in India, have been found at Pianjikent. Works in wood are highly perishable, so that very few specimens have been preserved. At Pianjikent, some charred sculptures have survived, which just missed burning and thus became immune to the ruinous influence of the climate.

Indian repercussions in Central Asian painting and sculpture are attributable both to common traditions and to direct contacts. Several years ago a short Sanskrit inscription in Brahmi was found at Pianjikent, traced on a potsherd—clear proof of the arrival of an Indian to that town.

In recent years new remarkable specimens of Tukharistan's art have come to light (excavations at Adzhina Tepe, South Tajikistan, led by B. Litvinsky).²⁸ A Buddhist monastery of the 7th century A.D. with sculptures and paintings has been discovered there.

The buildings of Adzhina Tepe have the characteristic layout of a Buddhist monastery, falling into two parts, the *vihara* and the *sangharama*. The latter part was well preserved : monk's cells enclosing the courtyard, and large rooms which were used for *sangha's* meetings, meals and prayers. In the temple part, the centre of the courtyard is occupied by a *stupa*, with flights of stairs on every side. The *stupa* has a "railing" of corridors, used by Buddhist monks and adepts to reach the shrine.

The walls have niches containing statues of the Buddha of different sizes, sometimes one-and-a-half life size. The walls and vaults are painted with Buddha figures, seated on special pedestals in different attitudes, with individualised gestures of the hands and positions of the head. The colouring of the garments is likewise different.

There are several scenes depicting gift-bearing : rich donors offer gold and silver vessels and flowers to honour the Buddha. The faces of the donors bear a striking resemblance to local types. When this scene was discovered, Tajik researchers even started arguing as to which part of Tajikistan these types should be associated with.

The most striking find has been a huge recumbent figure (about 12 metres) of the Buddha in *nirvana*.

The monastery of Adzhina Tepe was built in keeping with the general Buddhist tradition, which is best known from the monuments of India and Afghanistan. The influence of India's Buddhist art is self-evident. Yet the masters of Tukharistan did not blindly follow the cannon. The excavations of Adzhina Tepe have graphically revealed the amazing tenacity of the local traditions and the originality of the schools of architecture and art of ancient Tukharistan. Local sculptors and painters, builders and architects made use of the traditions and practices

which had already taken shape in Central Asia and which they combined with the cultural traditions of the neighbouring countries, primarily India and Afghanistan (specifically with the Gupta traditions of sculpture).

This, then, was a peculiar creative synthesis of Indian, Indo-Buddhist and Bactrian artistic traditions, and it gave rise to the distinctive Tukharistan school of art.

The main treasure of Adzhina Tepe is its clay sculpture. This, too, demonstrates the influence of Indian art—but with the prevalence of local traditions. It is noteworthy that sculptures of secular nature have been discovered in this Buddhist monastery along with purely religious statues (of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas). While the Buddha images are strictly canonical, the figures of laymen and monks²⁹ graphically demonstrate the influence of the local Bactrian school of art, which emerged and flourished in Bactria under the Kushans, when Bactria was the core of a powerful empire.

The excavations of Adzhina Tepe have made it possible to reappraise the contribution made by the school of Bactria-Tukharistan to the Buddhist art of Central Asia. Tukharistan was the area which transmitted Buddhist culture to the Far East. Arriving to Tukharistan from India, many elements of culture were considerably modified here through the impact of local traditions, and advanced farther—to China, Korea and Japan—in a novel form.

Buddhist monasteries were not only centres of worship and rituals. The great educative role played by the famous Buddhist monastery in Nalanda, India, is well known. The Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia, too, may have been seats of learning. Indian culture, literature, medicine and astronomy reached Central Asia.

The monastery of Adzhina Tepe is not the only proof of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia in the middle of the 1st millennium A. D. In recent years, many other monuments of Buddhist architecture and art have been discovered,³⁰ and, what is particularly important, written records: Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in Brahmi.

A fortified estate of the 7th century A.D. has been excavated on the hill of Zang-tepe, 30 kilometres from Termez. Twelve fragments of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts on birch bark have been discovered there.³¹ The fragments are small-sized, and it is difficult to reconstruct

the full text. Excerpts that have been reconstructed show that these are parts of the *Vinayapitaka*, a canonical Buddhist work. Some of the excerpts deal with a meeting of the *sangha*, charity, an unrighteous act committed by a monk²², etc.

Still greater interest attaches to the find of a Sanskrit Buddhist manuscript in the vicinity of Merv (Turkmenia). This manuscript comprises more than 300 sheets of palm leaves. The tentative date is the 7th century A. D. At present Soviet researchers are preparing the manuscript for publication. Preliminary studies have shown that it contains several Buddhist works, including the *Suttavibhanga*. The text makes special mention of the scribe, who belonged to the *Sarvastivada* school.

This evidence is quite important in establishing the character of Central Asian Buddhism. Together with the date of Far Eastern texts and archaeological data, it gives us ground to assume that the *Sarvastivada* school enjoyed considerable influence in Central Asia. This conclusion tallies fully with the evidence of earlier written sources and inscriptions from ancient India and the Kara-tepe finds, which J. Harmatta, as mentioned above believes to prove the presence in the Termez area of both *Sarvastivada* and *Mahasanghika* adepts.

We have cited only some of the new data yielded by archaeological finds and written sources on the historical-cultural ties between India and Central Asia. It goes without saying that this interesting problem merits closer study. But even the material cited in this paper clearly reveals that contacts between these two major areas of world civilization arose at an early period and were quite durable. These links were of paramount importance for the development of the culture of both lands, for their social, political and economic progress. Common cultural elements were produced which remain outstanding contributions to the treasure-trove of world culture.

The centuries-old history of relations and cultural exchange between Central Asia and India also shows that notwithstanding the considerable reciprocal enrichment and cultural impact (the character and direction of the contacts, their sphere and scope differing throughout the period), the cultures of the peoples of the two countries remained distinctive and original, and preserved specific local features and traits.

Historical-cultural contacts promoted a more intensive development of local cultures and traditions. This too, was an important aspect of

contacts between Central Asia and India. The close historical-cultural contacts which existed between Central Asia and India in ancient times persisted and further developed in the subsequent periods and they continued to exert a strong influence on the development of both countries.

NOTES

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3. See E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilizations*, London, 1948.
4. In recent years we have learned about the maritime contacts between Harappa and the West, about the existence of the Harappa trading outposts in Makran. (See S. R. Rao, *Shipping and Maritime Trade of the Indus people*). "Expedition", 1965, N 3, pp. 30-37; G. F. Dales, *Harappa Outposts on the Makran Coast*, "Antiquity", vol. XXXV, N 142, pp. 86-92.
5. S. P. Tolstov, M. A. Itina, *Problema Suyarganskoi kultury* (The Problem of the Suyargan Culture), "Sovetskaya etnografiya" ("Soviet Ethnography"), 1960, N 1; S. P. Tolstov, *Po drevnim deltam Oksa i Yaksarta* (The Ancient Deltas of the Oxus and the Yaxartes), Moscow, 1962, pp. 67-68.
6. B. Y. Stavisky, *Srednaya Azia, India, Rim* (k voprosu o mezhdunarodnykh svyazyakh v kushansky period) (Central Asia, India, Rome: International Contacts in the Kushan Period), "India v. drevnosti" ("Ancient India"), Moscow, 1964, p. 169.
7. V. A. Livshitz, *Cusano-Indica*, "Ellinistichesky Vostok, Vizantia i Iran" ("The Hellenistic East, Byzantium and Iran"), Moscow, 1967, pp. 169-170.
8. J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967, pl. 14-16.
9. B. Y. Stavisky, *op cit.*, pp. 170-171.
10. G. A. Pugachenkova, *k probleme kushanskogo iskusstva* (On the Problem of Kushan Art), "Problemy arkheologii Srednei Azii", Leningrad, 1968, p. 43.

11. For details see B. Y. Stavisky, G. M. Bongard-Levin, *Central Asia in the Kushan Period* (Archaeological Studies by Soviet Scholars), Moscow, 1968.
12. B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia*. Moscow, 1958, pp. 18-19.
13. G. A. Pugachenkova, *Kizucheniye pamyatnikov Severnoi Baktrii* (The study of the Monuments of Northern Bactria), ("Obshchestvenniye nauki v Uzbekistane"), ("Social Sciences in Uzbekistan"), 1968, N 8, p. 34.
14. G. A. Pugachenkova, *K probleme kushanskogo iskusstva*, p. 44.
15. In her analysis of the Dalverzin-tepe finds, G. A. Pugachenkova has noted that the site enables us to date the beginning of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia not from the time of Kanishka, as it is generally accepted, but from the time of his predecessors (G. A. Pugachenkova, *kizucheniye pamyatnikov Severnoi Baktrii*, p. 34).
16. G. A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan* (K probleme khudozhestvennoi kultury severnoi Baktrii), (*Khalchayan: the problem of Artistic Culture of Northern Bactria*), Tashkent, 1966, p. 265.
17. See T. V. Grek, Y. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, *Kara-tepe, buddhysky monastyr v Starom Termeze* (Kara-tepe. Buddhist Monastery in Old Termez), Moscow, 1964.
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19. T. V. Grek, *Indiyskiye nadpisi na keramike iz Kara-tepe* (Indian Inscription on Pottery from Kara-tepe), "Kara-tepe, buddhysky monastyr v Starom Termeze", p. 80.
20. For details see La Vallee Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakosa de Vasubandhu*, t. I, Paris, 1923; P. Ch. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, Calcutta 1955; H.W. Bailey, *Indo-Iranica*, III. 5. Tarmita, "Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies", 1950, vol. XIII, pt. 2, pp. 400-403 (further referred to as BSOAS).
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22. B. A. Litvinsky, *Sredneaziatskiye narody i rasprostraneniye buddizma* p. 133.

23. J. Harmatta, *K Interpretatsii nadpisei iz Kara-tepe*, (The Interpretation of Inscriptions from Kara-tepe), "Kara-tepe", fasc. II (currently in press).
24. *Skulptura i zhivopis drevnegr Pianjikenta* (The Sculpture and Painting of Ancient Pianjikent), Moscow, 1956, tab. XIV.
25. A. M. Belenitsky, *K istorii kulturnykh svyazei Srednei Azii Indii v rannem srednevekovye* (The History of Cultural Relations between Central Asia and India in the Early Medieval Period), "Ancient India", Moscow, 1964, p. 192.
26. See V. A. Shishkin, *Varkhasha*, Moscow, 1963 (in Russian).
27. A. M. Belenitsky, op. cit., p. 191.
28. See B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia*.
29. Researchers believe that one of the sculptured heads depicts a Kasyapa.
30. See B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia*.
31. See L. I. Albaum, *Noviye raskopki v Zang-tepe i indiyiskiye dokumentye* (Latest excavations at Zang-Tepe and the finds of Indian Documents), "Ancient India", Moscow, 1964.
32. G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, E. N. Tyomkin, *Fragmenty, sanskritskikh rukopisoi iz Zangtepe* (Fragments of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Zangtepe), "Vestnik drevnei istorii", 1965, N 1, pp. 154-162; M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Pamyatniki indiyiskoi pismennosti iz Srednei Azii* (Indian Documents discovered in Central Asia), "Ancient India", Moscow, 1964.

India and Central Asia from c. 6th Century B.C. to 6th Century A.D.

G. R. SHARMA

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE of the various countries of Central Asia can hardly be understood in the proper perspective without reference to the movement, diffusion and dispersal of peoples, ideas, institutions and techniques among the different regions of this area of the globe. So far as India is concerned, it had ever occupied a unique geographical situation of comparative isolation, bounded as it has been by the Himalayas on the north and the seas in the south. However, at no period of its pre-history as well as history was this region altogether secluded, and from time to time invaders, settlers and traders found their way over the desolate passes of the North-west and also to some extent through the difficult North Eastern routes. It was chiefly these people who became the carriers of the ideas and institutions of other regions, which were also received by the contact with the other countries through the medium of indigenous traders and religious missionaries. In this way fruitful impetus was supplied to its history, and significant elements were added to the rich content of its culture during the historical period. Some external influences of course disappeared with the passage of time, but there were many others which were assimilated and given the stamp of the characteristic native genius. At the same time India also played its role as a source of the dispersal of ideas and people, as a centre radiating cultural influences to the regions and countries beyond its frontiers.

In the present context we propose to examine the impact of the Achaemenian civilisation, the Hellenistic civilisation, the mixed culture of the Saka-Parthians and the Kusanas, and of the Hunas, as reflected

mainly in some aspects of architecture. sculpture, pottery, terracotta figurines, arrowheads, society, economy, religion etc. Much has been conjectured in this respect, but the recent archaeological discoveries and other researches throw revealing light on the real nature and extent of this phenomenon, and dispel at the same time some illusions in the field.

ARCHITECTURE

There has been a close and intimate contact between India and the Iranian Plateau from time immemorial. In the late sixth and the early fifth centuries B.C., as the Greco-Roman literature and the inscriptional data reveal, a portion of its North-Western region was included in Achaemenid empire. The impact¹ of Iran, which functioned as the main channel of the diffusion of Asian cultures on Indian history and culture as such can hardly be under-estimated. But recent research and discoveries tend to demonstrate the unsoundness of the conjectures of some earlier authorities that the tradition of Indian art and architecture during the Mauryan period and the institutions of coinage and writing here, were mainly inspired by the Iranian genius; for, on the basis of the evidence they are now found to have had indigenous origin².

The influence³ of the Achaemenid architecture, as seen on the basis of resemblance between the Hall of Hundred Columns of Darius Kystaspes at Persepolis and the square hall excavated⁴ at Patliputra where two multiple rows of pillars formed square bays, has now been altogether rejected⁵ by some authorities on Indian art. The excavations conducted by the K. P. Jayaswal Institute during 1951-55 have not provided any definite solution of the problem. The view⁶ of the excavators that it was the work of Indian craftsmen who had not yet acquired sufficient experience of such buildings and the polishing of the portions of pillars below the ground surface was due to their inadvertence, does not carry conviction. In this context it is important to note that the excavations of the Palace area at Kausambi have taken back the antiquity of Indian architecture to 7th—6th century B. C.

Some Hellenistic effect has also been noticed⁷ in the methodical town-planning at Sirkap (Taxila). The Kausambi excavations reveal that the Kusana rule marks a break in the tradition of architecture. The discovery of the imposing palace complex⁸ on the Yamuna in the South-west corner of Kausambi shows the introduction of a hybrid architecture characterised with the indiscriminate use of stone and brick

with a copious application of plaster, and of the true arch in the first-second century A.D. Among the new constructional devices noticed for the first time in the first-second century A.D. a considerable significance attaches to the true arch⁹ which along with the hybrid brick-cum-stone architecture was the gift of the Kusanas. There is evidence for the use of the four-centred pointed arch, segmental arch, and semi-elliptical flat arch in various parts of the palace. However, the old device of corbelled arch was not abandoned, and it was on this principle that the superstructure of the palace, especially its *Sikhara*, was built. Thus under the impact of the new ideas of architecture provided by the Kusanas, the Indian craftsmen rose to the occasion and evolved the typical curvilinear North Indian *Sikhara* which later on was adopted on a large scale for the religious buildings.

SCULPTURE

The evidence of sculptures has also been taken to reveal the impact of exotic elements on Indian art. Mention may be made of typical polishing generally known in India as 'Mauryan polish', the use of inverted lotus in capital, and winged lions for decorative purposes.

The lustrous polish invariably connected with the Asokan pillars has of course not been found in the pre-Mauryan age, while it had its counterpart in the art of Darius and Xerxes¹⁰. The famous lions surmounting the capitals of the Asokan columns both at Lauria Nandangarh and Sarnath have been recognised by some authorities as inspired by the Persian Art tradition¹¹. The winged lion motif occurring on some early Indian sculptures has also been taken to have been a borrowing from that very source. In this context the evidence forthcoming from Kausambi throws valuable light. The Mauryan polish tradition did not wither away, but reveals a striking continuance, of course with certain modification, at this site from the Mauryan period upto the first century B.C. or rather first century A.D. It is noticeable in the antiquities from the Asokan pillar still standing at the site, down to the inverted lotus capitals recovered at Mainahai (Kausambi). The new features observed in these capitals which were not known to the Asokan capitals, are the addition of a circular spigot on the abacus, and the introduction of the technique of making the capital into two separate parts against the monolithic technique of the Mauryan tradition. Certain floral motifs, especially honey-suckle, depicted on the abacus, no doubt, resemble their Mauryan counterparts, but with some modification. These new features are significant as they indicate internal growth in early art-

tradition. It may be pointed out that these capitals are found in association with a large rectangular column depicting *Yaksini* (slide) comparable to those of Bharhut.¹³ Further, the depiction of double-humped Bactrian camel (slide) on the abacus of another capital occupying the central position suggests a remarkable foreign influence during second-first century B. C. The tradition of inverted lotus of earlier period is also noticed to have continued in the immediate post-Mauryan period, which is obvious from the capital of Mainahai, and later on from the railing balustrades (slides) discovered at Kausambi showing a marked complexity elaboration and variety in the art motif. This also reveals the inner evolution of the motif, as also of the honey-suckle (slide).

It may be noticed in this context that in Iran the lotus motif in the absence of any basis in the actual lingered on only as an art idiom, highly conventionalized and stereotyped, and showing as such a survival for a very long time. It appears to have originally reached there from India.

The occurrence of winged lions in a pair of stone carvings excavated by Waddell from the Kumrahar site at Patna has attracted the attention of scholars¹⁴. The probability of the borrowing of this motif from Achaemenid Persia has been recognized. The evidence from Kausambi shows a striking continuation and development of this art motif also. A railing balustrade (circa 200 B.C.) from this site shows the depiction of lions with wings as well as without wings indicating thereby the juxtaposition of two art traditions. The lions without wings are depicted as part of a capital represented on it (slide). In the later specimen on another railing balustrade (slide) there is a tendency towards the anthropomorphisation of the winged lion which of course represents a rudimentary stage thereof. Still later the anthropomorphisation of the winged lion in the facial feature acquire developed form (slide). Further on, a horse like mythical animal is also depicted with wings and a human face.

While considering the impact of Achaemenid Persia on India it should be borne in mind that both had common earlier heritage of West Asian art tradition, and were in intermittent contact with each other. This was already pointed out to some extent by Coomaraswamy, and requires greater recognition, along with the attendant probability of common traditions being developed in both the countries along independent lines. As far as the Kusana period is concerned it is a matter of

common knowledge that the Graeco-Roman Art of Gandhara and the native art of Mathura acquired florescence under the Kusana Monarchs through their patronage to Buddhism. The impact of these two art centres is amply demonstrated by antiquities of 2nd and 3rd Centuries A.D. from Ghositarama monastery excavated at Kausambi.

POTTERY

Archaeology has also brought to light the wide diffusion of the foreign ceramic influences over Northern India¹⁵. The distribution of some types, especially the cylindrical conical bowl belonging to the Achaemenian period (between 6th century B.C. and 4th century B.C.) has been noticed in Khorezm, Sogdiana, Margiana, Northern Bactria Southern Bactria and Seistan; and also in the Ganga valley as is amply revealed by the pottery ascribed to the foreign group I at Kausambi datable to 5th-2nd century B.C.¹⁶ Later on, in the Kusana period there was a fusion of the early Group I with the later Group II-A which resulted in the tradition of another class of pottery (IIIB) represented by the cylindrical conical goblets and vases at Kausambi¹⁷.

India's contacts with the west are further evidenced by the ceramic group III of Kausambi comprising *Surahis* and enohoyas datable from 2nd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.¹⁸ This group with a pre-eminently Graeco-Roman lineage occurs over an extensive region upto the Central Ganga valley in the east, and Iran, Afghanistan and the Soviet Central Asian Republics towards the north west¹⁹.

During the age of the Saka-Parthians and the Kusanas many new pottery types are found to have made their appearance at Taxila and other sites of Northern India. Of the vessels of Parthian, rather than Greek or Graeco-Roman origin at Taxila, Marshall mentioned the glazed amphorae, numerous bell-shaped and carinated vessels of medium or small capacity, goblets with deep flared mouth, constricted neck and horizontal ribbing and small handled censers.²⁰ The Taxila story is found to have continued in the Punjab and the Ganga Valley.²¹ But many Parthian or rather the Saka-Parthian Kusana types including the amphorae are not noticed in the Ganga valley.²²

At the same time here we find some new types of this assemblage not noticed at Taxila.²³ At Kausambi the types which we owe to Saka-Kusana influence are represented by carinated waisted vessels, beakers and goblets with flat rims and footed base and flared mouth, incense burners with looped handles and possibly *surahis* with heavily decorated

handles.²⁴ The Saka-Parthian workmanship of these vessels is revealed by the Taxila parallels. The goblets have been noticed beyond the Hindukush in Khorezm, Sogdiana and Bactria²⁵ Some dishes of dull red ware at Kausambi bear comparison with similar types reported from Tulhar Cemetery.²⁶ Some vases treated with red wash on both the sides establish a link with Yazdepe²⁷. During recent years our knowledge of the non-Indian link of many pottery types has increased considerably by the recognition of striking analogies over a large area in Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia.²⁸ Many designs on the pottery from the first to third century A.D., e. g., the latticed designs, opposed triangles alternatively filled in horizontal lines wedge pattern, opposed triangles so arranged as to form a rhombus, triangles and wavy lines, loops and spirals, parallel wavy lines in single or double row, branch of tree, the schematic floral designs etc, have their prototypes in the Ferghana Valley and Khorezm.²⁹

Saka-Kusana pottery types are available from Rugar³⁰ Hastinapur³¹ Ahicchatra,³² Vaisali³³ Kumrahar³⁴ Bhita³⁵ etc.

TERRACOTTA

After demonstrating the Saka-Parthian origin of several figurines of the so-called Hellenistic style in the Gandhara region, Gordon³⁶ drew attention to the occurrence of these types of Mathura, Basarh, Nandengarh, Sankissa and Hastinapur. The striking Kausambi finds and the evidence of the mid-Ganga regions in this respect reveal an influence much wider than what Gordon had supposed. In the early centuries of the Christian Era these new terracotta types spread over a vast tract of Northern India. The advent of the Saka-Parthians and the Kusanas thus added an altogether new and interesting chapter to the history of Indian terracotta art.³⁷ The reclining figurines, drummers, women with double-knobbed head-dress, men with peaked caps, mother goddess with heavy breasts, and the devotees placed in the shrine of the mother goddess, are objects completely foreign to Indian tradition. A local imitation³⁸ of Roman bulla at Kausambi is also significant in this context. A study of the dress and decoration of these figurines as well as the representations on the coins demonstrates a change in the cultural traditions in so far as we find the trousers, chitons, himations etc. in place of the *dhoti*, and the *uttariya*. The close resemblance of these outlandish types have been noticed in the figurines recovered from the distant Saka-Parthian sites like Seleucia³⁹, Dura Uru-Warka etc. The evidence of the material excavated from Kausambi reveals that the

votive tanks, drummers, reclining women, and Kusana terracotta devotees continued beyond the Magha stratum only as stray specimens. The technique of hand-manufacture and the idiom of terracotta in the round continue, but the foreign types go out of vogue in the Saka-Kusana period. The same tendency has been noticed in the domain of ceramics as well.

ARROW-HEADS

The discovery of arrowheads attributed to the Bactrian-Greeks, Saka-Parthians and Hunas at Taxila as well as Kausambi bears witness to foreign invasions in Northern India. Three types of Bactrian-Greek arrowheads furnishing evidence of foreign invasion in three successive periods have been found in the excavations at Kausambi.⁴⁰ They confirm the literary evidence of the Yavana invasion of Northern India in the *Mahabhasya* and the *Yuga Purana* section of the *Gargi Samhita*. The three-bladed arrowheads⁴¹ have been attributed to the Saka-Parthians, and the barbed type to the Hunas. These foreign types in similar contexts have been reported from several sites of Central Asia.⁴²

IMPACT ON RELIGION, SOCIAL SYSTEM AND ECONOMY

The advent of the Iranian Magi priests in India started a process which played a noticeable role in the formation of the religio-social traditions of India. The mist of controversy regarding the period of their advent is now being cleared to some extent by the recent researches⁴³ and discoveries. Some actual specimens of fire-altars⁴⁴ have been reported from the Achaemenian level at Balambat in Pakistan, which indicates the wide prevalence of the Iranian fire worship in this region which formed part of the Achaemenid empire. This may be connected with the Magi priests who are well-known to have been the worshippers of Sun and Fire in combined form. Thus the evidence points to the arrival of the Magi priests here, not at a later date, but in the Achaemenid period itself, though the further spread of these people, and their ideas and practices, took place in the subsequent period.

In Indian literatures the Magas are derived from Sakadvipa which is generally identified with Eastern Iran. In course of time, after having been assimilated in the Indian social system they formed a new and distinct group of Brahmanical priesthood; but they were assigned only a low status in the Brahmana Varna by the orthodox. The Magas

exerted an influence on the externals of Indian Sun worship by making some contributions to the evolution of the image of the Sun god. Their role in the development of image and temple worship, as well as astrology and magic, appears to have been significant. It is not known how far the low status assigned to them was on account of their being foreigners and how far it was due to the particular religions and social ideas propagated by them; especially, their contribution to the development of the social ideas and practices is yet to be investigated.

During the early centuries of the Christian era there is a wide range of evidence pointing to a voluminous influx of Saka-Parthian and Kusana elements in the North-western, Western and the interior regions of India upto the Ganga valley. The stratigraphy in the Kausambi excavation suggests an appreciable pre-Kusana Saka-Parthian contacts, but with the arrival of the Kusanas on the scene, there began to flourish vigorously a composite Saka-Parthian-Kusana culture⁴⁶ in the Ganga valley as well as the other regions under their political domination. The people are well known to have been the bearers of the antecedent mixed culture of the north west.

The direct epigraphic records of the Kusanas have now been augmented as a result of the inscriptions⁴⁶ discovered at Kausambi, and a study of the materials from this site as well as many others has revealed the vast magnitude of the foreign impact on many aspects of Ganga culture in particular and Indian culture in general.

During the Kusana period money economy acquired a prevalence unknown in the earlier ages, and the earliest archaeological evidence for the circulation of gold coins on a large scale belongs to this age. The numismatic evidence clearly reveals the development of inland and foreign trade.

There is literary as well as archaeological evidence of change⁴⁷ in the socio-economic set-up in Northern India during the Saka-Kusana age. Amidst social disturbances created by the influx of the foreign invaders who were, of course, assimilated in Indian society, there was the resurgence of the orthodox forces and a fervent attempt to regulate society on the basis of the *Caturvarnya*. Side by side we also notice the settlement of a ruling aristocracy on land, the appearance of dependent peasantry along with some notable development in agriculture and its technique, the dichotomy of the *Varna*—divided society—all indicating the emergence of the feudal tendencies in spite of the developing phase

of money economy, and trade and commerce, which appear to have been mainly confined⁴⁸ to the cities. The lessening of the comparative rigors of slavery, and the growing idea of paramountcy in the domain of polity, may be traced along the changing attributes of *Kubera-Pancika* during this period.

The archaeological evidence throws ample light on the invasion of the Hunas and the devastation caused by them in Northern India. The barbed arrowheads, a few sealings bearing the legend *Toramana*, and a coin-mould with the legend *Hunaraja* discovered at Kausambi⁴⁹, indicate that the range of the activities and the political domination of these nomadic people extended upto the Ganga valley. They overran a considerable part of Northern India, and destroyed the art centre of Gandhara, a number of cities and Buddhist monasteries. The site of Kausambi including the Ghositarama monastery also bears traces of destruction at the Huna level⁵⁰. The Gupta empire itself which could not bear the shock of their invasion collapsed by the sixth century A.D. and, then, followed a period of political confusion and chaos, economic decline, and feudal disintegration. The Hunas emerged mainly as ruling aristocracy and began to be counted among the thirty-six pure clans of the Ksatriyas by the early medieval period of Indian history. Their inroads and influx thus played a significant role in the creation of the conditions responsible for the growth of the *Samanta* system or Indian feudalism which is already noticeable in its emergent form during the Saka-Kusana age.

NOTES

1. Cf. Wheeler, *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 85 ff.
2. G.R. Sharma, 'New Light on the origin of Stone Architecture and true arch in India, excavation of the palace of early kings of Kausambi', *Proceedings of the twenty-sixty International Congress of Orientalists*, New Delhi, 1966; Cf. A.S. Altekar, *J.N.S.I.*, 1953; V.S. Agrawal, *Indian Art*, Chapter VII.
3. Cf. Wheeler, *Ancient India*, No. 4, pp. 96 f; R. A. Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, pp. 44 f.
4. Archaeological Survey of India—*Annual Report, Eastern Circle*, 1912-13; Wheeler, *Ancient India*, pp. 96 f.
5. V.S. Agrawal, *Indian Art*, Chap. VII.

6. A.S. Altekar and V. Misra, *Report of the Excavations at Kumrahar, 1951-55*, pp. 25.
7. *Taxila, I, 1951*, pp. 12, 198, pl. 24.
8. G.R. Sharma, *Kusana Studies*, Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Allahabad, 1968, pp. 14 ff.
9. G.R. Sharma, *Kusana Studies*. Kusana Architecture with special reference to Kausambi (India).
10. Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan*, pp. 174.
11. *Ibid, loc. cit.*
12. It is in this context that we can properly understand the *Yaksi* from Didarganj (Patna).
13. L. Fredric, *Indian Temples and Sculptures*, p. 67, pl. 22; V. S. Agrawal, *Studies in Indian Art*, Fig. 60; H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, pl. 34, Fig. b.
14. Piggott, *Ancient India*, No. 4 p. 101.

A pair of stone figures of winged lions excavated at Patna is taken to have been used for supporting the throne in the Mauryan palace. Variants of this motif have also been noticed in a stone figure from Mathura (1st c.A.D.) and the throne with a *makara* and lion figures in the carving at Amaravati (2nd cent. A.D.) *Ibid*.
15. G.R. Sharma, *Kusana Studies*, pp. 59 FF.
16. G.R. Sharma, *loc. cit.* pp. 60.
17. *Ibid*, pp. 61 Fig. 12, Nos. 11-15.
18. *Ibid*, p. 61.
19. *Ibid*, p. 61 & 62
20. Marshall, *Taxila*, II pp. 401
21. G. R. Sharma, *Kusana Studies* pp. 59, 60
22. *Ibid*
23. *Ibid*
24. *Ibid*, p. 60 Fig. 12 Nos. 1-10
25. *Ancient India* (Moscow 1964) Fig. 17 No. 6 (Bactria) 7, 8, 10 (Sagdiana) Moscow—1940, 9-11 (Khorezm) 1—(Taxila) Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. III pl. 154, A. Mandelshtam, *Nomads on their way to India* (pl No. 24 Fig. 4 etc; Table 17 Fig. 9)
26. *Ibid*.
27. Mason, *MIA* 73, Table 37, Figs. II. VI.
28. G. R. Sharma, *Kusana Studies*, p. 60.
29. Zadneprovsky—*The Ancient Farming Culture of Ferghana* MIA 118, 1962
30. *Ancient India*, No. 9 Fig. 6
31. *Ibid*, Nos. 10 and 11 p. 64 Fig. 20 Nos. XXIII-XXVIII

32. *Ibid*, Fig. 3, 47
33. *Vaisali Excavations*, 1950 p. 40 Fig. 18, Nos. 64 B 67, 67a, 76, 77 and 77a
Ibid, Fig. 18 Nos. 64 and 64a.
34. *The Kumrahar Excavations*, 1951-55 Fig. 35 Nos. 4-5 Fig. 36 No. 3.
35. *ASI*, AR, 1911-12 Pl. XXX 59, 63, 90, 96, 100.
36. 'Early Indian Terracottas', *Journ. Ind. Soc. Oriental Art*, XI (1943), pp. 160 ff.
37. G. R. Sharma, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 74; G. R. Sharma, *Kusana Studies*, Article No. 2, pp. 54 ff.
38. G. R. Sharma, *Kusana Studies* Pl. XXB.
39. W. Van Ingen, *Figurines from Seiucia on the Tigris*, p. 36; also V. S. Agrawal, *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 125.
40. G. R. Sharma, *The Kausambi Excavations*, 1957-59, pp. 14-52 ff.
41. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, p. 547; G.R.Sharma, *the Excavations at Kausambi*, 1957-59, pp 15, 54; *Kusana Studies*, p. 53.
42. V. A. Shiskin, *Varakhsha*, p. 44, PHC. 9, Fig. 2; A. M. Mandelshtam, *Nomads on their way to India*, p. 203, Figs. 1-10, 12-14; K. F. Smironov, *Early History and Culture of Sarmatov*, p. 307 IA; p. 312, 5B; p. 314, IA, p. 315, Fig. 22
43. Cf. V. S. Srivastava, *Sun Worship in Ancient India* (unpublished D. Phil Thesis, 1968, Alld. University) pp. 354 ff.
44. A. H. Dani, *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. III, p. 41.
45. G. R. Sharma & J. S. Negi, *Kusana Studies*, Article No. 2.
46. G. R. Sharma, *Kusana Studies*, pp. 43 ff.
47. B. N. S. Yadava, Article 3 in *Kusana Studies*.
48. R. S. Sharma, *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy* 1966, p. 78.
49. G.R. Sharma, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* (Kern Institute), Vol. XVI, p. XLV.
50. *Ibid*, p. XLIII G.R. Sharma, *Excavations at Kausambi 1957-59*, pp. 15 ff.

Ta-Hsia and the Problem concerning the Advent of Nomadic Peoples in Greek Bactria

B. N. MUKHERJEE

ACCORDING TO THE *Shih-chih* of Ssu-ma Ch'ien and the *Ch'ien Han-shu* of Pan Ku, Chang Ch'ien was sent by the Han emperor (Wu-ti) on a mission to the Yueh-chih country in the period of Chien-yueh (140-134 B.C.)¹. More than ten years later the envoy reached the country of the Yueh-chih, and then went to Ta-hsia. He stayed in the latter region for a year, and then commenced his return journey to China. On his way he lost more than one year.²

Ta-hsia of Chang Ch'ien's report was under the Yueh-chih.³ According to the *Ch'ien Han-shu*, Ta-hsia was divided into (or among) five hsi-hou (*yabgus*), which (or who) belonged (*shu*) to the Ta Yueh-chih. The *yabgus* concerned are stated to have been those of Hsiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hsi-tun and Kao-fu.⁴ The Hou Han-shu replaced Kao-fu by Tu-mi and expressly stated that the Ch'ien Han-shu was wrong in taking Kao-fu as being one of the five hsi-hou.⁵

J. Marquart correctly identified Hsiu-mi with Wakhan and Shuang-mi with Chitral.⁶ However, his identification of Hsi-tun with Parwan on the Panjshir and of Kuei-shuang with the country north of Gandhara itself,⁷ are not supported by definite data. The *Pei-shih*, which was completed in A.D. 659 and which covered the period ranging from A.D. 386 to 618,⁸ expressly equated Hsi-tun with the kingdom of Fu-ti-sha⁹. The ancient Chinese pronunciation of the name *Fu-ti-sha* is known to have been *Piot-d'iek-sa*¹⁰. This information and the probability of the location of Fu-ti-sha not far from Hsiu-mi or Wakhan and Shuang-mi

or Chitral¹¹ remind us of the region of Badhakksha (n) or Badakhasha (n), noted as Po-to-cha'ng-na by Hsuan-tsang.¹² These considerations lead us to accept the equation Hsi-tun=*Fu-ti-sha*=*Badakshan*.¹³

The *Pei-shih* also stated that the capital of Ch'ien-tun, known earlier as Kuei-shuang, lay to the west of Che-sueh-mo-sun, previously called Shunag-mi, and indicated that the former (i.e. Ch'ien-tun=Kuei-shuang) was also to the east of the capital of Fu-ti-sha (=Hsi-tun)¹⁴ Thus Kuei-shuang should have been somewhere between Badakshan and Chitral.

Tu-mi cannot be located with certainty. However, as the author (or authors) of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* appears (or appear) to have confused Tu-mi with Kao-fu, and as the territories concerned seem to have been situated to the north of Kabul, the region in question may have been somewhere immediately to the north of Kao-fu or the Kabul region (i.e., in Kafirstan?).

Thus Ta-hsia included Wakhan, Badakhsan, Chitral, Kafirstan (?) and also apparently the regions lying between them. And since the *Hou Han-shu* expressly states that the Yueh-chih "divided their country (i.e., Ta-hsia) into five hsi-hou (*yabgus*)",¹⁵ meaning that the whole country was parcelled out between five hsi-hou or five *yabgus*, Ta-hsia could not possibly have included any territory outside those enumerated here.

This inference strikes at the very root of the oft-repeated theory that Ta-hsia was the same as Bactria.¹⁶ No doubt, Ta-hsia may have embraced, among others, the eastern parts of Bactria, as it is understood from the *Geographike Huphegesis* of Ptolemy,¹⁷ and from this point of view the Yueh-chih could be called Bactrians from the time they began to live in the Ta-hsia region of Bactria. Nevertheless, Bactria proper, i.e. the region around Bactra, was not under the Yueh-chih till the time of Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh or Kujula Kadphises. According to the *Hou Han-shu*, this monarch destroyed P'u-ta.¹⁸ P'u-ta, considered to have been pronounced in ancient Chinese as B'uok d'at (tat in Canton dialect),¹⁹ reminds one of Bactra, the name of a town of Bactria²⁰.

It is interesting to note that the *Wei-shu* refers to the five hsi-hou (into which or among whom the *Ch'ien Han-shu* divides *Ta-hsia*) and also speaks of the country of P'o-chih, identifiable with the region of Balkh,²¹ as distinct from the territories assigned to the above five *yabgus*. This evidence also suggests that the region around Balkh or Bactra was

not within old Ta-hsia. Again as Chapter 96A of the *Ch'ien Han-shu* states that "to the east of An-hsi is the country of the Ta Yueh-chih,²² and as the same treatise indicates that the portions of the Ta Yueh-chih country to the south of the Kuei (i. e., the Oxus) comprised Ta-hsia only,²³ the region of Bactra lying almost immediately to the west of Ta-hsia could well have been under the influence of An-hsi.

This identification of Ta-hsia helps us to understand properly the implication of a well-known statement of Strabo. He wrote that "the best known of the (*Scythian*) nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, I mean the Asioi, Pasianoï, Tokharoi and Sakarauoi, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Iaxartes river that adjoins that of the Sakai and the Sogdianoï and was occupied by the Sakai"²⁴ (*Italics ours*). It is clear from the context of Strabo's statement that these peoples were assumed to have been Scythian. Strabo claims that these nomads were responsible for the end of the Greek rule in Bactria. He, however, does not categorically state whether they invaded that territory jointly or separately.

The Tokharoi or Tochari have already been connected with the Yueh-chih of Chinese sources.²⁵ According to Chang Ch'ien's information, datable to c. 130-129 B.C.,²⁶ the Yueh-chih subjugated Ta-hsia by that date.²⁷ The name *Ta-hsia* denoted, as noted above, modern Wakhan, Badakshan, Chitral, Kafirstan(?) and the region lying between those territories. We have already observed that Ta-hsia may have embraced the eastern part of Bactria as described by Ptolemy.²⁸

The other Scythian tribes mentioned by Strabo, viz., Asioi, the Pasianoï, and the Sakarauoi, may have invaded jointly or separately Western Bactria around the city of Bactra.²⁹ Such an inference receives support from the Prologus XLI of the *Historiae Philipp'cae* of Trogus, which states "how the kingdom and government were constituted among the Bactrians by their king Diodotus; (*and*) afterwards, during whose (*i.e.*, the Bactrians' ?) rule, the Scythian peoples, the Saraucae and the Asiani, occupied (or overcame) (the city of) Bactra (or the Bactrans) and Sogdiana (or the Sogdians)"³⁰ (*Italics ours*). Since at least the name of the Asioi [*Asi+oi* (inflexion)] can be identified with that of the Asiani [*Asi+an* (suffix)+(inflexion)].³¹ both Strabo and Trogus could have referred to one and the same invasion or to one and the same series of invasions.

Certain sources indicate that the Scythian movements in the Parthian territory began by c. 130 B.C.³² As Western Bactria lay almost

between Parthia and Eastern Bactria or Ta-hsia, occupied by the Yuch-chih-Tokharians by c. 130-129 B.C., there should be no objection to any theory suggesting the Scythian invasion or invasions of Western Bactria about the same time.³³ The absence of any reference to P'u-t'iao (denoting Bactria or at least its western area)³⁴ in Chang Ch'ien's report, which describes at length An-hsi (Parthia) and Ta-hsia (Eastern Bactria), suggests that by the date of his information, *i. e.*, 130-29 B.C., the (Hellenic) kingdom of Western Bactria had been virtually eclipsed and the area concerned was in turmoil.

The above study betrays the weakness of the theories of several scholars, which question the credibility of Strabo's evidence regarding the Scythian invasion of Greek Bactria.³⁵ The above arguments also reconcile the apparently contradictory statements of the Greek and Chinese sources on the movements of nomadic people into a region now included in Afghanistan.

NOTES

1. (Ssu-ma T'an and) Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *Shih-chi* (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition) (cited hereafter as *SC*), ch. 123 pp. 1-3, Pan-ku, *Ch'ien Han-shu* (T'ung-wen shu-chu edition) (cited hereafter as *CHS*), ch. 61, pp. 1-6; *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, (cited below as *JAOS*), 1917, vol. XXXVII, p. 93. According to the calculations made by A. Wylie, the years from 140 to 135 B.C. should have fallen in the *Chien-yuen* period (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (cited below as *JAI*), 1881, vol. X, p. 66).
2. *SC*, ch. 123; *CHS*, ch. 61; *JAOS* 1917, vol. XXXVII, pp. 94-95; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, pp. 66-67.
3. *SC*, ch. 123, p. 5.
4. *CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14.
5. Fan Yeh, *Hou Han-shu* (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition) (cited below as *HHS*), ch. 118, p. 9.
6. J. Marquart, "Eranshahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenaci," (*Abhandlungen der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen*, Phil-Hist. Klasse, *ns*, vol. III, no. 2, 1899-1901) cited below as "Eranshahr"), p. 245.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 245-246.
8. H. H. Frankel, *Catalogue of Translations from Chinese Dynastic Histories for the Period 220-960* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957), p. 156.

9. Li Yen-nien (or Li Yen-shou ?), *Pei-shih*, (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition) (cited below as *Pei-shih*), ch. 97, p. 11.
10. E. Zurcher, "The Yueh chih and Kaniska in Chinese sources", *Proceedings of the Conference on the Date of Kanishka*, 1960, London. (un-published), p. 19.
11. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. (Oxford, 1931), vol. XXVI, pl. 49, F2.
12. T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol. II, (London, 1904), p. 277.
13. *Toung Pao*, (cited below as *TP*). 1907, s. II, vol. VIII, p. 187, f. n. 2.
14. *Pei-shih*, ch. 97, p. 11; Wei Shou, *Wei-shu* (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition) (cited below as *Wei-shu*), ch. 102, pp. 8, 9 and 12.
15. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
16. *JAOS*. 1917, vol. XXXVII, p. 102; *CHI* vol. I, p. 459; *JOURNAL OF INDIAN HISTORY*. 1933, vol. XII, p. 10. J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period. An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.* (Leiden, 1949) (cited below as *The "Scythian Period"*), p. 28; R.C. Majumdar (editor), *The Age of Imperial Unity, The History and Culture of the Indian people*, vol. II, (Bombay, 1951), p. 137; K A. Nilakanta Sastri (editor), *A comprehensive History of India—The Mauryas and the Satavahanas* (Calcutta, 1957), vol. II, p. 223; etc.
17. Ptolemy, *Geographike Huphegesi*, (cited below as Ptolemy) S. N. Majumdar Sastri (editor), *McCrimdell's Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 269f.
18. *HHS*, ch. 118, p. 9.
19. B. Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* (Paris, 1923) (cited below as Karlgren), no. 957; A Herrmann, *Historical and Commercial Atlas of China*, p. 101 no. 2005.
20. *TP*, 1905, s. II, vol. VI, p. 514.
21. *Wei-shu*, ch. 102, p. 8; *Journal Asiatique*, 1883, s. VIII, vol. II, p. 331; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur Les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* [Paris, 1900 (?)], p. 354.
22. *CHS*, ch. 96A; *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 40.
23. *CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14.
24. Strabo, *Geographikon*, (cited below as Strabo), XI, 8, 2. We cannot agree with the view of J. E. Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw that Strabo's passage in question indicates that the invasions of the nomadic peoples "weakened" (and did not conquer) the Greeks of Bactria (The "Scythian" Period, p. 35). Strabo quite definitely states that these peoples "took away" (and so conquered) Bactriana from the Greeks.
25. *JAOS*, 1941, vol. LXI, pp. 344-345; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1936, vol. VIII, pp. 884 f; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, 1937, vol. XCI, pp. 235f; B.N. Mukherjee,

The Kushana Genealogy, (Studies in Kushana Genealogy and Chronology, vol. 1), (Calcutta, 1967), pp. 24-26; etc. Whether the Tokharoi and the Yueh-chih are to be regarded as Scythians or not is a moot point. However, there is nothing wrong in suggesting that since these peoples came from a region associated by classical scholars with the Scythians, they could have been described in early sources as Scythians, even without having racial connection with them.

26. See below n. 27.

27. It is clear from the *Ch'ien-Hun-shu* that the Yueh-chih left their home between Tun-huang and Ch'i-lien (in Kansu) in the time of the Hsiung-nu king bearing the title of *Lao-shang shan-yu* (*CHS*, ch. 96A, p. 14) and that they were driven out of the country of the Sai by a chief of the Wu-sun when the same Hsiung-nu monarch was still ruling. (*ibid*, ch. 61, *JAI*, 1881, vol. X, p. 69). The name of the Hsiung-nu ruler in question is known to have been Chi-chu (*SC*, ch. 110, p. 10). He ruled from 174 to 160 B.C. (E. Zurcher, *op. cit.*, p. 3). Since the departure of the Yueh-chih from Kansu, their migration to, conquest of and rule in the Sai country, and the defeat at the hands of the Chief of the Wu-sun happened within a short period of fourteen years (174-160 B.C.), the last incident must have taken place not much before, if not in, the year 160 B.C. So the Yueh-chih, who were driven out of the Sai country as a result of the Wu-sun occupation of this territory, must have conquered Ta-hsia in or rather after c. 160 B.C.

We have already shown that Chang Ch'ien, who was sent by the Han emperor on a mission to the Yueh-chih dominions in the period of Chien-yuen (140-134 B.C.), reached Ta-hsia more than ten years after the commencement of his journey, and that he stayed there for a year before beginning his return journey to China, (see above the first paragraph of the present article). Thus the date of his arrival in Ta-hsia and that of his departure from there cannot be placed earlier than respectively (c. 140 B.C.—10 years=) c. 130 B.C. and c. 130 B.C.—1 year=) c. 129 B.C.

It has been noted above that the envoy lost one year in course of his return journey to China. In the chapter 116 of the *Ch'ian Han-shu* the date of his return to China is fixed in the first year of the Yuan So, i.e., c. 128 B.C. (*CHS*, ch. 116; B. Watson, *The Records of the Grand Historian of China by Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, vol. II (London and New York, 1961) p. 293; H.H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku*, (Baltimore, 1944), vol. II, p. 45). It also appears from the data furnished by Chapter 61 of the same treatise and Chapter 123 of the *Shih-chi* that Chang Ch'ien was back in China well before 123 B.C. (*CHS*, ch. 61; *SC*, ch. 123; *JAI*, 188), vol. X, p. 68; *JAOS*, 1917, vol. XXXVII, p. 99). Hence the latest date for Chang Ce'ien's departure from Ta-hsia cannot be placed after (c. 128 B.C.+1 year=) c. 129 B.C. This means that he did not reach Ta-hsia, where he stayed for one year, later than (c. 129 B.C.+1 year=) c. 130 B.C.

Thus the descriptions of the country of Ta-hsia, as given in Chang Ch'ien's report to the Han emperor after returning to China, cannot be applicable to any year earlier or later than c. 130-129 B.C. This suggests

that the Yueh-chih authority over Ta-hsia, as indicated by Chang Ch'ien, should have commenced in or before c. 130-129 B.C.

These data suggest that the Yueh-chih conquered Ta-hsia sometime between c. 160 B.C. and c. 130-129 B.C.

28. Ptolemy, VI, 11, 1f.
29. See below n. 35.
30. P. Trogus, *Prologus XL1, Historiae Philippicae* (quoted in Justin's Epitome) (cited below as Justin). For the justification of our translation, see B.N. Mukherjee, *The Chronology of the End of the Greek Rule in Bactria and Sogdiana*, ch. III, sec. D (in press).
31. The Sakarauoi or Sacarauoi are sometimes identified with the Saraucae. See W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd edition) (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 284 and 291 f; F. Dübner, *Justinii Historiae Philippicae*, p. 368, f. n. 6; etc.
32. Justin states, on the authority of Trogus, that Phraates (II) invited the Scythians to assist him against Antiochus (VII) (Justin, XLII, 1), that the Scythian contingents arrived too late to be of any help (*ibid.*), and that Antiochus (VII) was victorious in three successive battles and occupied Babylonia (*ibid.*, XXXVIII, 10). Acuneiform text indicates that Babylonia was under Antiochus (VII) on 22 Aiaru in the year 182 (i.e., June 2, 130 B. C.) (George A. Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymen nach Thontafeln Griechischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1896), text no. 25; N. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938), (cited below as *Parthia*) p. 32, f.n. 18). This indicates that the Scythian movements within Parthia may have started by that time.

Antiochus (VII) was defeated and killed in or after the winter following his occupation of Babylonia in c. 180 B.C. (*Justin*, XXXVIII, 10). Phraates (II) now planned to invade Syria. However, "movements of the Scythians diverted him from this expedition". The Scythians "began to ravage the borders of Parthia" (*ibid.*, XLII, 1) obviously the eastern borders. Thus it appears that the Scythians had begun to cause havoc by c. 130 or c. 129 B.C. Phraates (II) himself was killed in fighting against them (*ibid.*). The definitely known date of Artabanus II, the successor of Phraates II, is the year 188 (i.e., 124-123 B.C.). Hence Phraates II perished sometime in or before 124-123 B.C. The date is generally placed in c. 128 B.C. (R.H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1935), pp. 183 and 202; S.A. Cook *et. al* (editors) *Cambridge Ancient History* (cited below as *CAH*), vol. II, p. 581).

For W.W. Tarn's theory that the Scythians crossed the frontiers of Parthia by 130 B.C. as indicated by the absence of Phraates II from "the seat of war" (=Babylonia) against Antiochus VII in 130 B.C., see *CAH*, vol. IX, pp. 581-582.

33. Artabanus II was killed in a fight against the Thogarians (or Tokharians) (Justin, XLII, 2). This may indicate a Tokharian incursion into Eastern Parthia and not a Tokharian occupation of a part or the whole of that

region. However, if the Tokharians entered Eastern Parthia on this occasion from across the Oxus and via Ta-hsia and Western Bactria, which was quite possible, then it must be assumed that effective Greek rule in the last mentioned area, or at least in the major part of it, had already come to an end by the time of the death of Artabanus II, placed generally in c. 124-123 B.C. (R. H. McDowell, *op. cit.*, p. 183; *Parthia*, p. 38).

34. The name P'u-t'iao, considered to have been pronounced in Ancient Chinese as b'uok-t'ieu (A. Herrmann, *Op. cit.*, p. 101, no. 2007), indicates Bactria, and not, as A. Herrmann thinks, the town of Bactra (*ibid.*, p. 24; see also *TP*, 1906, s. II, vol. VII, p. 514). P'u-t'iao=Bactria apparently included, *inter alia*, the area around Bactra.
35. Some scholars do not believe that there was any Scythian invasions of Bactria during the rule of the Greeks, W.W. Tarn, following Herrmann (G. Vissowa (editor), *Paulys Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ol. I, A, 2, cols. 1788-9), observes that in the whole section where the passage referring to the nomadic conquests of Bactria occurs, Strabo actually talks of events of 7th century B.C. However, Tarn does not deny the possibility of the activities of the Asii, Tochari, Pasiiani and Sacarauli in the time of the Bactrian Greeks. He wants to place the invasions of the latter two peoples outside Bactria proper, and to connect the second tribe and (at least once) also the first with the Yueh-chih. Tarn, like several other scholars, takes Ta-hsia, the invasion of which by the Yueh-chih is spoken of in the Chinese sources, as denoting Bactria. He points out that neither the Yueh-chih, nor its component units—the Asii (whom he connects with the Yueh-chih) and the Tochari—can be proved to be Sakas. It is also remarkable that the Chinese sources also do not speak of any Saka invasion of Ta-hsia (=Bactria). These considerations suggest, according to Tarn, that the theory of Saka invasion of Greek Bactria is a myth. (W.W. Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-299; but also see p. 533).

A. K. Narain also thinks that Strabo confused between a nomadic invasion of Bactria in pre-Achaemenid time and the conquest of the same land from the Greeks. Strabo, Narain observes, wrongly coupled the Tochari, whom he included among the nomads and did not mention as Scythian, with the Scythian conquerors of Bactria. (A.K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, (Oxford, 1957), pp. 130-133; *Bharati*, No. II, p. 60).

The above arguments, however, do not bear scrutiny. Occasional digressions from the subject of discussion are not uncommon in the writings of the classical authors. Strabo mentions Chaarene as a place under the Parthian rule (XV, 2, 11) in the midst of his description of Alexander's itinerary in the country of the Paropomisadae and the neighbouring lands (XV, 2, 10-11). Similarly, Justin refers to the foundation of the Parthian empire (II, 3) in the course of his discussion of the history of the Scythians in and before the time of Darius I (II, 1-5)- We cannot infer from these testimonies that neither Strabo nor Justin was aware of the chronology of the rise of the Parthian empire. For both Strabo (XV, 3, 24) and Justin (XI, 9; XLI, 4) certainly knew that this had taken place not only long after the Achaemenids, but also after Alexander. Hence, occasional digressions in

these writings cannot minimise the value of the statements concerned, even though we may criticise the style of the authors in question.

What seems to have prompted Tarn and Narain to express doubts about the value of Strabo's evidence is their belief that Ta-hsia was the same as Bactria. However, the fact is that Ta-hsia at best included only the eastern part of Bactria. If this was so, the invasion of the Scythian peoples like the Sakarauoi or Sacarauli, the Pasianoi or Pasiani and the Asioi or Asit [the Asii need not be connected with the Yueh-chih (*Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1945, p. 1 f; 1947, pp. 150-151)]—in the western part of Bactria and the advent of the Tokharoi or Tochari (to be connected with the Yueh-chih) in Eastern Bactria might have happened almost simultaneously and during the rule of the Bactriaⁿ Greeks.

Thus there is nothing wrong in the hypothesis regarding the Scythian invasions of Greek Bactria. However, as noted above (n. 25) Scythian affiliation of the Tochari (and the Yueh-chih) is a moot point. No doubt, Strabo, contrary to the supposition of Narain, mentions Tochari as one of the Scythian nomads (XV, 8. 2). But the Yueh-chih, who should be connected with the Tochari (see above n. 25), are not referred to as Sakas or Scythians in Chinese texts. Hence if the non-mention in the Chinese sources of the Yueh-chih invasion of Ta-hsia as a Scythian incursion is of any significance, then Strabo may be considered to have been wrong in assuming the Tokharians as Scythians. We have already suggested (n. 25) that to the classical authors the Tokharians might have appeared as Scythians on account of their migrations into Bactria through the lands associated with the Scythians. Although subject to this criticism, Strabo's statement is not *prima facie* untrustworthy. At least there is no reason to believe that he confounded the events of the 7th century B.C. with those of the time of the Greek rule in Bactria. In the present state of our knowledge we must refer all of the invasions in question to the latter period.

Yakshi or Kinnari Pot from Begram

R. C. AGRAWALA

EARLY CENTURIES OF the Christian Era in India are marked by the appearance of embossed and decorated pottery in sufficient quantity. This is very well corroborated by hundreds of potsherds bearing various designs and human motifs on them. It is now proposed to present a brief review of some of the interesting ceramic vases from India, Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan, mainly those which depict human figurines on the spouts prepared from moulds. The same may be divided into several categories such as :—

1. HUMAN HEADS ON SPOUTS

A number of such spouts are preserved in Indian Museums, including the Safdarjung collections of the Archaeological Survey of India at New Delhi,¹ University Museum² at Allahabad, Bharat Kala Bhawan at Varanasi³ etc. One grotesque human headed spout, in Grey Ware from Vaisali⁴ in Bihar, has even been dated to 150-100 B.C. (period II); in contemporary Indian sculpture we have not come across any representation of such a spout so far. The motif of a crocodile spout of course became very popular in contemporary ceramics in India, after the Kushana period.

2. BUST OR FULL HUMAN FIGURE ON THE SPOUT

In one fragment containing the female figure in standing pose from Sambhar⁵, in Rajasthan, the hands of the lady are shown lifted upwards to left, so as to touch the hole of the spout above. This gives us an idea of a lady lifting the pot on her left shoulder. One such

spout has recently been excavated from layer 18 (period IV) at Rajghat,⁶ near Varanasi; the lady seems to have caught the spout between her legs in a charming manner. Another pottery spout from Rajghat presents a graphic view of standing female in the art of post-Gupta⁷ period and remind us of *Sura Sundari* figures in contemporary Indian sculptures.

The Gurukula Museum at Jhajjar⁸ (Haryana) preserves two fragments in the form of pottery spouts, probably prepared from the same mould and recovered from the ancient site of Naurangabad. Of these, one is in the typical Red Polished Ware. Both of them have got, below the spout portion, representation of a *female bust with hands folded and placed between her breasts* as also in early Indian sculptures at Sanchi, Bharhut etc.

From Ahichchhatra⁹ has been reported a ceramic fragment depicting the spout held by the lady in her hands, below the breasts of a lady. From Nevasa¹⁰, in Deccan, has been excavated, in red slipped ware (phase III; 100-300 A.D.), the fragment of a globular pot having spout in the shape of a water bottle shown over a human head and supported by human hands (probably of some lady) in a charming manner. A lady associated with a gorgoyle became a very popular motif during the early-mediaeval and subsequent sculptures from various parts of India¹¹ and South-east Asia¹².

3. SPOUT IN THE FORM OF A HUMAN FACE

Pottery jars or vessels, providing the outlet of water from the mouth of a lady, are very few from India, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Sir A. Stein has reported the discovery of one such fragment from Yotkan, near Khotan in Chinese Turkestan (Yo. 1, height 4.75 inches). It consists of the upper part of a woman, hair cut straight across the forehead and falling in two masses in front of the shoulders; breasts bare and all below missing. There is a hole through the mouth probably indicating that the figure was used as a vessel, for unguents of course as suggested by Stein.¹³ The flat torque round the neck and the V-shaped necklace hanging below bear testimony to the impact of Indian art traditions of Kushana period on this particular fragment. In fact we are well aware of dozens of decorated pots from the vicinity of Khotan, some are face-pots in imitation of Greek and Roman motifs, others have got animal handles while a few pottery fragments depict *Krishna Lila* scenes as well. On one pottery fragment from Khotan, now preserved in the Hermitage

Museum at Leningrad, can be seen Krishna garbed in Sassanian dress including a long tunic and boots, he is lifting the Govardhana mountain on his raised up left hand. This is quite an interesting relief.

Of outstanding interest and first-rate workmanship is the tiny bluish-green glazed vessel from Begram (ancient Kapisa) in Afghanistan. Excavated by Mr. J. Hackin¹⁴ in 1939, it is now preserved as No. 57.290 in Kabul Museum and measures about 21.3 cms. in height. Dr. Benjamin Rowland¹⁵ feels that this particular Begram pot was probably made in "some Mediterranean centre including Alexandria due to the discovery of the lead-glazed technique in the first century A.D." Let us examine the pot from various angles. The front portion thereof is comprising of a female bust, with hands folded and placed between her breasts in purely an Indian fashion; her mouth is prominently open so as to serve the purposes of a spout; the entire composition of her face, dress and ornaments are Indian, as already discussed in detail by Curtois. The bracelets containing the leaf (*patra*) motif with a *swastika* band recall to our minds the *Sapatra-Keyura* design in the Sunga art of Bharhut, Sanchi and Mathura. Round earlobes may well be compared with similar device in Indian ivories from Begram and sculptures from Mathura. This has thus preserved for us a happy blending of the Sungan tradition of *Sapatra Keyuras* and those of the Kushana art. This vessel from Begram may therefore be dated towards the beginning of first century A. D. Indian ivory workers were quite active at Begram at such an early date, as also suggested by Dr. Rowland in the revised edition of his book *The Art and Architecture of India*, 1967, p. 66. In his own words, "one of the ivory carvings at Begram is the prototype for the work sought in stone by the ivory carvers of Bhilsa (in India), who according to one inscription at Sanchi, dedicated a gateway and presumably their services as well." With all these Indian artistic traditions already popular and surviving at Begram, some local potter might have prepared the Begram glazed pot after some inspiration from the Mediterranean specimens. The fabric, in Begram pot, is green glazed ware which was so characteristic of the Parthian Pottery from Iran, in the second-first century B.C. According to Mr. R. Ghirshman,¹⁶ "the technique of glazed ware already practised by the Achaemenians (who had acquired it from the Elamites) was improved on and more widely employed in Parthian Iran. The Parthian ceramists also manufactured glazed hyhtons with moulded ornaments in II-I B.C. The green glazed pottery has also been excavated in Seleucia¹⁷ before 141 B.C. at Dura, in Mesopotamia, glazed ware was found during second-third century A.D. Glazed ware





CAPTIONS

Plate 1

Female-bust on pottery handle from Shahri Banu, Afghanistan, now in Kabul Museum.

Plate 2

Human figurines on pottery handles from Tepe-Zargaran (Bactria); Photo after Mr. Gardin.

Plate 3

Kinnari-Yakshi Pot ; from Begram, now in Kabul Museum (Drawing after Arts Asiatiques). 1 century A. D. The gorgoyle shows a female with hands in *anjali mudra*.

Plate 4

Salalbhanjika on pottery handle from Gurukula Museum at Jhajjar (Haryana).

Plate 5 and Jacket

Siren Pot from British Museum, London, 6-7th century B. C. (Photo after Mr. Higgin.)

was introduced in India during the early centuries of the Christian Era, it seems to have become extinct by 4th century¹⁸ A.D.

Tarn and others believe that Kabul region remained under the Greek domination until the time of the Kushanas but a recent study of the problem by J. Rosenfield, Jenkins etc., has stressed the point that during the rule of Azes kings in Gandhar, Kabul was governed by the Parthians¹⁹ who minted coins imitating those of Hermaeus. *Green glazed fabric, in the Begram pot under review, may therefore owe its existence to some Parthian impact at Begram.* At the same time we should not forget the early Greek pots, with handles, wherein the female head is attached to the neck of the vase; the back portion is painted as that of a bird while the portion below the neck is covered by designs in the form of right wrist clasped by left hand.

An interesting specimen of this Greek ware and datable to 600 B.C. is now preserved in the British Museum at London²⁰. It appears that such an anthropomorphic *Siren* (half woman and half bird) pot might have inspired the artist of Begram vase who further Indianised the position of hands of the woman on the front as in *Yaksha* and *Yakshi* statues at Bharhut. He seems to have improved the Greek motif by way of providing a spout² at the mouth of the female figure but retaining the bird back as in Greek vases. The idea of a human frontage and back, that of a bird, was undoubtedly known early to Indian artists when they depicted the *Kinnaras* and *Kinnaris* in their respective works. *But this motif, in relation to earthen jars, was decidedly of non-Indian origin; it was possibly derived from the Siren pots of the Graeco-Roman world.* A number of Alexarian objects have been unearthed at Begram itself; it was a great commercial centre connecting East and West. We may also take due notice of the female figures (Mother goddesses) with hands on their breasts and carved on a number of bone handles from Parthian²² levels at Susa, a motif which subsequently appeared on several bone handles from the Parthian Town of Sirkap at Taxila as well. The nudity of the above figures is invariably marked on bone handles from both the countries, thereby suggesting their close affinity with 'Fertility Cult'.

It is difficult to suggest whether the Parthian bone handles had inspired the potter of Begram *Yakshi*-vessel so far as the depiction of a female bust in *anjali* pose is concerned. At the same time we must remember a similar pose of hands on two early historic pottery spouts

from Jhajjar Museum discussed above. A lady in this pose and associated with a pot has recently been noticed by me in dozens of pottery handles from different parts of India; most of them are datable between II-IV century A.D. A few of these decorated handles, in ceramics, were also procured from Shahri Banu²⁴ and Tepe Zargaran,²⁵ both in Afghanistan; on both of them we have the figures of a lady standing in Indian garb. Gardin (*op. cit.* pp. 61-62) has identified these female figures, on pottery handles, as 'aquatic' deities. This seems quite plausible in relation to earthen pots, which were probably used for some particular ritualistic purposes. In Indian literature too, some of the *Yakshas* and *Yakshis* are associated with rain and water; their cult was quite popular during the early centuries of the Christian Era and Indian sculptors faithfully carved numerous figures of *Yakshis* on railing pillars; the drapery fails to cover the nudity of these *Yakshi* figures as well. All this refers to the fertility aspect of these female figures. Other motifs, on pottery handles from Indian sites, include a lady holding a flower in right hand, *Yakshi* standing on crouching attendants, *Salabhanjika*, lady standing with hands stretched below etc; but most of them present a female with hands folded and kept near the breasts as also in Begram *Siren* pot under scrutiny. This recalls to our minds a unique pottery fragment in Kaolin clay from Sambhar²⁶ and now preserved in the Central Museum at Jaipur, in Rajasthan. The neck of the jar from Sambhar has got a female head attached to it on the outer portion as in the Greek *Siren* in British Museum discussed above. This motif seems to have been subsequently copied in Roman ceramics as well. India had very brisk commercial contacts with the Western world, both by land and sea routes; Alexandrian goods have also been excavated at Brahmapuri and Ter. One early Indian ivory, depicting goddess *Sri* decorating her head has been found at Pompei²⁷ in Italy; the city of Pompei itself was buried in the year 79 A.D.; the Indian ivory figure may therefore be dated towards the end of first century B.C.

The device of decorating pottery handles may be compared with somewhat identical motifs presented by pottery fragments from Khafajah²⁸, towards the end of Early dynasty III and also in the Etruscan²⁹ ware, datable to about 600 B.C. The theme became very much popular with the Roman³⁰ artists who successfully presented a number of classical themes on the metal jugs, sometimes on the bases of handles as those of Alexandrian workmanship from Akota (Gujarat) and Brahmapuri (Deccan) in India,³¹ Begram in Afghanistan etc. It appears that Indian potters had improvised the above foreign motif and

substituted Indian themes on their pottery handles, during the early centuries of Christian Era. The cult of *Yaksha* and *Yakshis* was very popular during the contemporary period and this seems to have left its great impact on pottery handles, as well. A *Prakrit* Jaina work of the 3rd century A.D., the *Angavijja*, enlists a number of vessels including *Siri Kamsaga* which probably indicated metal pots having representation of goddess *Sri* on them. It is of course not possible to identify any tangible specimen with this literary text for want of an Indian bronze jar of this type. We may well try to identify the female figure on pottery vases and handles as *Sri*, *Yakshi* or some Water-goddess. The motif of a dame with well-filled pitcher is mentioned in the *Atharva Veda* (3.12.8) as *Purna Kumbha Nari* and as the Purnaghata Kanya in the *Lalita Vistara* as pointed by Dr. V.S. Agrawala in *Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, p. 51. This may also explain, to some extent, the Indian belief in relation to the pots discussed above. The curved handle of the aforesaid pottery jar from Sambhar is most charming because of the depiction of a female figure in *anjali* pose on it.

Excavations by N. R. Banerji at Ujjain (Madhya Pradesh) in India have proved very fruitful in the above reference. It was from Period III levels (I-V century) of this ancient site that an interesting earthen pot, bearing close affinity with the aforesaid Begram piece, was recovered during these operations. Its importance has not been reckoned so far. Here also the front of the vase is that of a lady, while the back consists of a bird with prominent wings; *the workmanship and fabric are completely Indian*. The front portion of the pot measures about 5.2 inches from top of the head to the belly. The hands of the lady therein are completely broken; the hair are falling on the back and also from sides on the shoulders, she puts on a torque touching the neck while another necklace with circular pendant is hanging below on the breasts. The potter has provided a curved handle touching the head of the lady and the neck of the vase on back and appearing just above the wings of the bird. In the Begram vase the braid of lady's hair (*veni*) is of course shown in the form of a grooved handle. The Ujjain vessel is all the more interesting because of the provision of a number of holes, in a single row, into the mouth of the *Yakshi*; this was probably quite intentional, so as to enable a person to pour out water in several streams. It was probably intended to sprinkle water during some religious ceremony. The *Ujjain pot is decidedly a charming example of complete Indianisation of Begram motif under scrutiny*. Ivory workers from India were quite active at Begram and it is no wonder that

some one of them had carried with him some pot or sweet memories of the Begram pot, on his way home to India and subsequently copied the Begram device in his own manner at Ujjain^{3a}, at some later date. The Ujjain *Yakshi* pot may be dated between II-IV century A.D. Further excavations and explorations may enable us to have more knowledge about such anthropomorphic spouts from India, Afghanistan and Central Asia. In my humble opinion, the aforesaid *Yakshi-pot from Begram, in green glazed ware, had definite inspirations both from East West; it was not a product of Alexanderian workmanship alone.* At the same time, it appears to have been manufactured at Begram or in the vicinity thereof, under the circumstances explained above.

NOTES

1. From Ahichchhatra etc.
2. From Kausambi.
3. Rai Govinda Chandra, *Prachina Bharatiya Mitti Ke Bartana* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1960, plate VII bottom.
4. Krishna Dev & V. K. Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations*, 1950, p. 49, plate 19 D.
5. D. R. Sahnj, *Archaeological Remains & Excavations at Sambhar*, Jaipur, p. 26, plate 4 C.
6. Unpublished specimen examined through the kindness of Dr. A. K. Narain and Mr. T. N. Roy.
7. Unpublished spout in well-baked red ware from layer 13, period V of Excavations at Rajghat; size 2.25 inches only. Here the lady has raised her right hand while the left is stretched below, the necklace is hanging upto the breasts.
8. Examined through the kindness of Acharya Bhagwan Dev, Director of Gurukula Museum at Jhajjar.
9. Now in the collections at Safdarjung Tomb, New Delhi. Examined through the kindness of the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India at New Delhi.
10. H. D. Sankalia and S. B. Deo, *From History to Pre-History at Nevasa*, Poona, 1960, p. 292, line drawing T. 77 B on p. 291.
11. Specimens from Abaneri and now in Amber Museum, near Jaipur—R. C. Agrawala's paper in *Lalit Kala*, nos. 1-2, 1955-56, plate 56, fig. 12. Consult Mukhalingam sculpture also,

12. A sculpture depicting female bust; lady holding a spout below her breasts as if tilting the pot, A. B. J. Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Cambridge, 1959, plate 203.
13. A. Stein, *Serindia*, Oxford, 1921, I, p. 102, plate II.
14. J. Hackin, *Nouvelles Recherches Archeologiques a Begram M.D.A.F.A.*, XI, 1954, Paris, pp. 298-99, figures 241-242; *Ancient Art of Afghanistan*, Tokyo, 1964, p. 212, figure 90 of black and white photograph, plate 4 of colour photograph in the beginning; B. Rowland, *Ancient Art from Afghanistan—Treasures of Kabul Museum*, Asia Society Catalogue No. 18, New York, 1966, photo on p. 22 in colour and on p. 49 black and white photograph; Liliane Courtois, 'Note Sur le Cruchon No. 72 de Begram—Kapisi Conserve au Musee de Kabul', *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris, VI (2), 1959, pp. 135-140 and plates.
15. *Ancient Art of Afghanistan*, 1964, Tokyo, p. 212
16. R. Ghirshman, *Iran—Parthians and Sassanians*, 1962, London, Thames & Hudson Series, pp. 110-111.
17. S. R. Rao, *Excavations at Amreli*, Baroda, 1966, pp. 73-74.
Glazed Ware, from Kushana levels, has been reported from Agroha and Rohtak in Haryana, Abichchahtra in U.P., Akota and Amreli in Gujarat etc. *The study of glazed ware from Indian sites is still in infancy.*
18. Nicholas Toll, *The Excavations at Dura Europos*, London, 1943, part I, pp. 5-9.
19. J. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas*, 1967, Berkeley and Los Angeles, p. 297, f.n. 23.
20. A Siren (half woman and half bird) pot from Cythera; no. 68-1-10-767 of British Museum, London; R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Deptt. of Greek and Roman Antiquities in British Museum*, London, 1959, plate XXX, no. 1677, p. 44
21. The open mouth of a lady to serve as a spout is of course absent on such Greek pots. The above specimen is just a jug and the liquid could be poured from the neck itself.
22. R. Ghirshman, *Iran*, Penguin Series, 1954, pl. 39/B.
23. The antiquity of a mirror handle, having female figure on it, may be traced back to Mehi mirror (*S. Piggot, Prehistoric India*, 1950, pp. 111-112 and fig. 11 on p. 112). The motif became popular during the regime of 18th Dynasty in Egypt and in Hellenistic art subsequently; R. Ghirshman *Iran, op. cit.*, plate VII A, p. 102; Flinders Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, 1927, London, plates XXXV—XXVIII, XXXVIII etc. One such bone handle from Taxila, has been preserved in the National Museum at New Delhi.
24. In Red Ware; J. Hackin, J. Carl & J. Meunie, *Diverses Recherches Archeologiques en Afghanistan (1933-40)*, M.D.A.F.A, 1959, p. 73, figure. 215.

25. J. C. Gardin, *Ceramique de Bactres*, M.D.A.F.A, XV, Paris, 1957, pp. 61-62., plate XII, nos. 6-7.
26. D. R. Sahni, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, plate IV-C where he describes it as a pot depicting the 'release of river Ganga from matted locks of Siva'. This identification is hardly cogent.
27. *The Art and Architecture of India*, *op. cit.*, p. 66, plate 194 A & B. It is now preserved in the National Museum, at Naples.
28. Pinhas Delougaz, *Pottery from the Diyala Region*, University of Chicago, 1952, pp. 89-90, plate 87.
29. Arthur Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, I, Boston, 1928. pp. 202-204, nos. 663, 646, plates 36 and 90. On some we have both the handles, having in relief, an archaic female figure with long curls. A number of Greek metal jars, both with one or two handles also depict full human figures on them; J. Charbonneaux, *Greek Bronzes*, 1962, London, plate III figure I, plate IX figure 1, pp. 61-63.
30. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, London, 1962, p. 175, plates 128, 133 etc.
31. For details consult Karl. J. Khandalwala's paper in *Lalit Kala* No. 7, 1960, pp. 29-73 for Alexandrian material from Brahamapuri.
32. Ujjain had contacts with the Western world from the port of Bhroach (Gujarat) as well. A photograph of the Ujjain pot was kindly made available to me by the Director General of Archaeology in India, for which the author of the present paper is extremely obliged to him. *This unltque Yakshi or Kinnari pot from Ujjain has remained unpublished so far.*

Hariti-Lakshmi from Dandan-Uliq in Central Asia

P. BANERJEE

IN THE COURSE of his first geographical and archaeological expedition to Eastern Turkestan in 1900-1901, Sir M.A. Stein discovered an interesting fragment of painting (Pl. I) on a wall of a Buddhist shrine in Dandan-Uliq in the Khotan Oasis. Though this painting (which is ascribable to the seventh-eighth century) is of considerable interest to a student of Central Asian art, Stein did not take the risk of removing it from the site in view of the brittle and friable nature of the plaster on which it was drawn. He, however, took a photograph of it which was reproduced in his book: *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, fig. 29, and also in F. H. Andrews' *Wall-paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia*, pl. xxxii. The subject was discussed also by several other scholars, including A.K. Coomaraswamy (*Eastern Art*, Vol. I, No. 2, fig. 23, p. 181f and *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 283).

The present painting shows a woman standing in an animated pose in an oblong tank of water, 'enclosed by a tessellated pavement and filled with lotuses.' The figure, as far as seen above the water, is 18 inches high. She is youthful and possesses exquisite physical charm. As Stein has described, 'she is drawn with remarkable verve, in simple but graceful outlines of true flesh colour'. She has a narrow waist, comparatively broad hips and rounded breasts. She has a large head-dress, tied with a light-coloured band. The upper part of her body is bare except for the ornaments consisting of armlets, bracelets, necklet and fourfold strings of small bells shown hanging in elegant curves around the hips, Both Stein and Andrews think that her lower body

is covered by a semi-transparent vine-leaf apron 'where Western convention would prescribe the traditional fig-leaf.' Her right hand rests against the breasts while the left is 'curved down' towards the middle of the waist. She is accompanied by a nude child to her right, towards whom her face is turned. The child seems to be rising from the water by holding to her side. According to Stein, 'further to the left appear the head and shoulders of another small figure just rising above the water, as if in the act of swimming.' In the foreground and in front of the tank, the foot of the fresco showed in faint but unmistakable outlines a small riderless horse, closely resembling 'in its dappled colour trappings, and pose' the horse represented on the painted Dandan-Uliq tablet, D.VII.5 (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. I, p. 253). On the further bank of the stream are seated Buddha (Pl. II) and another figure. Buddha, with his face slightly obliterated, holds an indistinguishable object in his right hand and has his left hand placed on the left thigh. The other figure who may be a monk or Bodhisattva has a book in his left hand and has his right hand in the pose of teaching with two fingers erect. Stein and Andrews think that the Buddha and the monk (or the Bodhisattva figure) may not have any connection with the subject under discussion. Similarly, the Vaisravana figure, modelled in clay near the South-east corner of the shrine, may also be unconnected with it.

The painting in question has been variously described by scholars. Stein finds in it a probable representation of the legend (narrated by Hiuen Tsang) of a Naga's widow (Nagini) residing in a stream east of the Khotan capital and her wooing by a self-sacrificing minister. The story runs as follows: Once a local stream ceased to flow. The king enquired from a Bodhisattva or Arhat of its cause. The Arhat advised the propitiation of the Naga residing in the sanctuary. As this was done, a woman came out of the water and said that the flow of the stream had stopped owing to the death of her husband, the Naga, and everything would be all right if she were given a minister of noble birth in marriage. Thereupon, a high officer of the State offered himself as the sacrifice. Dressed in white and mounted on a horse he entered the stream and immediately disappeared. Shortly after, his horse came to the surface with a drum of sandal-wood on its back. The drum is said to have contained a letter from the drowned officer requesting the king of the land to suspend the drum to the south-east of the city. As a result of the sacrifice of the officer, the waters of the stream began to flow again (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. 1, pp. 227-228).

Plate I

Plates I & II

Hariti - Lakshmi,
C. eighth Century
A. D. Dandan-
uliy, Central
Asia.

(Courtesy:
National Museum,
New Delhi)





Plate III

Plate III

Sri-Lakshmi from
Mathura, Kushan,
second century
A. D.

(Courtesy :
National Museum,
New Delhi.)





Plate IV

Sita, Deogarh,
C. fifth Century
A. D. National
Museum
Collection, New
Delhi.



Plate V

Hariti from Farhad-beg-Yailaki, C. eighth century A.D., Central Asia,
National Museum Collection, New Delhi.



Plate VI

Hariti, Gandhara, C. third century A. D.
(Courtesy : National Museum, Calcutta.)

According to Stein, the woman in the midst of the tank is the Nagini, and the nude figure to her right is the minister who disappeared in the water and the riderless horse is the minister's steed that came back to the city. But one vital thing that is missing is the drum which the horse is said to have carried.

Andrews considers this figure as a close parallel to the Western conception of Venus, 'here assuming the role of a Nagini, rising from the waters of a tank or a lotus-lake.' In order to prove the Western influence on the painting he writes, "We recognize the slight crook of the left knee, the forward droop of the body, the youthful breasts, the action of the arms in bringing the beautiful hands into the positions indicative of maidenly modesty. Further aid is afforded to this assumption of virginal coyness by the introduction of the unorthodox vine-leaf apron..." (F. H. Andrews, *Wall Paintings from Buddhist Shrines in Central Asia*, p. 110, pl. xxxii).

Stein's assumption that the female figure in question is a Nagini is difficult to accept in view of the fact that the figure bears no snake-emblem. Again, it is not necessary also to treat her as based on a Western conception of Venus as Andrews thinks. Coomaraswamy seems to be nearer the truth when he described her as a water-nymph, closely related to the Indian conception of Lakshmi (*Eastern Art*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 181).

C. Sivaramamurti in his book *Sculpture Inspired by Kalidasa*, p. 39, suggests that the painting illustrates the effect of the excessive heat in the summer which is apparent in the pleasure pond with its water diminished so much so that it reaches only the waist of the woman and the long lotus-stalks appear above the surface, as described by Kālidāsa in verse 46, Canto XVI of the *Raghuvamsam*:

*dine dine śaivalavantyadhastāt sopāna-parvāṇi vimunchadambhah.
uddundapadmam griha-dirghikāṇām nārīnitambadvayasambabhuva*

From the preceding it is clear that there is no uniformity of opinion with regard to the interpretation of the theme of the painting. This reminds me of the verse No. 38 of the *Bilhana-Chāurapanchāśikā* in which the poet expresses inability to describe his beloved correctly. He says: "I have still to decide whether she is Pārvati, the consort of Śiva, or Urvaśī (who had become the victim from the lord of gods) or Krishna's Lakshmi or was she created by the creator to make the world mad."

*adayāpi tām na khalu vedmi kimīśa-patnī śāpam gatā surapateratha
Krishna Lakshmih*

*dhātraiva kim nu jagatah parimohanāya sā nirmītā yuvatiratna-
didrikshayā vā*

Whatever it may be, the youthful woman of the present painting seems to be, in my opinion, a composite figure partaking of the characteristics of Lakshmī and Hārītī, the origin of both of whom, like many other female divinites, can be traced to the Mother goddess of earlier traditions, representing fertility and prosperity. In India, Urvaśī, the best known of the *apsaras*, seems to offer an early parallel to the Mother goddess conception. Like Anahita of Iranian Mythology and Lakshmī of the epic tradition, the *apsaras* (as the name itself would indicate) have their abode in the waters (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 134-135). According to the *Purānas*, they also rose along with other things from the ocean when it was churned by the gods and demons. Subsequently, however, the conception of prosperity and fertility came to be largely associated with Lakshmī and to some extent with the snake goddess Manasā of the Hindu mythology and with Vasudhārā and probably more than that with Hārītī of Buddhist tradition. It may be mentioned here that like Hārītī, (*Eastern Indian Sculpture*, Archaeological Survey of India, by R. D. Banerjee, Pl. LXIVa), Manasā is also sometimes shown with a child on her lap.

Like Anahita and Aphrodite of Western tradition Śrī Lakshmī also is associated with waters. As the well-known epic-puranic tradition is, she came out of the ocean, when it was churned by the gods and the demons. The *Vishnupurāna* (Part 1, chapter 9, v.100) vividly describes the rise of Lakshmī as follows:

*tatah sphurat-kāntimatī vikaśita-kamale sthitā
Śrīdevī payasastamādudbhūtā dhṛita-pankajā*

Śrī-devī, glittering in her beauty, standing on a fully developed lotus, rose from the ocean with a lotus in her hand.

Her (Lakshmī's) association with waters and lotuses is also denoted by the epithets—kshīrābdhi-tanayā (one who is the daughter of the sea) and Padmālayā (one whose abode is in the lotuses) as enumerated in the *Amarakośa*. After her rise from the ocean she became the wife of Vishnu. "Like Venus too, she is the mother of Indian Eros, either directly as wife of Dharma (born from a lotus springing from Vishnu's forehead), the mother of Kāmadeva or indirectly as Rukminī, wife of

Krishna and mother of Pradyumna. The connection with Kamadeva is further indicated in the *Mahābhārata*, xiii, 11.3, where as mother of Makaradhvaja (Kāmadeva) she bears a *makara* on her hand as an auspicious mark" (A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Eastern Art*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 175). This is perhaps one of the reasons why Hārītī, who incorporated some of the characteristics of Lakshmi as Mother goddess is sometimes shown with a fish as one of her attributes, cf. the figure of Hārītī, pl.xxv, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* by N. K. Bhattasali).

It is thus evident that the present Dandan-Uliq figure offers a close parallel to the above conception of Lakshmī's rise from the sea and her association with the lotus¹. She is further shown as pressing or touching her breasts with her right hand as the Śrī Lakshmi from Mathura, now in the National Museum, New Delhi (previously it was in the Lucknow Museum, Lucknow). The pillar on the front side of which this figure of Lakshmī is carved 'consists of a group of tall growing lotus flowers and leaves rising from a full vessel'. At the back is seated a pair of peacocks on the central leaf. She stands in front with each foot on a flower. The artist has depicted her, as Coomaraswamy describes, as a 'voluptuous womanly figure', a lady of beauty and abundance. With one hand she presses her breast conceived as a source of stream of milk (Pl. III). The other hand rests against her body below the navel (*Eastern Art*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 181f).

The positions of the hands of Śrī Lakshmī from Mathura are almost similar to those of Sitā from Devgarh (Pl. IV). Apart from the fertility significance attached to them such gestures are also indicative of the modesty of the young women.²

Thus the gesture of pressing the breast (which is also found in the case of certain Gaja-Lakshmī figures of Bharhut and also in that of the Mother goddess or Anahita figurines of Western Asia (cf. the Luristan Bronze, mirror handle reproduced as figure 57, by R. Ghirshman in his book: *Persia from the Origins to Alexander the Great*) showing the goddess, pressing her breasts as a source of nourishment) and other features, as noted above, of the Dandan-Uliq female figure establish beyond doubt that she is closely related to the type of the monolithic figure of Lakshmī from Mathura described now. In addition to that, she partakes of certain characteristics of Hārītī as the presence of the child by her side would indicate. Both Hārītī and Lakshmī, being Mother goddesses, it is quite natural that each would influence the other with

reference to their iconographic traits. This is illustrated also by the fact that the cornucopia which is an attribute of Hārītī from the Gandhāra region is also shown in the hand of Lakshmī on Gupta coins (A. S. Altekar, *the Gupta Gold coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Bombay, 1954, pp. 6, 51, 53, 54, pls. v, 7, vi, 5, etc).

Now, according to legends recorded in Buddhist literature, Hārītī was originally a Yakshinī with 500 children. She took to stealing and killing the children of Rājagriha to feed herself and her offspring. Thus she came to be known as Hārītī (one who steals). In order to convert her to more human feelings Buddha hid in his alms-bowl Piṅgala, her youngest and most beloved child. This upset Hārītī very much. On the assurance that she would give up her habit of killing others' children, Buddha returned Piṅgala to Hārītī and ordained that for her as well as her children's subsistence the monks in every convent would provide food. The presence of Buddha and a monk by his side in close proximity to Hārītī may be explained if the scene is interpreted as the conversion by Buddha of Hārītī from a malevolent Yakshinī to a kind matron, a giver of children.

Yi-tsing has recorded that the image of Hārītī was to be noticed in the porch or dining hall of every Indian monastery and there she figured not as a devourer but as a giver of children; usually her male counterpart, Kubera or Pānchika, the dispenser of riches was shown opposite to her. According to Yi-tsing, Hārītī was to be depicted with a babe in her arms and round her knees three or four children (A. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 280 ff.). This emphasises her fertility characteristics as a Mother goddess. A goddess with a young child or a subordinate god is known in early Western traditions also. "In punic Africa she is Tanit with her son; in Egypt, Isis with Horus; in Phoenicia, Ashtaroth with Tammuz (Adonis); in Asia Minor, Cybele with Attis, in Greece, Rhea with the young Zeus" (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 147).

In sculpture Hārītī has been shown seated and sometimes also as standing; 'her favourite child sometimes clings to her bosom, sometimes he is placed astride her hip'. In addition to her children, sometimes her husband is also shown. "The Ogress, once the terror of fruitful mothers has clearly there become a kind of matron, a hope of barren women."

The worship of Hārītī became very popular in the North West of India as Hiuen Tsang has recorded in his travel account. This is quite

evident also from a large number of Hārītī images discovered in the Gandhara area. In the course of time, Hārītī worship spread to Central Asia, China, Japan, Indonesia and other places.

In Central Asia were discovered some very interesting fragments of paintings showing Hārītī. One such fragment was removed by Stein from a Buddhist Shrine in Farhad-Beg Yailaki (F.xii.004) and it is now in the National Museum, New Delhi (Pl.V). Dressed in a costume of Persian character, Hārītī sits cross-legged, her right forearm bent to support one of the boys who sits astride her waist.... "The five children, representing her five hundred, are more easily identified, one astride her waist, another embracing her left breast, two astride her shoulders, the one on the left shoulder wearing a terracotta colour smock. The other three are nude. The fifth, badly defaced, on the left of the picture, wears a green smock and seems to be dancing. (F.H. Andrews, *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia*, p. 17, pl. iv).

The other remarkable Hārītī painting from Central Asia is one which was discovered in Yar-Khoto (about 10 kilometers to the west of Turfan) by the German Archaeological Mission. Along with this painting were found a large number of manuscripts in Sogdian, Turkish, Chinese and other scripts all of which were of Buddhist significance. This figure of Hārītī has been described in detail by Foucher in the *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 272 ff. Hārītī, dressed in a long tunic with open sleeves, open at the breast, sits on an armless, but much ornamented chair. Her head, with a circular nimbus around, is covered as far as the shoulders by a veil. She holds in her right hand a child in swaddling clothes. The position of holding a child in this fashion reminds us of the one held by Hārītī, of the Dacca Museum, mentioned above. She is surrounded by eight plump little boys, all wearing on their shaven crown tufts of hair. Four of them are shown, as if beginning to play a kind of hockey. The fifth child seated on the ground plays a sort of guitar with four strings. The sixth is carrying a basket containing some melons, whole or in pieces. On the left of the figure, above the two hockey players, there is a little boy who is balancing a vase on his head. The eighth figure in the top corner is very much damaged.

Now to return to the Dandan-Uliq female figure, we may note that the male figure to her right is a nude child, closely resembling the children of Hārītī from Farhad-Beg Yailaki and Turfan as well as those

of some of the Gandhāra Hārītīs especially one (No. A. 23238/5163) from the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Pl. VI).

From the preceding, it would appear that the characteristics of the present female figure standing in waters with lotuses and having a child by her side is nothing but a representation of a composite Hārītī-Lakshmī figure. This combination of Lakshmī and Hārītī, though very natural in view of their common fertility characteristics as Mother goddesses, is however, rarely shown in paintings or sculptures; it is this reason which invests the present Dandan-Uliq painting with great significance.

NOTES

1. The representation of Lakshmi or Srimahadevi in Khotan shrines is quite natural in view of the prevalence of her worship in the Khotan region according to the local Khotanese and Tibetan traditions. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. 1, p. 161.
2. Compare the verse No. 7, Sarga 12 of the *Gita-Govinda*.

*Vyalolah kesa pasa-staralitamalakaith sveda-mokshau kapolau
Klishta Bimbadhara—srith kucha-kalasa rucha harita-hara-yashtih
Kanchi-kantirhatasa stana jaghana-padam paninachchhadya sadpah
Pasyanti satrapa sa tadapi vilulita mugdhakantirdhinoti*

Rapporteur's Report for Theme II (Sessions 3rd & 4th)

R. C. AGRAWALA

SESSION III

THE THIRD SESSION of the Seminar was held in the forenoon of Wednesday—the 12th February, 1969 with A.L. Basham as Chairman and R. C. Agrawala as rapporteur. The first paper, by G. M. Bongard-Levin from USSR., included an interesting resume of very important archaeological discoveries in Soviet Central Asia and datable upto the end of 7th century A. D. Supported with excellent slides, this lecture laid great stress on the existence of Bactrian Art as such, with some of its important centres at Khalchayan, Dalverzin Tepe, Kara Tepe, Airtam, Adzhina Tepe etc., in that part of Central Asia. The discovery of Buddhist remains at Adzhina Tepe, Kara Tepe, Pianjikent etc., has got an important bearing on the arts of India and Soviet Central Asia during the early historic period. The region of Kashmir also appears to have played an important role as regards the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia is concerned. P. Banerjee, S. K. Chatterjee, B. N. Mukherjee and R. C. Agrawala participated in the discussion.

In the second paper, G. R. Sharma examined the impact of Achaemenian, Hellenistic, Saka-Parthian-Kushana and Hun traits in different regions of Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran and India. Sharma based his observations on a comparative analysis of early-historic archaeological finds from these regions. The paper invoked a fruitful discussion by A. L. Basham, B. N. Mukherjee, G. M. Bongard-Levin, S. P. Gupta, B. K. Thapar and N. Ray. Ray stressed the point that such affinities were quite evident as the entire region was a single culture

zone at some stage. A. L. Basham supported the view that the origin of double-humped camel should be looked somewhere in central Asia itself.

B.N. Mukherjee discussed in his paper the movements of nomadic peoples in Greek Bactria, during the 2nd century B. C. the identified Eastern Bactria with *Ta-hsia* comprising of modern Wakhan, Badakshan, Chitral and Kafiristan. The problem of Saka infiltration into India was further discussed by K. Menges, G.M. Bongard-Levin, A.L. Basham and S. K. Chatterjee. Quoting *Panini* and Indian literature, G. M. Bongard-Levin pointed out that the Sakas had entered into India in successive waves.

S. K. Chatterjee made some remarks on the movement of peoples and ideas among the countries of Central Asia upto the 8th Century A. D. He based his thesis on the analysis of a few Turkish loan words in Sanskrit such as *Thakur*, *Kand* etc. K. Menges of course did not agree regarding *Kand* and suggested that it was an Aryan word.

SESSION IV

The fourth session was held in the afternoon of 12th February, 1969, with K. Balkan in the Chair and R.C. Agrawala as rapporteur. Only two papers were read and both were illustrated with slides. R.C. Agrawala discussed the motif of female figures appearing on early-historic pottery handles from several sites in India and Afghanistan, as far as Termez. They have got an important bearing on the impact of Indian art traditions and Indianisation of a foreign motif which was so popular with the Greco-Roman artists. Agrawala also compared the famous Begram *Siren* pot with a somewhat identical spouted vessel from Ujjain in Indian territory. N. Ray supported the identification of such female figures with the goddess of fertility and fecundity. G. M. Bongard-Levin and K. Balkan also made some observations on this paper.

The second and the last paper of this session by P. Banerjee related to the identification of a female figure on a painted panel from Dandanuliq, in Chinese Turkestan. Banerjee made a very strong case for the identification of this female figure with *Hariti* accompanied as she is by a baby standing, and catching at her leg, as also in the case of *Hariti* in Gandhara Art. S. P. Gupta and S. K. Chatterjee participated in the discussion and suggested that the entire panel from Dandanuliq may represent some Buddhist theme or some secular scene.

SECTION III

Medieval Period

India's Influence on the Development of Social Thought Among the Peoples of Central Asia

B. G. GAFUROV

INDIAN CULTURE CONSTITUTES one of the greatest achievements of mankind. From time immemorial it has exerted a powerful impact on the life of humanity on man's spiritual world.

The famous indologist Max Mueller said, "if we look for a country in the whole world which nature endowed with beauty, riches and spiritual powers, I would point to India. If I am asked now as to where under the sun human mind explored its own workings fully and thought profoundly about the fundamental problems of life and also found some solutions I would point to India. If I should ask myself from what literature should we Europeans take those principles which can make the inner world of the man more perfect, wide and more human—I would point to India again".

Romain Rolland, the great French writer called India a land which expressed all the aspirations of mankind from the day the first man embarked on the dream of life.

There are many other utterances and statements to the same effect.

The genius of the Indian people created the great civilization of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, one of the earliest civilizations in the history of mankind. The builders of the superb structures of Mohenjo-Daro—its houses, theatres, baths and reservoirs were closer to the people than the builders of the Egyptian pyramids.

Throughout its history the culture of mankind has felt the powerful impact of the Indian folk epics and philosophy, the influence of the Vedas, the Upanishads and, naturally, of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana.

The contribution made by the peoples of India to world science cannot be overlooked. This applies primarily to astronomy, mathematics and medicine.

The love of Indian people for their homeland, their striving for independence and their capacity for assimilating the cultural values of their near and far neighbours—all these have influenced the history of mankind.

We often dwell on the impact exerted by Hellenism on Asia, but are apt to forget that the culture of the Indian people, in its turn, influenced all European and Near Eastern cultures through Greece and Central Asia.

Emphasis on the inner world of the individual and his moral improvement, lofty ideals of peace, wisdom and humanism, a profound understanding of the part played by nature in man's life—these characteristics of Indian thought greatly affected the development of the world culture and influenced various cultures.

In the Soviet Union, India's social thought, philosophy, religion, literature and art have long been studied with unabated interest. Suffice it to mention the names of the famous Russian orientalists—V. P. Vasilyev, I. P. Minaev, S. P. Oldenburg, F. I. Shcherbatsky, G. N. Roerich.

We are proud that the Indian scholars paid great respect to works of Shcherbatsky and believed him to be one of the best Sanskrit scholars of the world.

Now a large group of Soviet Indologists are studying modern and ancient Indian Philosophy and culture and its influence on cultures of various peoples. In the past ten years alone, the greatest creations of Indian thought have been published here in the Russian language with great circulation, the Mahabharata, the Upanishads, the Arthashastra, the Dhammapada and also the works of Kalidasa, Tulsi Das, Kabir, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Rabindranath Tagore and other great exponents of Indian culture.

The Soviet people have the highest regard for the main features of Indian social thought.

What are these features ?

First, recognition of the important part played by the national spiritual heritage and the age-old ideological traditions in the country's cultural revival and in the strengthening of the humanistic elements in all spheres of its spiritual life.

Second, the strive to inculcate in man an active creative attitude to life.

Third, the advancement and substantiation of the principles of peaceful relations between the peoples and the friendship of peoples all over the world.

Fourth, the denunciation of capitalist civilization, the policy of colonial plunder, ethnic and racial enmity.

Such is the tremendous invaluable contribution made by Indian thought to world culture in our times.

The beneficent impact of Indian culture has been felt by many peoples of the world. In this paper, I would like to dwell on certain aspects of cultural relations between the peoples of India and the peoples of Central Asia—relations that are rooted in the hoary past. They can be traced back to prehistoric times when the ethnic community of Indo-Iranian (Aryan) tribes existed. Deep-going traces of this community have been reflected in two outstanding creations of antiquity—the Vedas, which took shape on Indian soil and the Avesta whose core developed on the territory of Central Asia (called Eastern Iran).

Though these works reflected some difference between the kindred tribes, there were many similarities too in their cultures.

The brilliant era of Kushan culture is another glorious page in the history of the fruitful spiritual exchange between the peoples of India and Central Asia.

In 1968, an International Conference on the Kushan period was held in Dushanbeh—in the land of ancient Bactria, the starting point of the Kushan dynasty. The work of this Conference brought to light many aspects of the cultural interchange between the peoples of two regions—the Indian and the Central Asian—and showed how important

was the influence of Indian culture on the culture of Central Asian people.

These problems have been recently elaborated by the Soviet researchers. The history of the Panchatantra is a pertinent example of the spread of Indian wisdom in Central Asia. Its translations into Persian with an intermediary Arabic translation known as 'Kalila and Dimna' became a cultural treasure of the Central Asian peoples. One of the finest translations or rather poetic expositions was accomplished by Rudaki, the great Tajik-Persian poet. It is the image of India that inspired an elegant and profound 'beit' of Rudaki. The great poet said he would rather take the hard, hazardous trail to India than enjoy the comforts of his beautiful home.

In ancient times and in the middle ages, between India and Central Asia, was a great process of reciprocal cultural enrichment. It was a creative assimilation, a process that worked both ways. The two countries enriched each other making their contributions. This was fully manifested e.g. in the Manichaeism religion which, as we know, has sprung from ancient Iranian religion and mythology and can be traced to Zoroastrianism. Mani, the founder of this teaching, himself travelled to India and had followers there. Many Manichaeism ideas were absorbed by Indian culture.

Cultural contacts between India and Central Asia put an imprint on the works of Firdousi and Biruni. As regards Firdousi this is clearly seen in the episode in 'Shah Namah' dealing with the meeting of Alexander the Great (Iskander) and the Indian Brahmins. Here Firdousi depicted a social utopia—the people's dream of the Kingdom of equality and justice. As for Biruni there is his famous work on India.

Suffism was a synthesis of two principles—Indian pantheism and Muslim mysticism. For many centuries it played an important part in the development of poetry in Central Asia, Iran and India. Suffism affected the Indian Bhakti poetry.

Beginning with the 13th century, after the Mongol invasion many Central Asian thinkers found refuge in India. The contribution made by the Central Asian peoples in the course of cultural interaction with India was steadily increasing. This is borne out by the work of Amir Khusrow Dehlevi. The Central Asian contribution became still greater when Babur founded the Great Moghul dynasty.

So called Indian style developed in the Parsi language. It was widespread over a vast area from Bukhara and Isfahan to Delhi and Calcutta. The Indian style affected literature not only in Parsi and Turkic but also those in Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi and Bengali. A famous writer in this style was Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil. As struggle ensued among the Bedilists—the progressive and conservative interpreters of his heritage and continuers of his work, this polemic constituted the main ideological content of the literary development of the peoples of Central Asia upto the Great October revolution.

The establishment of colonial rule in India and later in Central Asia artificially severed the traditional links between the peoples of these two lands.

The British colonialists increasingly strove to isolate the peoples of India from those of Central Asia. But their efforts failed. It is important to note that the revolutionary idea of socialism reached India not from Britain, but from Russia. The struggle waged by the peoples of Central Asia after the October revolution for their social and national regeneration inspired the finest men of India.

In ancient times, progressive humanistic principles reached Central Asia from India, but Central Asia also gave many humanistic ideas to India.

The peoples of the two lands have now come together on the basis of a new way of life.

Soviet researchers have profound respect for Indian cultural traditions. Many western researchers acknowledged Indian wisdom back in the 19th century, recognizing its world historical significance. But they visualized this wisdom above all as Brahmanic, extremely mystical principle whereas Soviet investigators see in it above all its folk source, its popular elements.

We deeply respect and admire the popular Indian spirit which has placed an indelible imprint on cultural treasures, on the works of India's writers and thinkers. We also respect the national features of the Indian people in their striving for independence and peace, tolerance as regards the peoples of other races, nationalities and religious creeds. These features were strikingly expressed in the policy of Jawaharlal Nehru, the policy of positive neutrality. They exerted a tremendous influence on international relations today, and promoted India's prestige and influence throughout the world.

The great culture of the Indian people is highly esteemed in our country. Afanasy Nikitin spoke of this with great warmth 500 years ago. Nearly 200 years ago this point was stressed by Gerasim Lebedev, who founded the first modern theatre in Calcutta. Dobrolyubov, a famous Russian writer wrote with great sympathy about the liberation struggle of the Indian people. Belinsky, the great Russian democrat and critic, while condemning the 'theories' which denied the independent historical development of the peoples of the East and their capacity for independent action wrote "India is a supremely historical country; India...deserves a niche of honour in history".

Leo Tolstoy's sympathy for India and his struggle to win freedom is generally known. In 1909 Gandhi published Tolstoy's famous article 'Letter to an Indian'. He said in his introduction that he had long considered Tolstoy his great teacher and leader, and regarded it as an honour to help publishing this letter which would soon become world famous.

Our great leader, Vladimir Lenin followed the Indian people's independence struggle with the greatest attention.

This year we will celebrate in our country the centenary jubilee of the great son of India, Mahatma Gandhi. In 1970 all progressive people in the world will celebrate the 100th birth anniversary of great Lenin.

Friendly contacts between our two countries have a long history. Still more remarkable vistas are open before us. We hope that the potential cultural abilities of the great Indian people will be even more amply displayed in the future. We are sure that Indian people who contributed greatly to the world culture will enrich it in future with new immortal treasures for the benefit of peace and friendship of all the peoples of the world.

India's Cultural Relations with Central Asia During the Medieval Period

K. A. NIZAMI

INDIA'S CONTACT WITH Central Asia dates back to remote past and covers many aspects of human relationship—social, political, intellectual and economic. Caravans of men and streams of thought constantly moved between India and Central Asia and despite limited means of communication intimate cultural contacts developed between these two regions. In this paper, however, only a synoptic over-view of the nature of this relationship during the medieval period is attempted.

Two preliminary observations are necessary in order to put this study in a proper perspective with reference to time and space.

(1) The Central Asian region, stretching from the lower Volga and the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, to the frontiers of Western China, and from southern Siberia to the frontiers of Iran and Afghanistan passed through many political vicissitudes during the millenium under review. Considered in the broad perspective of India's contact with Central Asia, its history falls into four distinct phases : (i) from the late 7th century to the year 1220.—i. e. From the Arab conquest of Central Asia to the overthrow of Central Asian States, particularly Bukhara, by Chengiz Khan in 1220. (ii) From 1220 to 1370—i.e. from Chengiz Khan's conquest of Central Asia to the rise of Timur. This period of 150 years saw in India the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate and in Central Asia the destruction of the state-system evolved over a period of several decades by the Turkish dynasties. Some of the significant developments of this period were—(a) the rise of the Mongol *uluses*; (b) the fall of Baghdad in 1258; (c) the conversion of the Mon-

gols to Islam and the simultaneous presence of the Muslim and the Mongol principalities in Central Asia; (d) the rise of Il-Khans in Persia; and (e) the efforts of the Mongols to build anew the cities which some decades earlier their ancestors had destroyed. (iii) From 1370 to 1526—i.e. from the rise of Timur to the advent of Babur on the Indian scene. During this period Timur gave a new fillip to the life and culture of Central Asia, and Samarqand emerged again as a cradle of splendour. Though Timur's descendants continued to hold this area for many years, their internecine conflicts destroyed its political individuality. This period of a century and a half synchronized with the rise of the provincial kingdoms in India. Some of these provincial governments had cultural and diplomatic relations with Central Asia and Persia. (iv) From the beginning of the 16th to the middle of the 17th century—being the era of the Great Mughals in India, the Safavids in Persia and the Uzbeks in Central Asia. The nature, extent and accent of India's relationship with Central Asia was determined by these political developments.

(2) The Taklamakan explorations have brought to light thousands of manuscripts written in different scripts and multitudes of works of art, pictorial and plastic, which mark this region as the meeting ground of Hellenistic, Indian, Persian and Chinese forms of Civilization. India was connected on the mainland with this region through two routes : (a) the Gomal pass which led to Dera Ismail Khan and thence to Upper Sind Sagar Doab, and (b) the Kashmir routes: After crossing the Kara Koram the trade caravans reached Yarqand where the routes from Ladakh, Tibet, China, Khotan and India were joined by those leading to Kashghar. From¹ Kashghar, the merchants could proceed to Samarqand and Bukhara. Now Samarqand, the first city of Transoxiana, was the junction of the main trade routes from India (via Balkh), from Persia (via Merv) and from the Turkish dominions². Likewise this region became a junction for the meeting of ideas.

A . IDEAS

In the early centuries of the Christian era, during the period of the Kushanas, great centres of Buddhism appeared at Khotan, Kashghar, Tashkent, Bukhara, Balkh and Bamiyan. With the establishment of Arab power in Central Asia, Buddhist and Islamic ideas entered into a dialogue and a number of new schools of thought appeared which sought readjustment of ideas to new situations. Many Indian concepts

which had influenced the Central Asian mind, came back to India under new garbs and new rubrics.

In this transmission of ideas the role of Baghdad cannot be over-emphasized. Since Central Asia was a part of the vast Arab Caliphate which extended upto Sind, men, movements and materials could flow easily between Central Asia and India and as Arnold remarks, "a traveller could pass from the confines of China to the pillars of Hercules, from the banks of Indus to Sicilian gates, from the Oxus to the shores of the Atlantic without stepping outside the boundaries of the territory ruled over by the Caliph in Baghdad".³ When the Abbasid Caliphs evinced interest in Indian sciences and invited Indian scholars to work in their bureau of translations, a new source for the transmission of Indian ideas to Central Asia came into prominence. Ibn Nadim gives a long list of Indian works which were translated into Arabic at the instance of the Barmakids. It was but inevitable for these Indian works to reach the Central Asian scholars.

The surviving Buddhist traditions of the Kushana period in Central Asia received a fresh sustenance from the Indian concepts communicated through Baghdad and a new era of cultural contacts began.

(1) In 770 A. D. *Barhaspat Sindhanta* was translated into Arabic as *As-Sind-Hind*. Later on two other Sanskrit works on astrology *Aryabhatiya* (of Aryabhata, 499 A. D.) and *Arkand* were rendered into Arabic. Through these three books the Sindhantic method reached Central Asia and many Indian astronomical concepts found currency there, though Aryabhata's theory that the earth rotates on its axis, remained isolated. Al-Khwarizmi (ib. circa 835) wrote a book on the Indian (*Hindi*) method of calculation.

It may, however, be indicated that "the older Indian methods were transformed and developed and replaced more and more by Greek methods."

(2) Indian medical ideas, herbs and methods of treatment were transmitted from Baghdad to distant parts of the Caliphate. Manka, who had cured Harun-ur-Rashid, was put in charge of a bureau of translations for rendering Sanskrit works on medicine into Arabic. The earliest Indian works on medicine by Charaka and Susruta are frequently referred to by Razi (Rhazes) and Bu Ali Sina (Avicenna) in their works. In the 14th century we find Il-khanid envoys, including men like Rashiduddin Fazlullah⁴, visiting India in search of Indian herbs and

medicines. It is not without significance that the earliest work of Indian medicine, the Bower MS, was found in Chinese Turkestan in 1890.⁵

(3) In the sphere of religion, the impact of Indian thought was more significant. The Mutazalite treatises of the 8th century contain accounts of the Indian monks and hermits. Wasil b. Ata (circa 748) and Jahm b. Safwan (ob. 746) held discussions with the Buddhists, and Mazzam (ob. 845) was charged with Buddhist beliefs. Mu'ammār b. 'Abbad al-Sulami (circa 833), a Qadarite entertained Indian ideas.⁶ The extent of Central Asian knowledge about Indian religions may be gauged from the section on India given by Shahrastani (1076-1153) in his *Kitab ul Milal wan Nihal*. The author gives an accurate account of Buddhist psychology and doctrines. He writes on Bodhisattvas and the successive Buddhas and on certain practices of Hinduism—the worship of the Goddess Kali, whose idol (Mahakalia) is described, ablutions in the sacred rivers etc. Of course, the philosophic enquiries of Alberuni about Indian thought were unprecedented in their depth and dimension.

A number of Indian and Buddhist concepts influenced the mind of the people of Central Asia. The Karrami cult, for instance, to which even the founder of the Delhi Sultanate, Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghuri belonged in his early years, was a half-way house between Mahayana Buddhism and Islam. Shaikh Ali Hajweri (ob. after 1074) speaks about some early mystic *garohs* (groups); the *Hululis* (those who believed in transmigration of souls) and *Kharrazis* who believed in *fana* (annihilation) and *baqa* (subsistence) were obviously inspired by the Indian idea of *Nirvana*.

(1) The four great books on which the structure of Muslim religious sciences was built in India during the medieval period came from Central Asia: The *Sahih* of Imam Muhammad bin Ismail Bukhari (ob. 870), *Kashshaf* of Abu Qasim Mahmud bin Umar al-Zamakhshari (ob. 1144), the *usul* of Ali b. Muhammad Bazdavi (ob. 1089) and the *Hidaya* of Ali bin Abu Bakr Marghinani. Throughout the medieval period these books were prescribed in the syllabus of the Indian *madrasahs* and formed the basis of all intellectual activity as the Indian *alims* wrote commentaries, annotations, summaries etc. on these works.

Though the Muslim religious thought went on rotating within the frame-work set by these classics, the Indian scholars attained

greater mastery over these branches in the 14th century than the scholars of Central Asia. In fact Central Asian scholars sought commendations on their works from the Indian scholars. Isami says⁷ about Delhi :

*Agar mushkilay der Bukhara Uftad
Va gar fitna-der Samarqand zad
Girdhay ke Mufti An Kishvar and
Az ashcab ein Sheher Fatva burand*

Isami is confirmed by Ziya Uddin Barani who says that there were scholars in Delhi whose equals were not to be found in Bukhara, Samarqand, Baghdad, Khwarizm or any other place in the contemporary Muslim World. He refers to the visits of the Central Asian scholars⁸ to India in order to learn at the feet of the Indian Ulama. Khusrau declared about Delhi at this time *Ze ilm-e-ba amal Delhi Bukhara*⁹. There were prosperous Khorasani merchants in Delhi who used to send books, besides other articles, for sale in these areas.¹⁰ It appears from a document included in *I'jaz-i Khusravi* that there were merchants in Delhi who had traded in Syria and Egypt and were preparing to proceed to China and Khita after visiting Delhi.¹¹

(2) Devotion to the Sufi and his mystic cult formed an important feature of life during the medieval period. Many of the towns of this region—Aush, Jam, Suhraward, Gilan, Yasi, Bukhara, Samarqand etc.—were cradle lands of mystic orders, and many important saints who planted these *silsilahs* in India came from Afghanistan, Central Asia or Persia. It is however a significant fact that the development of these mystic orders was greater in India than in the lands of their birth. Within a short span of time these Central Asian centres began to look to India for guidance and inspiration. During the time of Balban, some mystics of Chisht came to Delhi and requested a saint to accompany them to Chisht and revitalize the *silsilah*. The Shattari order, known as *Tariqa-i-Ishqiya*, reached India in the 16th century and sought to bring about a synthesis of Hindu and Muslim mystic concepts and then penetrated into Indonesia. The teachings of the Naqshbandi order, originally the *silsilah-Khwajgan*, bore a deep impact of the Buddhist ideas. It reached India during the 15th century through Khwaja Baqi Billah who belonged to Kabul but had lived in Samarqand for many years. From Samarqand he came to Kashmir and from there he reached Delhi. Within a few decades the leadership of Naqshbandi thought had been transferred from Samarqand to India and its most

fundamental manuals had been prepared in India. It is interesting to note that Tashkent libraries abound in large number of Indian manuscripts of mystic works of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Religion apart, in some other spheres also Central Asian ideas became articulate. During the last several centuries the entire structure of the Unani system of medicine has been based on Bu Ali Sina's *Qanun*. Samarqandi schools of painting and calligraphy became popular in India and influenced the contemporary traditions of art.

Two other very important spheres in which ideas were imbibed and exchanged were architecture and gardening. Since India had highly developed tradition of sculpture, Timur carried with him many Indian stone-cutters who worked in Samarqand. Some of the buildings of the Mughal period were planned by a family of architects belonging to Khojend. Babur introduced new ideas in garden-planning. Abul Fazl remarks: "Formerly people used to plant their gardens without any order but since the time of the arrival in India of Emperor Babur, a more methodical arrangement of the gardens has obtained and travellers now-a-days admire the beauty of the palaces and their murmuring fountains."¹² We find a Khurasani laying out the garden of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat.¹³

B. MOVEMENT OF MEN

During the period under review there was frequent movement of men between India and Central Asia. Tribal pressure, love of learning, mystic *wanderjahre*, commercial considerations, prospects of employment, and unsettled conditions were some of the determining factors. During the centuries from 11th-13th, the Ghuzz and the Mongol invasions threw large number of people into this country. When Chengiz tore to pieces the social and political fabric of Central Asia and razed to the ground all its stately buildings, mosques, *madrasahs*, *khunqahs* etc., large number of men belonging to different walks of life came to India to hide their heads under safer climes. They not only supplied the personnel to the nascent Delhi Sultanate, but planted also the traditions of Muslim scholarship in India. Many distinguished families which played a vital role in the cultural history of India during the medieval period came from Central Asian towns—Bukhara, Samarqand, Nakhshab, Muhmera etc. Balban who was anxious to use the presence of these Central Asian scholars and princes to augment his prestige in contemporary Asia, settled them in different localities and named these *muhallas* after their homes as *Muhalla-i-Khwarazm Shahi*, *Muhalla-i-*

Atabeki, Muhalla-i-Samarqandi and *Muhalla-i-Khitai*.¹⁴ More than a century later when Timur prepared a plan to make the first city in the world, he followed a similar practice and built around Samarqand a series of villages bearing the names of the chief towns of Islam—Baghdad, Damascus, Misr, Shiraz and Sultaniya.¹⁵

Balban had also instituted an enquiry into the geneologies of many families which had settled in India. Syed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani gives an account of these enquiries. It appears that many of the families belonged to Central Asia. The ancestors of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya of Delhi, Syed Jalaluddin of Uch, Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis of Delhi—to name only a few—came from Bukhara. An analysis of some of the families that came to India during this period and settled down here can yield details of great sociological interest. It is significant that these Central Asian elements did not take long to weave themselves into the Indian social pattern. Maulana Ziauddin Nakhshabi, for instance, came from Nakhshab, near Samarqand, under extremely difficult circumstances, but acquainted himself with the local languages so quickly that he could translate a Sanskrit work into Persian.

Under such circumstances it is not surprising that Awfi's *Jawami ul Hikayat wa Lawami ur Rawayat* is the first Persian work to mention Uighurs and to give an account of some of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia. During this very period Fakhri Mudabbir compiled his *Shajra-i-Ansab* (a genealogical history) and could consult in India one thousand books on the subject.

Kam-O-Baish Hazar Para-i-Kitab Mutala Uftad

From Kashmir down to Vijayanagar we find visitors from Central Asian lands. During the reign of Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir (1389-1413) many Central Asian scholars like Syed Muhammad, Syed Jalaluddin, Baba Haji Adham etc, came and settled there¹⁶. In the distant state of Vijayanagar there was equal eagerness to know about the affairs of Central Asia. When Abdur Razzaq, the famous author of *Matla-us-Sadain*, came to the court of Vijayanagar (1441 A.D.) as an envoy of Mirza Shah Rukh, the ruler asked him, besides other things, about the peculiarities of the city of Samarqand.¹⁷ A few decades later when an Indian scholar, Jamali, visited the literary and religious centres of Central Asia people, like Jami, fondly asked him about Indian literary traditions.

In the court of Akbar, we find people belonging to Central Asia working in different capacities. Amongst the nobles of Akbar, Qulij

Khan, a mansabdar of six thousand *zat* and 5 thousand *sawar* was from Andijan and there were many others in different categories who originally belonged to Central Asia. Amongst his distinguished poets, Abul Fazl mentions the names of Mushfiqi of Bukhara, who had once been the Malik ush Shu'ara of Abdullah Khan¹⁸ and Khwaja Hasan of Merv,¹⁹ who received a reward of two lac *tankas* for his excellent poems on the birth of Salim and Murad. Qazi Abul Ma'ali, a distinguished jurist came from Bukhara and men like Naqib Khan learnt at his feet.²⁰ Akbar who was very fond of pigeons, employed Central Asian men, like Quli Ali and Abdul Latif of Bukhara,²¹ Maqsud²² and Masti²³ of Samarqand, to look after his pigeons, as Central Asia had a reputation for the finest breed of pigeons. But Akbar's interest, in the words of Abul Fazl, "brought the trained pigeons of Umar Shaikh Mirza and Sultan Hasain Mirza into oblivion".²⁴ Of the twenty select athletes at the court of Akbar one Sadiq by name was from Bukhara.²⁵

C. MOVEMENT OF COMMODITIES

Brisk movement of commodities and articles continued between India and Central Asia throughout the period, even when political conditions were disturbed. It is interesting to note that the Mongols themselves were keen to ensure smooth flow of commodities, and kept the roads safe for traders and caravans. In the early decades of the 13th century we find traders from those lands well established in Lahore. During this period so many merchants from foreign lands came to trade in India that *Khurasani* became a word for foreign merchants, as *Multani* was a word for Indian merchants and bankers, irrespective of their connection with Multan.

Abu Bakr Muhammad Narshakhi, writing in the middle of the 10th century, refers to the export of Zandaniji cloth (so named after the place of its manufacture, Zandana, near Bukhara) to India. This cloth was used by the rulers and the nobles for making garments and was bought at the same price as brocade.²⁶

India produced certain commodities—like sugar, cotton, colouring material, in particular indigo—which the colder climes desperately needed, and foreign merchants were in a position to pay a higher price than the Indian consumer. India, on the other hand, needed foreign commodities—horses of good breed, dried fruits, pearls, precious stones of various types. These were brought from Central Asian lands. But perhaps the most important import of Central Asia was its horses.²⁷ When political changes in Central Asia interrupted their supply Balban

boasted that he could maintain the necessary supplies from other sources,²⁸ but the fact remains that Central Asian horses were always there in the Indian armies. In Malik Mohd. Yaisi's *Padmavat*, the army of Alauddin Khalji is described as having Central Asian horses. In a gift to Sultan Shamsuddin of Lakhnauti Mohd. bin Tughluq sent Khorasani horses.²⁹

Isami refers to the presence of Chinese traders in Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish. These merchants once showed their articles to the Sultan also.

*Ze Har Jins Ashia-i-An-Bum-O-Bar
Kashidand Bishe Shahe Namvar*

The *Tarikh-i Ghazan Khan* (pp. 271-272) refers³⁰ to the frequent visits of Indian traders to the lands of the Mongols. Elephants were taken from India to Central Asia.³¹ In the wood carvings of Armenia, Indian elephants appear prominently. The Indian sword *Shamshir-e-Hindi* is mentioned in *Rahat-us-Sudur*.³² Our Indian records refer to Samarqandi paper.

Many fruits of Central Asia were daily brought to this country. During the reign of Akbar we find melons, pears and apples being brought to Agra from Samarqand.³³ There was such a continuous supply of fruits from Central Asia that Jahangir's table had melons of Badakhshan and grapes and apples of Samarqand.

Attention may be drawn to two significant facts which emerge from this brief survey. (a) Economic relationship between India and Central Asia was so vital during the medieval period that even when ruling dynasties of these regions had strained relations, movement of men and commodities never came to a standstill. (b) Another striking phenomenon is the ease and felicity with which the Central Asian families that settled in India wove themselves with the Indian culture pattern and adjusted themselves with the Indian milieu. Was there any common element in them and the Indian situation which facilitated this adjustment? Did they discover in Indian society some traits and trends which found an echo in the inner-most recesses of their historical self? A closer study of the history of some families of the early period will lead to interesting sociological conclusions.

NOTES

1. Stein, *Khotan*, 1, p. 88.
2. Barthold, *Turkistan*, p. 83
3. *Travels and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, p. 89
4. *Makatubat-i-Rashidi*, ed. S. M. Shafi.
5. Edited and translated by A.F.R. Hoernle in the *Arch. Survey of India*, Vol. XXII, 1893-1912.
6. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 430
7. *Futuh us Salatin*, p.
8. *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, pp. 352-353.
9. *Dawal Rani Khizr Khan*, p. 46.
10. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, pp. 107-108
11. *I'jaz-i Khusravi*, Vol. II, p. 319.
12. *A'in*, Blochmann, p. 93
13. *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, p. 107
14. *Ferishta*, I, p. 75
15. *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, Vol. I, p. 60
16. *Ferishta*, II, p. 341.
17. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. IV, p. 120
18. *A'in*, p. 653, Daghistani,
19. *A'in*, p. 644, Badauni, II, pp. 120, 132.
20. Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tra II, p. 45; II, pp. 210-211
21. *A'in*, p. 315
22. *A'in*, p. 315
23. *A'in*, p. 315
24. *A'in*, p. 644
25. *A'in*, p. 263
26. *The History of Bukhara*, translated by R. N. Frye, Massachusetts 1954, p. 16
27. *Masalik ul Absar*, p. 22
28. Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* p. 53
29. *Tarikh-i Mubarak Shahi*, p. 127
30. *Futuh-us Salatin*, p. 122.
31. *Tarikh-i Ghazan Khan*, 254.
32. *Rahat-us Sudur*, ed. by M. Iqbal, p. 35
33. *A'in*, Blochmann, p. 69.

Some observations on the impact of Central Asian ideas and institutions on the structure of society and administration in Northern India between the 10th and 12th centuries, A.D.

SATISH CHANDRA

IMPORTANT CHANGES IN the structure of society and government took place in West Central Asia and Northern India between the 10th and the 14th centuries. In India, with the disappearance of centralised authority after the decline of the Gupta empire, and particularly after the downfall of the Gurjar-Pratihara Empire in the 10th century, political authority in north India was fragmented. A number of states arose in which many of the functions of the state were transferred to grantees. These grantees stood midway between the peasants and the ruler. They not only collected land revenues from the areas assigned to them but discharged miscellaneous administrative duties. Usually, though not always, they had definite military obligations for the service of the State. Again some held personal grants of a hereditary nature without any definite military responsibilities. In Rajasthan the latter were called *bhaum*. While the first type of grant was not hereditary at first, there seems to have been a strong trend towards its becoming hereditary. The military aspect of the grant was also emphasised though the precise nature of the military obligations imposed upon them are not clear.

The growth and development of the *bhoga*¹ system (it may be so called in order to avoid an unnecessary controversy whether the term 'feudal' could be used to designate the pattern of society mentioned above) has some striking parallels with the *iqta* system in West Central Asia.

Whatever may have been the early origins of the *iqta* system, scholars are inclined to believe that it emerged towards the end of the Abbasid period, and that it "was systematized during the Seljuq period, and was accompanied by a major change in the theory of land ownership".² Dr. A.K.S. Lambton connects it with the growth of mercenary armies which replaced the citizen armies of early Islamic times. On the other hand, Becker considered *iqta* 'an administrative and bureaucratic system changed into a military system as the result of an attempt to meet a military problem when the gold economy had broken down'. The third element in the system may be steady Turksman tribal inroads and the growth of the tribal concept of a land as the common property of the tribe represented by the tribe chief.³ There have been several types of *iqta* in West Central Asia. The early type was the *tamilk* or hereditary type in which the *iqta* was considered almost the private property of the grantee. The Seljuqs emphasised the estate (*Mustaghall*) type of *iqta* in which no hereditary rights were conferred on the grantee. It is believed that while the *mustaghall* type of grantee was at first both administrative and military, the military aspect was steadily emphasised due to the growing importance of the military element. A third type was the personal grant in which neither the administrative nor military aspect was emphasised.⁴

It is remarkable that the *bhoga* system developed in India more or less during the same period and under similar conditions. Central authority was weakened after the disintegration of the Gupta Empire and there is weighty evidence to show that the use of coined money declined in Northern India during the period.⁵ The Rajputs rose into prominence during the same period. The origin of the Rajputs is still a matter of controversy among scholars. The arguments of Tod and Crooke in favour of the foreign origin of some of the Rajput tribes are well known.⁶ It has been pointed out that the *agnikula* legend on which Tod has based many of his arguments was in fact concocted during the 16th century. But this still does not explain the sudden emergence of the Rajputs during this period. It is well known that big tribal movements took place in Central Asia during the period, and that these tribes were pressing down constantly into Khussan, Kabul, Sindh, Multan and other adjacent areas. However, whatever the origin of Rajputs, there is no dispute that their social concepts were predominantly based on clan tribal ideas. This is obvious from the manner in which they settled the land. Land was considered as the property of the clan, which consisted of warriors, headed by a number of families.

For purposes of administration and providing sustenance to the body of warriors, tracts of land were allotted to these clan leaders. The state was collectively the property of these clansmen and both they and the ruler were related by ties of the blood. The ruler was thus only first among equals. In accordance with the theory, the assignments were not hereditary and the normal Hindu laws of property of equal partition among sons did not apply to them. They could be resumed for not performing the military services stipulated or for disloyalty, and the grant had to be confirmed by the ruler whenever a son succeeded his father. In practice, however, the grant was considered hereditary. Generally, the clan leader in turn assigned parts of this grant for the maintenance of an individual warrior and his horse (this grant was called a *chursa* or hide) or to military leaders, their grant being called *patta*. For special services, such as loss of life in battle, small hereditary grants of land called *bhaum* were made.⁷

The Rajput system was thus not in essence different from the Turkish tribal system and has many similarities to the *iqta* system. In fact, but for the continuous changes in the personnel of the ruling sections consequent on the repeated Turkoman incursions, the *iqta* system may well have become hereditary in West Central Asia. That there was a strong trend towards heredity in the *iqta* system even under the Delhi Sultanate is well known.⁸ Thus the basis of the politico-military organisation of the Turkish tribes and of the Rajputs is the same.

In essence, the problem for the Rajputs and the Seljuqids and their successors was the same *viz.* how to provide stability to the ruling groups and, at the same time, to pay for a centralised possibly mercenary army. The manner and the circumstances in which the Rajputs and the Central Asian rulers sought to solve these twin problems merit deeper study. It is difficult in our present stage of knowledge to assert that the Rajput system was influenced at any stage by the Seljuqid or Ghaznavid ideas and practices. However, it is necessary to emphasise here that the remarks of Al Biruni about the insularity of Hindus and their lack of interest about countries outside India have often been accepted too literally.⁹ Al Biruni's remarks apply, however, to the Brahmans with whom he came into contact. Elsewhere we find Indian merchants of the West Coast and South India journeying over the seas to Persia, the Red Sea and to South-east Asia and even settling down there¹⁰ There are many points of contacts between the Turks and the Rajputs over a period of a hundred and fifty years. The Kabul and

Habul areas remained under the rule of Hinduized Kabulshahis and later the Hindushahis till the end of the 9th century; Panjab and Multan remained under Ghaznavid control from the 11th century onwards and Sindh had been under Arab control much earlier. We find evidence of brisk trade of horses between north India and the Sulaiman mountains which were famous as a breeding centre for horses.¹¹ Some Arab writers of the 9th and 10th centuries assert that during the period, Indian armies were not paid, but were in the nature of levies which were called together in an emergency and then dispersed. This argument can hardly be applied to North India universally for the same writers go on to describe the numerous forces maintained by the King of Juzr or Gujarat, and say that 'no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry'.¹² It is possible that the maintenance of loose tribal levies was the tradition of a section of the Rajputs. However, the Gurjara Pratihara rulers as well as the Pala rulers of Bengal, and the Rashtrakutas kept large standing armies which included cavalry.¹³ The use of cavalry on a large scale during the period appears to be a new development and can only be explained in terms of Central Asian and specifically Turkish influence. By the time of the Imperial Guptas the horse-drawn chariots of the earlier period had largely disappeared. The Guptas used cavalry against the Huns, but this seems to have declined after their downfall.

The growing importance of horses during the period is indicated by numerous manuals on horses, e. g. *Asvayurveda* of Gana, *Asvasastra* of Salihotra, *Asvacikitasa* of Nakula etc. It was perhaps during this period also that the use of the iron stirrup and heavy armour, both for the horses and the horseman became more general.¹⁴ This, in turn, had far-reaching consequences on military weapons and strategy, as well as in social organisations. How far Rajput military organisation changed to adapt to the new conditions is obvious from the fact that the battle of Tarain between Prithviraj and Shahabuddin Ghori was mainly a fight of cavalrymen armed with bows and spears. In the first battle of Tarain Prithviraj, according to Firishta, had a force of 2,00,000 horses and 3000 elephants pursued his cavalry upto 40 miles.¹⁵

In the second battle, Prithviraj, had a large infantry of 3,00,000 horses, and nearly 3000 elephants against Muhamad Ghori who had 1,20,000 *armoured* horsemen¹⁶. From Firishta's account, it was the superior tactics of the Sultan, and not the absence of a 'mobile cavalry' on the part of the Rajputs which decided the day.¹⁷ Thus the Turks

triumphed because of the superior generalship, better mounts and training, and because they were more skilled in the method of warfare which the Rajputs had tried to copy from them. This is not, of course, to imply that these were the only causes of the Rajput failure.

We have suggested that contrary to the general belief among Indian historians, the Rajput armies of the 12th century whom the Ghori encountered were not armies mainly of infantry supported by elephants and that this change from infantry to cavalry was almost certainly due to the influence of the Turks and earlier of the Huns, etc. It is significant that even as late as the Mughal times, the Rajputs dismounted from their horses when they were pressed hard, and preferred to fight on foot. This suggests that although they had taken to horses, they were never quite at home in the new mode of warfare it entailed.

The use of horses, both light and armoured on a large scale must have had definite repercussions on the socio-economic and political organisation as in the case of medieval Europe. Despite the growth of the *bhoga* system, the Rajputs were never able to evolve the developed *iqta* system which was the basis on which the Turks in India were able to organise a highly centralised state. In other words, as during the 18th century, the Indians were quick to accept and adopt foreign modes of warfare, but were not able or willing to change their society and political organisation as the new methods of warfare implied.

The Rajput warrior or nobleman became inseparable in course of time from his horse. A horse became a status symbol and has remained so in the rural areas of Rajasthan to this day. Theft of horses was a common cause of conflict among the Rajputs. The manner in which the concept of chivalry grew simultaneously with the growing importance of the equestrian warrior is also of some interest. A careful study of both literary and epigraphic records of the period would be needed to trace the development of this concept in Rajasthan. Interestingly enough, this is also the period in Persian literature when the legend of Rostam Sohrab and the attendant concept of chivalry is put forward.

It is obvious that the causes for the changes in military organisation and society between the 10th and 12th centuries were many sided and complex and that no single factor can be isolated as the cause. However, in this process the impact of Central Asian ideas and institu-

tions cannot be considered negligible. A careful study on a comparative basis on the development of military organisation and institutions and strategy and tactics during the period appears therefore to be greatly desired.

REFERENCE

1. The titles *bhogika* and *bhogapatika* have been used quite frequently to designate those who held land called *bhoga*. The *bhogapatika* have been likened to jagirdars by R.S. Sharma (*Indian Feudalism*, University of Calcutta, 1965, p.15). The *bhogas* may have been clan holdings and may also have formed the basis of smaller territorial units. A number of *bhogikas* comprised a *bhukti*. The *bhogikas* were hereditary for we hear three generations of *bhogikas* in some inscriptions (C. I. I. No. 26, 11, 22-23).
2. A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, O.U.P. 1953, p. 49.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 53-64.
4. C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, pp. 41-42.
5. L. Gopal (*The Economic life of Northern India*) has surveyed the coinage system between 700-1200 A.D. exhaustively. While pointing out the relative scarcity of gold coins during the period and the rise of the price of gold relative to silver (p. 131) the author relates these to (i) the decline of trade with the west and (ii) the drain of gold coins to West Asia by way of loot, ransom and penalty imposed by the Turko-Afghans. (p. 217).

He is further of the opinion that 'the feudalisation of the state structure that took place in the period would have dispensed with much of the need for the higher denominations of coins...' (p. 217) Here cause and effect are obviously combined and one reacts on the other.

See also R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*; B.P. Mazumdar, *Socio-Economic History of Northern India 1030-1194 A.D.*; Pushpa Niyogi, *Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India 10th-12th Centuries A.D.*, Calcutta 1962.

6. Col. J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, 1823 (reprinted 1957) Ch. VI; Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd edition pp. 407-415.

Many Historians have sought to refute Tod, see in particular C.V. Vaidya *Hindu India*; I pp. 48 ff; *Rajasthan Through the Ages* ed. D. Sharma, Bikaner 1966 pp. 103-106, et. seq. Ojha quoting Manu, included the Yavans, Sakas Pahlavas etc. in the Kshatriya races. Dr. D. Sharma thinks that a number of Rajput princes were originally Brahmans, but does not attempt to refute the argument that some of the tribes may have been foreign in origin.

7. For the Rajput system, Tod, *Annals*, pp. 107, 172, is still very useful. See also *Gazetteers of Rajputana* 1891: P. Saran, "The Feudal system of Rajputana", *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, Delhi 1952, pp. 1-23.
8. Thus, see attempts of Balban and Alauddin to resume the *iqta* of the Shamsi *iqtadars* who considered their grants to be hereditary (Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*) *Bib. Ind.* pp. 61-64.
9. See Al Biruni's *Indica*, tr. Sachau, pp. 23.
10. See L. Gopal, loc. cit. Pp. 119-160.
11. For horse trade, see R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*. p. 244; L. Gopal, loc-cit pp. 91, 116. Somadeva tells us that the soldiers of Uttarapath rode swift horses and carried spears, swords and bows. An official in charge of horses was called Sadhanika (D. Baghavan, 'Gleanings from Somadevasuri's Yasastiliaka Champu', *Journal Gangadhar Jha Research Institute*, 1 pp. 372-73.
12. Sulaiman, *Salsiat-ul-Tawarikh*, Elliot, vol. I, p. 7.
13. Ibid, p. 4, Al Masudi, *Muruji*, I.p. 383.
14. There has been considerable controversy among scholars about the origin and spread of the iron stirrup and its impact on changing the ancient art of warfare. For a recent discussion, See Lynn, White; *Medieval Technology & Social Change*. O.U.P. 1962 pp. 14-28. It has been argued that although the toe stirrups surcingle (which could only be used by a saddle wearing aristocracy) was known in India in the 2nd century, A.D., the iron stirrup was not known in Sassanid Iran and seems to have spread from Central Asia from the 7th century onwards.
15. *Firishta*, Briggs, p. 175.
16. Minhaj Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, tr. Raverty, pp. 176-77.
17. *Firishta*, Briggs, pp. 176-77. c.f. of Ishwari Prasad, *Medieval India*, 1933 p. 149.

Central Asia and Early Indian Cavalry (c. 200 B.C.—1200 A.D)

R. S. SHARMA

FROM THE SECOND century B. C. onwards a series of successive Central Asian tribes came to India, and in course of time they were absorbed in Indian society. The Sakas, Parthians and Kusanas did not lose their Central Asian connections even when they settled down in India. The peoples of Central Asia adopted Indian religions, especially Buddhism, not only in their Indian settlements but also in their original homelands. Buddhism came to have a mass following in Afghanistan and considerable parts of Central Asia, and transmitted many Indian themes and motifs to the art of those regions. The influence of India on Central Asian religion and art, which survived down to the 8th century A. D., has received some attention in recent studies.

What is less known is the fact that Central Asia made a great impact on the military organisation of India, especially on the use of cavalry. In Vedic times the Indians used horses harnessed to the chariots to which there are many references in Vedic texts as well as in the epics although the latter were written in the early centuries of the Christian era. There is hardly any evidence of organised cavalry in Vedic times. Horsemen are mentioned as forming an important unit in the state of the Mauryas by Greek writers, but we are not quite sure whether it was a heavily armed cavalry which originated around the 4th century B. C. outside India. The *Arthashastra* of Kautilya provides for the superintendent of the horses, but the details under that section do not describe the equipment of the mounted warrior or his horse. This text recognises the all-sided work of a horse in connection with war,¹ but does not mention any part of his equipment except the reins which are held by the groom (*sutragrahaka*)². It does not attach the same

importance to the horses as it does to the elephants. Elephants are considered to be the crucial factor in the organisation of the army and success in war depends mainly on their use.³ Apparently cavalry did not play a very effective part in India till post-Maurya times.

The heavily armed-cavalry, in which the warrior used metal body armours and wielded the spear and bows and arrows as the main weapons of attack came into existence some time in the second half of the first millenium B.C. The area of its origin spread over a long stretch of territory covering the agricultural tracts of the whole of Eurasian steppes. It seems that in order to counteract the heavily armed Greek and Roman infantry the people of Central Asia and Iran developed the use of armoured cavalry, learning it from the nomads of Eurasian steppes.

Just as the Hyksos movement disseminated the military use of horses and chariots in Syria, Palestine and Egypt and the Kassite movement in Babylonia, similarly the movement of the peoples of Central Asia in the second and first centuries B.C. spread the use of armoured fighting horses in the countries of Europe, in Iran, in Afghanistan and in India. This explains the victories of the successive waves of foreign peoples such as the Bactrian Greeks, the Śakas, the Parthians and the Kusānas in India. Mounted warriors are represented in plenty in the sculptures and terracottas of North Bactria,⁵ which was a great centre of the activities of the Central Asian peoples from about the second century B.C. onwards. The Bactrian Greeks must have taken advantages of cavalry in expanding in India. Apparently the Śakas spread over western India, in regions round Mathura and in the Punjab and north-western frontier on account of their skill in the use of heavily-armed cavalry, and the same factor explains the success and the long rule of the Kusānas in northern India.

The Scythians were excellent horsemen, and so close was their association with horses that in Central Asia sometimes as many as 14 horses were buried along with all their trappings with their warrior owners.⁶ The Kusānas were skilled horsemen, using reins, saddles and possibly some kind of stirrups. Horse-riding had been introduced into China earlier, and to facilitate it in a Han law of 122 B.C. required horsemen to wear trousers. The Kusāna coins and sculptures clearly show that boots, tunics and trousers formed the essential equipment of the Kusāna horsemen who were good archers. Their love of horses is indicated by the coins of Miao,⁷ Soter Megas,⁸ Kaniska I,⁹ Huviska¹⁰ and

Vāsudeva.¹¹ According to the Chinese account, the king of the Yüeh-chih raised an army of 70,000 horsemen under the order of viceroy Sia (Hsieh) for fight against the Chinese general Pan-Ch'ao.¹² The Śaka and Parthian coins¹³ demonstrate that their chiefs were heavily armoured and mostly fought with spear from horse-back; this may have been also true of the Kūṣāṇa captains.

Since the Kūṣāṇas ruled almost over the whole of northern India for about two centuries, they popularised the use of horsemen. From their period onwards cavalry assumed a dominant role in India. Although some Gupta rulers are represented as excellent, unrivalled chariot warriors, horsemen figure frequently on their coins. Coins show that the Gupta horse-riders wore tunics fastened by belts, helmets, trousers and buttoned-up boots; and all these came from Central Asia. Possibly the Gupta soldiers learnt the use of long swords fitted with scabbards from the Kūṣāṇas. The Guptas also used armoured, caparisoned horses fitted with some kind of stirrups, which were borrowed from their Central Asian predecessors. Their seals and inscriptions speak of *aśvapati*,¹⁴ *mahāśvapati*¹⁵ and *bhatāśvapati*, which stand for captains of horsemen and testify to the growing importance of cavalry.

Unfortunately the equipment of the different parts of the horse and different parts of the body of the rider has not been discovered in India. Only in the case of Parthians we have clear evidence from their coins that they used heavily armoured cavalry in India. However, equestrian military furnishings discovered in Central Asia are always earlier in point of time. Iron mouth-hooks or bridles for horses have been reported on the Afghanistan border, apparently on their way to the Indian continent. According to A.H. Dani they belong to 9th century B.C., but iron hooks discovered at many places in Eurasia do not belong to a period earlier than 500 B.C. Iron hooks from the Pamir area on the Russian side, belong to 500 B.C. Similarly we have many iron mouth-hooks for bridling horses from the Scythian *kurgans* (wooden coffins) of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., and many of these have been found in the graves in the Kuban area, north of the Black Sea between the Don and the Dneiper rivers. In the light of this evidence¹⁶ the iron hooks found on the Afghan border may not be placed earlier than the 6th century B.C. Probably these hooks were introduced into India by the Central Asian tribes from the first century B. C. onwards if not earlier.

Although a board 12 feet long and about 1½ feet broad bound with strings served as a provisory stirrup for the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III,

as can be inferred from his own rock-relief ascribed to 852 B.C.,¹⁷ this did not mark the real beginning of the use of the stirrup. Some form of stirrup came to be used by the Central Asian tribes from about the end of the Christian era. Potapov of the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, thinks that this contrivance appeared before the advent of the Christian era. But actual archaeological evidence is not forthcoming so far. We have the representation of the toe ring in the Sanchi Stupa 2 which is ascribed to the second century B.C. Some kind of a looped rope or leather strap serving as stirrup has been found at Mathura in the railing round the Jain Stupa, and it is attributed to the middle of the first century B.C.¹⁸ The same type of stirrup appears on a *lotā* in a procession scene in connection with the representation of two horsemen, and is assigned to the third century A.D. on stylistic grounds.¹⁹ Apparently the stirrup made of looped rope or leather strap was introduced by the Indo-Greeks or by the Śakas and Parthians. Obviously the Central Asian tribes used some kind of loose stirrup which facilitated their victories in war, but the extent of its use by the indigenous horsemen of India cannot be determined on the basis of a few random sculptural representations.

Although in China the stirrup was used on the left side for mounting the horse in Han times between the first and the fourth century A.D.,²⁰ a proper stirrup is found first in the monument of Ho Ch'u Ping, the Chinese general who fought against the Huns. It is placed between the end of the second and the beginning of the third century A.D., but it is not clear whether the stirrup is made of wood or iron.²¹ Stirrups appeared in Korea in the fourth century A.D., in Japan in the fifth century A.D., and in Sogd and the steppes of Kazakistan and in the Sassanian kingdom in the sixth century A.D.²²

Metal stirrups found so far in Central Asia are not earlier than the sixth century A.D. Ordinarily made either of bronze or of iron, several of them have been found from the 7th century A.D. onwards. In the Hermitage Museum we have a stirrup from Pianjikent which belongs to the 7th century A.D. The stirrups are also represented on the paintings from Afraisyab (old Samarkand), which on the basis of the paleography of inscriptions in the paintings are assignable to the 7th century A. D.²³

If we go by negative evidence, in spite of the importance they attached to cavalry, the Guptas did not use stirrups on any considerable scale, for at Ajanta all horsemen are without stirrups.²⁴ Perhaps Harsa

used some kind of metal stirrup,²⁵ but there is nothing to show that the Rajputs used it²⁶ in pre-Muslim times, and this is one of the reasons why the Turks succeeded.

The Turks of Central Asia used these metal stirrups, and some eleventh century bronze-stirrups used by the Ghaznavids are preserved in the museums of Kabul and Ghazni. The advantage of using metal stirrups are clear. It not only secures the horseman in the saddle but also enables him to manipulate his position on horseback in such a way so that his weight is felt lightly by the horse, and its speed and tractive power are increased. Obviously the knowledge of these stirrups combined with the use of bows and arrows from horseback made the Ghaznavids and the Ghorid horsemen formidable and irresistible in the battlefield. We may assume that from the eleventh century onwards the use of metal stirrups spread in India. A clear reference to this is found in the *Mānasollāsa*, a text on polity written by the Cālukya ruler Somesvara in about 1130 A. D. The author speaks of stirrups (*pādādhāras*) of gold hanging down on both the sides of the horse being made ready for the royal polo game.²⁷

It is likely that horse shoes and saddles made of leather fixed within the iron frame originated in the mountainous areas which the Central Asians had to cross in order to come to India about the beginning of the Christian era. Saddles were used on a large scale in imperial Rome and are widely represented on Kuṣāṇa coins and in some contemporary Indian sculptures. Horse shoes may have been introduced into India also, but it is difficult to detect them in paintings and sculptures because they were placed at the bottom of the foot. Thus it would appear that the practice of having partly protected horses was brought to India by the Central Asian tribes.

We have some idea of the equipment of horse warrior from graves in Ukrain from the 4th century B.C. onwards. This shows that horsemen used helmets made of bronze which were adopted from Greece. They also used iron covers for the upper part of body and bracelets to protect their wrists. The horsemen used belts of bronze not only to secure their armour but also to hold a number of weapons which were suspended in the belt. These weapons in many cases consisted of two swords, a spear, a lance and a quiver. In addition to this they also used some bronze covers to protect their legs and feet. Possibly all these furnishings of the mounted warrior were used by the Central Asian tribes who came to India.

Bows and arrows constituted the most significant element in the equipment of Central Asian horsemen. Mounted archers were far more effective than lanced horsemen, and they played havoc with the infantry of the settled communities. The Indians had their first experience of the mounted archers in the army of Alexander the Great. But there is nothing to show that they took to this practice till the beginning of the Christian era. Some tiles from Harwan, a village near the Shalimar garden in Srinagar, show archers on horseback chasing deer and shooting arrows at them. Since they contain Kharosthī numerals of about A. D. 300 and since horsemen appear in trousers and Turkoman caps, the practice of using bows and arrows by mounted cavaliers seems to have been introduced by the Kusāṇas.²⁸ Possibly it made some impression on the indigenous system of fighting, which is suggested by a verse in the *Adi Parva*.²⁹ The verse says that, riding on fleet horses, the princes began to pierce the targets, quickly discharging various arrows on which their names were beautifully engraved.³⁰ A similar reference from the *Dhanurveda* belongs to late medieval times, for mounted archery is not discussed by the *Mānasollāsa* (12th century) although it deals with the science of archery (*dhanurvedyā*) and its feats.³¹ Thus if any inference is to be drawn from paucity of references to mounted archers in literary texts or of their representations in works of art, it will appear that the Indian princes and warriors did not display much enthusiasm in adopting horse archery.

What has been stated above is sufficient to indicate the influence of Central Asia on the growth of the Indian cavalry from about the second century B.C. onwards. By the 11th-12th centuries, partly on account of the Arab invasions and partly on account of the Ghaznavid invasions, cavalry became the leading element in the Indian army. As many as 54 varieties of horses, mostly territorial, are mentioned in Vāgbhata's *Aśvāyurveda* (A.D. 1000). This list does not include the Persian, Arabian (*tājika*) and Turkish (*turuska*) breeds mentioned in the *Mānasollāsa* (A.D. 1130) and by Hemachandra³² (A.D. 1088-1172). But in pre-Muslim times the Indian cavalry did not match its Turkish counterpart in efficiency and equipment. Despite the popularisation of cavalry in India by the Central Asian tribes, especially by the Kusāṇas, some important equestrian elements could not have any wide vogue. It is doubtful whether the Indian horsemen used metal stirrups and bows and arrows on any considerable scale in Pre-Muslim times. Certainly these things were known in India, but it took them centuries to take roots in this country.

NOTES

1. II. 30
2. *Ibid.*
3. AS, II, 2
4. A. M. Khazanov, "Cataphractarii in the History of the Art of War", *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, i(103) (Jan-March, 1968), 180-191.
5. The Bactrian (Vāhlika) horses are mentioned in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya (II.30) and in the *Mahabharata* (VIII. 7, 11). P. K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Cultural History* i. (Hoshiarpur, 1961), 389.
6. Rahul Sankrtyayana, *History of Central Asia* (Calcutta, 1964), p. 14
7. Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, *The age of the Kushanas—A Numismatic Study* (Calcutta, 1967), p. 50.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61, 63-66
10. *Ibid.*, p. 76
11. *Ibid.*, p. 94
12. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 32 (1903), p. 422
13. John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (University of California Press, 1967), pp. 124-29.
14. Archaeological Survey, *Reports*, 1911-12, pp. 52-53.
15. *Ibid.*
16. The iron hooks from Central Asia and elsewhere mentioned in this article can be seen in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.
17. P. K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, ii (Poona, 1960), 76.
18. *Ibid.*, 75.
19. *Ibid.*
20. I owe this information to B. I. Marshak of the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.
21. This information has been supplied by Professor Frye of Harvard University.
22. Information given by B. I. Marshak.
23. I have seen the paintings in the site at Afraisyab and also in the museum at Panjikent.
24. P. K. Gode, *op. cit.*, ii, 76
25. The term *urobadhrāropitasya* qualifies the expression *caraṇayugalasya* used in the case of Gauri who rides a horse. *Harsacarita*, Canto I. I owe this reference to Dr. K. N. Mishra.

26. P. K. Gode, *op. cit.*, ii. 76.
27. P. K., Gode, *op cit.*, ii, 72.
28. P. K. Gode, *op. cit.*, ii, 66-67.
29. *Ibid.*, 65
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*, 60, fn. 8
32. P. K. Gode, *op. cit.*, i, 250-51



- ⊘ 1 Shibar Pass
- ⊘ 2 Salang Pass
- ⊘ 3 Khawak Pass

Map 1 The central Hindu Kush



Between Oxus and Indus

A Local History of the Frontier
500 B.C. — 1925 A.D.

J.P. SINGH UBEROI

That Andarab (Ariaspa) held the capital of the Greek colonies there can be as little doubt as that Haibak and its neighbourhood formed the great Buddhist centre between Balkh and Kabul. Again, who is going to make friends with the Amir of Afghanistan and try his luck ?

Sir Thomas Holdich, The gates of India
(London, 1910), p. 511.

I INTRODUCTORY

IN THE YEARS 1959-1961, unaware of the eminent Englishman's enthusiastic recommendation, I in fact tried my luck in Andarab district at sociological and ethnological investigation. What Holdich had in mind, however, was archaeological discovery, in his day and age almost synonymous with a polite form of plunder of other people's ancient past. Interest was aroused in this case probably by the belief that the finest examples of ancient Greek portraiture were to be found, not within Europe at all, but on the Bactrian coins of Afghan Turkistan. Holdich regretted that the fortunate archaeologist of Andarab must be a foreigner, "for no Englishman would be permitted by his own government to pass that way at present".¹ England's policy was to let Afghanistan alone just then. It appears never to have occurred to Holdich, or for that matter to many others, that the riches of Asian

archaeology were for the Asians. One may rejoice that the independent and anti-imperialist traditions of the Afghans will incidentally enable them to make their own discoveries for themselves.

I did not conduct excavations in Andarab although initially, owing to my local journeys, I was known in the vicinity as "that Hindu who searches for treasure", but went there to record custom and social life.³ I made a promise to Andarabi friends before parting two years later that I would collect and collate whatever was available on the history of the district and publish it. My object in presenting it here is to show that, howsoever imperfect or defective the story, local history can claim its own place besides national history. A small stage can project as interesting a picture of the currents of central Asian history as a wide one. The particular advantages of local history, for example, combining the historical periods and the interests of several scholarly disciplines, are well-known but little regarded. My present illustration will have for its focus the concept of the frontier, already known in geopolitical studies but little used in other studies. The concept of the frontier will be the implicit framework of this narrative.

The written records of men of many Asian civilizations, ancient Chinese, medieval Arab, Iranian, Mongol, Indian and Turkish and modern Afghan, all notice Andarab at one time and another, and historical events that occurred there were not without significance for the wide world. Indeed the connecting thread appears to be broken only during the period of modern European colonialism. The district was known to Indians of the past from the *Farhang-i Ānandrāj*, for instance, that great and still unsurpassed Indo-Persian lexicon of the seventeenth century. It defined Andarab as the name of a borough (*shahr*) of Badakhshan province, between Hindustan and Ghaznin, situated near the pass of the Hindu Kush. It quoted a literary reference to the place from Firdausi :

zi Ghaznīn sūyi Andarāb āmadam
*zi āsāyish andar shitāb āmadam*³

and gave a geographical reference from the *Riyāz as-Siyāhat*, which defined Andarab as situated in the mountains to the north of Kabul at a distance of six "stages".⁴

II THE GEOPOLITICAL FRONTIER

Andarab district (estimated population 33,000 souls) is a high valley in the elbow of two mountain ranges, the central massif of the

Hindu Kush and the Shashan range, which meet in the Khawak pass (11,640 ft). Andarab and its neighbours can be grouped into the region of the central Hindu Kush or, if the term Hindu Kush itself be differently defined, the western Hindu Kush. The ten or eleven districts in question are situated to the north and south of an imaginary line stretching from the Khawak pass to the Shibar pass (9,800 ft). The waters of Koh-i Daman, Kohistan, Panjshir and Ghorband districts form upper tributaries of the Kabul river and so join the Indus river and flow into the Arabian sea. The waters of Bamian, Kamard and Saighan, Doshi, Khinjan, Andarab, Narin and Khost-o-Faring, on the other hand, form tributaries of the Qunduz river and join the Oxus river, eventually flowing past Khiva into the Aral sea. This highland region is the watershed between the Indus and the Oxus. It is a part of the great chain of mountains and deserts that is called the "great divide" between central Asia and southern Asia, and between inner Asia, whose waters remain in its inland basin finding no outlet into the oceans, and outer Asia. In general the more readily accessible passes across the long mountainous frontier and watershed are contained in this part. The central Hindu Kush is one of the cross-roads of Asia, a true frontier, as I define the term, which divides, interrelates and interchanges, for the mountain barrier was crossed and re-crossed by people, things and ideas in either direction in history and pre-history.

The old caravan route which still is in continuous use crosses by the Khawak pass at the head of Andarab and Panjshir. The modern motorable road connecting Kabul with Afghan Turkistan used to go by the Shibar pass. The even newer highway opened recently crosses by a tunnel excavated below the Salang pass at the head of the Khinjan valley, the most direct route.

The people of the central Hindu Kush possess a common habitat and culture and a similar historical background. In most districts there are no large estates and the people form an independent peasantry and yeomanry relying mainly on irrigated cereal cultivation and dry-farming, but many of whom are also part-pastoralists practising local transhumance. There is considerable commercial activity associated with centrally situated grain markets and bazaars. The two traditional market days of the week are Monday (*dushanbe*) and Thursday (*panjshanbe*). The people of most districts are orthodox Muslims (Sunni) and devoted to their religion. The common language is Afghan Persian, *Fārsi Darī*. Like all highlanders everywhere, the people generally

differ in temperament and character from their plains cousins, who occasionally liked to give them the reputation of rude frontiersmen and caterans.

Each district, physiographically marked off from its neighbours, forms a separate and distinct social and economic community and unit of administration. In past political history consequently each district possessed a considerable degree of autonomy. Similarly, at a higher level, the central division between the north and the south tended to overrule the smaller divisions. The geopolitical connexions of the northerly districts lie with the cities of the Oxus plain, situated on the left bank of the river between Badakhshan and Balkh (the ancient Bactra). They were generally subject to the authority of the capital of that region, usually Qunduz. The southerly districts, on the other hand, often tended to follow and influence the political fortunes of the Kabul valley. Finally, the widest political integration and interrelation of central Hindu Kush districts occurred when the northern authority and the southern authority were one and the same, as happened after the rise of the Afghan kingdom.

The three levels of geopolitical segmentation, district, sub-region and region, should be borne in mind when we follow the vicissitudes of central Hindu Kush history. I think it is useful to distinguish them in the study of any frontier region.

Prior to the latest reorganization of Afghan provinces, the five northern districts, including Andarab, formed upland parts of Qataghan province, bordering the Oxus river, while the five southern and western districts together constituted Parwan province. The remaining, southernmost district, Koh-i Daman, was a part of Kabul province (*see* map).

III ACHAEMENIANS, GREEKS, SAKAS AND KUSHANAS

In ancient times Andarab formed a part of the Persian satrapy of Bactria. In the reign of Darius the Great (521-485 B.C.) it very likely received a share of the Greek settlers deported to Bactria by that Achaemenian king. Holdich, as we have noted, goes so far as to suggest that Andarab (Ariaspa) held the capital of these colonies.⁵ In any case, Andarab's contact with the Bactrian Greeks must have been long and intimate both before and after the conquest of Alexander of Macedon, who crossed into Andarab by the Khawak pass in 328 B.C.⁶ This event gives us the first definite date of Andarabi history. Alexander

did not take the direct route from Anderab to Tashkurgan, but bore north again, reaching Drapsaka, and turned Bessus' position. Bessus fled across the Oxus; the Bactrians submitted, and Alexander occupied Tashkurgan and Zariaspa-Bactra without resistance, and made the veteran Artabazus satrap of Bactria⁷.

As is well-known, about 135 B.C. under Heliocles the Bactrian part of the Greek kingdom was overrun by "barbarians", Saka, Parthian and others. We await the archaeological finds that can illumine the Greek period as also the Kushana that followed it in the first century A.D., interlinking the Oxus and the Indus into the fifth century. I merely mention that a small group that lives in the hamlet of Ahingar near Deh Salah in Andarab is still called *Sākā*. The linguistic usage indicates it as an ethnic term, but I could not obtain an explanation of it.

IV BUDDHISM

The faith of Buddhism had probably spread to the Hindu Kush in the time of Asoka (269-232 B. C.), but we know little of its early period except that the Bactrian Pali characters were written from right to left. The Kushana kings were in a sense a link between India and China, and Buddhist missionary activity made the connexions even closer.⁸

It was thus the call of Buddhism combined with Chinese diligence that gave us in July 644 A.D. our first recorded and extant description of Andarab written by Hsuan-tsang, the pilgrim. (I quote the translation of Samuel Beal, 1881.)

Going on for three days more, we descend the [Khawak] pass and come to 'An-ta-lo-po (Andarab). This is the old land of the Tu-ho-lo [Tukhara] country. It is about 3000 li round; the capital is 14 or 15 li round. They have no chief ruler; it is dependent on the Turks (Tuh-kiueh). Mountains and hills follow in chains, with valleys intersecting them. The arable land is very contracted. The climate is very severe. The wind and the snow are intensely cold and violent; yet the country is regularly cultivated and productive; it is suitable also for flowers and fruits. The men are naturally fierce and violent. The common people are unrestrained in their ways, and know neither wrong nor right. They do not care about learning, and give themselves only to the worship of spirits [*dēvā-layas*, Deva-temples]. Few of them believe in the religion [*dharmā*] of Buddha. There are three *sangharamas* and some tens of priests

[monks]. They follow the teaching of the Mahasanghika (Ta-chong-pu) school. There is one *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja*.⁹

'*An-ta-lo-po* was restored as *Antarava* by Julien, and identified with *Andarab*.¹⁰ According to Watters, in some records of the life of Hsuan-tsang the Chinese characters represent an original like *Antarbhava*,¹¹ which is a Sanskrit term. The standard *li* of the T'ang period was 0.348 miles, but Watters thinks that the *li* in these mountainous regions should be regarded as only 1/8th or 1/10th of a mile.¹² The capital of *Andarab*, 14 or 15 *li* round, was thus 1.5 miles or more in circumference. I suggest that it was probably located at Kishanabad. Among other reasons is the fact that the suffix *-ābād* was bestowed only on a considerable town.

V TUKHARISTAN AND THE KABUL SAHIS

The Tu-ho-lo of Hsuan-tsang are the Tokhari who are mentioned among the peoples who overthrew the Graeco-Bactrian empire.¹³ The province of Tukharistan took its name from them. In the Buddhist period and also in the Muslim period Tukharistan in the wider sense included all the highlands dependent on Balkh, on either side of the upper Oxus river.¹⁴ The frontiers of Tukharistan in the narrower sense were defined by Istakhri (c. 921 A.D.), the geographer. It extended from the lands east of Balkh to the west of Badakhshan, south of the Amu Darya (Oxus) and north of the main ridge of the Hindu Kush.¹⁵ It therefore corresponded accurately with the modern Qataghan province.

The original kingdom of the Buddhist Sahi rulers of Kabul included Tukharistan, Ghor, Bust, Ghaznin, Kabul, Lamghan, Kafiristan, Roh and the Panjab districts of Attock, Rawalpindi and Jhelum. After subjugating Khorasan the Arabs attacked Kabul in 664 A.D., but were checked. After a century of struggle in 740 A.D. the contest in Tukharistan was decided in favour of the Arabs.¹⁶ The three provinces of Tukharistan, Ghor and Bust were absorbed in the Arab dominions under the caliphs Harun al-Rashid (763-809) and al-Mamun, and became more or less Islamicized, while the rest remained under the Ratnapal or Katorman dynasty of Buddhist Sahis until the time of its last king, Kank. This territory then passed into the possession of Lalliya (870-892), first of the Hindu Sahis.¹⁷ According to the *Jām' ai ut-Tawārikh*,

And Kank...was the last of the Katorman kings....After his death, Samand, from among the Brahmans, became King, and after him Kumlowa, and after him Bhim, etc.¹⁸

Gulshan Rai says that according to the *Rājataranginī*, the Sanskrit history, this Kumlowa displaces Samand or Samanta in 902 A.D.¹⁹

Is there any connexion between this Samand, during whose time it appears a very large number of coins were struck in his name bearing Brahmanic designs of the bull and horseman type,²⁰ and the place named Samandan at the head of the Andarab valley ?

VI SAMANIDS, GHAZNAVIDS AND GHORIDS

The *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, a Persian geography of the tenth century A.D., describes Andarab as "a borough amid mountains".

It is a place with much cultivation, (producing) much grain. It possesses two rivers. Here dirhams are struck from the silver extracted from the mines of Panjshir and Jariyana. Its king is called Shahr-Salir.²¹

According to Vasmer's showing on the basis of numismatic data, in the later part of the ninth century and in the beginning of the tenth Andarab was chiefly held by the Abu-Da'udids of Balkh,²² who were themselves vassal princes dependent upon the Samanids (892-999 A.D.). According to Codrington, coins were struck in Andarab successively by the Abbasids, Samanids and Ghaznavids in roughly the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries respectively.²³

The Arab geographers of the tenth century reckoned Andarab as "the third town in Tukharistan"; it ranked after Taluqan, the provincial capital, and Warwaliz (Qunduz).²⁴ It was described as

having fine markets, being situated among valleys clothed by verdant forests...(and having) many silver mines in their recesses.²⁵

The province of Tukharistan appears later in the twelfth century as a part of the kingdom of the Ghorids, who were Tajik kings.²⁶ Andarab must then have been connected with that branch of the Ghorids whose capital was in the Bamian valley.²⁷ As the name of a province or region Tukharistan seems to have dropped out of use at the time of the Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century.²⁸ It survives locally in the name of a school in Baghlan.

VII THE MONGOLS

The fortunes of Andarab under the Mongols are not definitely known. Mirkhwand, a lithographed copy of whose *Rauzat as-Safa* I saw in the possession of an Andarabi, says that in 1221 A.D. Chingiz Khan himself passed from Taluqan through Andarab, "the siege of which lasted a full month", but this is apparently not the received view.²⁹ It might have been his Mongol army only. There still exist in Andarab the ruins of a fortress near the village of Kishanabad, called by the inhabitants Kafir Qala or the fort of unbelievers, which one informant said dated from Chingiz Khan's visitation.

A century later in 1333 A.D. Ibn Battuta, the Arab traveller, journeyed through Andarab and was accorded there the extreme hospitality reserved for a man who had come from the land of the Prophet. He wrote that

in former times there was a town here whose traces have disappeared.³⁰

Timur (Tamerlane) we know certainly passed through Andarab in 1398 on his way to India. He was influenced by the complaints he received there of the raids and exactions of Kator and Siah Posh Kafirs to lead the memorable punitive expedition to Kafiristan before proceeding south.³¹ Prince Shah Rukh remained in Andarab for the duration. It was under Shah Rukh (d. 1447) that *sharī 'at*, the Islamic code, superseded Chingiz Khan's law.

The political region of Andarab's affiliation, erstwhile Tukharistan, remained under the Mongols, first Chaghatays and then Timurids, until the rise of the Uzbek khanates on the Oxus river in the sixteenth century.³²

VIII THE GREAT MUGHALS: THE GIFT OF THE FRONTIER

Meanwhile, to the south, the Mughal empire of India, whose frontiers rested upon the Hindu Kush, was being consolidated. Events that transpired in Andarab played an important role in this. I relate the most important of them in full.

In his efforts to secure the unsettled frontier Humayun, the second Mughal emperor, was several times in Andarab and fought two engagements there at Tirgaran in 1546 against Sulaiman Mirza, prince of Badakhshan, and at Ab Darra in 1547 against the forces of his own

brother, Kamran.³³ In 1550 Humayun spent forty days at Andarab, reorganizing his army.³⁴

This, however, was not all. Tired of the constant desertions to which he had been subjected, and apprehensive of a renewal of the dangers to which he had been exposed by the unreliability of the great Amirs he attempted at Andarab to bind his men more securely to him by administering an oath of allegiance to each body of troops in the form which should subject them most effectually to the heaviest religious sanction in the case of any breach of the obligation.

This had an interesting sequel. When the oath was proposed, Haji Muhammad Khan suggested that in order to complete the tie between master and men, the Emperor might well take an oath in the following form: "That whatever we, his well-wishers, recommend with a view to his interest, and deem indispensable to that purpose, he will consent to and perform." Hindal, fiery as ever, strongly objected to the proposal, as derogatory to the King's dignity (saying that masters never took such oaths to their servants and slaves³⁵), but to Humayun, who was always urbane and sincere, it seemed no bad thing and he readily agreed.

This definite recognition of the reciprocity of obligation between ruler and subject is a thing of rare occurrence in Eastern history.... There is no doubt that this compact between Humayun and his great Amirs...marks a new era in the history of the reign. The Emperor henceforth found himself in a position which was at once stronger and less independent; he could rely upon the support of his nobles, but he had bound himself to respect their opinion in matters of importance. The resulting combination was to prove sufficiently formidable to attempt the expulsion of the Afghans.³⁶

The sociological importance of this singular event is evident and ought to be celebrated. That it is not specially regarded by historians of central Asia merely shows that they continue to be more interested in the diffusion of ideas than in their creation and institutionalization. The reciprocal oath introduced a new concept or, which is equally important, gave formal systematic expression to a concept that was until then only implicit and customary. The creation of a new political idea and form was something besides which the sincerity or insincerity of Haji Muhammad Khan, whose personal motives were perhaps rightly

suspected by Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's historian, and who defected in any case, is of no account. Neither is the explanation in terms of Humayun's urbane graciousness wholly satisfactory. It is unfortunate that too many historians, after the style of Abu'l Fazl, concentrate on the aspect of personal psychology and neglect the institutional aspect. Diffusionism and psychologism equally, I must say as a sociologist, are the ruin of historiography.

It is true that the new political idea made manifest in Andarab in 1550 was never institutionalized as a tradition. Somehow the gift of the frontier was forgotten in the plains. This should constitute another sociological problem for investigation by an historian, as rewarding as the problem of the search for parallels and contrasts to the event.

The particular importance of Andarab in relation to Humayun remains. The new Humayun, who recovered the throne of Delhi in 1555, was not the old Humayun, expelled from India by Sher Shah Suri the Afghan in 1540. In the interval he had settled affairs with Kamran and central Asia, with the amirs and also with himself. The solemn compact made and sworn in the central Hindu Kush was perhaps the turning point for his life and reign.

IX INDIA AND TURAN

Presumably in the course of these local contacts an Andarabi by the name of Ali Quli Khan was taken up by Humayun. He was entrusted with the governorship of Kabul when Humayun went to Qandahar. He later accompanied the emperor to India, and served also under his son, Akbar the Great. The *Ā'in-i Akbari* numbers Alī Quli Khan Andarabi (d. 1592) among the nobles of the empire, and records that he was styled as a "Commander of one thousand."³⁷ Ali Quli Khan may be regarded as the most illustrious son of Andarab.

For almost two hundred years, c. 1550-1750, the northern provinces that Humayun had recovered remained virtually independent. The imperial frontier rested on the central ridge of the Hindu Kush and evidently left "Andarab of Badakhshan" and other districts to the north to be controlled by the Uzbeks.³⁸ It seems that Akbar (1556-1605) entered into a treaty of friendship with Abdullah Khan Uzbek (d. 1598) whereby the latter, having overrun Badakhshan in 1585 and Balkh in 1586, obtained definite recognition of the Hindu Kush as the boundary between the two empires of India and Turan.³⁹

The northern country was briefly captured in Shah Jahan's reign (1627-1658), starting with Kamard in 1645, by an army sent under princes Murad and Aurangzeb, an expedition memorialized by the old bridge at Pul-i Khumri. Murad was replaced in command by Aurangzeb, for governing those "lawless" regions was infinitely more difficult than conquering them.⁴⁰ That was always the trouble. Eventually Shah Jahan conferred the country on Nazr Muhammad Khan of Balkh, and so terminated the political connexion of India with central Asia proper.

Peace having been concluded, Aurangzeb started his ill-fated homeward march in October, 1647. Thus ended the wild dream of the Mughal Emperors. It brought nothing but disaster, famine and death both to the Indians and the Turanians.... Truly speaking, the decline of the Mughal Empire begins from this time.⁴¹

There were two foreign travellers through the central Hindu Kush during the early part of this period, of whom we have records. The first was Sidi Ali Reis, the Turkish admiral, armed with official credentials, returning home from India.

Early in the month of Redjeb we came to the city [township/ borough] of Anderab and journeyed from there through Badakshan to Talikan where I had an interview with Suleiman Shah [earlier defeated by Humayun in battle, 1546] and his son Ibrahim Mirza.⁴²

The second was Benedict Goes, a Jesuit who left Agra in 1602 and seeking a way to China eventually crossed the Hindu Kush by the Parwan pass. I have not been able to obtain his record.

X MODERN AFGHANISTAN

As is well-known, the provinces lying north of the Hindu Kush, namely Balkh, Qunduz and Badakhshan, were won and incorporated into the national kingdom of Afghanistan in 1750.⁴³ But their reduction to order within the new state, the last chapter of our story of the frontier, was not completed for another hundred years or more.

It is known from contemporary accounts that in the early nineteenth century Qunduz was the capital of an important principality of the Qataghan Uzbeks and that Andarab district was a tributary of it.⁴⁴ Mir Murad Beg (d. 1840), son of Kokan Beg, was a potent ruler who held Qunduz, Taluqan, Hazrat Imam, Khulm, Andarab, etc. and Badakhshan. His minister was one Atma Ram, a Panjabi.

The Amir's affairs were managed by a Hindoo from Peshawur, named Atma [Ram] Khan, who held the post of Divan begi, and although as a rule Hindoos were despised and not allowed to wear turbans, this person had secured the privilege for himself, his servants, and his tribe.⁴⁵

Khaldad Khan of Qunduz had a revenue of about £30,000 and could raise 15,000 men.⁴⁶

Khost and Inderaub are small and mountainous, but fertile countries, on the northern face of Hindoo Coosh. They are inhabited by Taujiks, and are now annexed to Koondooz.⁴⁷

The lost provinces were recovered by the Afghans under Dost Muhammad (Amir, 1835-1863), beginning in 1845. After 1850 the former Uzbek possessions south of the Oxus became known as Afghan Turkistan. The political unity of Afghanistan in general and the integration of Andarab district in particular owe a great deal to the work and vision of Abdur Rahman (Amir, 1880-1901), a grandson of Dost Muhammad. Abdur Rahman said of his task that

This necessitated breaking down the feudal and tribal system, and substituting one grand community under one law and under one rule.⁴⁸

He complained that

every priest, mullah, and chief of every tribe and village considered himself an independent king....The Mirs of Turkestan, the Mirs of Hazara, the chiefs of Ghilzai were all stronger than their Amirs, and, so long as they were the rulers, the King could not do justice in the country....So the first thing I had to do was to put an end to these numberless robbers, thieves, false prophets, and trumpery kings. I must confess that it was not a very easy task, and it took fifteen years of fighting before they finally submitted to my rule or left the country, either by being exiled or by departing to the next world.⁴⁹

Twenty years before coming to the throne and subjugating the Mirs of Qataghan and Badakhshan Abdur Rahman had put down in 1859 the rebellion in Andarab inspired by them.

The people of Andarab and Khost, being persuaded by Mir Atalik and the Mirs of Badakhshan to rebel, attacked their Governor, to

whose assistance I sent 4,000 soldiers from Khanabad under the command of Sirdar Mahomed Omar and others. My grandfather dispatched Sirdar Mahomed Sharif Khan from Kabul, with two battalions and 1,000 militia infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and six guns. The two armies united at a place called Buzdara [a defile on the northern border of Andarab], where they fought, and severely punished the rebels, who lost 2,000 men, killed and wounded, in the field. After this victory the two forces returned to Khanabad and Kabul, leaving 500 men with the Governor at Andarab.⁵⁰

Abdur Rahman does not record the exact date of the battle of Buz Darra, but it must be 1859.⁵¹ He later reorganized the civil administration of Andarab and other districts. His account of the conjunction, united victory over the rebels and separate retirement of the two forces from the north and the south, replacing the old with the new in Andarab, sums up perfectly our concept of the geopolitical position of the central Hindu Kush. A true frontier is one that is the conjunction of two heartlands. It is the essential nature and rhythm of the frontier to change from a firm dividing line into its opposite, a meeting point, and back again. In the process the frontier periodically renews itself as well as those on either side of it. These attributes the central Hindu Kush possessed in full measure and permanently, whether it lay under one political authority or between two of them.

XI CONCLUSION

Our main literary source for late nineteenth century and early twentieth century events and conditions is the *Rahnūmā-i Qataghan va Badakhshān*, an important gazetteer compiled by Burhanuddin Kushkaki during the northern tour in 1922 of General Nadir Shah, later King of Afghanistan.⁵² It was published in 1925, and immediately translated into Russian.⁵³ I adopt this date as the terminal date of recorded Andarabi history.

The description of Andarab in the *Rahnūmā* praises the courageous qualities of the people, and says that if a new and secure location be needed for the capital of the kingdom of Afghanistan there is none better suited than Andarab.⁵⁴ It lists Sultan Ali Khan Qizilbash as the first Afghan *hākim* of Andarab, appointed during the reign of Amir Sher Ali Khan (1863-66, 1869-79).⁵⁵ This could mean that the first civilian *hākim* was appointed soon after the 1859 pacification. We can then be sure that, after that date, the history of Andarab marches in step with

that of Afghanistan as a whole. There were still zigzags of course but the integral direction was established. The district took no part in the insurrection of 1928.

It will be necessary to have recourse to family and genealogical history to fill in the picture and bring it up to date. For example, I was told that the power in Andarab during Amir Abdur Rahman's time was one Mirza Gharib, "a great landowner". He was evidently a partisan of Ishak Khan's northern rebellion in 1888, and when that collapsed he fled across the Oxus to escape the Amir's wrath. Abdur Rahman subsequently bestowed Mirza Gharib's estate on one Malik Safed Nuristani, who had been a *malik* of Nuristan when it was pagan (Kafiristan) and had sided with Abdur Rahman in its conquest and conversion in 1896. Malik Safed, who did not live in Andarab, was later assassinated. His Andarab grant is now (1960) partitioned among the four surviving sons of his younger brother. One of them is a retired General living in Kabul; another is Commandant in Baghlan. The four brothers inherited 40 acres each, situated near Deh Salah and Sangburan, but some of this was later sold locally. And so on. I shall take up on another occasion the collation of such recent local knowledge with the facts recorded in the *Rahnūmā* and elsewhere.

On the other hand, the field of antiquarian discovery (e. g. who was Kishan if Kishanabad is named after him?) is equally wide. I have pointed out its interest but must leave its cultivation to other and more able hands.

We have traced here the outline history of Andarab to show that the story of the Hindu Kush is a story neither of peripheral remoteness nor of the disconnected comings and goings of people and ideas merely. The concept of the frontier, I believe, enables us to perceive the pattern and rhythm of an otherwise meaningless array of facts. The high wild mountains that are the backbone of Afghanistan not only divided central and southern Asia, the Oxus and the Indus, but also always interconnected the two parts of Asia into a system of interrelations. By frontier logic the wall is also a corridor, and the central Hindu Kush is to be compared to a revolving door whose equal functions in history were to separate, mutually attract and interchange the currents of inner Asia and outer Asia. It was a periodic historical process of separation, encounter and exchange. This nature was possessed by the whole central Hindu Kush and by every small segment of it, as our study of

one district, although sketchy and confined to political history, shows. The ethno-linguistic history and the religio-cultural history, when they come to be written, will tell a like tale, but with different periods.

The Achaemenians and the Greeks, who crossed the frontier from the south, were succeeded by the Sakas and the Kushanas, who crossed it from the north. Buddhism and the Kabul Sahis, Hindu and Buddhist, crossed it from the south. Islam then traversed it from the north. The Ghaznavids and the Ghorids incorporated the frontier from the south. The Mongols afterwards did so from the north. The southern Mughals and the northern Uzbeks later came to terms, and the former also to grief, over the wild highlands. The Afghans eventually secured the Hindu Kush by a pincer movement, originating in the south. The pattern of these facts will not fit the theory of central Asian hordes now and again coming down, for one reason or another, through the gates of India. For the history of the frontier is the history of mutuality and the logic of interrelations or it is nothing. In one period and one only was the life of the frontier almost stilled. The "remote mountain fastnesses" of Afghanistan and the so-called "buffer state" were the purely illusory and forced creations of European colonialism. That mirage and that condition of misfortune are daily dispelling, and the rhythm of the great Asian frontier will resume again its regular beat.

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Armenian Traders in India in the Seventeenth Century

SURENDRA GOPAL

IT IS DIFFICULT to establish precisely when the Armenians started visiting India. In the sixteenth century we find them in important ports like Goa¹, Diu², Patan,³ Cambay⁴ and San Thome⁵ and internal trade marts like Ahmedabad,⁶ Agra⁷ and Lahore.⁸ Thus they had emerged as a distinct trading group, whose services were being utilised in different spheres for we find them acting as interpreters and contact-men of the Portuguese.⁹

Although adequate data are lacking it seems that Persia usually served for the Armenians, as the transit point for their trips to India, from where they came both by the land as well as the sea route. Ormuz, the Portuguese possession in the Persian Gulf was the main port of sail to India for the Armenians.¹⁰ However, their chief forte was land trade through which they exported out of India primarily indigo, while their imports consisted of precious stones and other items of luxury.

But with the dawn of the seventeenth century, the pattern of the trade of Armenians with India began to be transformed. Many factors contributed to this. After the death of Akbar in 1605, India's north-western frontier was thrown into a turmoil. The rivalry between the Mughal rulers and the Persian Shah for the possession of Kandhar resulted not only in tension over the borders but also in frequent outbreak of wars between the Mughal rulers, Jahangir and Shahjahan and the Shah of Persia. The situation during Shahjahan's reign worsened

so much that the entire land trade through the north western frontier came to a halt in 1639. All the trade had to be diverted through Surat, the Chief port of Gujarat.¹¹ Relations with Persia in the reign of Aurangzeb were no better. As an author remarks, "The occupation of Qandhar by the Persians and the virtual state of war that followed it throughout Aurangzeb's reign, except for a brief space of a few years diverted the trade and commerce from the Bolan pass to the ports of Southern India....."¹² Thus the land trade with Persia was constantly on decline and the Armenians who were a major participant naturally sought to change it from land to sea.

The Armenians were well-established in Persia specially after Shah Abbas had set up their colony at Julfa in the suburbs of Ispahan in 1605. That is why many Armenians coming to India in the seventeenth century belonged to Julfa. This is proved by the fact that out of fifty-eight Armenians buried at Agra in the seventeenth century, ten belong to Julfa, one to Venice and the native places of the rest are not mentioned.¹³

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese lost their monopoly over the sea route as well as sea trade with Persia. The English and the Persians had by capturing the island of Ormuz in 1622 broken the century-old strangle-hold of the Portuguese over the sea-trade of Persia with India. The Armenians were not slow in realising the significance of this event for the English and the Dutch would definitely attempt to supply part of the Persian requirements of the Indian goods and thereby effect their already declining land-trade between Persia and India.

The Armenians, therefore, took advantage of the freeing of the sea-trade with Persia and stepped up their activities in this sector. The English realising the importance of Armenian traders began to think of arriving at an understanding with them.¹⁴ Therefore, it is not surprising that as the seventeenth century proceeded the Armenian traders became active in the coastal areas and the main sea-ports of India.

The Armenians were helped in the smooth change-over by the co-operative attitude of the English and the Dutch who were then dominating the seas between India and Persia. The English and the Dutch found the services of Armenian merchants with their expert knowledge of local trade, languages and customs indispensable. More than this, the English

and the Dutch were keen to exploit, the silk trade of Persia and had no option but to lean on the Armenian traders who had been given the monopoly of its export by the ruler of the country.¹⁶ Friendship with the Armenians in Persia inevitably meant friendship with them in India for it was not unusual for an Armenian trader in Persia to have business interests in India and an Armenian in India to have trade dealings in Persia. The Armenian traders in India and Persia in the seventeenth century were closely interlinked.

Hence, the Armenians were given passage, their goods ferried in European ships and showered with other privileges. From the Indian side no hindrances were placed because the Indians were themselves vitally interested in the Persian trade. Not only that sea trade between these two countries continued but a big colony of Indian merchants, according to one estimate, about ten thousand, resided in Persia in the seventeenth century.¹⁶ Thus the Armenian traders became predominantly interested in sea-trade to India.

The successful shift to sea trade resulted in increase in immigration of Armenian traders to India.¹⁷ This can be inferred from the fact that almost all the important European travellers of India in the century like Pelsaert, Mandelslo, Thevenot, Tavernier and Manucci notice their presence. As the century proceeded the number of places in India where the Armenians were to be found, multiplied.

If in the sixteenth century Lahore, Agra, Cambay, Goa and Diu were the main places where the Armenian traders appeared, in the seventeenth century gradually the Armenians could be found practically all over India.

In the north while Lahore and Agra¹⁸ continued to be inhabited by the Armenians, they now start regularly visiting Patna for two fold purposes, for purchasing goods brought here from Bhutan and across Himalayas¹⁹ and for purchasing goods of Bengal specially silk for export to Central Asian countries and Persia. The trade of the Armenians with Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet distinguished them from other contemporary mercantile groups, both Asian and Europeans in northern India.

Further eastwards, as Bengal grew in commercial importance towards the second half of the seventeenth century, and its trade contact with Persia strengthened, the Armenians became more active. Hugli was their point of concentration.²⁰ When Calcutta developed, the Armenians

were among the first to start their trading operations.²¹ With the Dutch the Armenians were to be found in Chinsurah as well. Here the leading Armenian merchants belonged to the House of Margar. Khojah Johanness Margar who died in Chinsurah in 1697 laid the foundation of a church in 1695. His family belonged to Julfa.²² Thus the Armenians in the seventeenth century penetrated the markets of northern India and shared in the inland trade with the European trading companies, like the English and the Dutch East India Companies. This was a remarkable feat in view of the fact that the Armenians did not have an organized Company, and had to depend upon individual skill and enterprise. North India also served the Armenians as a base for journeys to Tibet across the Himalayas.²³

Between Agra and Gujarat the Armenians could be found at important trade centres. The English factor Robert Hughes met an Armenian trader at Ajmer in Rajasthan whom he sold textiles in 1610,²⁴ worth Rs. 7,500 on credit on surety furnished by an Indian Banya. A few months later the English could recover only Rs. 2,800 in cash and cloth worth Rs. 3,500 and agreed to take a Bill payable three months later for Rs. 1,200. The English claimed that they had been deceived only because of a misunderstanding for the surety later claimed that he was responsible only for the person of the Armenian and not the amount owed by him.²⁵ The English later complained to the Mughal Court.²⁶ The Armenians were generally interested in indigo. Pelsaert in his report added that the Armenians exported indigo from Bayana near Agra to Ispahan and Aleppo and they purchased in such large quantities that its prices shot up. In 1628 the English found that unless the Armenians and other Muslim merchants stopped purchasing indigo from Persia, there was no likelihood of its price coming down.²⁷ Of course, in the main port towns of Gujarat, Cambay and Surat they had a flourishing colony, though in the second half of the seventeenth century Surat attracted the largest number of Armenian traders.

In Surat, the English at times preferred to deal with Armenian merchants rather than the local ones as is evident from the following excerpt from a letter of the Directors to the English factors, Harris and Annesley—"You have yielded too much to that ill man Vital Parrack (Indian agent of the English—author) and too much slighted the *Armenians that are honest men* (emphasis added—author); and it is very impertinent that you write us Coja Minass Hodges Zod's debts are cleared out of your Surat books as your accounts doth say". This clearly

shows the high premium which the English had come to place on the Armenians and the importance attached to Minas.²⁸ Further south, the port of Chaul was also inhabited by the Armenians.²⁹

On the west coast, while Goa lost its character of primary centre of the concentration of the Armenians, it was replaced by Bombay, which was being developed by the English. The English followed a conscious policy of inviting the Armenian traders to settle down in Bombay as is apparent by the following two statements of the English East India Company in 1688-89, "As the Bengal goods had lately been in great demand at the Company's sales, and as the imports of them from Hughly were uncertain, the General and Council of Bombay were to hold out every encouragement to the Armenian merchants, or, that they should receive not only protection, but a profitable market; any charges which might be incurred, in giving such encouragement, would be fully compensated, by the trade this people would introduce; the reasons assigned were that the Armenian merchants carried on trade, on their own funds and credit, and that they traversed all the provinces in India, and collected (though in small quantities and in a manner which had not excited the jealousy of the Natives), the most valuable commodities; if, therefore, they could be induced to make Bombay their principal market, the commercial effect would be incalculable; and further, to induce them to accept of this offer, they were to be allowed to send their goods on the Company's shipping, to Europe, for sale".³⁰

The other statement said, "The commercial orders recommended similar encouragement to be given to the Armenians, as authorized in the instructions to Sir John Child, at Bombay, but, more specifically to offer them thirty per cent profit on the prime cost of such fine Bengal goods, as they might furnish for the investment, and to send as many taffeties as they could procure..."³¹

Thus these two statements quoted at length while showing the nature of the Armenian trade in the last two decades of the seventeenth century also shed light on the motives and the great value put on the Armenian merchants by the English.

It was in pursuance of this policy that the English invited Khoja Minas, the chief Armenian trader of Surat to settle down in Bombay, who appeared to have done so in 1676.³² As a community the

Armenians settled down in Bombay soon after the Hindus had done and were followed by the Parsis.³³

In Western India, like the European trading communities the Armenians had been penetrating into the internal markets. The Armenian merchant Hovhannes Joughayetsi who arrived in Surat from Bandar Abbas in 1683 reached Agra after visiting Aurangabad, Burhanpur and Sironj.³⁴ Norris, on his way from Surat to Brahmagiri to meet the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb was told by the French physician to Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Khan, Peter de Laval at 'Demam devec' that the Nawab had heard of his arrival and departure for the Emperor's Camp through some Armenians.³⁵ Proceeding further, when a member of the retinue died, Norris discovered that he was an Armenian now turned Muslim.³⁶

On the Coromandel coast we find the Armenian merchants at the turn of the seventeenth century well established. The ruler of Golkunda patronized them as is clear from the following incident. When the Dutch envoy Wemmer Van Berchem arrived at the court of the King of Golkunda, an Armenian merchant from Masulipatam complained that the Dutch had seized his vessel *Tanazsary* in the port of the kingdom because it carried Portugese Cargo. The King insisted and secured the release of the cargo of the Armenian, much against the wishes of Berchem.³⁷ When the English established their settlement at Madras the Armenians soon became an important segment of the population of the city. It appears that the Armenian traders settled in Madras permanently in 1666³⁸ although the oldest Armenian tomb belongs to the years 1663.³⁹ In the Golkundan kingdom also we find the Armenians visiting the internal markets. When Abdullah Kutub Shah the Golkundan King captured Mylapore or San Thome in 1662 from the Portugese he immediately appointed Markus Erezad, an Armenian as the Governor of the place.⁴⁰ The same person sent a valuable gift to Charles II requesting him to present a ship in return.⁴¹

Thus the seventeenth century was characterised by increase in the immigration of the Armenian traders and also increase in the number of places visited by them in India. As a matter of fact, the Armenians now visited all the important trade centres in India.

While the Armenians spread in the markets of India, they started participating in several new branches of trade. The new transformation

can be summed up as follows. Formerly they traded with India, now they traded in India.

The Armenians of course kept up their traditional role as exporters of Indian goods to Persia and Central Asia. But having got a firm foothold in the port towns they became active participant in India's overseas trade. Their role in this new capacity became specially marked after the middle of the seventeenth century.

They seem to have been specially active in the Indo-Persian trade in which a new feature was their role as carriers of European goods from India to Persia. The Europeans had been generally unable to sell these themselves and were sure that the Armenians could, for they traded in the interiors of Persia also.⁴²

From Surat, the Armenian traders started sending ships laden with Indian goods to the Red sea area in the West. Khoja Minas was the most successful Armenian merchant. In 1663 the English decided to send their goods to Mocha on his ship.⁴³ Similarly, Abbe Carre mentions the presence of a ship belonging to Minas at Basra.⁴⁴ Khoja Minas again proved to be an active participant in trade with the countries of south-east Asia. His ships visited the port of Quedah in the Malay peninsula.⁴⁵ He traded with ports of Siam⁴⁶ and Manila in the Philippines.⁴⁷ The local traders had so much faith in him that they borrowed money at the exorbitant interest rate of 40% to 45% to load his ship going to Manila.⁴⁸ The fact that he was able to raise money shows the standing he had come to enjoy among the local merchants.

From Bombay also the Armenians participated in India's overseas trade. An Armenian trader Agappri sent his agent to Massawa in Ethiopia on an English ship.⁴⁹

Thus while participating in the overseas trade the Armenians also became interested in the coastal trade of the country. We have the instance of Armenian merchants protesting to the English East India Company when around 1689 their ship bound from Goa to Madras with twenty thousand *pagodas* on board was captured by pirates.⁵⁰ Another Armenian ship with fifty thousand *xeraphins* on its voyage from Goa to Surat was taken by pirates near Bombay.⁵¹ The English sought to give storage facilities to them in their ware-houses at Carwar⁵² in the years 1691-92. On the Coromandel coast again, the English East India Company proposed to hire the small vessels belonging to the

Armenians.⁵³ Early in 1698 an Armenian ship *Quedah Merchant* sent from Bengal to Surat carrying Armenian merchants with their goods, was looted by pirate Kidd who obtained a booty worth £ 10,000 to £ 12,000. The reaction to this act of piracy in Surat was sharp. Armed guards were placed on the English, Dutch and French factories.⁵⁴

Thus throughout the seventeenth century, the Armenian traders continued to diversify their operations, which, now comprehended all branches of trade. This was possible in no small measure due to the co-operation extended by the European trading companies in India, who were gradually becoming the most important factor in Indian commerce. They never looked upon Armenians as they had looked upon the other Asian merchants, the Arabs, the Turks, the Persians or even their European counterparts or the indigenous trading communities, as potential rivals. Despite occasional differences, they realised that the Armenians with their excellent 'on the spot knowledge' may be exploited to their own benefit. The Armenians on their part also assiduously fostered this idea, not only in India and Persia but on occasions even by going to London, the headquarters of the English East India Company.

As far back as 1658 we have two Armenian merchants, Moses Mesrop and Jacob Amir, negotiating with the authorities of the English East India Company in London for their passage and the passage of their goods to India on British ships.⁵⁵ The East India Company ultimately acceded to their request. Similarly, Khojah Kirakos, the brother of Khojah Minas (whose name we have already mentioned) before coming to India was in London where he held parleys with office-bearers of the English East India Company.⁵⁶ Therefore, this fact has to be kept in view before appreciating the friendliness between Minas or the Armenian traders in India and the English. Again, Khojah Phanoos Kalandar and his nephew Khojah Israel Sarhad had prior contact with the English in London⁵⁷ before concluding the treaty of 1688 with the English East India Company on behalf of the Armenians of India.

By the treaty of 1688, the English in India agreed to accord to the Armenians all the trading privileges enjoyed by the English East India Company and also treat them as equals to the English in matters of employment to the Company's service.⁵⁸ The Armenians pledged to give up exporting Indian goods to Iran by land route and promised to

send these on Company's ships to Iran. Thus the Armenians and the English became bound in friendship.

Another example of Armenians employing diplomacy to secure commercial concessions is to be found in the years 1663. The Armenian merchants in India sent through their compatriots presents to the Russian Czar and sought from him trading concessions in respect of import and sale of Indian goods.⁵⁹ The Armenians thus added a new dimension to their activities by becoming carriers of goods to the Russian Empire and even competing with the Indians there in this regard.

The high powered diplomacy of the Armenians was an important factor in their commercial success in India in the seventeenth century. None of the Asian trading groups could employ diplomacy on this scale to further their business interest. Their performance is all the more creditable because they had no organised Companies on the model of the Europeans and every man was for himself. The Armenians, therefore, proved more enterprising and their ability to forge friendly links with the European trading companies undoubtedly helped their progress in trade, while other trading groups were facing none-too-happy circumstances.

The all round development of trade of the Armenians in India was also reflected in their economic prosperity. Probably the merchant who acquired the greatest prosperity was Khojah Minas in the sixties in the port of Surat. As stated earlier his ships sailed to the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf and also to south-east Asia. He had acquired so much wealth that the English began to hold him up as rival to the merchant prince of Surat, Virji Vora. Even a pretension to rival Virji Vora was no joke. Virji Vora had his representatives in Agra, in all the important trade centres of Western India and in Golkonda. The English, the Dutch and the French Companies were at one time or another indebted to him. No merchant could venture to oppose his wish. Thus the attempt of Minas to stand up to such an important, influential and wealthy merchant in his own house speaks volume of his wealth.

In Bengal famous Armenian merchants were Khojah Johanness of Chinsurah and Khojah Israel Sarhad.

These are some of the typical examples of the prosperity of the Armenian merchants. Undoubtedly, the common Armenian trader

shared in the material development of the community. Otherwise there can be no explanation for the growth in the number of the Armenians as well as their colonies and intensification and diversification of their commercial activities. Thus the seventeenth century witnessed the laying of secure foundations on which the Armenians in India built up their prosperity in the eighteenth century.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Although principally traders, the services of the Armenians had been in the sixteenth century utilized by the Portuguese as interpreters, negotiators and guides. In the seventeenth century, the Armenians continued to render such services on a larger scale even though trade remained their main preoccupation. The reason is not far to seek.

The European activities in India were greatly intensified in the seventeenth century when the newcomers like the English, the Dutch and the French decided to enter into the internal markets of the country. Hence they needed more than the Portuguese, the services of a class of people who were conversant with local affairs. The Armenians were their natural choice whom they had known even before coming to India and who were their co-religionists. Hence, on several occasions the Armenians rendered services of an interpreter and negotiator to the Europeans.

Thus we find the Dutch on the eastern coast seeking the services of the Armenians in dealing with the local authorities. The Dutch continued to employ Armenians as contact-men with Imperial Court even towards the end of the century.⁶⁰ When Norris arrived in India to seek commercial privileges on behalf of the newly formed English East India Company a rival to the old one, John Gayer, the Governor of the old Company at Bombay who was then in Surat, sent an Armenian Wakil with two lakhs of rupees to be spent in bribes to the Mughal Court to foil his efforts.⁶¹

Israel Sarhad—an Armenian—accompanied the English Embassy which sought and secured the important firman from the Mughal Emperor Farukh Siyar in 1715.⁶² Earlier he had helped in 1698 to acquire letters patent from the Mughal Emperor allowing the English to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanati, and Govindapore for the sum of sixteen thousand rupees.⁶³ Such active participation naturally meant that the Armenians

were able to establish good contacts with the local authorities in India, which at times proved immensely useful. An example will suffice.

When Shivaji attacked Surat, he caught hold of an Englishman. An Armenian who knew Shivaji interceded on behalf of the captive, and Shivaji let him go.

An important aspect of the extra-commercial activities of the Armenian traders was their occasional undertaking of diplomatic mission on behalf of Asian and African powers to the Mughals. The Ethiopian King sent an Armenian merchant Mourat, born in Aleppo as an ambassador to the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb.⁶⁴

The Armenians also served Indian rulers as interpreters in their dealings with the Europeans. When the English had an interview with Mughal authorities at Ajmer in 1614, their letter in Portuguese was translated into Persian by an Armenian attached to Asaf Khan.⁶⁵

Of Course, as in the sixteenth so in the seventeenth century, some Armenians occupied important administrative posts under different Indian rulers.

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21. Khachikian, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
22. Seth, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 305.
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24. Ed. William Foster, *Letters Received By the East India Company from Its Servants in the East, 1616*, Vol. IV, London, 1900, p. 277.
25. Ed. Wililam Foster, *Letters Received By the East India Company from Its Servants in the East, 1617*, Vol. VI, p. 244.
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49. *The Red Sea and Adjacent Countries at the Close of the Seventeenth Century*, p. 169.
50. Col. John Biddulph, *The Pirates of Malabar and an English Woman in India Two Hundred Years Ago*, London, 1907, p. 11.
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60. Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.
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62. Seth, *op. cit.*, p. 544.
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Rapporteur's report for the 5th and 6th Sessions (Theme—III)

K. A. NIZAMI

THE FIFTH AND the sixth sessions of the conference, held on February 13, 1969, were devoted to a discussion of the movements of peoples and ideas between the countries of Central Asia during the medieval period (upto the 18th century).

The fifth session was presided over by S. H. Nasr and the following delegates presented their papers :

1. K. Balkan : "The appearance of the Indo-Europeans and Indo-Aryans in Anatolia".
2. B.G. Gafurov : "Indian Cultural Heritage and the Development of the Culture of Central Asia".
3. K.A. Nizami : "India's Cultural Relations with Central Asia during the Medieval period".
4. A.Z. Khoi : "Alberuni's *Kitab-i Saidna*".

Paper I was presented in this session since it could not be taken up earlier, under unavoidable circumstances. The discussion that followed is reported separately.

Discussing the Indian influence on the development of social thought among the people of Central Asia, B.G. Gafurov referred to Indian Culture "as one of the greatest achievements of mankind". He mentioned in particular the influence of Bedil on Central Asian literary

tradition. A. Bausani joined B.G. Gafurov in paying an eloquent tribute to Bedil and referred to the uniqueness of his style and approach.

K.A. Nizami traced the movement of ideas, men and commodities between India and Central Asia from the 7th century A.D. to the middle of the 17th century. He concluded with the observations that (a) Economic relationship between India and Central Asia did not come to a standstill even when the ruling dynasties of these regions had strained relations and (b) the Central Asian families that settled in India easily adjusted themselves to the Indian milieu. A.L. Basham remarked that it was unfair to call Aryabhata's book a work on astrology; it was a scientific work on astronomy. B.N. Mukherji sought further elucidation about the nature of economic relationship between India and Central Asia when political relations between the regions were strained. J.P.S. Uberoi enquired if any sociological study of the Central Asian families referred to by Nizami in his paper, has been made. N. Ray referred to the popular Indian usage of the word *Uzbek* in some Indian languages and enquired whether Alberuni was an Uzbek. B.G. Gafurov replied in the negative and remarked that the Turkish element in the population of Central Asia was a much later phenomenon. The Uzbek traced their origin to Uzbek Khan, a 15th-century leader of the Turkish tribes. He further observed that the Indian words referred to by N. Ray had no connection with the Uzbek tribe. S.P. Gupta referred to the nature of early Central Asian settlements and H.D. Sankalia pointed out that in some inscriptions of the early period the word *bai* occurs when, according to K. Menges, is Turkic and means 'woman' or 'wife'. A.L. Basham observed that the easy assimilation of Central Asian families referred to by K.A. Nizami was due to religious affinity.

Speaking about the importance of Alberuni's *Kitab-i Saidna*, A.Z. Khoi referred to the influence of Indian medicine on Islamic medicine. *Firdaus-ul-Hikmet* and *Kitab-i Saidna*, he pointed out, mention numerous Indian works. S.H. Nasr agreed with Khoi's assessment of *Kitab-i Saidna*. B.G. Gafurov pointed out that the most outstanding work of Alberuni was on India.

The sixth session of the Conference held its deliberations first under the chairmanship of A. Bausani and later of K. Menges. The following papers were presented :

1. Satish Chandra : "Some observations on the impact of Central Asian ideas and institutions on structure of society and administration in northern India between the 10th and 14th centuries A.D."
2. R.S. Sharma: "Central Asian and early Indian Cavalry; c.200 B.C.—1200 A.D."
3. J.P.S. Uberoi: "Between oxus and Indus: a local history of the frontier 500 B.C.—1925 A.D."

Satish Chandra pointed out that the growth and development of the *bhukti* system in India had some striking parallels with the *Iqta* system of Central Asia, and referred to the Mongol influence on the administration of Mohammed bin Tughluq. R.S. Sharma expressed his doubt if the word *bhukti* could be considered synonymous with *Iqta*. He referred to other terms, such as *shashana* used for royal charters. R.S. Sharma was doubtful if grants for military purpose used to be given during the pre-Rajput period.

R.S. Sharma traced in his paper the growth of the Indian cavalry from about the 2nd century B.C. and indicated the Central Asian influences. He said that in pre-Muslim times the Indian cavalry did not match its Turkish counterpart in efficiency and equipment. B.N. Mukherji and R.S. Sharma exchanged information from original resources about the Kushana skill in horsemanship. Satish Chandra said that cavalry was used by the Rajputs in the 12th century. G.M. Bongard-Levin referred to the use of horse in India and pointed out that the Punjab was famous for horses. S.K. Chatterji observed that from the Vedic times to the early Christian era we have references to the chariot and not to the horse. The stirrup came to be used in the early centuries of the Christian era.

J.P.S. Uberoi discussed in his paper the results of his sociological and ethnological investigations in Andarab district, northern Afghanistan, and its significance in Central Asian studies. He explained his concept of the frontier as a wall as well as a corridor between the Oxus and the Indus. He also pleaded for more studies of local history.

SECTION III

Modern and Contemporary Period

Indian Literature and Art in the USSR

M.A. DROBISHEV

SOVIET SCIENTISTS ATTACH tremendous importance to the enormous cultural heritage of the great Indian people, in particular, to the invaluable treasures of Indian literature and art.

For the Soviet scholars Indian studies are a matter of profound significance, as they contribute to the objectively growing cultural interaction of different nations and peoples. Back in the past century Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels pointed out that the fruits of spiritual activity of separate nations were becoming common property of all. They further maintained that national one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness were becoming increasingly impossible and that one single literature was evolving out of a multitude of national and local literatures.

The history of culture and international contacts testifies to the increasing momentum of this trend. In fact, now, as never before, it has become evident that modern cultures, arts and literatures cannot develop fruitfully unless they interchange, intermix and influence one another. International cultural exchange and contacts, the primary manifestation of civilization, have a telling influence upon the destinies of mankind. It is, in fact, hardly possible to overestimate the role played by arts, with their generalized figurative speech and the immense emotional impact they exert. Just try to imagine how peoples would get to know one another without them, how the facts of life, the hopes and aspirations of different nations would, in the form of graphic

images, become common knowledge, how general cultural and human values would take root in the minds, how the peculiarly national, individual element from different cultures and civilizations, that is an organic component of the common treasury of human culture, would be revealed, if not for international cultural contacts. International exchange of humanitarian cultural values, the values of literature and art, which are powerful tools of cognition and education, is an important prerequisite of progress of the entire mankind and individual countries. Besides, international exchange in the field of literature and art by and large takes the edge off political contradictions, alleviates international tensions and works toward peace in the whole world. Under favourable international conditions cultural exchange turns into a mighty booster of both national cultures and world culture as a whole.

Soviet scientists are of the opinion that research into the cultures, arts and literatures of different peoples, as well as popularization of the cultural attainments, the masterpieces of literature and art of these nations, is the chief form and manifestation of international cultural exchange. Guided precisely by these ideas the scientists of our country spare no effort in their studies of the literature and art of the great people of India.

That such work is indispensable and highly useful has always been firmly imprinted in the best scientific and cultural minds of Russia. M. V. Lomonosov and N. M. Karamsin, A. N. Radishchev and I. I. Novikov, V. G. Belinsky and A. I. Herzen, N. G. Chernyshevsky and N. A. Dobrolyubov, V. A. Zhukovsky and A. S. Pushkin, Leo Tolstoy and Maxim Gorky—these and many others showed deep respect toward the Indian people, toward Indian art and literature and urged that they should be studied. More than that, some of them personally endeavoured to introduce broad Russian public to the masterpieces of Indian artistic genius.

One of the principal traditions in this field is translation into Russian and other languages of the peoples of the USSR of Indian books which have long been the chief source of knowledge about India to our reader. Thanks to the efforts of Russian Orientalists and men-of-letters, already at the end of the 19th century our reader was able to get acquainted with samples of Indian classical literature. In this respect suffice it to mention a marvellous translation of "The Legend of Nala and Damayanti", made by the famous Russian poet

V. A. Zhukovsky in 1844. Praising this translation, the great Russian critic V. G. Belinsky pointed out that it was a valuable gain for Russian literature.

After the October Revolution this noble tradition was given a fresh start. Characteristically, already in 1918, amid the hardships of foreign intervention and civil war, a publishing-house "World Literature" was set up on the initiative of Maxim Gorky and with active support on the part of the Soviet Government. This publishing-house, which enlisted the services of the best Soviet Orientalists, soon turned into a centre of scientific studies and translations of the literary monuments of Oriental countries, including India. Concerning the importance of this undertaking Maxim Gorky wrote in April 1919 :

"Now we have organized "Literatures of the East" publications. Our most prominent Orientalists, people of European renown, are involved in this job. We provide the literature of China, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, Persia, Arabia, Turkey, etc....It is an enormous project...".

In the five decades the "enormous project" has borne tangible results. In the period from 1918 through 1967 over 530 books belonging to more than 70 Indian writers were published in the Soviet Union. Translated into 32 languages of our country they sold nearly 25 million copies. Indian books are published in Moscow, Leningrad, Tashkent, Dushambe, Kiev, Tbilisi, Riga and many other cities of the USSR. In these activities very valuable are the contributions of the State Fiction Publishers, "Progress" Publishers and the Central Department of Oriental Literature of the "Nauka" (i. e. Science) Publishers, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

There have evolved two basic lines in translation of Indian literature. One is translation of Indian fiction for broad reading public. The case in point is R. Tagore, whose 124 books totalling 4 million copies, including multi-volume collected and selected works, have been published in 22 languages of the Soviet Union. The other trend covers analytical translations of Indian classical literature, supplied with scientific commentary and intended for use by specialists. The case in point is the translation of "Mahabharata" by V. I. Kalyanov and B. L. Smirnov (See : "Mahabharata". Adiparva, Book I. Translated from the Sanskrit with commentary by V. I. Kalyanov, M. L., 1950), as well as translations of several Upanishads, and Panchatantra by A. Ya.

Syrkin (See: "Upanishads", translated from the Sanskrit with commentary by A. Ya. Syrkin, M., 1967; "Panchatantra" (a collection of Indian fables), translated from the Sanskrit with commentary by A. Ya. Syrkin, M., 1958).

Our translators, guided by the principles of the Soviet school of translation, endeavour to present to the reader all the peculiarities of the Indian literary principle, with a stress on books permeated with the lofty ideals of national character and humanism and revealing the subtle intimate movements of the human soul. Our translators try to introduce the reader to both renowned writers and young authors, to the literatures of all the peoples of India. The primary prerequisite is that all the translations must be made from the original language. It is not worth even beginning to enumerate not only the books but even the authors translated in our country—so long is the list !

The broad scope of activity in the field of translation of Indian literature can hardly be overestimated in view of the contribution of this activity into the cause of international cultural exchange in general, into the cause of furthering friendship and understanding between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union in particular. A scientific basis for this job is furnished by its organic extension—philological and literary research done by Soviet Indologists.

Studies in the ancient and multifarious literature of India is one of the urgent tasks facing Soviet scientists. Without the knowledge of the contribution into the treasury of world culture made by Indian poets, writers and playwrights it is now impossible to have any complete idea of the world cultural heritage. Soviet literary experts strive at presenting, as best they can, the complete and all-encompassing picture of the Indian literary process with all its many features. Ancient Indian literature is prominent in these studies. This trend, started by the representatives of Russian Classical Indological school, endeavours to consider the literature of ancient India as part of the general world literary process. Soviet scholars O. Volkova, P. Grintzer, V. Kalaynov, I. Rabinovitch, I. Serebryakov, A. Syrkin, I. Erman and others try to disclose the bonds between ancient Indian literature and the epoch and historical conditions contemporary to it to reveal the impact it exerted upon the subsequent development of Indian literatures till the present time, and to present ancient Indian literature as not only Sanskrit but also South-Indian tradition. An example of such an approach is the

book by I. D. Serebryakov "Ancient Indian Literature" (M. 1963). Along with ancient literature, our Indologists study medieval Indian literature, too. In this field great credit is due to Academician A. P. Barannikov, who in 1948 translated, supplied with commentary, studied and published, "Ramayana" by Tulsidas (M. L., 1948). Yet, top priority is given by Soviet scholars to modern and contemporary Indian literature. This field attracts many an investigator. Viewing Indian literature in dynamics, Soviet Indologists try to classify Indian literature into periods which would be in conformity with objective criteria. Several examples of such efforts are E. P. Chelyshev's "Periodization of Hindi Literature", I. D. Serebraykov's "Periodization of Punjabi Literature", V. K. Lamshukov's "Periodization of Maratha Literature", which are included into the "Problems of Periodization of Literatures of the Peoples of the East" (M., 1968).

Soviet scientists proceed on the premise that Indian literature is a collective product of all peoples of India. That is why our Indologists try to cover in their works as wide a scope of Indian literatures as possible, with a particular stress on the specific features inherent to each of them. There exists now a series of books—"Literature of the East". Under this series there have already appeared works which deal with Hindi, Bengali, Punjabi, Urdu, Telugu and Sanskrit literatures. Other essays of the series are forthcoming.

Soviet scientists concentrate not only on the Indian literacy process as a whole, but also on the many talents and artistic personalities it has bred. We are justified in asserting that Soviet studies on such giants of Indian literature as Tagore, Ghalib, Iqbal and Premchand have crystallized into independent branches.

Soviet Indologists renounce descriptiveness and fact collection and attempt instead to define the theoretical regularities behind the development of Indian literatures. Here is the list of problems explored by Soviet Indologists : traditions and innovations, the humanitarian ideal of Indian literature; consolidation of the realistic method; romanticism and modernistic trends; the effect upon literature of national-liberation struggle; the impact of world literature on the literature of India, and *vice versa*. In this respect merits attention the recently published book "Maxim Gorky and the Literatures of the East" (M., 1968), which highlights this influence using varied and interesting factual material.

Soviet research into Indian literature, carried on in many cities and republics of our country is conducted in close cooperation with Indian scientists. Personal contacts, joint works, participation in national and international conferences, congresses and seminars, exchange of lectures—these are the good traditions in this field.

In studying the works of Indian writers in their original languages and holding to light their specific features, Soviet scholars try to display the inimitability of their manner, of their images and artistic style. At the same time, while disclosing the bonds of Indian literature with the life and struggle of the people, while revealing its progressive, humanistic features, our Indologists help the Soviet reader to gain a deeper insight into not only literature but the life of India as well. The specific features and the general regularities in the development of Indian literatures, as found by Soviet scholars, help the Soviet people detect and comprehend the general cultural treasures they contain. And this is instrumental in furthering the cause of mutual understanding between our two countries.

Along with the analysis, translation and publication of Indian literatures, a very important aspect of cultural exchange between India and the Soviet Union is investigation of Indian art and the all-round popularization of it in our country. Since as far back the time of Gerasim Lebedev the Russian people have always displayed lively interest in Indian art. For many years it has been studied in Russia. Now a days Soviet state museums can boast significant collections of Indian monuments of art possessing both artistic and historical value. Among such collections of the monuments of Indian art and material culture the best are the ones belonging to the State Hermitage in Leningrad, the State Museum of Oriental Art in Moscow, the State Historical Museum, the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Museum of Occidental and Oriental Art in Kiev. Rare manuscripts with valuable Indian miniatures are in possession of the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library (Leningrad), the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR (Tashkent), and many other scientific institutions. The collections of Indian art stored in our museums are on permanent display and widely demonstrated to the public.

Soviet Indologists have done a lot to describe, and analyse all these collections; their catalogues have been issued; special works dealing with some of them have been published. A.P. Barannikov, S.F. Oldenburg, T. Grek, N.R. Guseva and other scholars have made a significant contribution to explaining and popularizing these collections. In this job, as well as in the studies of Indian art in general, a particularly great role was played by one of the elders of Soviet Indologists, Merited Worker of Arts of the Russian Federation, S. I. Tyulyaev, whose voluminous Doctoral Thesis ("The Art of India", M., 1968) has recently come off the press. Soviet art critics have written quite a few books and articles on Indian architecture and art (S. I. Tyulyaev, A. A. Korotskaya), theatre (A. N. Mervart, M. P. Babkina, S. I. Potabenko) and other problems.

Having accumulated extensive material, Soviet Indologists were thus able to embark upon creating the first works of generalizing nature, such as the special chapters on the problems of Indian culture in the 4-volume academic publication on the history of India—"The History of India in the Ancient Time" which is under way now, "The History of India in the Middle Ages", "The Modern History of India" and "The Contemporary History of India", which have already been issued. A sizable milestone in the studies of Indian culture, literature and art is the book "The Culture of Modern India". The eleven sections of this book shed light on different spheres of modern Indian culture—philosophy, science, literature, fine arts, architecture, theatre, music, cinema, applied arts, education, as well as cultural ties between the USSR and India. We believe that the authors of this book made a fruitful attempt to give an all-round picture of spiritual progress in today's India and the current stage in the development of its complex, vivid and original culture. The book, seeking to explain the Indian path of cultural development, full of contradictions and striving, presents a scientific analysis and an objective picture of all the vital aspects of the cultural life of the country. Besides, the book shows all the manifestations of spiritual activity as intertwined with the current efforts of the Indian people to overcome survivals of colonialism in the struggle for national revival. Moreover, the authors succeeded in showing the present contribution of the Indian people into the treasury of world culture.

One of the lights of Russian Orientalology, Academician S.F. Oldenburg wrote : "What India has already contributed to the spiritual

treasury of mankind is eternal and justifies us in assigning to India a prominent position in world literature". These words were written in 1919, and they express the traditional firm conviction which had long prevailed in Russian cultural and scientific circles as to the great role and importance of Indian culture.

Soviet scientists have taken up and developed these ideas. They proceed on the premise that the advance of culture, art and literature is a single world process, in which each (and we mean precisely each) people does its bit. Our scholars resolutely denounce the view whereby the impact of Oriental culture on the culture of Europe could allegedly tend to hold back the cultural advance of Western civilization. Our scientists firmly believe that, on the contrary, such contacts extend the general basis of human culture and stimulate the development of its diverse forms and styles, rather than lower the level of this or that culture. Guided by this deep conviction, the scholars of our country take an active part in the project on study of Central Asian Civilizations, adopted by the Unesco General Conference in 1967. The work done in the Soviet Union in the field of studying the culture, literature and art of India, as well as popularization of them in the USSR is in line with this project, and it is deeply gratifying that Indians are conscious of it. Quite recently Mr. Durgha Prasad Dhar, Ambassador of the Republic of India in the Soviet Union, noted that it is not only in the economic field, but also in the field of culture that our two countries have a very rich and impressive history of mutually beneficial relations.

Soviet scientists hope that their research in India's culture, art and literature furthers the cause of world cultural exchange and helps consolidate friendship and understanding between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union.

The Democratic Trend in the Central Asian Literature in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century

DEVENDRA KAUSHIK

THE CENTRAL ASIAN literature in the 19th and early 20th century before the Soviet period, was not wholly or even predominantly religious and obscurantist, as is commonly believed in certain circles. The Soviet literature of this region does not really signify a complete breach with the past traditions, and while acquiring a new content and form, it, nevertheless, took over from the earlier period its secular democratic trends and enriched them further. From the very beginning democratic trends in the literature of Central Asia were quite powerful. Particularly strong are they in the oral folk literature in which the area is so rich. In the folk songs and tales sung and narrated by the *bakshis* and *akyns* are fully reflected the life experience of the people, their wisdom, wit and humour, joys and sorrows. In the numerous popular proverbs and riddles, *destans* and epics like *Gyor-ogly* of the Turkmens, *Manas* of the Kirgizs, *Alpamys* of the Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Karakalpaks is vividly portrayed the social life of the people, their customs, traditions and rich cultural heritage. These epics reverberate with a bubbling spirit of patriotism and reveal the intense hatred of the people for foreign conquerors, and notwithstanding the idealisation of many outmoded feudal patriarchal institutions which is contained in some of their

parts, they remain the most outstanding monuments of the creative genius of the peoples of Central Asia. The easy humour and satirical wit of the people is embodied in the character of Nasriden Afandi, the famous hero of Central Asian folklore, who takes delight in exposing the avarice of the rich *bais* and merchants and the vice and stupidity of the *mullahs*.

The secular democratic trend was very powerful in the old Uzbek classical literature of the 15th century. It may be noticed in the famous lyrics of Atoi, Saidi Ahmad, Husseini and Amiri who in their *gazels* sang about the earthly human emotion of love. Poet Sakkoki created for the first time in the Uzbek literature the genre of *Kasida* (panegyric ode) using it to praise Ulug Bek, the celebrated scientist-king. Luffi wrote *gazels* against despotism, and the poets Ahmad and Yusuf Amiri used the allegorical form to have sharp digs at corrupt ways of life of the Timurid aristocracy. The Uzbek secular democratic traditions reached their height in the great works of poet Alisher Navoi. Through his lyrical poems he conducted a struggle against tyranny and despotism, for enlightenment, human rights and secular learning. Hundreds of Navoi's *gazels* have been set to music and they have acquired a great popularity among the people. Even in the 17th and 18th centuries when the Uzbek and Tadjik Court poets at Khiva, Bukhara, and Khokand wrote anthologies showering compliments on the Khans and their relations, poets like Turdy-Faragi (1657-1711) portrayed satirically the characters of the Khans, beks and the mullahs and all those who oppressed and exploited the people. The poet led a revolt against Subhan Kulikhan.

It was from the works of Navoi and Turdy that the progressive Uzbek poets and writers of the 19th and early 20th century drew their inspiration. In the poems of Makhmur (died about 1850-60) and his contemporary Gulkhani there is a moving description of the abysmal poverty of the common people. Through his stories about birds and animals, Gulkhani unmasked the real face of the rich and tyrants steeped in vice. Satire was used by the poet, historian and translator Muhammed Riza Agakhi (1809-1874) to attack these parasitic sections of society.

The Uzbek literature of this period has the distinction of having a few illustrious progressive poetesses as well. Makhzuna, Uvaisi

and Nadira composed verses on the hard lot of the Central Asian woman who was deprived of all human rights. So rich in feelings are the poems of Uvaisi and Nadira that many of them have been set to music and are very popular among the people to this day. These poetesses composed verses in Tadzhik also.

Towards the close of the 19th century the Uzbek democratic literature began to be greatly influenced by the advanced Russian culture and literature. This influence may be marked in the works of Mukimi (1851-1903), Furqat (1858-1909), Kamil Khorezmi (1825-1899), Miri (the end of 19th century), Zavki (1853-1921), Avaz Otargli (1884-1919), Hamza Hakimzade Niyazi (1889-1929), Sadriddin Ayini and others. These poets and writers made a fervent plea for the study of Russian language and literature and for the establishment of closer contacts with the great Russian culture. They voiced their indignation at social injustice and inequality and poured scorn and ridicule on the colonial officials, *bais*, money-lenders and mullahs. Some of the democratic poets translated into Uzbek the works of such masters of Russian literature as Pushkin and Krylov.

The progressive Uzbek writers did not support national seclusion; they favoured healthy contacts with all neighbouring peoples for whom they had a great respect. Furqat travelled widely over Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, Egypt, Arabia, Afghanistan, India and China. In his letters and writings Furqat wrote about the life of the people in these neighbouring countries. He was a staunch enemy of colonialism and supported the struggle of the Indian and Afghan people against British imperialism. The Uzbek democratic literature of the latter half of the 19th and early 20th century fully reflected the rising consciousness of the people and their desire for political and social emancipation. It was imbued with the high ideals of courageous patriotism and deep humanism.

The Tadzhiks upto the 15th century had a literature common with Persian which may be spoken of as Tadzhik-Persian literature. The classical Tadzhik-Persian literature was born at a time when the people of Central Asia were struggling against the foreign Arab conquerors. This struggle resulted in the rise of a centralized feudal state of the Samanids. The literature of this period is thus relatively free from the religious influence and is nearer to the people in style, language and ideological content. The patriotic tradition in

literature was started by Rudaki and followed by Firdausi in whose great work *Shahnama* the fine ideas of freedom and patriotism find a high place. While it is true that a mystic trend also existed in the Tadjik literature, yet a trend of protest against ignorance and religious fanaticism is to be marked in the poetry of Omar Khaiyam. In some of his rubayis the poet even approaches near materialism.

The Mongol conquest introduced a note of pessimism into the Tadjik literature. This period was the hey-day of Sufi poetry through which a feeling of passivity and asceticism pervades. But even then a streak of ancient materialist thought and protest against the feudal system may be discerned in the poems of several Sufi poets.

In the latter half of the 19th century there appeared in Bukhara a number of Tadjik "enlighteners" reformers who were greatly influenced by the progressive Russian culture. Prominent among them was Ahmed Donish (1827-1897), a highly educated man of his times who visited Petersburg thrice. His *Navodirul-vakoe* was a fervent appeal to the people of Bukhara to develop closer contacts with the Russian culture. He was highly critical of the medieval backwardness of Bukhara and advocated a progressive reorganization of its state system. Ayini, Hamdi and Munzim were the followers and pupils of Donish. They hailed the October Revolution with great enthusiasm. Ayini's *March of Freedom* which he composed in 1918 on the motif of *Marseillaise* proclaimed the birth of the Tadjik soviet literature.

The Kazakh literature in the 19th and early 20th century also drew upon its rich democratic heritage contained in the Kazakh folklore, especially its heroic epics. *Kozy-Korpesh and Bayan Shu* is, besides an immortal saga of love, a powerful attack on the patriarchal feudal system. The fate of the beloved Bayan is decided by her father. *Kyz-Djibek* defends a woman's right to love. *Alpa Mys* is a clarion-call of patriotism for defence of the motherland against foreign invaders.

The so-called "Resistance" literature of the Kazakhs was born much before the advent of the Russian rule. It reflected the struggle of the Kazakh people against the Djungar feudal invaders. The Kazakh folk singers (*akyns*) created it. In the first half of the 19th

century *akyn* Makhambet Utemisov (1803-1846) headed a peasant uprising against Djangir Khan.

The Kazakh "enlightener" reformer Chokan Valikhanov holds a prominent place among the progressive writers of the 19th century. He made a collection of the important works of Kazakh folk poetry. He wrote down the epos *Kozy-Korpesh and Bayan Slu* and translated into Russian a part of the *Manas*. He favoured a closer understanding of the great Russian culture. This trend came into conflict with the other trend of national seclusion and hatred for all Russian people, confusing them with the officials connected with Tsarist colonial administration. This latter trend was represented by poets like Murat and others.

Other important progressive Kazakh writers of this period were Ibrai Altynsarin and Abai Kunanbaev. Ibrai Altynsarin was a product of the Russian-Kazakh school and a teacher by profession. He prepared a Kirgiz Reader, which contained his own stories and poems, besides translations from Russian. Ibrai Altynsarin tried to show how progress was hindered by feudal and tribal internecine wars among the Kazakhs and by the patriarchal social relations. He ridiculed the mullahs and pleaded for adoption of science and technology through a study of the advanced Russian language. The sufferings of Kazakh women and the poor people also form a theme of his works. He asked his compatriots to take to a sedentary life by giving up their nomadic habits. He took his motifs from folk literature, (*Lukman Hakim* to mention one of them) and transformed them fully by his superior literary skill.

The Kazakh democratic writers had read Pushkin, Lermontov, Chernyshevski and Nekrasov. They translated works of Pushkin, Lermontov and Krylov into the Kazakh language. They added many a new theme to the Kazakh literature and by a skillful use of the simple conversational language and oral poetical traditions perfected the expressiveness of poetry.

The democratic traditions laid down by Chokan Valikhanov, Ibrai Altynsarin and Abai Kunanbaev were further developed by Kobeyev, Seralin and Donentayev. Seralin's poem *Gulkashima* (1903) defended the rights of the Kazakh woman. Kobeyev's novel *Kalym* (1913) was one of the first great Kazakh prose works of

literary merit. Gaisha, the heroine of the novel, protests against her giving away in marriage to a rich old man for a high amount of bride-price. Donentayev raised the social problems of life in his novel *A Girl named Djamila*. Toraigyrov (1893-1920) developed further the lyrical genre in Kazakh literature. His poems and novels are full of warm love for the people, a burning desire to serve them and fight for their happiness to the end.

The democratic content in the great popular Kirgiz epic *Manas* has been a matter of great controversy and debate. The composition of the work belongs in all probability to the period of formation of the Kirgiz nationality, that is, the period when the various Kirgiz tribes began to unite to defend themselves against the Djungar invaders. It is progressive on one side, in as far as the idea of unity of the tribes and expulsion of foreign invaders is concerned. But there is also the other reactionary side, when the patriarchal-feudal system is idealised. Broadly speaking, the spirit of the work is democratic, though at several places it has been distorted at the hands of folk-singers attached to the *manaps*. The reactionary feudal circles and later the bourgeois nationalists and Pan-Turkists have sought to exploit it for their own ends.

Often much is made of the Kazakh *zar zaman* and Kirgiz *tar zaman* (bad time) literature towards the close of the 19th and early 20th century. In a vein of deep pessimism arising from the Russian colonial annexation, some folk poets (*akyns*) like Aristanbek (1840-1882) and Kalygul described the era as bad time of sorrow and suffering for the people. This trend was in the early years of the 20th century expressed by Kirgiz poet Moldo Kilich (1867-1917), author of *Kissa-i-Zilzele* (The Earthquake), published 1911. The author in despair gave a mystical explanation of the earthquake as punishment of God to the people. He failed to understand the deeper significance of the changes on account of his circumscribed vision. It may, however, be pointed out that in his two satirical poems *Pir Berkuta* and *Pernatiye*, Moldo Kilich condemned the ruling classes and sympathised with the poor people. The Kirgiz feudal circles sought to exploit this idea of "bad time" for their selfish class interests.

This idealisation of the old feudal times eminently suited them to suppress class conflicts and turn the people against merger with Russia. They favoured a union with the backward Islamic East and

tried to convert the struggle against Tsarist colonialism into a struggle against the whole Russian people.

But the democratic trend in the Kirgiz literature was not quite insignificant. It was represented by such folk poets (*akyns*) as Toktogul and Togolok Moldo who exposed the *manaps* and *bais* along with the Tsarist colonialists. They sang about friendship between the peoples. The talented Kirgiz folk poet-composer Toktogul Satyrganov (1864-1933) was born in a poor family. To help his father, he had to work as a shepherd with a *bai*. He learnt composing songs from his mother and began to sing them on *Komuz* (Kirgiz musical instrument). Soon he became very popular among the people and began to receive a large number of invitations to marriages and other festivities. Toktogul did not mix up the Russian people with the Tsarist colonial officials whom he denounced along with the native *bais* and *manaps*. He pleaded for friendship with the Russian people. It is important to note that the standard-bearers of the cause of friendship with the Russian people and closer understanding of Russian language and literature, came mostly from the exploited poor masses of Kirgizia. They were not drawn from the representatives of the bourgeois class upon whom the colonial administration conferred title of Knighthood. In his widely popular songs *Five Wild Boars* and *Ishan Kalpa* composed about the Muslim clergy, he described their hypocrisy and greed. Toktogul soon became an eye-sore for the Kirgiz *manaps* and was arrested on their false testimony during the Andijan rebellion. He was given death sentence by Tsarist authorities which was commuted to a long-term exile in Siberia. The hard life of exile did not break the spirit of the poet. In Siberia he came into contact with Russian political exiles and through them with the revolutionary ideas. He was able to escape from Siberia in 1910 with the help of his fellow Russian prisoners, but was re-arrested in 1913 with the help of the Kirgiz *manaps*. He lived to see the liberation of the Kirgizs from national and social oppression by the October Revolution.

Toktogul favoured closer ties with the Russian people and not with other Muslim countries, because it was, in his opinion, the only way to liquidate the medieval backwardness of his people. Besides the political themes, he also took up lyrical social themes. A high optimism and faith in the victory of justice permeates through his poems. Toktogul trained a whole school of Kirgiz *akyns* (folk poets) like Baimbet Abdir Rahmanov (1860-1942) and Togolok Moldo. The

latter came from a family of toilers and personally knew the life of the Kirgiz poor. He rationally explained in an artistic form the phenomena and laws of nature, denying their religious explanations. Popular poets Shaibekov, Abilkasim and Tolkanbaev followed this progressive democratic trend.

The progressive traditions of the Turkmen oral folk literature as embodied in the epic *Gyor-ogly* shaped the outlook of such democratic poets as Makhtum Kuli, Seidi, Zelili, Kemine and Mollanepes. The 18th-19th centuries are the classical period of the Turkmen literature. If in the earlier period religion contributed to the central themes of Turkmen literature, in this later period the struggle for freedom and unity provided the new themes. The democratic trend in the classical Turkmen literature began with Doulet Mamed Azadi, the father of Makhtum Kuli. Makhtum Kuli (1733-1782) has rightly been called the father of Turkmen poetry. He was well versed in Turkmen folklore and fully acquainted with the works of Firdausi, Nizami and Navoi. His wide travels in Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and India had broadened his mental vision and outlook. With fervent patriotism, he called upon the Turkmen tribes to end their internal feuds and unite. The language used by the poet was very simple. He made full use of the popular proverbs and legends.

Seidi (1768-1830) and Zelili (1800-1853) were the followers of Makhtum Kuli in the democratic traditions. Seidi wielded both, his pen as well as sword, for the cause of national unity. Zelili languished in the prison of the Khan of Khiva for seven years. Kemine (1770-1840), poet-satirist, holds a distinguished place among the progressive Turkmen poets. Kemine chose social motifs for his songs. He was sharper in satire than Makhtum Kuli. The targets of his attack were the mullahs and the feudal exploiters.

Summing up the above discussion on the democratic trend in the Central Asian literature, it may be observed that this trend became quite powerful and significant in the 19th and early 20th century. It arose on the basis of a critical assimilation of the best traditions in the classical literature of Central Asia, and contact with the great Russian people and their literature helped its further development. There came to Central Asia after its annexation by Tsarist Russia, not only civil and military colonial officials—"the scum" of Russian Society—but also the noblest representatives of progressive Russian

intelligentsia and democratic-minded small officials, artisans, peasants and workers. This certainly made a contribution towards enriching the cultural life of Central Asia and resulted in a good deal of intellectual quickening among the local people. As the economic and cultural links of the Central Asian peoples with the Russian people were strengthened, their attitude to old forms of life became more and more critical and with it grew their protest against feudal oppression and tyranny and also realization of the community of interest between the Russian and Central Asian toilers. A fertile soil was thus created in Central Asia for a secular democratic trend to flower and flourish.

Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi

S. A. MIKOYAN

THE SPIRITUAL CONTACT and exchange of ideas between Leo Tolstoy and Mahatma Gandhi should evoke a great variety of reflections and conclusions on those who look back to their mutual understanding and correspondence, for both were outstanding thinkers.*

Gandhi's first letter to Leo Tolstoy was dated 1st October 1909. It was addressed to the estate Yasnaya Polyana, situated some 130 miles south of Moscow, where Leo Tolstoy lived then. Tolstoy was already 81 years old, and known all over the world as a writer and philosopher. And Gandhi was deeply engaged in political activities in South Africa on behalf of the Indian settlers and the poor Africans.

On October 8, 1909 Tolstoy mailed his answer to the Mahatma. This was the beginning of that fruitful correspondence between these two great men, though divided by long distances but close to each other in their views on many matters.

But their spiritual contact began much earlier. Gandhi had received from Britain an English translation of an article written by Tolstoy, entitled "The Kingdom of God is Within You". Gandhi was in those days going through a spiritual crisis. He had already drawn heavily from the deep well of Indian philosophy and he was also acquainted with western philosophy. But what Leo Tolstoy had to say on human problems came like a fresh breeze, like a new insight. And Tolstoy was his contemporary, though living in the very heart of Russia. The strength of Tolstoy's sincerity, his remorse, his understanding of the

* See also *Mainstream*, March 1, 1969.

nature of happiness, his readiness to give up everything alien to his way of life appealed to Gandhi.

In the history of Russian attitude to religion, we can find diverse approaches. We can even find sects rejecting the official Church, which became an instrument of the Tsarist tyranny and the ruling elite. The official church worshipped Mammon rather than God; instead of searching for truth it played deception on the people. It is difficult to say whether there was a spiritual tie between these sects and Tolstoy. In any case, it is known that his rupture with the official Church was decisive and final. The Church retaliated by ex-communicating him.

The problem of religion and its importance in the convictions of both Gandhi and Tolstoy is too vast to be discussed here. But I shall dare to express the opinion that what they both understood as religion was more the belief in Man, belief in his goodness, belief in the strength of his spirit, his love, his readiness to make sacrifices and not so much the adherence to conventional beliefs and practices. Tolstoy was a Christian, and Gandhi was a Hindu. But it is true to say that among the supporters of these two religions, it is more than easy to find many who are farther away from the principles of these men as the earth is from heaven. On the other hand, it is possible to meet many among other beliefs and cults and atheists, people who agree with Gandhi and Tolstoy.

Tolstoy re-discovered for Gandhi what perhaps Gandhi had already read in Indian philosophy. But these ideas when seen through the mind of Tolstoy acquired a new meaning and significance. This demonstrates the power of ideas, spanning centuries and travelling long distances.

What is the most precious heritage of these great men of two great nations for the people of today? Of course, views will differ about their heritage and there must be many aspects to their contribution to mankind. I should like to stress only a few of these aspects, and to defend only one point of view among the many.

One of the most important aspects from my point of view, common to both Gandhi and Tolstoy, was the fact that they were relentless critics against oppression of men by the men of power and wealth; their hatred of unjust and alien regimes over people and of racial, religious intolerance. They were against colonial oppression.

Their thoughts and attitude to world problems enable one to draw certain comparisons which would perhaps seem rather unexpected but

not without a solid base. I mean to say that the outlook of Gandhi and Tolstoy on human problems may on analysis be found to have certain similarities to that of Marxism.

There is no doubt that there are serious differences in the practical applications of their teachings with Marxist teachings. Both Gandhi and Tolstoy stood for non-violence in the struggle against evil. Both Marx and Engels believed that violence was the midwife of history. As the Mahatma wrote to Tolstoy in 1909, he had not the slightest doubts in the final success of the liberation struggle based on non-violence. The founders of Marxism had no doubts that the toiling masses would succeed if they united their forces and if necessary used violence against their oppressors.

But it is not necessary for one to be either a Marxist or well-versed in Marxism in order to see, for example, something in common between Marxist outlook and the question asked by Tolstoy: "What right had a 'few of us' (since he was a Count and a landlord) to enjoy the luxuries of life while thousands of human beings are condemned by the existing social system to live without any hope of escape from filth and destitution?" Every real Marxist would substitute 'thousands' by 'millions' and 'us' by 'them' because he is more often not a landlord (though we know the precise examples too). The principle of Tolstoy not to use the labour of others—and he went to extreme lengths by making his own shoes and sweeping his room—if developed from relations between one person and another into a problem of social relations between classes and if based upon a thorough understanding of the economic process as was developed by Marx, we get a new type of society, a new social system, a new type of human relationship which will be the socialist society. What is more, we will see the need for the liquidation of exploitation of man by man.

While making his shoes or ploughing his land, Tolstoy understood the necessity for the division of labour. But he believed that society had a right to insist that the division of labour should be a fair one. Is n't it a good platform for a Marxist? Tolstoy said that work was happiness in itself, and Lenin was to repeat this later. Lenin himself did physical labour, not for payment, and called it the future communist toil. Tolstoy pointed out the need "to relinquish all right to private property and to the possession of money". What is this in essence other than the Marxist call for making property the property of the people, to relinquish right to hold private property of productive forces?

The historians of today have the advantage of hindsight. A study of the history of Russia shows that V. I. Lenin was right when he wrote that Tolstoy reflected the emotions of peasants so truly that he even showed the naivete of the peasants, their alienation from politics, their proneness to mysticism, their fear of change, their non-resistance to evil, their impotent rage against capitalism and against the power of money. Tolstoy was averse to politics and he himself kept away from it. (But we know his sympathies and antipathies in this matter.)

But the teachings and activities of Gandhi are different in this respect. He was not only not averse to politics, but deeply involved in it. Gandhi did not follow Tolstoy's dictum of non-resistance to evil. He did in fact create the technique of passive resistance. This is partly to be explained by the historical environment in which Gandhi lived. Gandhi believed that mere exhortations alone would not help and that there was an equal need for strong organised movements for attaining his social and political objectives. His entry into politics gave the national movement not only fresh life but a soul and discipline. This was a revolutionary step on his part.

And Gandhi not only plunged into the vortex of politics himself, but involved many millions in it. The involvement of the millions of people of India in politics was in itself of great importance to the country and it was the revolutionary consequence of Gandhi's political activities.

It is pertinent to recall here what Marx said in this connection. He said that ideas become transformed into material forces when adopted by the masses. Ideas are most powerful weapons. This is what Marxism-Leninism teaches. It is possible that there is a subtle bridge between the Marxist approach and the approach of Tolstoy and Gandhi.

But let us come back to non-violence because this principle is at the core of their teachings. Non-violence is part of the heritage of Central Asia, first of all of India. In today's conditions, it reflects humanitarian tendencies in the social life of people. And if we analyse the aims of socialism, of communism, we see it has the same objective—it wants to create a society in which violence of one man over another is excluded. This principle is cardinal to the teachings of scientific socialism.

We might thus say that while the approach to human problem of scientific socialism and of Tolstoy and Gandhi can be compared their,

methods differ rather sharply. Their understanding of the economic basis of such a new society also differed.

From the moral point of view, non-violence and peaceful ways of change is something which everybody should strive for, including Marxists, but can this ideal be realised in life? And if so, how soon can it be achieved? Because Tolstoy is right when he says, 'Men are unhappy; they suffer and perish. There is no time for waiting...'

This is not only philosophic question, but a political and practical question. The answer of Marxists and that of Tolstoy and Gandhi is different, but the difference is not so great as some people try to make it out. For example, it is well known that Gandhi did not exclude the use of force when unavoidable. At least he opted for violence in preference to cowardice.

And I, being a communist, would agree with Dr. Radhakrishnan who has said in his introduction to the book by Pyarelal, *Mahatma Gandhi*: 'Our scriptures have said that though it may not be possible for us to abolish violence altogether, we should try to reduce its scope as much as possible'.

India, with her heritage and with such a leader like Mahatma Gandhi, has contributed to the enrichment of the humanitarian aspects of life. But we should not hope that the Indian experience under Gandhi can be achieved in other times and in other parts of the world. Albert Einstein was right when he said: 'Generations to come, it may be, will scarce believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth'. Perhaps Gandhi's uniqueness itself proves the point. However, even in India in the last years of his life, the principle of non-violence, of which he was the great apostle, fell victim to religious and communal passions stirred up by the method Britain carried out the process of granting independence to India. 'Disillusion entered his heart before the bullet entered his body', wrote Dr. Radhakrishnan. However, reducing the scope of violence in the world is a noble aim, and every Marxist will support this approach. Deviation from it, not imposed by unavoidable circumstances, or objective conditions, is a deviation from scientific socialism. Unfortunately, Asia, the ancient home of the humanitarian philosophy, has not itself been able to withstand such deviations.

The philosophy and methods of Gandhi were certainly steps ahead of Tolstoy. Tolstoy over estimated the power of words as also of his

personal example. Gandhi realised that only organised force could be the true base for effective non-violence. This is not a paradox. This is dialectics.

The power of the organised millions of Indians was a force potentially stronger than that of their oppressors, though it was not used. Under such conditions, the scope of violence can often be reduced. And this not only applies to India.

Today there is less scope for violence—at least we might say less need for violence—because the forces of liberation are potentially more powerful than their oppressors. And this accords with the current thoughts of scientific socialism.

The teachings of Tolstoy and Gandhi show that ideas important for the historical process know no boundaries. Peoples and regions of the world mutually enrich each other. The broad contact between peoples and the interaction of ideas help them in their struggle for happiness and welfare for mutual understanding and peace.

The Study of Islamic Philosophy in Contemporary Iran

MEHDI MOHAGHEGH

THE PEOPLE OF Iran were from earliest times interested in rational argumentation and philosophical discussions. In Zoroastrian literature there are frequent evidences in which religious problems are discussed through philosophical reasoning. Jundi Shapur, founded in the third century A.D., was an important academic centre—not only for the study of medicine and mathematics, but also for philosophy. It is known for example, that in 529 A.D., when the Academy of Athens was closed by Emperor Justinian, a number of six Greek scholars took refuge in Iran at Jundi Shapur, and among them was the neo-Platonist Simplicius.

After the coming of Islam, philosophical studies continued to flourish, and philosophical argumentations became an important tool for exegesis of the Qur'an. Although in the Qur'an there are no philosophical allusions, yet the commentators of the Qur'an, most of whom were Iranians, have read philosophical meanings into parts of the Quran. For example the verse which reads "Call to the way of the Lord with wisdom (*hikmah*) and goodly exhortation (*Maw'iza*) and argue (*Jadilu*) with them in the best manner" has been interpreted to mean that the Prophet has been ordered to use demonstration, then rhetoric and finally dialectic argumentation. The word 'philosophy' is not found in the Qur'an, but the word *hikmah* (wisdom) occurs often, and has been interpreted to mean philosophical reasoning.

Philosophy in Islam developed more fully in Iran, because Shi'ism relies more on speculative reasoning than on simply following the tradition. And whenever speculation and tradition contradict each other, the Shi'ah interprets tradition through the use of reason.

When the writings of the Greek philosophers were translated into Arabic, the Iranian scholars were among the first to give close attention to the Greek philosophical tradition. They considered philosophy not only as an independent discipline but carried into other disciplines philosophical argumentations. Grammarians of Basra employed Greek logic in their disputations. Mu'tazilah commentators depended upon philosophical reason for their rigorous interpretations of the Quran, and, underlying the principles of Islamic jurisprudence, employed by the legal scholars, is found a careful philosophical reasoning.

Razi¹, the great Iranian physician and philosopher believed that the soul became enamoured with matter and fell from its perfection. Only through philosophy is the soul able to regain its former state of perfection. Nasir Khusraw², the famous Iranian poet and philosopher, stated that the superiority of man over animals results from the ability to ask questions "how" and "why", and that the person who is unable to pose these two questions, or is unconscious of them, is equal to the beasts.

It is generally said that Islamic philosophy ended with the death of Ibn Rushd (Averroes). It should be stated that what died with Ibn Rushd was the predominant Greek Aristotelian system in Islamic thought. What lived on, and flourished in Iran was philosophy in new form—the philosophy of *hikmah*. This philosophical endeavour possessed its own unique characteristics, which may be summarized as follows :

Firstly, it rejected the rigid dogmatic interpretation of Islam and substituted for it a richer and more flexible mystically oriented interpretation of Islam. Secondly, it was eclectic. *Hikmah* philosophy mingled the peripatetic doctrines of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina (Avicenna) with the illuminationist ideas of Suhrawardi, the mystical world view of Ibn al'Arabi, the theological system of Fakhial-Din al-Razi, and finally, *Shi'i* traditions.

The most famous representatives of this school are Mir Damad, Sadr al-Din Shirazi and Sabzawari. Although these philosophers became well known and famous for their special interest in particular aspects of *hikmah* (e. g. substantial motion, perpetual duration, mental

existence) each one dealt seriously with all aspects of philosophy. Their teachings were discussed and taught throughout Iran and in neighbouring countries especially Iraq, Afghanistan and the sub-continent. Even today, the study of the texts of these philosophers forms an important part of the curriculum in the traditional Iranian schools (*Madrasa*), the school of Mulla Sadra (Sadr al-Din Shirazi) being the most important object of philosophical study. The last great master of this tradition was Mulla Hadi Sabzawari, who died one hundred years ago. The followers of Sabzawari are still engaged in teaching pre-Mongolian philosophy (the works of Farabi, Ibn Sina, Gazzali and Suhrawardi) and post-Mongolian thought (the works of Mir Damad, Mulla Sadra, Lahiji, and Sabzawari).

The contemporary study of philosophy takes place in three kinds of environment: the *madrasa* (traditional religious school), the university and private philosophical circles. The *madrasa* in Islam belongs to a very old tradition. It flourished as a religious academy for centuries and produced some of the greatest scholars in Iran. Even though modern universities have been founded over the last thirty years, many *madrases* continue to flourish throughout the country. These schools are generally located in the proximity of the mosque and the salaries of their teachers are provided by religious endowments. It should be noted that students of the *madrasa* receive a stipend and are provided with lodging in buildings constructed adjacent to the mosque. The *madrasa* contains a large room which is used for instruction. Students sit on the floor in a circle, surrounding the Master, who reads the text, explains it to the students, then permits discussion on the difficult problems. The subjects studied in the *madrasa* fall into two categories—the traditional and the rational. The first contains the study of grammar, rhetoric and the principles of Islamic jurisprudence. It should be noted that the study of *Tafsir* (exegesis of the Qur'an) and *Hadith* (traditions attributed to the Prophet) are optional in most cases, and are not generally taught by the teachers, but rather studied independently by the students themselves.

The rational studies include the study of logic, theology and philosophy. A course in logic begins with the study of the commentary on Taftazani's *Tahzib al-mantiq*³, and the commentary on *al-Risalat al-Shamsiyya* of Katibi al-Qazwini⁴; in theology students read the texts of Tusi⁵ and Hilli⁶, and in philosophy, the objects of study are texts of Ibn Sina⁷, Suhrawardi⁸, Mir Damad⁹, Mulla Sadra¹⁰, Lahiji¹¹, and Sabzawari.¹² The *madrases* do not offer academic degrees, are staffed

by Mullas (religious leaders) and their students prepare themselves to be religious preachers.

Tehran University was founded some thirty years ago and later, in other large cities, such as Tabriz, Meshed, Isphahan and Shiraz, colleges and universities were established. In each of these universities there is a department of philosophy attached to the faculty of letters, and in Tehran University and the University of Meshed, there are independent faculties of theology. In the faculties of theology Islamic philosophy is studied critically and some attempt is made to make comparisons with western scholastic philosophy. In the departments of philosophy attached to the faculty of letters modern philosophy is studied in much the same way as it is studied in western universities, and Islamic traditional philosophy is taught in a summarized fashion. In the University works of the Greek philosophers as well as the works of such modern philosophers as Descartes¹³, and Kant¹⁴ are available to the students in Persian translations. Works of Islamic philosophers are studied also in Persian translations with other works written originally in Persian such as those of Kashani.¹⁵

Interest in philosophy has led to the creation of philosophical circles which meet in private homes. From among these one should name Tabatabai in Qum¹⁶, Mazandarani in Simnan¹⁷, Rafi'i in Qazwin¹⁸ and Amuli in Tehran.¹⁹ These philosophical circles not only meet to discuss and study philosophy but also, from time to time, produce publications concerned with various philosophical problems.

In general Islamicists and Orientalists have limited their interest in Islamic philosophy to the pre-Mongolian period, that is, from al-Kindi to Ibn Rushd. The last 500 years of philosophical endeavour, which has flourished mainly in the Iranian *Madrasas*, has been ignored by Western scholars. In fact, today, the greater body of *hikmah* literature lies unpublished in manuscript form in the libraries of Iran. Coupled with the lack of interest among Orientalists is the fact, that until recently, Iranian scholars did not know Western languages, and thus were unable to introduce to the West the Islamic philosophical development of the last 500 years.

However, at the present time a few scholars are giving serious attention to the philosophy of *Hikmah*. Henri Corbin²⁰ of France has produced many important studies in this field. Sayyed Husein Nasr²¹ of Tehran University has besides his collaboration with professor Corbin, published several books and articles in European

languages and in Persian. During the last three years a new endeavour has begun at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. Toshihiko Izutsu²² and the present author²³ have translated the complete text of the metaphysics of Sabzawari into English, and this is to appear in the McGill Islamic Studies series. A further step is the creation of McGill University's Tehran Branch, which has as one of its prime goals the translation of important yet hitherto little known philosophical texts. This new Institute also hopes to publish comparative studies in philosophy. It is hoped that the efforts and the works of various scholars and institutions in introducing this period of Iranian philosophy will lead to a wider interest not only among Orientalists but for those interested in the study of thought and philosophy in the world at large.

In conclusion it should be stated that the development of *Hikmah* in Iran during the past five hundred years offers a wide scope of study. The hitherto unpublished works in this field which exist abundantly in Iran and its neighbouring countries should be brought to light and then fully studied. This will indeed be a great contribution to Iranian as well as Islamic thought.

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Foreign Intervention as an Obstacle to the Diffusion of Thought in 19th and 20th century Afghanistan

MOHAMMAD KAZEM AHANG

IN VIEW OF research made by social scientists, the inevitability of an adequate communication system for the development of a nation has been greatly stressed. Wilbur Schramm, an American social scientist, when counting the importance of a free communication system, states that freedom of communication must be preceded by adequate development of mass communication, and "all countries new or old, industrialized or not, highly developed or under-developed, are properly concerned with the development of their communication system." In fact the press and mass media, from the very beginning of their advance, could be counted among the most significant ways by which the movement of ideas and thoughts can be secured.

However, due to certain elements and under different circumstances, the press has for some time been reluctant to fulfil this important job.

It is the purpose of this paper to count a few elements and stress the one which has been specifically a hindrance toward the development of printing including newspaper publishing and consequently intellectual thought in Afghanistan during the 19th and 20th centuries.

No doubt literacy, per-capita national income, industrialization, urbanization, etc., could be listed among the basic elements influencing the development of a press system. This paper meanwhile will deal

with yet another important element whose role by no means is less than those of others. This element is : colonialism (with its direct and indirect effects) with fanaticism and some other elements in its service.

Newspaper publishing starts in Afghanistan in the second half of the 19th century. While describing the element of colonialism as a hindrance toward the development and continuation of the first newspaper and its descendants, it seems wise to take a look at the background of the history of Afghanistan to find out how cultures and civilizations were established, nourished and developed in this country during different historical periods. And then, as soon as the era of colonialism begins, there occurred an interruption in the progress of several cultural, social and economic activities in this corner of the world. One such activity was the press. The reason for devoting a paper such as this on the press is the fact that the press has been an important way by which the movement of ideas and thoughts has been promoted.

Afghanistan, a mountainous Muslim kingdom in Central Asia, with a population officially estimated today at 15.4 million and an area of approximately 264,000 square miles, was the cross-road of ancient civilizations during its long history; a cradle of prehistoric and historic civilizations of its own and an important trade-centre linking, India, China and the Mediterranean world. Alexander the Great, 331-323 B.C., crushed the fierce resistance of the warriors of Afghanistan and spread over Bactria a Hellenic Culture—by way of language, inscription, art, politics, administration, etc. In 250 B.C. a Greco-Bactrian kingdom was established in Bactria which lasted into the A. D. period. The cultures of Vedic, Avesta and Achaemenian empire, founded previously in this land, were influenced by Hellenic elements and made a new culture and civilization called Greco-Bactrian.

Around the second century A. D. Kanishka the Great, one of the important emperors of the Kushanid dynasty, founded the Kushan empire. The culture of Afghanistan, affected by Buddhism during Asoka, the Mauryan emperor, was enriched by another element, coming from the east. Kanishka not only accepted the new belief, Buddhism, but nurturing its monks and believers, spread it over most parts of his domain. Acceptance of Buddhism gave a new nature to the culture of Kushanids.

In spite of the fact that the culture and civilization of Afghanistan had earlier acquired elements from east and west, during the Kushanid period, which continued until the fourth century A. D., these elements were treated as a native culture of the land. This, in fact, is clearly evident from the inscription discovered in Surkh Kotal, which is in Greek characters but in local language.

The art and culture of the Kushanids reached its peak and later began its decline already before the advent of Islam. It was replaced by another culture of composite character which we call the culture of the first period of Islam around the first Islamic century. Islamic culture had its own Arabic elements. During the period of the four Khalifs of the Prophet and, afterwards, under the Omayyads and Abbasid dynasties, it adopted many elements of near-Eastern culture and spread all over the lands they had conquered. Following the conquest of Egypt, parts of the Byzantine empire, Persia and Khurasan, there appeared new elements in Islamic and Arabic culture. This especially is evident in the culture of Islam during the Abbasid times when the Islamic culture was coloured with new features.

In Afghanistan, too, there was established a national Islamic culture based on previous elements as well as the new spirit of Islamic culture and tenets as proclaimed in the holy Qur'an. In the words of Toynbee, since Afghanistan held a "round-about" (the place to which different civilizations come and from which aspects of civilization emanate to all neighbouring spheres) position, this new Islamic culture from Khurasan went to India, China and Trans-Oxiana.

The role of the Khurasanids was so expanding that they even took over some really important positions in the court of the Abbasids. Among others a family, the Barmakids of Balkh, who were entirely nurtured in the special culture of Khurasan, took over the administration and cultural and educational affairs of the Abbasids. Famous cities of Khurasan—such as Nishapour, Merv, Herat, Zarang, Balkh, and Bost—each became a centre of Islamic education, thought and civilization.

Khurasan culture, nourished in the area which now is Afghanistan, progressed so much that even some Arab poets used the language, thoughts and subjects of this land. All in all, the Afghan culture basically existed in this area and, from time to time, had changed with new elements which came from abroad. But, in spite of changes which occurred, it had kept its characteristics.

In fact Khurasan during subsequent years, around 800, became an independent country under the Tahirid dynasty which was followed by the Saffarid and Samanid. Then, in the ninth century A. D., the Ghaznavid empire was established during which literature, art and thought reached a high level in its development, and the empire was extended up to North-western parts of the Indian sub-continent. The Ghorids came along and conquered Delhi in 1193 A. D. and expanded eastward toward Bengal with the result that an Afghan or rather Turko-Afghan dynasty was founded in India. They ruled India for almost three centuries and promoted there a Khurasanid culture which was finally assimilated in the north of the sub-continent.

The rich and vivid culture of Khurasan, throughout the lands in which it spread, was ended with the invasion of Genghis Khan. In the course of eight years (1219-1227) Afghanistan became a vast graveyard of massacred people and a land of ruins. This was a tragedy which occurred throughout the eastern Muslim world, particularly in Khurasan.

However, at the beginning of the 15th century, the Timurid princes of Herat established a civilization by which they revived the prosperity and cultural development of the country. In fact, as some scholars say, the time of the Timurids of Herat could be marked as the renaissance of the east. It was during this time that art, poetry, writing, calligraphy, construction, miniaturing, pottery, etc., were promoted as never before. The scholars were encouraged by the princes and government authorities themselves. Ameer Ali Sher Nava'i, the grand vazir of Afghanistan, is a fine example of this period who, besides having a scholarly mind himself, worked at encouraging other scholars also. In the 16th century this kingdom was overthrown by the Uzbeks of Turkestan and they, in turn, were defeated by the Safavids of Persia, while a Timurid prince, Babur, in 1526 conquered the empire of Lodis in India. In fact this was the beginning of the dynasty of the great Moghuls. This way almost for two centuries Afghanistan was divided between the empire of Safavids of Persia and the great Moghuls. After Babur, an Afghan prince in India succeeded in overthrowing the Moghul empire; however, through the incompetence of his successors, that empire was soon lost to the son of Babur.

The opening of the 18th century brought about another new period in the history of Afghanistan. This was the time that Mir Wais Khan revolted against the Safavids of Persia in 1722 and became a national

leader of this country. The Afghans conquered Iran but their reign in Isfahan was short as a result of the subsequent conquest by Nadir Shah.

The leaders of different tribes of Afghanistan gathered in Kandahar in 1747 and proclaimed a young Abdali prince—later Ahmad Shah the Great, the founder of modern Afghanistan—as emperor of this land. This was the last empire to be established in Afghanistan.

During the entire time from the very beginning of the Aryans until almost the end of the 18th century, different dynasties have ruled this country. They were either of Afghan origin or originated from other cultures and civilizations. The outsiders came with their special cultures and civilizations and while establishing their governments, found their culture influencing and then mixed with the culture existing in this land. Intentionally or not, the rulers who came from abroad did not try to destroy or change (except Genghis Khan) the native civilization and culture existing in this ancient land. Instead they paid special attention to nurturing it and giving it a new feature. But the colonialism which came to Afghanistan in the 19th century brought in a different kind of destruction to this land. The 19th as well as the beginning of the 20th century was a time of internal disunity and struggle among the princes of Afghanistan. In fact when British colonialism stretched out its hand over India and other parts of the east including Afghanistan the trouble broke out. It was British colonialism which created all the troubles in Afghanistan. As the result of the rivalry between British colonialism and the Russian Tzarist empire, the empire of Ahmad Shah's descendants was changed into a scene of struggle and rivalry among the Sadozai princes, his descendants.

Later when Amir Dost Mohammad Khan, the founder of the Mohammad Zai dynasty, ascended the throne, the British, in order to put the affairs of Afghanistan into the hands of their puppet, a former Sadozi king, Shah Shuja, who had been ousted previously from the country, embarked on the first Anglo-Afghan War, 1838-1842. However, the patriotic Afghans did not accept the existence of the British army or their representative in Kabul or the provinces of Afghanistan. So a general revolt broke out against the British occupation all over the country. The Afghans killed the British representative in Kabul and ousted its army from there. As a result of guerilla warfare all along the line of retreat, the entire army of the British was either killed or captured except for one doctor whose story is known to all Afghans and most historians. This and several other reasons and motives caused the

British to try subsequently to intensify their intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan more than ever before.

However, Britain did not exert direct influence in the affairs of this country until she felt that the Afghans were planning reforms. Actually the first programme for reform in Afghanistan had been suggested by Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani to Amir Sher Ali Khan. The Amir during his second term on the throne, 1868-1879, started to put into practice the programme. In order to convey the benefits of the programme to the people he also founded a newspaper. In fact this is the first newspaper in the country, called *Shums-u-Nahar*, established in 1873. Moreover, for the first time, military and civil schools were established; a factory for making guns and heavy artillery was founded; and an organized force of between 60,000 and 100,000 men with modern arms was forged.

All in all, it was, in a sense, the time for national awakening in the east with Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani—British intervention would not let him stay at home—starting his campaign in Iran, Ottoman Empire, India and Egypt. In Japan a restoration was brought about and a new constitution was prepared. These are, in fact, interconnected to each other in the sense that all were begun in the same time and more or less in one part of the world, Asia. These movements of politics, economics, thought and ideas were clearly evident in Afghanistan also. The movement was not desired solely by the ruler but by the people as well. They jointly participated to promote the development of their country. For the first time, under Sayed Noor Mohammad Shah, a cabinet was established whose struggle against British colonialism is clear in the history of Afghanistan. During this period, common people as well as princes received high jobs such as cabinet membership etc. in the government. In fact the plans and the programmes laid down by the Amir and the people of this country were based on liberal theory and considered by the British Government of India a threat toward her colonial goals.

Looking at the content of *Shums-u-Nahar* we find that it played a great role in the realization of the plan. At its outset the paper promised accurate news from different provinces of Afghanistan as well as from Russia. But besides carrying news items it would publish articles concerning the awakening of the people. The paper in one of its issues writes: "Our people are suffering a great deal in the cultivation of

cotton because they are selling it at very low prices to the people of Farangistan (the British).” It continues :

And in return, they (the British) send us different kinds of cloth at high prices. This is because our people do not have the knowledge and ability to use it for their own benefit. The reason we must buy expensive things is because we do not have yet facilities of our own; we have not paid enough attention to local industry.”

This brief but important paragraph shows clearly the anti-colonial sense of the editor of *Shums-u-Nahar*. Meanwhile when the Amir himself wanted to proclaim his son, Prince Abdullah, as crown prince he asked the nation's elders to gather in Kabul and approve or disapprove of that decision. This again shows liberal-mindedness of the Amir himself.

Certainly these liberalistic movements were all opposed to colonial power in the sense that if people became conscious about their causes they would not let any one else intervene in their affairs.

At any rate, this and several other elements such as the accepting of the Russian Mission by the Amir in the court of Kabul, the Amir's refusal to permit the coming of British representatives to Herat, Balkh and Kandahar, the request of the Amir for the return of the eastern provinces of Afghanistan which were taken by the British, all caused the British government to embark on the Second Anglo-Afghan War, 1878-1880.

This war ousted the Amir from the throne of Kabul along with his reform programme; the paper stopped its publication as well. From that time on, for almost 28 years, no periodical was published in Afghanistan.

Prof. Lodwig W. Ademec, College of Liberal Arts, University of Arizona, in *Afghanistan 1900-1923*, described the cautious policy of the Afghan ruler at this particular time this way :

It is my contention that Afghan rulers followed a conscious policy, first formulated by Abdur Rahman in the later 1890's which rested on the premise that Afghanistan's neighbours were essentially hostile and bent on territorial annexation. To deter his neighbours from aggression, Abdur Rahman relied on a policy of militant independence, strict isolationism, and a middle course balancing of

powers which attempted to check pressures from one of his neighbours by obtaining support from the other.”

Anyway, after Amir Abdur Rahman, his son Amir Habibullah, 1901, ascended the throne without any contention. It was in the fourth year of his reign that another step was taken by a group of Afghan nationalists and reformers to establish the second Afghan newspaper. This group was called the Afghan Brothers whose membership included persons from different socio-economic groups. In fact this movement was not carried out by the people alone, but the Amir himself promoted it to help achieve complete independence for the country. To carry forth this campaign the Afghan Brothers established the paper, *Seraj-ul-Akhbar-i-Afghanistan*. But this too like its predecessor became the subject of suspicion and doubt from the British colonialists. The British government brought pressure on the Afghan government to stop the paper. After publishing only one issue it stopped publication altogether. But the members of the society of *Seraj-ul-Akhbar* who were mostly members of the Afghan Brothers did not stop their activities. As a matter of fact, we can summarise their demands in five points :

1. They wanted to establish a parliamentary monarchy system in Afghanistan in which the rule of law should be effective.
2. Popularization of the press and education for the awakening of the people of Afghanistan.
3. Under a national organization securing complete independence for the country, also in the diplomatic field.
4. Establishing social justice and promoting equality to secure people's rights.
5. Strengthening of national unity.

It is quite clear that in developing nations when a new idea is introduced it will face different obstacles. In Afghanistan too when these Afghan Brothers first brought in the idea of establishing a parliamentary monarchy system they had to face numerous problems, among which colonialism was one of the most important ones. This movement not only lost its publication, which was the vehicle for the spreading of their ideology but they themselves for the most part either lost their lives or went to jail for their actions. However, they have left us a new pathway in life, which is to struggle and campaign for the acquisition of freedom and the securing of it.

Afghanistan again, for almost six years did not have any newspaper, until in the last part of 1911, *Seraj-ul-Akhbar* resumed publication with a new face and features under Mahmood Tarzi, the father of the press and a mature politician of Afghanistan. The second group of the Afghan Brothers was established in the society of *Seraj-ul-Akhbar*. This paper started with careful steps forward in its campaigning. However, from time to time, it too came under censorship when the content of the paper did not seem to be appropriate *vis-a-vis* colonialism.

Seraj-ul-Akhbar contained attacks on European colonialism and promoted the social and economic welfare of the people of Afghanistan. The Amir permitted the paper to be published because it demanded the complete independence of Afghanistan. At any rate, the paper went on publishing in order to awaken the intellect of its readers. In fact, this was a great and important movement in the history of Afghan political campaigns and press activities. This situation served greatly the cause of national awakening with the result that the Afghans secured their independence.

Alongside of political campaigning, *Seraj-ul-Akhbar* brought about some activities in other aspects of life as well, e.g., in writing, translating, reform in administration, training of Afghan youths, popularization of education and in introducing the Afghans abroad. The Afghans owe the paper and its editor a great deal for their independence. Mahmood Tarzi from the very beginning of his newspaper publishing, had in mind the idea of obtaining the independence of Afghanistan. And this was why he was proceeding this campaign in every possible way through his publication. In fact he reflected this idea in his editorials, feature articles, news items and poems which were published in *Seraj-ul-Akhbar*. After the Assassination of the Amir, when for a short time the paper stopped publication, Tarzi was asked why he had given up publishing the paper. He said: "I have achieved my goal." It was the time that the independence of Afghanistan from the British control was near.

In publishing the paper, Tarzi was faced with many problems. The content of *Seraj-ul-Akhbar*, as well as that of the first issue of *Seraj-ul-Akhbar-Afghanistan*, shows that some difficulty existed in regard to fanaticism in this country. To introduce a new column in the paper he had to give example from the Holy Qur'an and from the sayings of the Prophet Mohammad to support the rightness of the idea and the column. It is self-evident that fanatic Muslims in the country did not want the paper to be published and the people to get news and informa-

tion from it. But colonialism itself was still the greatest among all other problems.

As his prime aim, Mahmood Tarzi in an editorial of January 7, 1916, vol. 5, No. 10, entitled "Arise for your own sake", confirmed his desire for the complete independence of Afghanistan. This issue of the paper, under the pressure exerted by the colonial power, was censored and was not published. But now, almost two years ago, its full contents have been published again in a paper called *Masawat* to show the awareness of the Afghan nationalists and anticolonialists at that time.

At any rate, as soon as Afghanistan got her independence and was freed from direct influence of colonialist policies she not only started building useful bases for her economic, social and political life but also founded a serious press system which has continued development uptil now. Soon after independence, the publishing of newspapers in Kabul and the provinces was permitted. In Kabul, besides a government paper, *Aman-i-Afghan*, a paper was published called *Anis* which was published privately without any subsidy from the government. This paper still exists in Kabul. Besides the newspapers in Kabul, papers were published in the provinces as well, and also a series of magazines were published in Kabul. In this way printing and publishing intensified as the years after independence passed.

And now besides many newspapers published under government subsidy there are almost nine private papers owned by different persons in Kabul, each, according to its particular purpose, printing news, features and editorials.

Meanwhile, it is worthwhile mentioning the development of education during 1920s. Since that time, under the independent government of Afghanistan the students, besides studying in the country, have been sent for higher education abroad to countries such as Turkey, France, Germany and the Soviet Union. At the same time Turkish, German and French professors have been employed for teaching in Afghanistan. All in all Afghanistan found a chance to extend modern education, started at the beginning of 20th century in the capital, to different parts of the country.

In regard to what has been said so far, we come to the conclusion that Afghanistan during its long history, came under the invasions of such different nations as the Greek, the Achaemenian empire, the Mauryan empire, Islam, etc., but none was as detrimental for this

country as was British colonialism in the 19th and beginning of 20th century.

The Greeks, Buddhists, Muslims, etc., have left us a cultural tradition which has been nurtured in this corner of the world. And they all infused new spirit into the nature of the native culture existing in this land. But 19th and 20th century colonialism left us nothing except war, hostility, struggle and disorder.

Colonialism in the 19th and 20th centuries not only affected this country from the view-points of culture and thought in connection with education, the press and social progress, but it also caused the division and separation of great parts of Afghanistan from the consequences of which the Afghans are still suffering.

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Central Asian Economic Relations : their impact on 20th-Century Afghanistan

AMALENDU GUHA

AS A CONTRIBUTORY factor to the movement of men and ideas between countries through ages, the significance of international trade cannot be overstated. The Central Asian region, because of its special geographical position, had been particularly exposed to such movements along the age-old caravan trade routes, right up to the end of the 19th century. Indian, Afghan, Iranian and other Central Asian traders mingled with each other in the great bazars and caravan-serais dotting these trade routes, and thereby they paved the way to acculturation. The purpose of this paper is, however, not to dig into the remote past, but to focus on 20th-century Afghanistan in her trade relations—and other relations as a digression—with her neighbours, particularly with India and Pakistan. In doing so, the Afghan situation at the close of 19th century may be first summed up as an introduction.

I

Founded in 1747 as a sovereign State, Afghanistan lost her independence in 1879 under the Treaty of Gandamak. It is then that she was turned into a colonial appendage to the British-Indian economy. Amir Abdur Rahman (1880-1901), however, enjoyed full internal autonomy. Apprehensive of further British encroachments, he never allowed European capital to penetrate into his country. This, however, did not preclude him from establishing a mechanised mint as well as a

small state-owned industrial complex (1885-87) producing under European superintendence—arms, ammunitions, boots, candles and soap, primarily for the Army. It may be noted here that nearly a hundred skilled workers from India, including Capt. Rajkrishna Karmakar of Bengal, brought the technical skill to some 1,500 local recruits¹. An attempt was then made to translate into Persian books on various industrial arts, but the results were so poor that they were never published or utilised. According to Abdul Ghani, these early attempts at in-plant training and translation had no modernising influence on the people, as these were not followed up by any systematic education.²

By suppressing feudal and tribal elements with an iron hand, Abdur Rahman laid the foundations of a centralised administration. The counterpart of this policy in the field of trade and commerce was to develop an integrated national market. To achieve this objective, he granted loans to indigenous traders, abolished inter-provincial tolls and raised the customs duties on all imports and in-transit goods. This latter policy severely affected the trade with India. The estimated value of imports from India decreased from more than Rs. 11.6 millions (£ 11.6 lakh to be more exact) in 1884 to Rs. 8.5 millions by 1903-4.³ On the other hand, Russian trade made relative progress during this period, because of comparative cheapness of transport from Europe thanks to the Trans-Caspian and Orenburg-Tashkent railways. In 1898 a branch railway line was extended from Merv to Kushk. The value of Russo-Afghan trade, according to Angus Hamilton, was £450,000 in 1902. By the beginning of the century, northern Afghanistan was firmly integrated with the Russian market, while southern Afghanistan continued to depend on the British-Indian market. The expansion of the British-Indian railways towards the Afghan border and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 strengthened this dependence. The port of Karachi became the gateway of Afghanistan. The British Indian railway were extended through the Bolan Pass as far as Chaman on the Afghan frontier during the years 1887-1897. Peshawar was linked with the railway system as early as in 1883; and Jamrud, in 1901. All these developments led to the growth of commercial horticulture in southern Afghanistan, for catering to the needs of the British-Indian market. Afghan raw wool was increasingly marketed abroad, as East Indian wool, from Karachi.⁴

The internal and external trade of Afghanistan continued to pass through the following traditional routes:

- (1) From Iran via Meshed to Herat.
- (2) From Khiva and Bukhara via Maimana to Herat.
- (3) From Bukhara via Karshi, Balkh and Khulm to Kabul.
- (4) From Punjab via Gumal Pass to Ghazni.
- (5) From Punjab via Peshawar and Khyber Pass to Kabul.
- (6) From Punjab via Peshawar and Abkhana Pass to Kabul.
- (7) From Sind via Bolan and Gumal Passes to Qandahar, and Herat.
- (8) From Chinese Turkestan via Chitral to Badakhshan and Jelalabad.

Camel-owning pastoral Pushtun tribes naturally turned their attention to commerce, after combining this with their seasonal migrations. In this way, a class of itinerant businessmen, known as *powindeh* traders, emerged from their ranks. A portion of Afghanistan's international and internal trade was in their hands. But as their capital resources were meagre, the nomadic tribes mostly devoted themselves to the carrying trade, on behalf of foreign merchants, particularly the Hindu merchants from Shikarpur. It may be noted that the age-old Central Asian trade had helped the emergence of a sophisticated system of banking and insurance (*bima* or *hunda-chada*) amongst the Hindu traders, right from the medieval times. With the inclusion of Bukhara within the Russian Customs system in 1894, much of India's direct overland trade with Central Asia was diverted to the Batum-Bombay sea route.

In Abdur Rahman's times, several lakhs of Pushtun nomads continued to come down upon the plains of India every autumn in search of grazing grounds and incidental commercial and employment opportunities. The *powindeh* traders left their families and camels in the North-West Frontier Provinces and Punjab and took their goods by rail and steamer to Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi. Their trading and money-lending activities, according to a field-study by J. A. Robinson, were mostly financed by the Hindu bankers of Kulachi and Dera Ismail Khan.⁵ Some of them, according to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1885), even moved as far as Assam and Rangoon. In March they all rejoined their base camps and, thence returned to Afghanistan. Similarly some tribes migrated to Iran as well. This great *transhumance* as well as the Hindu-financed usurious *powindeh* trade, which vigorously continued till recent years, requires a special study.

By the close of the 19th century, Afghanistan found herself capable of taking advantage of the Anglo-Russian trade rivalry in maintaining her internal autonomy against further onslaughts. Subsequent developments are discussed in this paper in the chronological order of three distinct periods : (i) the period from the death of Abdur Rahman in 1901 to the independence of Afghanistan in 1919, (ii) the period of economic nationalism from 1919 to 1947 ending with the partition of British India and (iii) the period of national development efforts since 1947. It is in this latter year that Afghanistan committed herself to the cause of Pakhtunistan, and this commitment remains a determining influence on her relations with Central Asian neighbours—Soviet Union, Peoples' China, India, Pakistan and Iran.

II

Continued peace under Abdur Rahman's iron rule promoted conditions which called for the reversal of his restrictive foreign trade policy. This was done by Amir Habibullah (1901-19) in the very first year of his reign. Besides remitting certain duties, he lowered the transit charges on "through" caravans, particularly in respect of indigo and tea. As a result of his liberalised trade policy, although the moribund transit trade between India and the Central Asian Khanates could not be revived, the volume of Indo-Afghan trade nevertheless increased from an estimated Rs. 10.6 million in 1900-01 to Rs. 20.9 million in 1906-07. On the other hand, the Russo-Afghan trade turnover recorded a meagre increase from 4.1 million rubles in 1901 to 5.1 million rubles in 1907. In this latter year, an estimated 73 per cent of Afghanistan's foreign trade passed through the British-Indian border, while the remaining 27 per cent was with Russia. However, the Russian share soon improved to an average 38 per cent during the years 1911-15. Raw cotton exports to Russia had begun only at the close of the 19th century; by 1915 they exceeded the amount of 4,500 tons (with seed). During the years 1911-15, Russian territories supplied an estimated 35 per cent of Afghanistan's total imports and received 42 per cent of her exports. Corresponding shares of British India were 65 per cent and 58 per cent respectively.⁶ These figures are worked out by overlooking the negligible trade with Iran.

As outlets of landlocked Afghanistan's foreign trade lay across the territories of British India and Russian Central Asia, merchants of these lands had strategic control thereupon. From their respective border town head-quarters at Peshawar, Chaman, Kushk and Termez, they

advanced manufactured goods to their agents in Afghanistan. These agents—mostly aliens—distributed the goods against the pledged delivery of *Karakul* fur, fresh and dried fruits, hides and skins, raw wool, raw cotton, carpets, opium, medicinal herbs and drugs etc. for export. Access to the nearest sea from Afghanistan being through British India, Britain exploited this geographic dependence to her fullest advantage.

The expanding foreign trade of Afghanistan meant increasing grip of foreign capitalists over her economy. For she was greatly short in supply of indigenous business acumen. "Though commerce is by no means looked down in this country, though the merchants are generally reckoned among the upper classes of the society, and though several Khauns of inferior rank, even among the Dooraunees, are merchants; yet", wrote Mountstuart Elphinstone around 1810, "there are none of those large fortunes and extensive concerns among them which are seen in Persia and India."⁷ The conditions remained more or less the same at least till 1919. The small, indigenous merchant class was composed of diverse ethnic elements—Tajik, Hindu, Jew and rarely Pushtun. Even while remaining the major and politically dominant ethnic group, the Pushtuns formed only a small fraction of the urban population except at Qandahar. The few Afghan traders of limited means played only a minor and comprador role in their country's trade and banking. However, the increasing trade contacts with neighbouring countries, the demonstrative effect of material progress abroad on visiting Afghan traders and the resultant interchange of ideas—all these, as noted by Abdul Ghani, combined to raise the taste and vision of the Afghan mercantile class as well as of the State. Savings by his predecessor, amounting to an estimated 100 million Kabuli rupees (= US \$ 27 million approximately), provided the capital for Amir Habibullah's modest efforts at development.⁸ The other source of capital, the British annual subsidy of Rs. 12 lakhs, later enhanced to Rs. 18 lakhs, bears close resemblance to present-day tied grants which developing countries receive from the Super Powers.

Habibullah mechanised the boot factory (1906), built the country's first woolen mill (1914-17) as well as the first hydro-electric station (1907-19) and a 100-mile telephone line between Kabul and Jelalabad for royal use—all these in the public sector. He also introduced motor vehicles—58 cars and 15 trucks in all. But their use was found impracticable because of unsatisfactory road conditions. His greatest achievement was, however, the establishment of the country's first

modern high school—the Habibia College (1904). In this venture he was inspired by a visit to the Indian University of Aligarh, and had an Indian staff to start with. Abdul Ghani, the Principal of the school who hailed from Punjab, played a pioneering role in the development of political consciousness in the country. Encouraged by the inauguration of a constitutional regime in Iran and the triumph of the Young Turks, he preached to his students that Islam did not permit autocratic rule. Soon he was charged, along with others, of plotting against the Amir. Seven Afghans were put to death and sixty suspects, including Abdul Ghani and four other Indian Muslims, were thrown into the prison in 1909.⁹ An interesting note in this connection from the pen of one “Durrani” in the contemporary Indian press is reproduced below :

When it is found that the Sultan, the spiritual leader of Islam, has shared his powers with his subjects and has subjected his authority to law; why should not the Amir? Soon these feelings found support from one Doctor Abdul Ghani, B. A., the Director of Public Instruction in Afghanistan who as it is alleged formed a secret society whose programme was to poison the Amir and his reactionary entourage and thus inaugurate a constitutional regime under a more popular prince subservient to the will of the people.— As reproduced in *Indian Review* (1913), p. 339, from *Hindustan Review* (March).

Later two of Ghani’s former students—Abdul Hadi and Abdul Rahman who were working on the staff of *Seraj-ul-Akhbar*—were also arrested on charges of alleged attempt on the Amir.¹⁰ Thus the Young Afghan Secret Society was nipped in the bud. We have digressed a little for high-lighting Ghani’s role, for he is not even mentioned in recent works on Afghanistan.

Another important event was the formation of the First Provisional Independent Government of India by the emigree Indian revolutionaries, led by Rajah Mahendrapratap, Barkatullah and Obeidullah, at Kabul on December 1, 1915. Sirdar Nasrullah Khan, the leader of the anti-British faction at the Afghan Court, extended patronage and monetary assistance to these revolutionaries, whose ranks were swelled by migrant Muslim students from Punjab. Simultaneously, there had already emerged, at the Amir’s Court, the circle of *Young Afghans* under the influence of Mahmud Tarzi (1865-1933). In those days, Tarzi had correspondence with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad of India,¹¹ and his writings in *Seraj-ul-Akhbar* (established in 1912) found their way not

only to India but also to Bukhara and Russian Turkestan; this fact was noted by Sadar Uddin Aini (1878-1954) in his memoirs. These developments in Kabul induced Amir Habibullah to write to the Viceroy of India in February 1919 demanding recognition of "the absolute liberty, freedom of action and perpetual independence" of his country. Immediately after his unfortunate death, this was achieved by King Amanullah (1919-29).

The Afghan success in the War of Independence (1919) had a great impact on the Indian people's struggle for freedom. As has been pointed out by L. R. Gordon-Polskaya, leaflets were distributed in north-west India in which Amanullah declared himself against the Rowlatt Act and said that peoples of India had a right to revolt. Many of the emigree revolutionaries including Rajah Mahendrapratap were granted Afghan citizenship. In course of the Indian Non-Co-operation Movement, some 18,000 Indian Khilafatists left British India for Afghanistan. Circumstances compelled them to return home; but a group of them who stayed back left for Tashkent and took part in the civil war in Central Asia. One of the emigree revolutionaries, Barkatullah, was sent to Moscow in 1919 as Amanullah's emissary to establish relations with the Soviet Union. A brochure by Barkatullah on "Bolshevism in the Koran" published in Persian and other languages, is said to have influenced the initial Afghan attitude towards the new Soviet Regime. Yet another emigree revolutionary of India, Obeidullah, also left Kabul for Tashkent in 1922.¹²

III

As a colonial appendage to the British-Indian economy, Afghanistan was precluded from direct trade relations with any country other than her immediate neighbours. All foreign goods moving in and all home exports moving out of Afghanistan via the port of Karachi were treated as India's re-exports. Consequently, Afghanistan's foreign exchange earnings and part of profits from sale of imports were held in British-Indian currency, and mostly by Indian traders. Besides, all imports on private account had to pay duties to the British Indian Customs at Karachi. Later, under the provisions of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 and the resultant Trade Convention, this system was abolished. Under the new system of "customs drawback", all such import duties paid at Karachi were henceforth to be refunded to traders, once the in-transit consignments had entered Afghanistan. Eventually

Afghan traders began to indent goods directly from abroad. In 1922 Abdul Aziz Londonee visited London in connection with his *Karakul* shipments. In 1928, the first Afghan trade agency in Europe, represented by Ghulam Haidar Khan, was opened in London. Peshawar, the traditional entrepot of Afghan trade, declined in importance, much to the discomfort of Indian middlemen. Customs refunds not only cheapened the imports, but also became an instrument of forced savings for Afghan traders. Successful negotiations were carried on with many foreign countries for the establishment of direct trade links. A German mercantile firm established itself at Kabul in 1926.

Another important contribution of Amanullah was the promotion of a dozen or so of joint-stock companies (*Shirkat*) for the first time in the country's history. In some of them even the king himself and his officers and relatives had shares. The new industrial policy provided for tariff protection and tax relief to indigenous cottage industries. Under the Regulations for Encouragement to Industries, 1921, all new industries were assured of free land for site, a 10-year tax holiday, a 5-year exemption from import duties on industrial raw materials and machinery, and special favour of Government orders. To patronise local handlooms—it is reported—Amanullah refused to wear non-indigenous cloth and induced his officers to follow his example.¹³ All these measures, including grant of *raqavi* loans to traders, had had some good effect on the struggling cottage industries. But they failed to attract private investments towards modernisation of industries.

Undaunted, Amanullah increasingly relied on a policy of heavy taxation to finance his ambitious investment programme. A public system of tele-communications connecting all important centres was established with Soviet and British Indian technical assistance. The two caravan roads leading from Kabul to Chaman and Landikotal, respectively, on the Indian side of the border, were improved for motor traffic. By 1929 Afghanistan had, according to data published by the League of Nations (1931), a fleet of 150 trucks and 200 motor cars (Iran had 3,645 trucks and 4,310 motor cars in the same year). Small-scale spinning mills, laundries, printing presses and machinery for producing ginned cotton, electricity, cement, buttons, cane-sugar, match-boxes, dyes and wooden furniture were either already imported or ordered for. The *chadri* (burqa) was abolished, and a bold education programme was launched for both men and women. Of the three new high schools established, one (Ghazi college) was manned by an Indian

staff. Side by side with experts recruited in Europe and Turkey, a number of Indian experts participated in the country's development programmes. Besides, the trade with the Soviet Union which had collapsed after the October Revolution was revived since 1921-22. It remained, however, less than a fifth of the pre-war turnover and constituted only 7 per cent of Afghan foreign trade in 1924-25.¹⁴ It began to increase rapidly thereafter, and by 1929 exceeded the 1913 level (appended Table-1). However, Afghan *karakul* which used to be solely marketed in Russia and reexported therefrom till the October Revolution, now changed its direction permanently to an alternative western market via Karachi. Moreover, the immigration of refugees from Russian Central Asia along with 3 to 4 lakh heads of their superior *karakul* flocks as well as the 'know-how' of the fur trade, proved to be a permanent economic boon for Afghanistan.

Despite the policy of economic nationalism, the grip of foreign merchants on Afghanistan's trade could be loosened only marginally. In 1927-28, e.g., nearly 58 per cent of the total duties paid at the Kabul Customs House was realised from 40 leading firms of whom 14 were foreign-owned. Of the 26 indigenous firms, again 2, were Afghan joint-stock companies, 6 belonged to Afghan Hindus and only 18 belonged to individual Afghan Muslims. The respective percentage contributions of various groups in the total collection from those 40 firms were as follows :

| <i>Indigenous : 55%</i> | | | <i>Non-indigenous : 45 %</i> | |
|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|--------|
| Shirkats | Firms: Muslim | Firms: Hindu | Firms : | Firms: |
| | | | Indian | German |
| (2) | (18) | (6) | (13) | (1) |
| 8.3% | 32.8% | 13.9% | 39.2% | 5.8% |

Source : Worked out from data reproduced by N.M. Gurevich, *Vneshniaia Torgovlia Afghanistana Do Vtoroi Mirovoi Voiny* (Moscow, 1959).

The relative position of Afghan traders, as mirrored in the Kabul Customs House returns, was poor indeed. But it was still worse in the equally important trade centre of Qandahar. There the domination of Indian merchants and their Afghan Hindu agents was much stronger.

The Jewish merchants were active in northern Afghanistan. *The Report of the Work of the Indian Govt. Trade Agent, Kabul, during 1937-38 (Part-I)* rightly observed :

Right up to the closing years of Amanullah's reign almost all monetary transactions were controlled by Indian mahajans (bankers) and a great deal of the wholesale export and import trade was in Indian hands.—(dated 18 July 1938, N III 5/113/97, 1939, *British Foreign Office Records*, London).

The Bacha-i-Saqao episode of 1929 and the subsequent impact of the Great Depression brought a temporary set-back, but could not reverse the course of progress. Under Nadir Shah's rule (1929-33), although such social reforms as the abolition of the *pardah (chadri)* were rescinded, the erstwhile policy of economic nationalism was pursued with greater rigour, and northern Afghanistan was linked with Kabul by a motorable road. In the period of falling silver prices, the value of Afghani crashed in the exchange market from Af 29 to the £ Sterling in 1929 to Af 53 in 1931 and, for a while, to Af 71 in 1933. However, in 1933 the sterling quotations in Kabul averaged between 42 and 45 Afghanis.¹⁵ At the same time *karakul* prices also came down. But unlike other slump-hit countries, Afghanistan had relatively no major dislocations because of the compensating trade with the Soviet Union (Table-1). The immediate reaction to the shrinking world market was to move towards bilateralism as a device for balancing trade. The Head of the Afghan Delegation to the World Monetary and Economic Conference (1933) in London declared :

In consideration of the peculiar position of the country, however, we have abstained from applying trade restrictions or raising our customs tariff. The bilateral method should preferably be used for conclusion of agreements, in view of the wide differences existing between the situation of the various nations, which precludes international action.—Relevant statement quoted in Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, *Modern Afghanistan* (London, 1938) pp. 242-4.

Bilateralism remained an important aspect of Afghanistan's foreign trade policy ever since.

The section of people who were most hard-hit by the depression were the *Powindeh* traders—the only, though meagre, source of invisible foreign exchange earnings for Afghanistan. The *Powindehs*, coming

to India, used to borrow money from the Hindu bankers of Dera Ismail Khan and buy articles of clothings in Amritsar, Lahore, Benares, Bombay, Calcutta and other cities. Thus equipped, they carried on usury and usurious cloth trade in villages of North India. This moneylending-cum-trade, which reached the record value of an estimated Rs. 4.6 million in the winter of 1911-12, however, suffered a severe setback because of the economic depression of 1929-33. The number of loan offices of the Dera Ismail Khan Sahukars in Calcutta decreased from some 23 in 1912-13 to only 5 by 1933-34. As a considerable part of the floating loans remaining unrecovered, the *powindeh* trade in India was hereafter at a low ebb for many years. Besides, owing to the disappearance of the caravan trade as a result of the increasing use of automobile trucks in carrying trade, the Ghilzai nomads lost yet another source of their invisible incomes. Owing to this and other causes, the annual migration of Afghans to India showed a significant declining trend. Their lucrative but numerically insignificant migration to Australia as camel drivers was also brought to an end by Australian legislation.¹⁶

In 1933-34, USSR's share of the foreign trade of Afghanistan, on the basis of data collected by Gurevich, may be estimated at 17 per cent. As a result of the 3-year Trade Agreement between Banke Milli and Sovafgantorg in 1936, this share increased to an estimated 30 per cent by 1938-39. Under this Agreement, Afghanistan was to barter raw cotton, opium and unwashed wool, valued at US \$10.6 million (=Rs. 29.2 million approximately) for specified quantities of sugar, petrol, kerosene oil, overshoes, cotton seeds, sack cloth, cotton-ginning and pressing machinery, cotton piece-goods, cement, motor cars and iron and steel wares. The trade with other countries, including import of petrol products from Iran, passed through British India. Of Afghanistan's total imports in 1938-39, an estimated 31.2 per cent came from USSR, 18 per cent—mostly cotton piece-goods—from India (Indian produce 16.2 per cent and re-exports 1.8 per cent), 1.1 per cent from China and less than 1 per cent from Iran. The shares of Japan, Germany, U.K. and U.S.A. were 18.5, 11.9, 4.3 and 2.2 per cent, respectively.¹⁷ A new Barter Trade Agreement between Banke Milli and Sovafgantorg, after a year's lapse, was signed for one year in July 1940, but was allowed to lapse once more after Germany's attack on Russia on 22 June 1941. During the years 1941-47, there was no Soviet-Afghan trade. Cut off also from her other important trade partners, like Germany and Japan, because of World War II, Afghanistan

became solely dependent for her supplies on British India. The latter's percentage share in her total imports in these years was as follows :

| | | | | |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1941-42 | 1942-43 | 1943-44 | 1944-45 | 1945-46 |
| 65% | 85% | 95% | 80% | 75% |

(Source : Worked out from Govt. of India's statistics on overland trade).

State-regulation of all Soviet-Afghan commercial contacts as a politically expedient measure, progressive exclusion of alien middlemen from select branches of foreign trade and an active policy of exchange and trade control—these became the cornerstones of Afghanistan's commercial policy. A network of newly organised *shirkats*, with the Banke Milli (estd. 1930) at their helm, played a significant role in mobilising savings and in ploughing back earned profits for development of commerce and industries. Monopolies created in their favour led to quick accumulation. These monopolies, along with certain other measures, aimed at the elimination of *Kharijias* or aliens from important branches of trade. By a Decree of March 1934, all foreigners were excluded from the export business of karakul. The import trade in industrial products, with the exception of cotton piece-goods and some minor items, was taken out of Indian hands. But in 1937 when the Royal Government of Afghanistan (RGA, henceforth) created a local monopoly over the fruit exports from Kabul, there was big hue and cry in India against this measure. A successful boycott of Afghan fruits there in early 1938 forced the RGA to cancel the monopoly.¹⁸

During 1939-41, most of the state-owned industrial units—there were 10 such enterprises in the public sector and none except traditional cottage units in the private sector as late as 1936—were sold to private individuals. The total number of *shirkats* or joint stock companies increased from 24, as of 31 December 1935, to more than a hundred by 1947. Of them some 18 were wholly or partially industrial concerns. Thus the scattered indigenous trading capital was consolidated and increasingly mobilised into modern business organisations. The legitimacy of interest charges was recognised in clear terms, despite religious prejudices, and an attempt was made in 1942 to have a Commercial Code and separate Commercial Courts to settle disputes involving

interest and contracts; however, it was effectively materialised only in 1954.¹⁹ The Afghanistan Bank, established in 1939, began to function by 1943 as a full-fledged Central Bank in charge of foreign exchange control. Four new chambers of commerce came into existence in the provincial towns of Herat, Qandahar, Mazar-i-Sharif and Andkhoi, respectively, in 1940-41, in addition to the one already existing in Kabul. All these were organised into a Federation of Chambers of Commerce, but the character of this organisation remained semi-official.

Thus the decade, 1937-47, saw an alround institutional development as well as hectic industrial activities (e. g. in sugar, cotton textiles and electricity), but the latter could not be sustained. There was a sudden shortfall in all imported goods, despite the fact that, owing to rise in prices, the total import bill tended to remain the same till 1945 (Table-2). The supply of cement, e.g., decreased from an average 6 to 7 thousand tons annually during the four years ending March 1941, to 537 tons in 1942-3, 275 tons in 1943-4 and 258 tons in 1944-5. During the same period, the consumption of petrol also declined under compulsion of circumstances, from an annual average of some 7,000 tons to 2,376 tons in 1942-3, 2,233 tons in 1943-4 and, 3,576 tons in 1944-5.²⁰ Wartime shortage of imports vis-a-vis increased export earnings led to a steady accumulation of rupee and dollar resources as revealed in our Table-2. As shipments of Karakul to London became difficult owing of Axis operations in the sea, New York emerged as the principal market for Afghan Karakul and remained so even after the War. This is how dollar resources were accumulated. But much of this accumulation resulted from the failure to replace the wartime wear and tear of capital stock, and, hence, was deceptive. Many half-finished developmental works just fell into pieces for lack of maintenance. The industrialisation programme was aborted for the second time (first time it happened in 1929), and caravans reappeared temporarily even on the main highways of the country.

Like Afghan Hindus, the Afghan Jews were yet another small mercantile community, who were not emotionally identified with the nation and, hence, somewhat suffered under the policy of economic nationalism. But while the Hindus adjusted themselves to the changed circumstances and progressively had their social status improved, most of the Jews chose for migration to Palestine. During the forties nearly 3,000 of them are reported to have left Afghanistan.²¹ Mahatma Gandhi was reported to have stated in New Delhi on 22 June 1947 that "Afghan Hindus lived only on sufferance and as inferiors". The

Afghan Consul-General in India, however, refuted this allegation by issuing a press statement (*The Statesman*, Calcutta, 26 June 1947). The present writer's impression during short stays in Afghanistan in 1960 and 1962 is that, at least in recent years, they enjoyed full citizenship rights. In any case, the commercial policy in operation since 1933 did not only undermine the grip of alien middlemen over the economy, but also cut to its size the disproportionate role of the local Hindu and Jewish communities in trade and banking. Thus, by 1947, the composition of the emerging national bourgeoisie underwent a fundamental change making more room for Pushtun elements within it.

IV

On 15 August 1947, India achieved independence and was partitioned into India and Pakistan. Afghanistan lost no time in championing the demand for an independent Pakhtunistan, but Pakistan refused to comply with. Since then, this unresolved conflict has not only imposed on both a heavy burden of defence expenditures as well as an increasing dependence on Super Powers for arms supplies, but also did disrupt their mutual economic relations several times—in 1950, 1953, 1955 and, then, for a continuous period of 22 months from September 1961 to June 1963. On every such occasion the overland transit trade route via Pakistan was closed to the detriment of Afghanistan's trade with countries other than USSR and Iran. Under these annoying circumstances, the trade pattern which has emerged in course of last two decades is somewhat distorted. Composition and direction of Afghanistan's trade since 1947 have to be understood in this context.

The difficulties of the inflationary post-War years, coupled with the disruptive consequences of India's partition, continued right upto 1953. Even as late as that year, more than 90 per cent of the country's needs in manufactured goods were met from imports. But such imports—while tending to exceed exports—were far short of meeting the demand. Economic crisis ushered in political awakening amongst all sections of the people. However, any large-scale unrest was forestalled by the imposition of a preventive ban on a number of periodicals as well as the Kabul Students' Union. The latter had been established only in April 1950. Under Prime Minister Muhammad Daoud's (1953-63) policy of guided economy, planning was introduced in 1956, and Soviet-Afghan economic co-operation was strengthened. Above all, the Government assigned to itself the leading entrepreneurial role in both industrial and

commercial fields. Despite various pulls and changes in the government, the overall policy more or less remains the same till this day.

Although the trade relations between Afghanistan and Russia were revived since 1947, the latter's share in total Afghan foreign trade was around 14 per cent only in 1951. It exceeded the pre-War level of 30 per cent by 1956 and has remained above this mark till date (Table 3 & 4). In the field of Indo-Afghan trade, there were no restrictive controls from India's side, and all proceeds from Afghan exports to India were convertible into pound sterling until June 1957. The latter's share of Afghan imports was as high as 39.6 per cent in 1951-52. But it began to decline gradually and was 25.6 per cent in 1956-57 and then 10.0 per cent only in 1957-58 (if imports financed by loans and grants are included, the corresponding percentage will be still less). Failing to sell Indian goods to Afghanistan on the same scale as before, India decided to decrease her purchases therefrom. In 1957-58, she imposed a ceiling on her imports from Afghanistan at a total of Rs. 33.3 million and made the proceeds non-convertible. But in July 1958, the ceiling was temporarily lifted in compliance to the wishes of Afghanistan, subject to the condition that imports and exports must balance in the long run, and that the clearance should be made through a rupee account.²³ Since then the Indo-Afghan Trade Agreement, originally signed for one year, has been renewed from time to time with necessary alterations. In 1965-66, Afghanistan exported Rs. 42.3 million worth of goods to India and imported from her Rs. 55.9 million worth of goods (Table-5). The closure of transit facilities through Pakistan for 22 months during 1961-63, and, again, the initially total—and then partial—denial of these facilities to India since September 1965 have no doubt hindered the expansion of Indo-Afghan trade.

It has already been noted that right from the 'thirties', Afghanistan has been in favour of concluding bilateral agreements with her trade partners, primarily to avoid fluctuations in export earnings. With commitment to planning, the need for a secure and guaranteed export market at predictable prices was all the more felt, as that way alone she could pay for her imports. The Soviet-Afghan Trade Agreement, signed in 1950 and initially stipulated only for four years, was found so favourable that it has periodically been renewed with modifications ever since. Payments and Trade Agreements with Czechoslovakia, Poland and People's China were first signed in 1954, 1956 and 1957, respectively. Similar agreement was later signed with Bulgaria as well.

The above agreements, with properly defined 'swing' clauses are of the Clearing Account type. Whenever swings are exceeded, the indebted party effects payments in a currency acceptable to the creditor. These five countries, together described as the 'barter area' accounted for 34.9 per cent of Afghanistan's total exports in 1956-57, 36.2 per cent in 1961-62, 44.8 per cent in 1962-63, 40.9 per cent in 1963-64, 38 per cent in 1964-65 and 27.4 per cent in 1965-66 (Table-4). Trends reflected in these figures clearly show that Afghanistan was forced to sell more to the 'barter area', whenever her relations with Pakistan were disturbed; and with better relations, the situation tended to return to normal. In the case of imports (including those financed by loans and grants), the share of the 'barter area' increased from 39 per cent in 1956-57 to 57 per cent in 1961-62, and then slightly declined to 50.9 per cent in 1964-65 and 50.3 per cent in 1965-66.²³

Pakistan and India together are described as the "controlled area" in Afghan trade statistics. This area's share in Afghanistan's exports accounted for 24.4 per cent in 1956-57, 12.2 per cent in 1961-62, 13.5 per cent in 1962-63, 18.8 per cent in 1963-64, 25 per cent in 1964-65 and 20.8 per cent in 1965-66. Its share in total imports (including those financed by loans and grants), however, continuously decreased from 34 per cent in 1956-57 to 10 per cent in 1961-62, 9.2 per cent in 1964-65 and 6.8 per cent in 1965-66.²⁴ While the area's share in exports improved with normalisation of relations with Pakistan, its share in imports went on declining, primarily because of increasing role of tied Soviet aid in Afghan economy. For example, in the first two years of the Second Five Year Plan, Soviet economic assistance amounted to roughly half of the total investments in the Afghan economy, and approximately to 75 per cent of the total foreign assistance Afghanistan received during those years.²⁵

The 'free exchange area', mainly representing USA, West Germany, UK, and Japan, accounted for 41 per cent of Afghanistan's exports in the three years ending with 1958-59. Thereafter its percentage share fluctuated as follows :—

| 1959-60 | 1960-61 | 1961-62 | 1962-63 | 1963-64 | 1964-65 | 1965-66 |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 45.8 | 48.6 | 51.6 | 41.9 | 40.3 | 37.0 | 51.8 |

The fluctuations are not fully explained by such events as the cessation of Pak-Afghan relations and the Indo-Pak War, respectively, in relevant

years. The share of the area in Afghanistan's imports (loans and grants inclusive) however, continuously increased from 27 per cent in 1956-57 to 33 per cent in 1961-62, 40.5 per cent in 1964-65 and then to 42.3 per cent in 1965-66.

Having reviewed the geographical distribution of Afghanistan's trade over decades, one can safely conclude that at least half of both her import and export trade has always been with her immediate neighbours. Two of the neighbours—Iran and China—never had any significant share in Afghan trade; their position more or less remains unaltered today, as compared to 1938-39 or any earlier year. The Russian share in total Afghan trade, which was estimated at 38 per cent for the years 1911-15 and 30 per cent for the years 1938-39 and 1956-57 accounted for an average 40 per cent in the two years ending March 1966. Thus even taking only normal years into consideration, Russian share of Afghan trade, even as compared to 1911-15, has increased over time. But the picture is quite different in the case of India and Pakistan. Before independence the Indian subcontinent had always absorbed the bulk of Afghan exports, and its share of Afghanistan's imports, even at its lowest in the year 1938-39, was 18 per cent. In 1956-57, India and Pakistan, together, accounted for 24.4 per cent and 34 per cent of her exports and imports respectively. Latest available figures suggest that, after nearly two decades of independence, this share has appreciably fallen as is shown below.

| <i>Afghanistan's exports</i> | <i>Afghanistan's imports</i> | | | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| | | | <i>(including grants and loans)</i> | | <i>(excluding grants and loans)</i> | |
| | <i>1964-65</i> | <i>1965-66</i> | <i>1964-65</i> | <i>1965-66</i> | <i>1964-65</i> | <i>1965-66</i> |
| India (%) | 16.7 | 7.0 | 5.7 | 3.8 | 12.0 | 8.8 |
| Pakistan (%) | 8.3 | 13.8 | 3.5 | 3.0 | 7.4 | 7.1 |
| | 25.0% | 20.8% | 9.2% | 6.8% | 19.4% | 15.9% |

Source : Statistical Department, Ministry of Commerce, RGA.

Thus the case of Afghan trade with India and Pakistan provides yet another example of how the mutual trade between developing countries is relatively shrinking in our very era of development.

Five major products—Karakul, fruits, raw wool, raw cotton and woollen carpets and rugs—together account for more than 83 per cent of Afghan exports.²⁶ In 1964-65, a normal year, e. g., Karakul constituted 17.6 per cent of total Afghan exports; dried fruits, 19.1 per cent; fresh fruits, 8.1 per cent; raw wool, 8.7 per cent; raw cotton, 21.2 per cent and woollen carpets and rugs, 12.3 per cent. Karakul went to the 'free exchange area', constituting 93.5 per cent and 66.7 per cent, respectively, of Afghanistan's exports to USA and UK. Carpets together with rugs constituted 28.3 per cent of her exports to UK and 65.2 per cent of her exports to West Germany. Almost the entire wool went to USSR, constituting 23.9 per cent of the latter's purchases from Afghanistan. Fresh fruits and dried fruits, respectively, constituted 19.9 per cent and 66.6 per cent of Afghan exports to India; and respectively, 57.4 per cent and 32.0 per cent of the exports to Pakistan. Raw cotton constituted 44.9 per cent of USSR's, 28.8 per cent of Germany's and 50 per cent of Czechoslovakia's purchases from Afghanistan. This pattern is, more or less, valid for other years as well. It is interesting to note that an important industrial raw material like raw cotton, which Afghanistan offers, is almost monopolised by developed countries. If Afghan raw cotton is increasingly exchanged for Indian engineering goods, then both the countries will be able to save some of their hard currency resources for other purposes. Indo-Afghan Trade Agreements of recent years have made only a beginning in this line of approach.

On the import side, Afghanistan is still heavily dependent for all sorts of machinery and engineering goods on developed countries, although her proximate neighbours—India and Pakistan—are capable of supplying many items. In 1964-65, e. g., of Afghan commercial imports from India, 43.4 per cent was constituted of tea; 28.6 per cent, of cotton fabric; 12.1 per cent, of fabric other than cotton; and only 3 per cent, of machinery and equipments including bicycles. Of the same from Pakistan, 28.2 per cent constituted of petroleum products; 14.4 per cent of chemical products; 14.7 per cent of cotton fabric; 13.4 per cent of various non-metallic manufactures and only 2.4 per cent of machinery and equipments including bicycles. There has been no appreciable change in this pattern since then, except that Afghanistan is increasingly replacing Indian tea, which constituted 82.4 per cent of Afghan tea imports in 1964-65, by tea imports from People's China and Formosa. This is because Pakistan does not allow transit of Indian exports through the Wagah land route which is much cheaper than the new arrangement since 1966 via Karachi.²⁷ Supplies of

Indian tea decreased from 5,170 tonnes in 1964-65 to 3,375 tonnes in 1965-66. India and Pakistan supplied 72.2 per cent and 13.8 per cent, respectively, of all cotton fabric imports, in physical terms, into Afghanistan in 1964-65. Next year, their corresponding shares were 50 per cent and 27.3 per cent, respectively. At the same time, their corresponding shares, decreased from 22.1 per cent and 4.1 per cent to 14.1 per cent and 3.4 per cent, respectively, in the case of imported fabrics other than cotton. India's share in bicycle imports by Afghanistan increased from 25.2 per cent in 1964-65 to 36.7 per cent in 1965-66, no doubt; but in absolute terms, the number of bicycles supplied by India decreased from 4,490 to 3,449 only; and those by Pakistan, from 168 to 34 only. These select figures amply highlight the ruinous impact of the short-lived Indo-Pak War on Afghanistan's trade with the Indian subcontinent, which still persists.

V

If inflation, food imports and chronic trade-and-payments deficit are sure symptoms of development, then Afghanistan, like Iran, Pakistan and India, is certainly on the road to development. Apparent progress is visible in many fields. Women are increasingly participating in meaningful economic and cultural life since the abolition of the *pardah* (*chadri*) in 1959. University education as well as literacy is expanding. Industries are coming up in the wake of a transport revolution.²⁸ And above all, a democratic constitution, introduced in 1964, is being given a fair trial. Meanwhile, heavy doses of foreign loans and grants—from USSR and USA—have considerably helped to ease the strains of development. However, as in India and Pakistan, so in Afghanistan, one has also to take note of the enormous 'anti-aid' provided by the developed countries in the form of arms supplies. Encouraged by the latter, the developing nations of the region are arming themselves against each other and, thereby, are diverting a high 4 to 5 per cent of the national income from productive to unproductive channels. First, USA gave 'anti-aid' to India and Afghanistan by arming Pakistan; and then to Pakistan, by arming India. Russia, in recent years, sold defence equipments to India first, and then to Pakistan, despite anxieties in both Afghanistan and India. Within the last one decade, the region has experienced two short-lived hot wars, and is living through a continuous cold war arising out of the unsolved international disputes over the question of Pakhtunistan, Kashmir, Aksai Chin and the

Kazakhstan-Sinkiang Border. Such circumstances have seriously limited the trade potential between Afghanistan and her developing neighbours. A permanent settlement of all political issues, keeping these countries divided amongst themselves, is a necessary pre-condition for any significant break-through in the intra-regional trade.

However, pending such a solution, there is no reason why suitable transportation and transit facilities for more trade between the countries of the region should not be developed. In this context, China's recent attempt to revive the ancient 'silk route' by linking Sinkiang by a modern road to Gilgit, the Pak-Afghan accord on extending Pakistan railways to terminal points inside the Afghan territory (at Spin Baldak and Torkham), the proposed 55,000-km Asian Highway connecting a dozen countries by 1970-71, and the Indo-Soviet talks for exploring the use of a 1400-km overland motor road for transit trade between Amritsar and the Soviet railhead of Khwaja Yabu—all these are welcome moves and will go a long way in abridging the isolation of land-locked Afghanistan. Once the proposed rail spurs are built at Spin Baldak and Torkham on the Afghan side of the Pak-Afghan border, Pakistan might be prevailed upon to allow the movement of sealed goods trains between India and Afghanistan. This will not only promote Indo-Afghan trade, but will also increase the earnings of the Pak Railways. Besides, the extension of these facilities to India may be bartered for the grant of similar transit-cum-transport facilities in the case of Pak-Nepal trade.

Not only the diversification of trade, but also the diversification of trade-routes is what Afghanistan requires most. In this respect, her bilateral endeavours may be supplemented by a multi-lateral regional approach. It is time that Afghanistan and her neighbours—Soviet Union, Iran, Pakistan, India and China—meet together to discuss the region's trade and transport problems and solve them multilaterally in a concerted manner. In fact, such a move now may pave the way to a political pacification of the region as well, and may even moot ideas of an Asian common market.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Jnanendramohan Das, *Banger Bahire Bangali* (in Bengali, Calcutta, 1914) pp. 546-8.
- (2) Abdul Ghani, *A Review of the Political Situation in Central Asia* (Lahore, 1921) pp. 63-64. Abdul Ghani had served in various capacities under three consecutive monarchs, until, in Amanullah's time, he was nominated a member of his advisory council. On charges of plotting against Amir Habibullah, he had undergone imprisonment for several years.
- (3) *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, I (2nd ed., London, 1885) p. 40; *ibid*, V, (New ed., Oxford, 1908) p. 57.
- (4) Angus Hamilton, *Afghanistan* (London, 1906) pp. 295-8.
- (5) J. A. Robinson, *Notes on Nomad Tribes of Eastern Afghanistan* (Government of India, New Delhi, 1935) p. 26.
- (6) Estimates in this paragraph are either those by Gurevich or are derived from data collated by him. See N. M. Gurevich, *Vneshniaia Torgovlia Afghanistana Do Vtoroi Mirovoi Voiny* (Moscow, 1959) pp. 16-21 and Table 3.
- (7) Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, I* (2nd ed., London, 1819) p. 405.
- (8) Ghani, n. 2, pp. 63-5.
- (9) *Ibid*, p. 75; *India Review*, 1913, p. 339.
- (10) Ghani, n. 2, pp. 86-7.
- (11) This information was obtained from A. W. Tarzi, son of late Mahmud Tarzi, in course of an interview at Kabul on 4 July 1960.
- (12) Gordon - Polskaya, as referred to in *Central Asian Review*, VIII, No. 2 (1960) p. 191.
Barkatullah's own statement in course of a press interview, *Izvestia*, No. 95, 6 May 1919.

I. Spector, *The Soviet Union and the Muslim World* (1917-1956) p. 54.
See also A. Guha "Afghanistan and India's struggle for independence" *Parliamentary Studies*, IV, No. 9 (September 1960) pp. 21-4.
- (13) Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, *Afghanistan of the Afghans* (London, 1928) pp. 241-2. For documented details of Amanullah's reign, see A. Guha "The economy of Afghanistan during Amanullah's reign 1919-1929", *International Studies*, IX, No. 2 (October 1967) pp. 161-82.

- (14) Gurevich, n. 6, pp. 22-31 and our Table-1 on Soviet-Afghan trade.
- (15) *The Manchester Guardian*, 13 October 1928; *The Financial Times* (London) 7 May 1934; N. I. Smirnov, "Vazhnyi etap nezavisimogo razvitiia Afghanistana" in R. T. Akhramovich, ed., *Nezavisimyi Afghanistan* (Moscow, 1958) p. 88.
- (16) Robinson, n. 5, pp. 26-30
- (17) Gurevich, n. 6, p. 54.
Country-wise distribution of Afghanistan's trade in the year 1938-39 has been worked out by us, after adding up the annual average of the book-value of the proposed 3-year Soviet-Afghan trade (1936-39) to the value of her total foreign trade passing across the Indo-Afghan frontier. The basic data are from *Report for the year 1938-39 by the Indian Trade Agent, Kabul* (Delhi, 1940). p. 4 and *Report for the year 1939-40 by the Indian Trade Agent, Kabul* (Delhi, 1941) pp. 15-6.
- (18) *Memorandum respecting the commercial policy of the Afghan Government 1930-34* (N 4205/42/97, No. 16, Department of Overseas Trade to British Foreign Office, London, 17 July 1934); Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, *Annual Report of the Committee for the year 1938* (Calcutta, 1939) correspondence p. 40; *Report for 1939-40 by Indian Trade Agent*, n. 17, p. 35; *Report for the year ending 23 July 1938 by the Indian Trade Agent, Kabul* (Delhi, 1939) 3 - 4; *Indian Trade Journal*, No. 130 (21 July 1938). For details see A. Guha, "The rise of capitalistic enterprises in Afghanistan, 1929-45", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, I, No. 2, (October-December, 1963)
- (19) Humayan Yar Khan, *Report to the Government of Afghanistan on the Possibilities of Agricultural Cooperative Organisation in Afghanistan* (FAO Report No. 690, Rome, 1957) p. 7. Although this source casually mentions that separate Commercial Courts were established since 1942, according to Donald N. Wilber, *Country Survey Series Afghanistan*, (2nd ed., New Haven, 1962) p. 256, these were first established in 1954.
- (20) Culled from *Review of the Trade of India for the years 1939-40 to 1946-47, Trade at Stations adjacent to land frontier routes for twelve months ending March, 1940 to 1947 and Report by Indian Trade Agent for 1939-40*, n. 17, p. 13. For details, A. Guha, *Economic Transition in Afghanistan 1929-61* (Unpublished thesis, Indian School of International Studies, Delhi, 1962) pp. 136-50.
- (21) By 1941 about 2,000 Jews were reported to have emigrated to Palestine; by 1949, another 1,000 followed them. *New York Times*, 29 March and 6 April 1947; S. Federbush, ed. *World Jewery Today* (London, 1959) pp. 322-3.
- (22) Royal Government of Afghanistan, Ministry of Planning, *Survey of Progress, 1960* (Kabul) p. 189.

- (23) RGA, *Survey of Progress 1961-62* (Kabul, March 1963) p. 64. Figures for the years 1964-65 and 1965-66 are derived from data received from the Statistical Department, Ministry of Commerce, RGA.
- (24) Same as above.
- (25) R. T. Akhramovich, *Outline History of Afghanistan after the Second World War* (Moscow, 1966) p. 145.
- (26) All figures for 1964-65 and 1965-66 to follow are worked out from data supplied by the Statistical Department, Ministry of Commerce, RGA. I am grateful to Dr. Ali Nawaz, President of Trade, RGA, for making these data available for my purpose.
- (27) On 26 June 1968, the Amritsar Tea Traders' Association urged upon the Government of India to press Pakistan to allow the export of tea and other Indian commodities to Afghanistan through the Wagha land route, as the sea-cum-land route via Karachi was costlier and had affected Indo-Afghan trade considerably.
- (28) For details see A. Guha, "Economic development of Afghanistan", *International Studies*, VI (April 1965).

TABLE-1. AFGHANISTAN'S TRADE WITH USSR
(In Million New Rubles)

| | <i>Total turnover</i> | <i>Import</i> | <i>Export</i> | <i>Balance</i> |
|------|---------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1913 | 9.6 | 4.7 | 4.9 | + 0.2 |
| 1929 | 13.9 | 5.1 | 8.8 | + 3.7 |
| 1930 | 13.7 | 6.2 | 7.5 | + 1.3 |
| 1931 | 18.1 | 9.0 | 9.1 | + 0.1 |
| 1932 | 20.6 | 11.4 | 9.2 | — 2.2 |
| 1933 | 9.9 | 5.5 | 4.4 | — 1.1 |
| 1934 | 4.6 | 2.4 | 2.2 | — 0.2 |
| 1935 | 5.9 | 2.8 | 3.1 | + 0.3 |
| 1936 | 6.9 | 2.9 | 4.0 | + 1.1 |
| 1937 | 5.8 | 2.9 | 2.9 | — |
| 1938 | 4.7 | 2.4 | 2.3 | — 0.1 |
| 1939 | 3.1 | 1.7 | 1.4 | — 0.3 |
| 1940 | 2.9 | 1.2 | 1.7 | + 0.5 |
| 1950 | 3.3 | 1.9 | 1.4 | — 0.5 |
| 1951 | 9.4 | 4.9 | 4.5 | — 0.4 |
| 1954 | 16.4 | 9.0 | 7.4 | — 1.6 |
| 1955 | 22.0 | 12.2 | 9.8 | — 2.4 |
| 1956 | 30.0 | 16.4 | 13.6 | — 2.4 |
| 1957 | 34.9 | 16.3 | 18.6 | + 2.3 |
| 1958 | 32.2 | 20.8 | 11.4 | — 9.4 |
| 1959 | 39.5 | 25.4 | 14.0 | — 11.5 |
| 1960 | 44.0 | 28.8 | 15.2 | — 13.6 |

Source 1 Iu M. Golovin, *Afghanistan Ekonomika i Vneshniaia Torgovlia* (Moscow, 1962), Tables 26 and 27.

From 1918 to 1922-23 and from 1942 to 1957, there was no trade with USSR.

TABLE 2. AFGHANISTAN'S FOREIGN TRADE ACROSS INDO-AFGHAN BORDER, 1937-47.

(Value in Million Rupees)

| <i>Year ending 31st March</i> | <i>Export</i> | <i>Import</i> | <i>Favourable Balance</i> | <i>Percentage share of India in imports</i> |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 1937-38 | 37.1 | 21.6 | 15.5 | n. a. |
| 1938-39 | 24.9 | 21.5 | 3.4 | (27) |
| 1939-40 | 39.7 | 26.9 | 12.8 | (30) |
| 1940-41 | 59.0 | 30.5 | 28.5 | n. a. |
| 1941-42 | 62.4 | 32.9 | 29.5 | (65) |
| 1942-43 | 35.7 | 28.4 | 7.3 | (85) |
| 1943-44 | 77.9 | 27.6 | 40.3 | (95) |
| 1944-45 | 129.1 | 28.1 | 101.0 | (80) |
| 1945-46 | 114.0 | 38.6 | 75.4 | (75) |
| 1946-47 | 97.3 | 64.7 | 32.6 | n. a. |

Source : Relevant tables in *Review of the Trade of India in 1937-38 to 1945-46 and 1946-47*. Value as recorded at the Indian customs points. Percentages have been worked out.

This practically represented Afghanistan's trade with all countries other than the USSR. Trade with the latter country, however, ceased to exist during the years 1942-47 as a result of Germany's attack on her on 22nd June 1941.

The impact of Japan's entry into the War in December 1941 was felt only next year. Afghan fruit exports to India particularly suffered in 1942-43, because of restricted railway facilities.

The favourable balance during the year 1937-1942, as shown above, might have been far less than what it appears to be in the records of the Indian customs. However, it is to be noted that by the end of 1942, Afghanistan was free of all external debt. This fact indicates that her net balance of trade over the years 1937-42 was probably not unfavourable, although it is so suggested by Afghanistan data.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE SHARE OF COUNTRIES IN AFGHANISTAN'S IMPORTS ON COMMERCIAL TERMS (i. e. EXCLUDING LOANS AND GRANTS)

| | <i>USSR</i> | <i>USA</i> | <i>India</i> | <i>Japan</i> | <i>Pakistan</i> | <i>Germany</i> | <i>U.K.</i> | <i>Other communist countries</i> | <i>Other capitalist countries</i> |
|-----------|-------------|------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1956-57 | 34.5 | 16.3 | 25.6 | 5.2 | 9.7 | 2.7 | 1.3 | 2.2 | 2.5 |
| 1957-58 | 25.9 | 17.5 | 10.0 | 17.2 | 15.8 | 3.4 | 2.6 | 4.7 | 2.9 |
| 1958-59 | 25.4 | 14.1 | 13.1 | 21.5 | 7.3 | 4.7 | 3.2 | 7.1 | 3.6 |
| 1959-60 | 29.5 | 4.0 | 17.8 | 16.6 | 5.4 | 5.2 | 3.1 | 8.4 | 10.1 |
| 1960-61 | 27.7 | 11.9 | 18.9 | 11.4 | 5.0 | 6.4 | 3.7 | 6.3 | 8.7 |
| 1961-62 | 35.5 | 8.4 | 16.0 | 10.2 | 4.6 | 7.4 | 2.1 | 7.1 | 8.7 |
| 1962-63* | 35.7 | 9.6 | 14.8 | 12.5 | 0.3 | 6.7 | 2.4 | 10.1 | 7.9 |
| 1963-64 | 25.9 | 10.3 | 16.9 | 14.4 | 3.0 | 6.2 | 3.2 | 9.4 | 11.1 |
| 1964-65 | 28.4 | 6.7 | 12.0 | 13.8 | 7.4 | 10.1 | 3.1 | 6.7 | 11.8 |
| 1965-66** | 32.2 | 6.6 | 8.8 | 14.1 | 7.1 | 6.6 | 5.1 | 9.9 | 9.6 |

* Year of complete stoppage of transit facilities through Pakistan (September 1961 to May 1963)

** Year of Indo-Pak War. If imports financed by loans and grants are included, the shares of USSR and USA will increase further; and that of others, fall.

Source : Ministry of Commerce, Statistical Department, Royal Government of Afghanistan.

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE SHARE OF COUNTRIES IN AFGHANISTAN'S EXPORTS

| | <i>USSR</i> | <i>USA</i> | <i>India</i> | <i>U.K.</i> | <i>West Germany</i> | <i>Pakistan.</i> | <i>Other communist countries</i> | <i>Other capitalist countries</i> |
|-----------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1956-57 | 32.9 | 23.7 | 21.1 | 10.3 | 3.7 | 3.3 | 2.0 | 3.2 |
| 1957-58 | 29.1 | 17.5 | 20.0 | 15.2 | 6.0 | 4.2 | 6.7 | 1.3 |
| 1958-59 | 27.0 | 20.4 | 24.2 | 13.0 | 5.7 | 5.7 | 1.7 | 2.3 |
| 1959-60 | 26.7 | 21.3 | 17.9 | 15.3 | 6.4 | 6.3 | 3.3 | 2.8 |
| 1960-61 | 21.9 | 20.6 | 13.8 | 15.3 | 10.3 | 9.5 | 6.2 | 2.4 |
| 1961-62 | 31.3 | 18.8 | 9.6 | 16.3 | 10.5 | 2.6 | 4.9 | 6.0 |
| 1962-63* | 39.2 | 15.2 | 13.5 | 12.8 | 7.2 | nil | 5.4 | 6.7 |
| 1963-64 | 30.9 | 16.2 | 13.1 | 13.7 | 4.0 | 5.7 | 10.0 | 6.4 |
| 1964-65 | 31.9 | 12.4 | 16.7 | 8.9 | 8.3 | 8.3 | 6.1 | 7.4 |
| 1965-66** | 25.2 | 15.7 | 7.0 | 17.6 | 7.9 | 13.8 | 2.4 | 10.6 |

* The land-route across Pakistan was completely closed, as Pak-Afghan diplomatic relations were cut off for 22 months with effect from September 1961.

** Year of Indo-Pak War.

Source : Ministry of Commerce, Statistical Department, Royal Government of Afghanistan.

TABLE 5. AFGHANISTAN'S TRADE WITH INDIA & PAKISTAN

| | <i>Afghanistan's trade with Pakistan (In Pak Rs. 1000)</i> | | <i>Afghanistan's trade with India (In Indian Rs. one lakh)</i> | |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| | <i>Export</i> | <i>Import</i> | <i>Export</i> | <i>Import</i> |
| 1951-52 | 19,837 | 6,781 | 452 | 398 |
| 1952-53 | 15,619 | 4,170 | 466 | 474 |
| 1953-54 | 14,802 | 5,281 | 445 | 392 |
| 1954-55 | 15,840 | 9,820 | 542 | 290 |
| 1955-56 | 17,397 | 7,336 | 438 | 240 |
| 1956-57 | 24,501 | 13,926 | 421 | 168 |
| 1957-58 | 23,951 | 15,947 | 517 | 223 |
| 1958-59 | 35,569 | 16,722 | 458 | 379 |
| 1959-60 | 42,109 | 15,029 | 590 | 486 |
| 1960-61 | 33,576 | 20,793 | 502 | 643 |
| 1961-62 | 24,577 | 2,022 | 190 | 500 |
| 1962-63 | 15,581 | nil | 526 | 617 |
| 1963-64 | 42,591 | 23,858 | 497 | 758 |
| 1964-65 | 42,779 | 34,441 | 556 | 587 |
| 1965-66 | 61,543 | 47,097 | 423 | 559 |
| 1966-67 | 98,525 | 52,092 | 418 | 690 |
| 1967-68 | 80,166* | 23,515* | 948 | 695 |

*(9 months)

Note : The series of informal or formal blockades by Pakistan of Afghanistan in 1950, 1953, 1955 and in the period from September 1961 to May 1963 affected not only Pak-Afghanistan trade, but also Indo-Afghan trade. The Indo-Pak war of late 1965, on the other hand, affected the latter alone.

Sources : (1) *Monthly Foreign Trade Statistics of Pakistan, March 1968*. (Central Statistical Office, Government of Pakistan, Karachi).

(2) *Monthly Statistics of Foreign Trade of India* (Government of India, Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Calcutta); Relevant years.

TABLE 6. FOREIGN TRADE OF AFGHANISTAN, 1931-66

(in Million Afghanis)

| <i>Year ending March 20/22</i> | <i>Export</i> | <i>Index</i> | <i>Import</i> | <i>Index</i> | <i>Balance of Trade</i> |
|------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| 1931 | 37 | 100 | 70 | 100 | — 33 |
| 1932 | 51 | 137 | 107 | 152 | — 56 |
| 1933 | 69 | 185 | 140 | 199 | — 71 |
| 1934 | 70 | 188 | 145 | 206 | — 74 |
| 1935 | 84 | 225 | 131 | 186 | — 47 |
| 1936 | 108 | 288 | 162 | 230 | — 54 |
| 1937 | 110 | 295 | 178 | 253 | — 68 |
| 1938 | 111 | 297 | 235 | 334 | — 124 |
| 1939 | 87 | 232 | 162 | 230 | — 75 |
| 1940 | 148 | 397 | 166 | 236 | — 18 |
| 1941 | 164 | 438 | 166 | 236 | — 2 |
| 1942 | 148 | 396 | 174 | 248 | — 26 |
| 1943 | 61 | 164 | 76 | 122 | — 24 |
| 1944 | 285 | 762 | 78 | 111 | + 207 |
| 1945 | 391 | 1046 | 86 | 122 | + 305 |
| 1946 | 486 | 1303 | 216 | 307 | + 270 |
| 1947 | 388 | 1038 | 342 | 487 | + 45 |
| 1948 | 494 | 1323 | 275 | 391 | + 219 |
| 1949 | 482 | 1291 | 364 | 518 | + 117 |
| 1950 | 436 | 1169 | 515 | 733 | — 79 |
| 1951 | 739 | 1978 | 533 | 758 | + 205 |
| 1952 | 731 | 1979 | 646 | 918 | + 85 |
| 1953 | 806 | 2158 | 727 | 1033 | + 79 |
| 1954 | 950 | 2544 | 1036 | 1473 | — 86 |
| 1955 | 1440 | 3856 | 1027 | 1459 | + 413 |
| 1956 | 1352 | 3620 | 1255 | 1784 | + 97 |
| 1957 | 1500 | 4017 | 1624 | 2308 | — 124 |
| 1958 | 1984 | 5315 | 1966 | 2795 | + 18 |
| 1959 | 1723 | 4614 | 2533 | 3600 | — 810 |
| 1965 | 4152 | | 8304 | | — 4152 |
| 1966 | 5025 | | 9407 | | — 4382 |

Source : Ministry of Commerce cited in *Da Afghanistan Bank Economic Bulletin* V, No. 1 (August 1961), Table 18; Royal Afghan Ministry of Commerce, *Afghanistan's Foreign Trade 1335 through 1342 and a Summary of Afghanistan's Foreign Trade in 1343 and in 1344*.

From 1951 onwards this series is quite reliable, as the originally available figures were thoroughly checked and revised by competent statisticians. The earlier data are of poorer quality. Particularly, the continuous unfavourable trade from 1937 to 1943 is highly doubtful, as Soviet and Indian statistics, combined

together (Tables 1 and 2), suggest quite a contrary picture. It is more probable that Afghanistan had an overall trade surplus during this period. Otherwise it would not have been possible for her to clear all her foreign debt by 1943.

Moreover, even in the case of post-1951 figures, one has to be cautious because under the operation of a system of multiple exchange-rates, arbitrary changes were introduced from time to time in the valuation of exports and imports.

Rapporteur's Report for Themes IV & V (Sessions 7th and 8th)

AMALENDU GUHA

THEME—IV

FOUR PAPERS WERE presented and discussed severally in the seventh session which was devoted to the movement of ideas in the 19th and 20th centuries in literature, art and science. B.G. Gafurov was in the chair. In his paper "Study of Indian art and literature in the USSR", M.A. Drobishev gave an account of the translation and studies of Indian literature and of Russian works on Indian art and culture in the Soviet Union. He mentioned that, in the period from 1918 through 1967, over 500 books by more than 70 Indian writers were published in the Soviet Union. Translated into 32 languages, they sold nearly 25 million copies.

Much additional information came out in course of discussions. Drobishev readily agreed with S.K. Chatterjee that Indian motifs were present in Russian folk-lore even long back; but how they reached Russia, and exactly when, cannot be yet known. G.M. Bongard-Levin added that not only India's art and literature but also philosophy and religion are of great interest to Soviet scholars. Buddhist studies in Russia, he said, go back to pre-revolutionary times. In this connection, mention was particularly made of the great Russian indologist Prof. Shcherbatski by G.M. Bongard-Levin, Bira and S.K. Chatterjee. In his concluding remarks, the Chairman gave an account of the centres of Indian studies in Soviet Union. Since studies in Indology and training of indologists are carried on at

state level, there are many such centres in the USSR. In his own Institute alone there are a hundred indologists working at the moment.

D. Kaushik's paper, "Democratic trend in the Central Asian literature in the 19th and early 20th century" raised several points of controversy. Both S.K. Chatterjee and S.H. Nasr objected to the loose use of the term 'materialism' in connection with evaluation of such works as *Kozykorperk and Bayan slu* or *Alpa Mys* or Omar Khaiyam's works. Nasr very much doubted that "a streak of ancient materialist thought and protest against the decadent feudal system may be discerned in the poems of Abdur Rahman Jami and other sufi poets". While agreeing with the criticism that broad humanism in a poet need not be taken as materialism and secularism, as such, B.G. Gafurov pointed out that such trends as struggle against injustice are also positive elements in *Alpa Mys*, although its content is pure romance. In the opinion of Gafurov, the common Iranian-Tajik literature of the Sassanid period, e.g., works of Firdousi and Udaki, was basically humanistic and had some anti-religious content. But the literature of the Gaznavid period was full of religious motives and was a step backward. Sufism was not a single current, but was multi-form. Some of the Sufi poets used the word "mohabbat" for "love of justice" and in that way expressed their protest against injustice and bondage in society.

Satish Chandra questioned whether the Central Asian feudalism could be called decadent without establishing the fact that the then existing relations of production were hindering further growth of production. It was generally agreed that the date of beginning of such a period of decadence in the region may remain controversial, but there is no doubt that by the 19th century the Central Asian feudal society was already decadent.

K. Balkan seriously objected to Kaushik's use of the conventional Soviet classification of the Turkic group of languages/dialects in Soviet Central Asia. According to him, the language has been Turkic, of which there have been several dialects. It is only recently that these dialects have been developed into independent languages. According to Gafurov and Kaushik, however, all the seven Turkic languages spoken in USSR are significantly distinct from each other. Turkmenian, Azarbaizani, and Cremean Tatar are comparatively nearer Turkish, but Uzbek is completely different despite common roots.

All these languages began their separate courses of development from Turkic base from the 10th century onwards.

S.A. Mikoyan's paper "Leo Tolstoy and Mahatama Gandhi" was an attempt at a comparative evolution of Tolstoy and Mahatama Gandhi from a Marxist point of view. There was no discussion on this paper.

M. Mohaghegh in his paper, "The study of Islamic philosophy in contemporary Iran", pointed out that philosophical literature which developed in Iranian Madrassas in course of last 500 years has been neglected by western scholars. According to him, within limitations of religious thought, there had been more speculative reasoning in Iran than elsewhere in the Islamic world, during the period. S.H. Nasr added that, strangely enough, in the early phase of Islamic philosophy, there was no intellectual contact between Khorasan and India, although there was no lack of economic and commercial contacts between them. However, from the 12th century onwards, as philosophy as a rational discourse and realisation became wedded together with the advent of Suhrawardi, contacts between Islamic philosophy and India went on increasing. This movement, according to Nasr, reached its height during the reign of Emperor Akbar, when major translations were made from Sanskrit to Persian and *vice versa*. Mohd. Kazim Ahang emphasized that as a geographical category, the term 'Khorasan' instead of 'Iran' would have been more appropriate in the context of some of the philosophers. The chairman in his concluding remarks added that not only works of Sufi philosophers, but works in Ismailic traditions also have not yet been studied properly.

In the discussions of the session, A.Z. Khoi and B.K. Raychaudhary (observer) also made important contributions. During the controversy on the classification of Turkic languages/dialects, the absence of Karl Menges, an authority on the relevant branch of linguistics, was very much felt.

THEME—V

Two papers were presented and discussed together in the 8th session, presided over by N. Ray.

M.K. Ahang's paper "Foreign intervention as an obstacle to the diffusion of thought in 19th and 20th century Afghanistan" traced the evolution of the Afghan Press and noted the inhibiting role of British colonialism on its growth during the pre-Independence period. He showed that the first attempt at modernisation—in a limited way though—begins in the reign of Sher Ali Khan. It is then that Afghanistan's first printed periodical made its appearance in the year 1873. Its publication was stopped and, after a long gap, a new periodical once more appeared only in the early 20th century.

A. Guha's paper "Central Asian Economic Relations: their impact on 20th century Afghanistan" traced the developments with particular reference to Afghanistan's international trade. In course of the paper, it was concluded that only some one-half of the import as well as export trade of Afghanistan has been with her immediate Central Asian neighbours. Because of difficult communications, Iran and Chinese Central Asia do not have any significant share in Afghan trade. USSR's share in Afghan trade, estimated at 38 per cent during the period 1911-15 and at 30 per cent in the year 1938-39 as well as in 1956-57, accounted for an average 40 per cent in the two years ending March 1966. The share of western countries in Afghanistan's trade has also increased. But the share of Indian sub-continent in Afghan trade has substantially decreased. In 1965-66, for example, India and Pakistan together supplied only about 7 per cent of Afghanistan's total imports; whereas this share in 1956-57 was as high as 34 per cent.

A lively discussion followed the presentation of the two papers. M.A. Ansari and J.P.S. Uberoi pointed out that because of the absence of direct colonial rule for any period in Afghanistan, the pattern of modernisation in this country is quite distinct from those neighbouring Central Asian countries which had experienced a colonial phase. The Afghan pattern of independence, under-population, modernization, and democratization, according to J.P.S. Uberoi, was favourable for future development. The people's sacrifices for independence—their acceptance of a low standard of living—would now bear fruit. He also pointed out that two papers presented in course of the day also showed how the new social sciences like sociology and economics could enhance our understanding; but they scarcely figured in the Unesco Project.

M.A. Ansari particularly stressed that absence of direct colonial rule also meant minimum possible contact with economically advanced countries, exclusion of European capital and the consequent absence of social overheads. Hence, unlike some erstwhile dependencies of industrialised Europe, Afghanistan has to start from a scratch, as regards economic development. A. Guha disagreed that colonial status for a while was an indirect blessing. He pointed out that Bukhara was also in similar position to that of Afghanistan, but has been thoroughly modernised after the October Revolution.

It was generally felt by the participants in the discussion—including the Chairman—that although Central Asia has always been a compact geo-cultural unit in the past, intra-regional trade and communications have been frequently, rather continuously, under pressure of international politics in recent times. As a result, intra-regional transport and communications remain undeveloped, despite their vast possibilities. According to A. Guha, the recent attempt at linking up Sinkiang with Gilgit by a motorable road and talks on proposed extension of Pak Railways to terminal points inside Afghanistan at Spin Baldak and Torkham and on the establishment of a 1400-km overland motorable road for transit trade between Amritsar in India and Khwaja Yabu in Soviet Central Asia are worth considering. The participants very much felt the absence of delegations from Pak and Chinese parts of Central Asia to this conference on Central Asia.

In course of the discussion, there emerged new information on such personalities as Capt. Rajkrishna Karmarkar, Abdul Ghani, Barkatullah, Obedullah and Syet Muztaba Ali who played an important role in establishing cultural links between India and Afghanistan in the late 19th or in early 20th centuries. Some light was thrown on the money-lending activities of so-called “Kabuliwallahs” in North India, who started this business in the last quarter of the 19th century and usually borrowed capital from the Hindu bankers of Kulachi and Dera Ismail Khan.

Participants felt that foreign aid poured into the area would have been much more fruitful, if “anti-aid” was not given by Super Powers in the form of military aid.

B.N. Mukherjee pointed out that, as in modern times so in ancient and medieval periods, political conditions did hinder the growth of commercial relations between countries. In his concluding remarks from the chair, N. Ray deplored the lack of adequate trade communications in the region, because of built-in political problems today.

CONCLUDING SESSION

Conclusions and Recommendations

AT THE CONCLUSION of this International Conference on Central Asia, which was sponsored by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and the Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco and which was organised in collaboration with Unesco within the framework of the Unesco Project on the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia, we, the delegates to the Conference are firmly of the view that the papers presented and the deliberations that followed at the Conference have clearly demonstrated once again the great importance of the Unesco project, and the value of such meetings in the context of the project.

This Conference fully endorses the need for the study and investigation of problems relating to the life and culture of the peoples of Central Asia from the earliest times to the present day and has noted with satisfaction and profit the placement of new material and their interpretation during the Conference which has helped to bring in new approaches to such study and investigation. Being convinced that such studies should be pursued with continuing interest, this Conference makes the following recommendations in the belief that their implementation would go a long way towards the achievement of the objectives of the Unesco project:

1. This Conference is of the opinion that promotion of further studies and investigations of the problems relating to the life and culture of the peoples of Central Asia can best be undertaken through mutual cooperation of the concerned countries in respect of archaeological explorations, preservation, discovery and preparation of archival material as well as Seminars, Symposia and Conferences which may be organised by the various participating member-states from time to time.

2. This Conference is of the view that study of the civilizations of Central Asia under the Unesco Project would be facilitated and would become more meaningful if scholars and specialists from other neighbouring countries of Middle Asia which have been closely involved in the movement of peoples and ideas in Central Asia are also invited to participate in the various Conferences and other programmes related to the project. This would be particularly desirable for all further study and research to be undertaken on the problems of philosophy, science, religion and other intellectual aspects of the civilization of Central Asia.

3. This Conference takes note of the final report prepared and circulated by Unesco on the International Conference on the History, Archaeology and Arts of Central Asia in the Kushan period held at Dushanbeh in September-October, 1968 and attaches great importance to the conclusions and suggestions made at that Conference. This Conference requests Unesco and the concerned member-states to provide funds and all other necessary facilities in order to ensure early and effective implementation of these suggestions.

4. More specifically this Conference strongly supports the recommendations of the Dushanbeh Conference relating to (a) Setting up of a Consultative Committee on Kushan studies; (b) Publication of an International journal on Central Asian Studies; (c) Promotion of studies of literatures of the peoples of Central Asia in the 16th—19th centuries; (d) Study of art of the Timurid period; and (e) Study of the cultural heritage of the peoples of Central Asia and their social and cultural developments in the modern period.

5. This Conference is unanimous in the opinion that the study of social and cultural developments in Central Asia in the modern period is of vital importance to the task of promoting the objectives of the Unesco Project and should therefore be given the highest priority. The Conference recommends that an International Conference be organized on this theme and be held in the USSR as soon as feasible within the duration of the Unesco Project.

6. So far as promotion of studies of literature of the peoples of Central Asia is concerned, this Conference is of the view that such studies should cover the period from 16th century upto the present day, and not only upto the 19th century.

7. This Conference takes note of the report presented by the Indian National Commission for Cooperation with Unesco on the implementation of the Unesco Central Asian project in India and of the report presented by the Centre of Advanced study in Philosophy, University of Madras, on the work already done by the Centre in the task assigned to it under the project, namely to make a preliminary study of the present situation in the field of history of ideas and philosophy in Central Asia within the area itself and in other countries of the world. This Conference endorses the suggestions that scholars from other countries included in the area of study be enabled to come to India so that they could collaborate with their Indian colleagues in the launching of a phased programme of study, research and publication on the history of ideas and philosophy in Central Asia.

8. This Conference recommends that an International Conference on theme No. 5 of the Unesco Project namely, the history of ideas and philosophy in Central Asia, for which India has been allotted the responsibility of coordinating and implementing, be organised to take place in India at a suitable time, perhaps in the autumn 1970. This Conference requests Unesco to make available adequate funds for holding the proposed Conference.

9. This Conference strongly recommends to Unesco and the concerned member states that immediate steps be taken to ensure that the new archaeological finds and other material of historical value relating to the civilizations of Central Asia are as far as possible preserved and exhibited in the country to which they belong. In this context the Conference invites the attention of member states to the existence of conventions adopted by Unesco on the preservation of cultural property and monuments.

10. This Conference requests Unesco and the concerned member states to provide funds and to take other necessary steps to ensure that archival material, including unpublished manuscripts and new archaeological finds, is made known and accessible to interested scholars within the area and outside. One of the ways of achieving this objective would be to organize exhibitions of manuscripts and new archeological finds and to send such exhibitions to other countries in the area.

11. In view of the fact that the various media of mass communication are playing an increasingly important role in the movement of

ideas, this Conference recommends to Unesco and to the concerned member states that suitable steps be taken to promote exchange of radio and television programmes, documentaries, slides on art, feature articles in newspapers and periodicals as well as books and other published material between the countries of Central Asia.

12. This Conference recommends that its proceedings be published as soon as possible.

APPENDIX I

Members of the Preparatory Committee

1. Shri B.B. Lal,
Director General,
Archaeological Survey of
India,
NEW DELHI.
2. Dr. T.M.P. Mahadevan,
Director,
Centre of Advanced study
in Philosophy,
University of Madras,
MADRAS.
3. Shri C. S. Nayar,
Secretary,
Indian National Commission
for Unesco,
Ministry of Education,
NEW DELHI.
4. Shri Inam Rahman,
Secretary,
Indian Council for Cultural Relations,
NEW DELHI.
5. Shri R. Rahul,
Head of the Department of
Central Asian Studies,
Indian School of International Studies,
NEW DELHI.
6. Dr. G. R. Sharma,
Head of the Department of Ancient
History and Archaeology,
University of Allahabad,
ALLAHABAD.
7. Dr. J. P. S. Uberoi,
Reader,
Department of Sociology,
Delhi School of Economics,
University of Delhi,
DELHI-7.

APPENDIX II

List of Delegates

FOREIGN DELEGATES

AFGHANISTAN

1. Mir Amanuddin Ansari,
Faculty of Letters,
University of Kabul,
KABUL.
2. Mohd. Kazem Ahang,
Editor of Afghanistan Magazine,
KABUL.

IRAN

3. S. H. Nasr,
Professor and Dean,
Faculty of Letters,
University of Tehran,
TEHRAN.
4. M. Mohaghegh,
Vice-Dean,
Faculty of Letters & Humanities,
University of Tehran,
TEHRAN.
5. A. Z. Khoi,
Professor,
University of Tehran,
TEHRAN.

ITALY

6. A. Bausani,
Head of the Department of Persian
and Indian Studies,
University of Naples,
NAPLES.

MONGOLIA

7. Bira,
Institute of History,
Academy of Sciences,
ULAN BATOR

TURKEY

8. K. Balkan,
Professor,
University of Ankara,
ANKARA.

U. K.

9. A. L. Basham,
Professor & Head of the Department of
Asian Civilizations,
Australian National University,
CANBERRA.

UNESCO

10. S. Tewfik
Chief of Unesco Mission in India,
NEW DELHI.

U. S. A.

11. Karl Menges,
Professor,
Department of Middle Eastern Languages
and Cultures,
Columbia University,
NEW YORK.

U. S. S. R.

12. B. G. Gafurov,
Academician & Director,
Institute of Peoples of Asia,
Academy of Sciences,
MOSCOW.
13. M. A. Drobishev,
Senior Research Fellow,
Institute of Peoples of Asia,
Academy of Sciences,
MOSCOW.
14. J. S. Kostko,
Senior Research Fellow,
Institute of World Economics
and International Relations,
MOSCOW,
15. S. A. Mikoyan,
Senior Research Fellow,
Institute of World Economics and
International Relations,
MOSCOW.
16. G. M. Bongard-Levin,
Senior Research Fellow,
Institute of Peoples of Asia,
Academy of Sciences,
MOSCOW.

INDIAN DELEGATES

1. Agrawala, R. C.
Keeper (Archaeology),
National Museum,
Janpath,
NEW DELHI.

2. Banerjee, P.
Keeper (Publications),
National Museum,
Janpath,
NEW DELHI.
3. Chandra, Lokesh
Director,
International Academy of Indian Culture,
Hauz Khas
NEW DELHI.
4. Chandra, Satish
Professor of History,
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University of Rajasthan,
JAIPUR.
5. Chatterjee, S. K.
National Professor of India in Humanities,
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6. Gopal, Surendra *(Did not attend but contributed a paper)*
Reader in History,
Patna University,
PATNA.
7. Guha, Amalendu
Reader in Economics,
Gokhale Institute of Politics & Economics,
POONA.
8. Gupta, S. P.
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9. Kaushik, Devendra
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10. Lal, B. B.
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12. Mukherjee, B. N.
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13. Nizami, K. A.
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15. Ray, Niharranjan
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16. Roy, S.
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17. Sankalia, H. D.
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19. Sharma, R. S.
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PATNA.
20. Sheshadri, K.
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21. Subbarayappa, B. V.
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22. Thapar, B. K.
Director (Explorations),
Archaeological Survey of India,
Janpath,
NEW DELHI.
23. Uberoi, J. P. Singh
Reader in Sociology,
University of Delhi,
DELHI.
24. Acharya Bhagwandeji,
Director,
Jhajjar Museum,
JHAJJAR (HISSAR).

APPENDIX-III

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANISATION

*Studies of the Civilizations of the
Peoples of Central Asia*

FINAL REPORT

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY,
ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARTS OF CENTRAL
ASIA IN THE KUSHAN PERIOD

Dushanbeh (Tajikistan, USSR)
27 September—7 October, 1968

INTRODUCTION

THE CONFERENCE IN Dushanbeh was organized, within the framework of the Unesco Central Asian project, by the Committee on the Study of Civilizations of Central Asia of the Commission of the USSR for Unesco, and by the Organizing Committee established by the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, with close co-operation of the research institutes of the Academies of Sciences of the USSR and of the Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan, Turkmenia, Kirgizia and Kazakhstan, and the Ministries of Culture of the USSR and of the Soviet Republics of Central Asia, with contributions from different art and archaeological museums of the USSR.

The priority granted to research of the Kushan period within the Unesco Programme for the study of Central Asia meets the various priorities set up by the General Conference of Unesco at its fourteenth session: It is a little known period of peaceful synthesis of different cultures and peoples of various origins which marked a turning point in

the history of civilizations between the first century B.C. and the fourth century A.D., and concerns the peoples inhabiting the vast geographical area now comprising the territories of Afghanistan, West Pakistan, the Soviet Republics of Central Asia, Northern India and Eastern Iran; it meets challenging scientific problems which might be solved to a large extent by an interdisciplinary and international approach.

The suggestion of organizing an international conference on the archaeology, history and art of Central Asia in the Kushan period was made by the participants at the meeting of experts on Central Asia held at Unesco headquarters in April 1967.

By its nature, the Dushanbeh Conference was international, and specialists on the Kushan period of history in Central Asia were invited from different parts of the world to take part in its work.

The Conference was attended by some 250 scholars from 18 countries : Afghanistan, Bulgaria, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, the Mongolian People's Republic, Pakistan, Poland, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, USA and USSR (the Soviet Republics of Azerbaijan, Estonia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan).

Representatives of the Unesco Secretariat and of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies attended the Conference.

ORGANISATION OF THE CONFERENCE

The Conference was planned with sufficient duration to cover a wide range of problems in the study of the Kushan period which were to be the subject of individual scholarly communications followed by group discussions. A basic interdisciplinary approach was chosen and the work was organized so that all communications were read at the plenary sessions, where specialists in different disciplines : archaeologists and historians, numismatists and paleographers, linguists and art historians, could exchange their views and experience before the most qualified and competent audience.

The opening general session took place in the big hall of the Lakhuti Theatre on 27 September 1968. The Conference was opened with a short inaugural address of Dr. L. Miroshnikov, representing the Director-General of Unesco. The meeting then elected working organs

of the Conference. Academician B. G. Gafurov, Chairman of the Soviet Committee on the Study of Civilizations of Central Asia and Director of the Institute of Asia, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, was elected President of the Conference. Six Vice-Presidents were elected: Professor A. H. Habibi (Afghanistan), Professor A. Dani (Pakistan), Professor R. Ghirshman (France), Professor A. Ghosh (India), Professor J. Harmatta (Hungary) and Professor A. Sami (Iran).

The drafting committee was composed of Professor R. Ghirshman, Chairman (France); Professor Ch. Mustamindi (Afghanistan); Dr. G. Bongard-Levin, Secretary, and Dr. L. Miroshnikov, representing the Unesco Secretariat.

A message from M.A. Kosygin, Prime Minister of the USSR, was read by Professor Gafurov.¹ This was followed by a message from Mr. A. Kaharov, Prime Minister of Tajikistan, and the greetings of Academician M. Asimov, President of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan.

Professor Gafurov then read a paper entitled, "Kushan Civilization and World Culture."

Eleven regular morning and evening plenary sessions were held, devoted to reading of scholarly papers and discussions on the following problems :

1. General problems of the history of the Kushan period and the results of Kushan studies;
2. Origins and ethnic history of the Kushans;
3. Kushan chronology;
4. Problems of the language and writing;
5. History of the Kushan State and its frontiers;
6. History of the Kushan State, its culture and socio-political structure;
7. History of the Kushan State and problems of cultural contacts;
8. Problems of ideology and religion;

¹ Later a message of greeting from H.M. Muhammed Reza Pahlevi, Shah-in-shah of Iran was communicated to the Conference.

9. Recent archaeological discoveries concerned with the Kushan period in Soviet Central Asia;
10. Kushan arts;
11. Art of the Kushan epoch and Kushan heritage in early medieval art of Central Asia.

About 100 scholarly papers and short communications were read and discussed during these sessions. Short summaries of a number of these papers were reproduced in English and Russian and distributed in advance to the participants.

The sessions were held in the conference hall of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan. Simultaneous interpretation from and into English, French and Russian—the three working languages of the Conference—was arranged both for reading of papers and discussions.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of the scholarly discussions were summarized at the last plenary session of the Conference on 5 October, 1968, as follows:

All the basic problems of the Kushan period have been discussed during the Conference—those of ethnic origin, chronology, history, language and writing, arts and cultural contacts. The Conference showed definite progress in the study of many cardinal problems of the history of Central Asia in the Kushan period and helped to reveal the key themes and problems that confront researchers today. It also made a realistic appraisal of the prospects of research in the immediate future.

It came to the conclusion that finding the relative place of Kushan culture in the history of world civilization is a major trend in research. The new materials available provide a reliable basis for further investigations.

The Conference paid great attention to the question of the contribution made by different peoples to the formation of Kushan culture. It was noted that along with a tendency for uniformity there were undoubtedly some features reflecting stable local traditions, which should definitely be taken into account when conducting further research.

A very gratifying development in Kushan studies is the emphasis on and more serious study of internal history of the Kushan State. Here a definition of the nature of its socio-economic foundations is essential. The lack of direct evidence makes it necessary to give more careful consideration of all indirect data. In this context, archaeological materials must play a very important role.

The intensification of archaeological research in all parts of the territory of the Kushan Empire and the bordering areas, and co-ordination of work done by different expeditions, seems necessary for the success of the study. It is important to organize systematic excavations of burial sites in different parts of the territory for the further progress in the study of the early history of the Kushans and their ethnic origins.

The expediency of making use of anthropological data was pointed out at the Conference. It was also justly noted how essential it is to provide accurate historical interpretations of archaeological and numismatic finds.

The delegates stressed the need for a more profound study of numismatic material and of compiling classified descriptions of numismatic finds.

The problem of language and writing used by the Kushans was the subject of long and profound discussions. The view according to which Bactrian was the language of the Kushans and postulated the local character of their origin was further elaborated. The scholars stressed the need for further research in Kushan philology and palaeography and the expediency of publishing a corpus of Bactrian inscriptions.

The problem of Kushan chronology has lost none of its urgency; yet its solution will be feasible only when new data is brought to light. Here, as in other instances, there is a necessity of pooling the efforts of scholars representing the different disciplines. The importance and advisability of making use of the exact sciences was also pointed out.

The complexity of the Kushan problem and the abundance of special works scattered in numerous and sometimes not easily available publications pose the question of the necessity of compiling a detailed historiography so as to bring the Kushan problem to the notice of researchers specializing in neighbouring fields and to enlist their help, which in many cases could be very valuable.

The Conference dealt specially with all aspects of political history of the Kushan State and the determination of its boundaries in different periods. Attention was drawn to the positive value of all-round study of the problems of history of the Kushan State and society, drawing on widely diverse sources. The importance of more profound analysis of written records, their translation and publication, was likewise stressed.

The problem of the cultural relations and contacts in the Kushan epoch was the subject of lively and interesting discussion. Both the outstanding importance of an intensive study of the problem and the need to draw on a wider range of materials was emphasized.

The discussion on the ideas and religions of the peoples of Central Asia in the Kushan period reflected the marked progress achieved in this field of Kushan studies. Important discoveries in the countries of the area provide for new interpretation of some phenomena in the sphere of ideology.

The discussion on Kushan art showed that the period of the last few years has constituted a new and vital stage in the understanding and interpretation of the processes of origin, rise and developments of Kushan art. The new archaeological finds, those made in Afghanistan, Soviet Central Asia, Pakistan and India, call for a revision of the former view of Kushan art as simply Buddhist or Graeco-Buddhist. The recent discoveries brought to light a number of local original schools of Kushan art, which testify to the important role of the secular stream of that art. All this calls for a new appraisal of the contribution made by different peoples of Central Asia to the formation of Kushan art and culture.

It was recognized by the participants that the work of the Conference proceeded at a high scholarly level and was successful, among other reasons, because of the interdisciplinary method chosen and the very good organization of the work. The Conference registered a notable advance in the study of the history and culture of Central Asia in the Kushan period. It demonstrated the importance of international co-operation among the scholars tackling this problem—a pledge of new achievements in implementing the Unesco Central Asian project. The active study of the Kushan period by the scholars from the Central Asian countries was pointed up as a salient feature.

There was an urgent need for further organization of effective international co-operation in the study of civilization of Central Asia in

the Kushan period, by means of international symposia, co-ordinated archaeological excavations, internationally prepared publications, etc., aimed at a more profound study of the basic problems which scholars were confronted with now. Unesco's role in the co-ordination of this study was highly appreciated and there was general agreement at the Conference to ask Unesco to prolong the term of its programme of Central Asian studies, which has already proved to be useful.

Unesco assistance was also asked for the earlier publication of the proceedings of the Conference, which would be very useful for further progress in the study of the Kushan period.

SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING FURTHER STUDIES

The participants at the Conference had opportunities for discussing practical problems of organization of further studies in the framework of international co-operation, and of establishing co-ordinating bodies and forming research groups. These problems were discussed both during informal meetings of specialists and then at the two plenary meetings specially organized for these purposes (on 3 and 5 October, 1968).

A series of recommendations were made by the Conference, some concerned with the study of the Kushan period, others connected with the other subjects of Central Asian studies, as follows:

(a) STUDY OF THE KUSHAN PERIOD

1. The Conference approved the recommendations made by the meeting of experts on the study of Central Asia (Paris, April 1967) concerning the advisability of preparing the monograph on the "History of Central Asia in the Kushan Period". For the purpose of organizing this work and drafting the plan of the monograph, it is recommended to establish an international Editorial Board consisting of two scholars from each of the countries of Central Asia and a number of renowned experts from other areas of the world.² The monograph must summarize the results of the research carried out in different countries and reflect the present day level of knowledge of the history of the Kushans. It should also, to a certain degree, serve the purpose of disseminating knowledge of the civilization of the peoples of Central Asia in this period among a wide audience.

² The composition of the Editorial Board and of all other bodies created by the Conference may be found in Annex I.

2. The Conference proposed that an *International Consultative Committee on Kushan Studies* be created. The tasks of this Committee will be the promotion of these studies through the organization and co-ordination of activities of international research groups, making suggestions concerning new themes of studies and publications, consideration of questions of organization of international meetings or conferences on Kushan studies, the place of these meetings and their programme.

The Consultative Committee should meet yearly if possible.

The Consultative Committee consists of two scholars representing five countries of Central Asia and of about the same number of specialists on the Kushan period from other parts of the world (see list of members of the Consultative Committee in Annex I).

The Conference found it advisable to set up a permanent secretariat for the Committee, located at the Institute of Asia, Academy of Sciences, USSR (Moscow). Dr. G. Bongard-Levin was nominated Secretary-General of the Consultative Committee. The Chairman is to be elected from the country where the next conference on Kushan studies is to take place.

3. The formation of six research groups was suggested by the Conference. They are :

Archaeology of Central Asia (with the primary aim of preparing the archaeological map of Central Asia in the Kushan period) ;

Society and economy of the Kushan Empire ;

Religions and ideas ;

Kushan Art ;

Numismatic studies (for preparing publication of the Corpus of Kushan and Kushano-Sassanian coins) ;

Kushan epigraphy.³

(b) SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING OTHER THEMES OF
CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

4. The Conference considered a suggestion made by one of the delegates concerning publication of an international journal on Central Asian studies dealing with the themes of the Unesco Central Asian project. The idea of such a publication which might help

³ Composition of these groups is given in Annex I.

considerably in the promotion of Central Asian studies was unanimously approved, and it was recommended that the mechanism for publication of the journal be defined by the Consultative Committee.

5. The participants of the Conference, after considering the reasons presented by one of the delegates⁴, and in development of a recommendation made earlier by the meeting of experts on Central Asia in Paris, in favour of the promotion of studies of literatures of the peoples of Central Asia in the 16th-19th centuries, recommended the inclusion of this theme, which is of utmost importance for the study of civilizations of Central Asia in the modern period in the Unesco programme. It was stated that the nature of this study makes it impossible to attain success if it is not organised internationally.

It was also recommended to convene periodically conferences devoted to the study of different literatures of the peoples of Central Asia, in turn in the different parts of this area.

6. Following the recommendation of the experts' meeting in Paris (April, 1967) on the advisability of starting work on the new themes concerned with the modern civilizations of Central Asia, the Conference discussed this problem. The great influence of the cultural heritage, ancient cultural traditions and ideas, on the contemporary social and cultural development in the countries of Central Asia was recognized as evident, and it was recommended that Unesco include in the programme of the study of Central Asia a study of the theme, "the cultural heritage of the peoples of Central Asia and their cultural and social development in the modern period".

The Conference was of the opinion that the plan of this study might be discussed at a suitable international meeting of experts in this period.

EXCURSIONS, LECTURES AND EXHIBITIONS

Four visits to places of archaeological excavations were organized during the Conference and after its work was finished: Adjina-Tepe and Kafir-Kala (Southern Tajikistan), Afrasjab (ancient Samarkand, Uzbekistan) and Pjanjikent (Tajikistan). The Soviet archaeologists responsible for the excavations of these sites gave the visiting scholars detailed explanations of the character of the work done and of the archaeological finds.

⁴ See Annex II.

The participants had an opportunity of seeing the monuments of architecture of the Timurid period in Samarkand and of visiting scholarly institutions, libraries, museums and other places of interest both in Tajikistan and in Uzbekistan.

An exhibition of the culture and art of Central Asia in the Kushan period was organized in Dushanbeh so that participants could see the most interesting and representative monuments of art of the Kushan period discovered by Soviet scholars in Central Asia. The catalogue of the exhibition was at the disposal of the delegates.

A special lecture on the new archaeological excavations in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan was given for the participants.

A number of new publications, some with English translations or summaries prepared by Soviet scholars specially for the occasion of the Conference in Dushanbeh, were distributed among the delegates.

CONFERENCE CLOSING SESSION

The closing session of the Conference took place in the big Congress Hall of the Supreme Council of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic in the afternoon of 5 October 1968.

A closing address was given by Academician B. G. Gafurov, President of the Conference, and numerous speeches were made both by the hosts and by foreign scholars attending the Conference or heads of delegations. Professor Irene Melikoff (France) addressed the Conference on behalf of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. Mr. N. Bammate, representing the Director-General of Unesco, closed the Conference with an analysis of the work done and the tasks remaining for the Unesco Central Asian projects.

ANNEX—I

COMPOSITION of the co-ordinating bodies on Kushan studies and of the research groups established by the Conference in Dushanbeh.

1. *Editorial Board* for work on the "History of the Peoples of Central Asia in the Kushan Period".

A. Kohzad) (Afghanistan) A. Basham (Australia)
Ch. Mustamindi)

J. Brough (United Kingdom)

| | | |
|------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Nihar R. Ray |) (India) | M. Buassgli (Italy) |
| P.S. Sharma |) | |
| Z. Safa |) (Iran) | R. Ghirshman) (France) |
| Mustafavi |) | D. Schlumberger) |
| A. Dani |) (Pakistan) | H. Mode (German Demo- cratic Republic) |
| F. Khan |) | |
| B. Gafurov |) (USSR) | J. van Lohuizen de Leeuw |
| G. Bongard-Levin |) | (Netherlands) |
| | | R. B. Frye) (USA) |
| | | J. Rosenfield) |

2. *Members of the Consultative Committee*

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| I. Sharifee |) (Afghanistan) | A. Basham (Australia) |
| Ch. Mustamindi |) | H. Bailey (United Kingdom) |
| A. Ghosh |) (India) | G. Tucci (Italy) |
| G. R. Sharma |) | |
| Z. Safa |) (Iran) | J. Harmatta (Hungary) |
| Mustafavi |) | |
| | | R. Ghirshman) (France) |
| A. Dani |) (Pakistan) | D. Schlumberger) |
| F. Khan |) | |
| | | K. Enoki (Japan) |
| B. Gafurov |) (USSR) | J. van Lohuizen de Leeuw |
| I. Muminov |) | (Netherlands) |
| | | R. Frye (USA) |

3. *Members of the research groups suggested by the Conference*

(i) *Archaeological Study (Archaeological map of Central Asia)*

J. Casal (France), D. Faccenna (Italy), R. Ghirshman (France), J. Gulyamov (USSR), T. Higuchi (Japan), F. Khan (Pakistan), B. B. Lal (India), B. Litvinsky (USSR), Ch. Mustamindi (Afghanistan), E. Neghaban (Iran), D. Schlumberger (France), B. K. Thapar (India).

(ii) *Society and Economy of the Kushan Empire*

M. Asimov (USSR), S. Azimjanova (USSR), A. Dani

(Pakistan), E. Grantovsky (USSR), H. Mode (German Democratic- Republic), A. Motamedi (Afghanistan), B. Puri (India).

(iii) *Religions and Ideas*

J. Asmussen (Denmark), A. Bateau (France), G. Bongard-Levin (USSR), J. Brough (United Kingdom), J. Filliozat (France), J. de Jong (Australia), E. Lamotte (Belgium), G. S. Pandey (India), Sharma (Pakistan).

(iv) *Kushan Art*

R. C. Agrawal (India), J. Auboyer (France), Barrett (United Kingdom), A. Dani (Pakistan), Hartel (Federal Republic of Germany), A. Kohzad (Afghanistan), J. van Lohuizen de Leeuw (Netherlands), G. Pugachenkova (USSR), S.K. Saraswati (India), J. Rosenfield (USA), one member (USSR).

(v) *Numismatic Studies (Corpus of Kushan coins)*

A. Dani (Pakistan), R. Gobl (Austria), V. Lukonin (USSR), D. McDowell (United Kingdom), Ch. Mustamindi (Afghanistan), B. Mukhjeree (India), A. Narain (India), A. Simonetta (Italy), one member (USSR).

(vi) *Kushan Epigraphy*

A. Dani (Pakistan), J. Gerhevitch (United Kingdom), A. Habibi (Afghanistan), J. Harmatta (Hungary), H. Humbach (Federal Republic of Germany), D. Sircar (India), one member (USSR).

ANNEX—II

OUTLINE for extending comprehensive studies of the literature of the peoples of Central Asia in the 16th-19th centuries and the ties between these literatures, presented at the Dushanbeh Conference :

The development of the literatures of the Central Asian peoples in the modern period, problems of their community, interconnections and local features call for a further intensification of comprehensive studies

to promote cultural contacts among these peoples. The literatures of the peoples of Afghanistan, the Soviet Central Asian Republics and also of Iran, India and Pakistan—literatures which emerged in Farsi, Dari, Tajik, Pashtu, Chagatai, Uzbek, Turkmenian and other languages in the 16th-19th centuries—have common ancient sources stemming from the community of the historical destinies of those peoples, their territorial proximity and the steady cultural exchange between them. The main genres of these literatures, the popular poetic imagery, the words conveying abstract notions, the cultural features reflected in the literatures, largely remained common throughout the 16th-19th centuries. These and many other features of the literatures of these peoples have determined their common trend, irrespective of certain political and religious contradictions of the epoch and a certain weakening of traditional cultural contacts which nevertheless were never completely severed.

At the same time, due to many causes, one of which was the process of national consolidation and the formation of a number of new states, the local features of the literatures were modified as were their mutual ties in the 16th-19th centuries. From the Bosphorus to Ganges, Rudaki, Firdousi, Nizami, Amir Khusrow, Saadi, Hafiz, Jami, Navoi, Fuzuli were still well known and well loved, but, beginning with the 16th century, Central Asia had such highly original writers as Vasifi, Mushfiki, Sayido, Malekho, Mukimi, Furkat; literature in Pashto (Khushal Khan Khattak), in Turkmenian (Mukhtumkuli) and other languages flourished. Bilingualism was widespread. Many poets from Central Asia, including our contemporary Sadridin Aini, were able to write both in Tajik and Uzbek; in India, Mirza Ghalib, and in Pakistan, Iqbal, wrote in Farsi and in Urdu, and their Farsi poetry became known in Central Asia. Ties between Central Asian literatures and Persian-language literature of India became more extensive, and Bedil, who lived and worked in India, became popular in Central Asia. Recent research by Tajik scholars has shown that contacts between the poets of Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan persisted in that period too.

In past decades, scholars from various countries have made important contributions to the study of Central Asian literatures of the 16th-19th centuries. Work in this field has been conducted in a number of research institutions of Afghanistan, the USSR, India, Iran and Pakistan.

The basic tasks in this direction, in connection with the Unesco

project on the study of the civilizations of Central Asia, can be defined as follows :

1. Further studies of the process of formation of the national literatures of the peoples of Central Asia, the establishment of the common features of this process as regards the various literatures and of their original local features.
2. Further studies of the community of literatures of the peoples of Central Asia and the contiguous countries (Iran, India, Pakistan), and of the original local features in the national literatures which emerged in the 16th-19th centuries.
3. Studies of the literatures of the small peoples of Central Asia which have been insufficiently studied so far.
4. Continuation of work to establish and catalogue the manuscripts of the period in close co-operation with the respective research centres of the countries of this region, and the publication of fascimile editions of the more valuable manuscripts.
5. Joint international publication of summarised works, of monographs, anthologies, collections of verse and prose.
6. Mutual exchange, on a wide scale, of scientific information, books and microfilms of manuscripts, and reciprocal annotation and reviewing of new works.
7. To convene periodically, by turn in different parts of Central Asia, the international conferences on the study of literatures of the peoples of this area in the modern period.