LIFE IN THE INDUS ENCLAVE

(A Historical Survey of its urban mosaic)

BY
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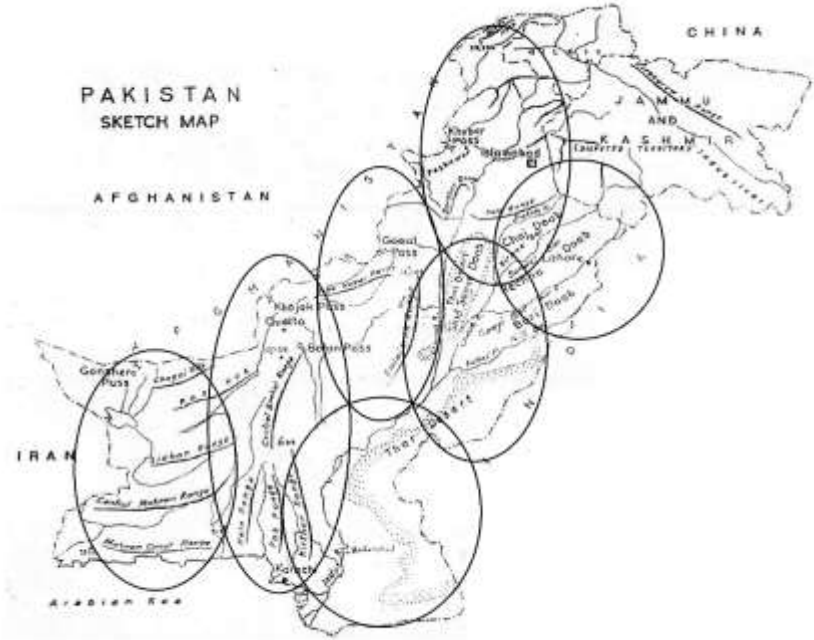

Frontispiece

Dedicated to the land and people of Pakistan
Whose grain kept me fed;
Whose wool and cotton kept me clothed;
Whose brick and mortar gave me shelter;
Whose beauty and care kept my heart young and my eye glad;
Whose spiritual depth and emotional wealth formed my senses and sensibilities such that by Allah's blessing I could formulate the conceptual and descriptive content of this work which, I hope will pay some of the debt I owe to the world in general and this gracious nation in particular.
To the people of Pakistan who provided surplus labour and capital for my sustenance, allowing me to wonder about the clockwork that makes them functional in a world gone mad.

Gratitude

I am most grateful that I have not needed funds or a grant from an institution or foundation. My funding came from the lifelong pension that has been granted to me by Baha-ud-din Zakariya University, Multan; but my inspiration came from a conference on Historic towns sponsored by an association called Anjuman-i-Mimaran. I came across this association when the Department of History, where I taught and where I was enrolled as a Ph. D scholar, hosted them during a visit to the historic town of Uch in 1990.
Following Muslim tradition of historiography, I must express my gratitude to Allah almighty for whom the most pathetic of His creatures is assured of his special attention and care. In his infinite wisdom He chose me and my clumsy learning, to impart the knowledge of its past of this unique nation.

In dedicating this book to the Pakistani people, I have also followed Muslim historiographic traditions of acknowledging gratitude and loyalty due to my benefactors. However, a far more specific list of mentors is due, not because they were patronizing but because they nurtured the thoughts and ideals which underpin the fabric of my notional construct.
In one sense the present study was part of my lifelong quest for identity. As I was taught that parochial and clan identities were inimical to the national construct, I was bound to seek a life-source and raison d'état for nationalism in a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic state-nation which aspired to be a nation-state based on religious identity.

I must begin by acknowledging that it was my mother whose upbringing taught me that I owed a debt to my nation.

Preamble

My paternal uncle, Mr. Manzoor Qadir made me realize that there was something unique about my people.

The contribution of my teachers especially Mr. Nasir, St. Mary's School, Chaklala; Mr. Nashir, Cantonment Public School, Rawalpindi; Prof. Nasrullah Malik, Gordon College, Rawalpindi. Then the long list of professors at the Quaid-i-Azam University, headed by the name of my supervisor, Dr. Ahmed Hasan Dani] gave me the understanding, the insight and intellectual equipment necessary for this venture.

The need to 'understand' Pakistan had been with me for twenty years of so before I got my first clue of how to go about it in 1990-91.

My numerous debts between then and 2011 cannot be assessed because it is impossible for me to remember each input that has gone into my study over the years let alone identifying the contributors to that input. I can only enter a general thanks to all those whose words and deeds helped me along the way as I collected ideas, data and sources for this study that proved to be a herculean task for me.
My debts in the last five years are easier to identify and enumerate. It is my privilege to acknowledge my debt to the libraries, library staff and research faculty of the two institutes I served at the QAU; that is the TIAC and the NIHCR; particularly, Dr. Ashraf and Dr. Rafiullah at the TIAC; Dr. Sajid Awan, Ms. Aysha Shafiq , Mr. Hasan and Mr. Bodla, at the NIHCR.

Closer to home, I must express my boundless debt to my elder brother, Brig. Shaukat Qadir whose clear vision was the voice of sanity in my woolly and murky formless ramblings, especially in my first draft. It is to him again that I turned to vet the outcome of formulation & reformulation three years after the initial drafting. Yet I have successfully retained many of the errors that he pointed out.
In the same vein I must recognize the invaluable advice of my friend & nephew, Dr. Ali Qadir, whose conceptual clarity made sense of thoughts which had become unnecessarily complex in my formulation.
The advice of Dr. Saeed Shafqat, Dr. Asad Hussain and Dr. Javed reduced many of the anomalies of the final draft. Despite all these corrections, the ambitious attempt to cover all eras, aspects, and areas of Pakistan in a single volume [*which is merely a survey of the past and compendium of methodologies for the more comprehensive reconstruction of the history of Pakistan*] is full of my own unforced errors.

If my readers feel that they have been imposed upon by my presumption that there is something worthwhile here, they must blame the syndicate of several benefactors who were shareholders in reviving me to health when my 'heart & nerve & sinew' would have failed me. They helped me 'think and dream' and 'hold on' especially during the last year, the time of trial that was a golden chance for me to sin no more.

Last but not least, it is my privilege to own up to my debt of gratitude to my colleagues and friend of long standing, the worthy Doctors Musarrat and Qalb-i-Abid for agreeing to support the publication of this work.

Preamble

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INTRODUCTORY

PREAMBLE:

Postulates and Conceptual Base

The Indus Enclave has a remarkable cultural tenacity. Some social norms of present Pakistan can be traced back to the Indus Civilization[1]. Unlike the Indus people of old, modern Pakistan is not remarkable for urban drains and neat, segregated sectors of society except in Islamabad or some new cities, but occupational groups and clans continued to dictate communal classification. Other aspects of its cultural pattern can be credited to a dialogue with ethnicities that came to the Enclave later.

From the Aryan, through Turkic, to the Germanic races, several peoples came to the Indus foyer with religious, ideological and cultural baggage. The process culminated in an urban overlay of a modern, democratic secular, capitalist apparatus. Phenomenal population growth in modern times is an additional justification for the change in the general trends observed in the Enclave in the recent past. However, its historical cultural fabric was strong enough to resist major variations in socio-economic relations till the Colonial and post-colonial era.

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[1] For our concept of civilization, refer to the 'typology of Urbanization' below.

The present research is an inventive quest to identify the manner in which the human capital of the Enclave exploited/organized geographic conditions or assets at various times to develop the patterns of its urban mosaic. In a sense it translates into a history of urban-rural-pastoral relations with a consistent though not a major marginalization of pastoral life. A History of the Enclave[2] from its first urbanization to the creation of Pakistan has been reconstructed in six stages [four civilizations, two interregnums]. Ethnic changes led to modifications the in relations and forces of production and, consequently, the urban mosaic changed.

We have identified three processes in this research, first the political and administrative dynamics; second the socio-cultural milieu; and third non-human natural conditions. These processes created two types of imperatives, [one underpinning it and the other overarching] each having a human and non-human aspect. Underpinning imperatives stem from *environmental conditions* [whether constant or variable]; and *society* [an organism driven by the norms of ordinary people]. The overarching imperatives, however, are almost exclusively driven by the elite. On a human level they depend on the ability of the educated elite to exploit nature. On the social level they stem from ideology or religion. On the managerial level they are formed by governance systems and organizational vision. What the elite provide is the spiritual,

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[2] The periodization of history used here is an innovation designed to view the Enclave from an etic perspective. Challenging a traditional Delhi-centric chronological construction that links the entire Enclave to developments in Bharat, the present sudy focusses on the sub-sections of the Enclave and presents thirty phases of its pre-colonial socio-cultural history

intellectual and administrative environment circumscribing the limit or potential of nations and states. Common people/society determine which potentials a community is able to actualize.

Three faces of this 'social cube'[3] are *state*, *urbanization* and *culture*. The political-administrative aspect of society represents the state; technology, ecology and economy underpin the urban fabric; ethnicity and communal values represent the DNA[4] of a culture despite internal diversity and find expression in language and ethics. Naturally the faces of the cube are equal.

This research started with the hypothesis that: Rivers were at times a means of communication and barriers at others. When they were barriers, ports and *pattans*[5] did not flourish and trade suffered. As a means of communication rivers enabled cultural adaptation between nearby areas and urban uniformity on a large scale. With more data it became obvious that this principle also

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[3] The concept of 'social cube' is also an innovation designed to circumvent the analytical limitation of inorganic construction. The synthesis of a body of knowledge based on analysis is rather like putting 'humpty dumpty' together again. On the other hand, a holistic portrayal cannot be easily communicated across cultures and is ill suited to the English language. As an option, the portrayal of a well-rounded picture is desirable. We have used a composite form of expression to generate an 'organic' image.

[4] We believe that every ethnic/cultural community has its own DNA which determines the central or focal aspect of the civilization it creates. This is like Divekar's idea regarding the origin of towns [see note 20 infra], it can be political, economic or ideological. The modern age of technology and communication belongs to a Germanic DNA and not all human, not even all European evolution, was bound to lead up to it.

[5] A *pattan* is a river crossing either as a ford or with a ferry.

applied to mountains and, remarkably, even to deserts. Different ethnic groups need diverse topographies in order to provide the geographic cohesion essential for emergence of states. Deserts integrated the polity of the Arabs; mountains provided a core around which Turkic peoples constructed their state systems; but rivers suited the Harappans.

The original set of questions to be answered included two abstract issues of urbanization. We hoped to identify the growth and decay of historic urban entities in a time and space matrix:

- Why towns came into being [*abstract and speculative*]
- Nature of urban settlements [*abstract and speculative*]
- Known Urban Centres in Pakistan [*their chronology and location as a matrix*]
- Causes of growth/decay of specific centres [*speculative*]

In a general sense we have addressed all the above aspects in each of the six stages which are described in the chapters that follow. Despite the fact that during the course of our researches several studies [in English as well as in Urdu] related to specific towns were identified, the desire to trace growth of individual towns from their inception has proved impossible. However, era specific studies in urbanization should be conducted on the basis of a selection of prominent towns through history to the present.

Paradoxically, the description that we have provided is at the same time more ambitious and more humble than originally envisaged. Initially the study was to be a monograph of about 150 pages which would expand on the concepts presented in a conference paper on historic towns in 1991. The wealth of data has made it impossible to contain the outcome within its original ambit. On the other side we had hoped to take a primary set of major towns and trace their evolution through the ages. This needed a relatively stable unity between a hinterland[6] and its primary urbanism. The data shows that a unity certainly existed within biomes [at the tehsil or district level] but the location of their central town kept changing with ethnic changes.

The present study is a survey of urban patterns that may prove useful for analysing internal[7] evolution of individual cities during stages and phases that we have deduced from the wider time and

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6 The term hinterland is generally applied to urban settlements but in our study we will also use this idea as applicable to the units of human existence even to the size of a single homestead and the land around it that is used as adjunct for cultivation, mining, foraging or as usufruct.

7 J. S. Grewal, *In the By-lanes of History* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1975), preface, 2nd paragraph. On the subject of source material for urban history, he presents a succinct argument from: 'incidental references or notices in chronicles and travel accounts, brief notices in gazetteers and chance references in the reports of the Archaeological Survey.' He adds "settlement reports and census data worked backwards, field work in search of architectural and inscriptional evidence and local tradition …. but their evidence does not help the urban historian to see the town from 'inside'." As the present study has abjured any intent to see the inside of towns, we have used primary and secondary sources of the other kinds enumerated by Grewal along with deductive and speculative reconstruction based on socio-cultural data.

space canvas. A number of studies, especially in Urdu, are available for many Pakistani towns; the changing boundaries of their hinterland should be one of the sequels to the research being presented here. We have tried to confine our study to data that is not controversial. Even limited data presented a challenge because of its wealth and variety. The stages described below form large time units with phases within each stage to denote minor changes in the determinants of its pattern.

It is hoped that this research will encourage critics to initiate a series of studies which reconstruct the internal evolution of the district and tehsil headquarters of Pakistan from documents such as those used by J. S. Grewal. Linguistic analysis of Pakistan's kaleidoscopic vocabulary would be needed for reconstructing the ethnic components of towns and their hinterland. We have tried to provide the names of some such towns for each stage and phase. The study also aspires to identify potential linguistic forms for framing a system for mapping the ethnic elements that can be identified from the internal study of towns.

The present survey is a preliminary statement of the socio-cultural and political history of Pakistan. In order to obtain a comprehensive picture of our historical past, each geographic unit identified needs to be studied separately on the basis of its internal and external construct. A list of topics may be found in the contents of the Ain-i-Akbari, or the gazetteers which were modelled by the British Raj on Mughal revenue records.

Such a reconstruction must however give prime importance to a linguistic analysis of the phonetic origins of texts, official as well as unofficial, which can be found from Vedic times to the present

age. The Indus script remains un-deciphered to date[8]. Special emphasis is needed for the study of Sanskrit along with Scythian and Parthian texts.

Urbanization is a result of collective human effort and sedentary living; one hypothesis links human settlement and domestication to changes in means of production, division of labour and social stratification.[9] Here we have taken the view that socialization is only one factor leading human-beings away from a nomadic life. Climate or ecology conspired with need of food security at two levels: manipulating means of production & facilitating pastoral existence[10]. This in turn provided the material, intangible, social

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8 The Harappan script on the seals may be merely an economic medium performing functions like coinage, bills of sale, rights of property, billet for transit, letter of credit or sign of trading house. Probably, however, there was a matching vocabulary and phonetic structure that, if not literary, was certainly verbal. Aryans and Harappans may have shared a common penchant for verbal transmission of knowledge. Memories and sensibilities of the conquerors were preserved in Vedic texts but we may conjecture that many words of the conquered people were absorbed in a lingua-genesis that must have taken place between these peoples. The linguistic base of the Enclave may be derived from a corpus of the Vedas in which were knit subsequent additions from the Achaemenid, the Greek, the Bactrian, the Saka, the Parthia, the Kushan, the Pala, the Hun and the Sassanid rulers of the Enclave. Some of the additions may be identified and traced from the time when the Arabs arrived here.

9 Kent Flannery, "Origins and Ecological Effects of Early Domestication in Iran and the Near East," *The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals*, eds. Peter J. Ucko and G.W. Dimbleby (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1969), 73-100.

10 V. Gordon Childe, “The Urban Revolution” in Jeramy A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlowsky, eds., *The Rise and Fall of Civilizations: Modern Archaeological Approaches to Ancient Cultures* (California: Harvard

and psychological environment that led some humans to learn to domesticate plants and animals. Gordon Childe[11] proposed ten attributes of civilization: monumental buildings, elite ruling class, system of knowledge, size, writing, division of labour and specialization in artistic expression; ~~non-agricultural population, agricultural surplus, trade and an organized~~ state ~~based on domicile rather than kinship.~~ Cohabitation usually resulted in trade; and kinship [tribal links] was overshadowed by communal interests based on domicile, creating a plural elite. A sedentary non-agricultural population may be supported with agricultural surplus [here agriculture includes sedentary animal husbandry]. We assume that attributes related to agriculture, labour and trade are prerequisites for facilitating growth of urbanisms; which in turn constitute a precondition for civilization. The following attributes of civilization form the basis of analysis:

- That a civilization could consist of one or more states or state systems based on a set of cities and their hinterland, [with *a common culture or matching set of culturemes*] in a large area, over a long period of time.

University Press, 1974), p.6 ff, belies that civilization was preceded by barbarism (cultivation of edible plants by humans) and, before that, by savagery (when food is obtained only by gathering or hunting)

11 The attributes marked with a strike through line are the ones that are taken for granted in urbanism even if it does not reach the level of civilization. Monumental buildings, writing and a ruling elite do not qualify as quintessential components of civilization; here we will treat them as commonly associated adjuncts which support the systems of knowledge, values and cultural core which integrate cities, towns, villages and all the components that form a vast hinterland from which civilizations are born.

- That civilization is a condition in which *a set of urban, semi-urban and sub-urban settlements and hinterland* are integrated as a single cultural identity.
- Hinterland, as an adjunct to urban life inevitably includes *source of agricultural surplus, rural population, natural raw-material for trade or industry, routes of communication, and unutilized biomes* which help in maintaining ecological balance for climatic consistency.
- Distinguishing features of civilization can be identified in *knowledge base* [science, technology, arts, crafts and humanities], *artistic* expression [fine arts and literature], or means of expressing *pride* [architecture, monumental buildings, grand events], sociology and *festivities*. It may be remembered that the acquisition and transmission of knowledge is not confined to the written medium.
- It is not essential that all characteristics of a civilization are based on common grounds. It is sufficient that its hallmark/sine qua non [*beliefs, philosophy, religion or ideology*] form the core of its norms in its component regions, perhaps with minor parochial variation.

We will also present four distinctive features of each of the six stages of urbanization that have been delineated here:

1. Town-planning of each age and typical building types. Salient features of urban layout and architectural features.
2. Nomadic-pastoral-rural-urban distribution.
3. The Political and administrative infrastructure which supported the socio-economic fabric in each stage.
4. Economic structure [trade, occupations, skills industry].

Humanity, water and the urban phenomenon:

This section traces the foundations of the urban phenomena in history. Urbanization was neither a natural nor a spontaneous outcome of human existence but a rational, logical consequence of a long process in the evolution of Man's social existence. Initially mankind was nomadic; reliant on gifts of nature alone, as and where they were found. In due course of time humans became pastoral. Using haunts they had identified as nomads, they began to visit them regularly in a fairly precise sequence on an annual basis. Perhaps simultaneous with pastoral existence or following close behind it was the system of rural existence or settled habitation which assisted nature in providing regular and sufficient food for an entire community. Hunters would tarry at waterholes orchards and meadows for game and at stone sites for weapons and tools. Soon they discovered that some of the animals at a waterhole were more vulnerable to carnivorous predators than to humans, and preferred the security of human company to being slaughtered by beasts of prey.

We generally assume that the human mind contributed to the domestication of animals. However it is quite as likely that the animals which were domesticated contributed to this process by preferring the conditional and partial security of cohabiting with humans to an unmitigated predatory threat to life outside the protected human habitat. This promoted pastoral life because domesticated animals, especially grazing mammals, were like mobile larders, providing fresh food and thriving on pastures. There were natural orchards and grasslands but it is unlikely that

nature provided grain and vegetable fields[12]. With development of pastoral habits, foothills with grass and shrubbery provided a more fruitful and lucrative environment.

We often discuss human evolution under headings of nomadic and pastoral. It seems, however, that transitional stages between pastoral and rural may be envisioned. A semi-settled existence in a rural range with changes in farm locations within a region of cultivable locations and pastures may precede the perennially occupied villages. Such a locality would provide facilities for a relocation of habitat without regulated mobility of pastoralists or permanent settlement in villages. Examples of this kind may be seen even today in urban scavenging communities.

Historically the Turkic people tarried for generations in some localities before resuming their march to destinations that they now inhabit and have ruled over in myriad civilizations. Initially human interest in agriculture may have been limited to fodder of domesticated animals as it was easy to cultivate pastures.

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[12] Whereas it is likely that the domestication of animals occurred instinctively, it is unlikely that the idea of domesticating plants was a spontaneous or sub-conscious event. The abundance of fodder near waterholes may have triggered the supply of water to areas accessible from such a water source. Exploitation of water for orchards may have come next; leading, in time, to vegetable farming. Realization that grain can be domesticated and harvested would have taken a long time because the size of grain does not make it profitable unless mass produced. It needed extensive experimentation, experience, information sharing and collective memory before the means of mass production necessary for exploitation of grain as a source of sustenance could be established. Many more stages would have preceded the status of grain as a ‘staple’ human diet.

Pastoral life with abundance of animals to hunt near a waterhole was a major advantage for hunter-gatherers but domestication of plants was a quantum leap for farmers. Staging posts in cool regions and natural preference of some animals for hilly terrain encouraged pastoralists to seek high ground[13]; the heat needed for harvesting grain pulled agriculturists to the plains; while drainage of water in rivers provided the link for two ecologies.

Initially humans needed no acculturation for natural needs like food or sex; foraging and hunting came as naturally to them as defecating and procreation. Perhaps the instinct for stalking in groups also did not need culture although socialization was a precondition. It is possible that even the preliminary stages of regulated pastoral life were instinctive, like animals, as in case of migratory birds and the territoriality of climatic migration of every variety of animate life. Regular routes of transit, halting stations like waterholes and grazing land of animals may have provided both push and pull in enhancing pastoral instincts.

Initial agriculture was probably the husbanding of orchards and arboriculture. Fostering and preserving produce of individual plants may have provided a basis for domestication of grain and vegetables. Since certain kind of wild grain or its stem provided fodder, and small water channels in milder climes were suitable

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[13] A list of fruits of the plains and mountains will also show that the likelihood of large yield per tree is more likely in mountainous regions than in plains while vegetable and grain production has better yields in plains with larger water supply being required for them. Arid agriculture, even with modern technology, facilitates orchards and animal husbandry while vegetables and grains thrive in relatively water rich regions.

for cultivating a variety of vegetation and game, foothills were probably the first regions where human beings settled.

Two other conditions that can have encouraged perennial human settlements[14] would have been the constant supply of game and regular supply of tools. Locations of the first kind, since they also provided animal solid waste [skin, bone, guts and teeth] for tools probably accommodated a larger population than sites from which only stone for tools was to be found. Later, when tools and utensils came to be made from mud, grain agriculture in plains became common until mining of metallic tools revived exploitation of the hills. The factors that enhanced or curtailed the productivity or profitability of various sources of sustenance must be held accountable for the distinctive varieties of settled life. They became arbiters of the nature and form of an urbanism civilization or state that emerged in various regions. Arguably an ethnic group may not have survived an unfavourable ecology.

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[14] The first major change that may be assigned to the end of the last ice age is a change in the ecology. This seems to have provided an impetus to human consciousness of the changing ecology and its implication for sedentary life. The idea of using raw material as industrial inputs for manufactures suddenly accelerates in stone as well as inedible animal remains. For lack of a better word we may use the term “tool pastures” for water holes and stone quarry sites and highland rivers, even mud plains where fullers’ earth is abundant and terracotta manufacture is facilitated. Animals as mobile larders and source of energy/tools laid the foundations of technology; while game-lands and grass-lands provided the platform for their infrastructure. Changes in the lifestyle of settlers brought about a higher level of industry and technology which has dominated evolution ever since, making it virtually impossible to revisit the initial technological trajectory adopted by nomads.

Essentially, up to the point of rural settlements, the process was sustenance oriented. The level of cultural sophistication, social organization and agricultural technologies required for rural societies to emerge took many millennia of human evolution. Perhaps not quite as many were required for the subsequent transition to urbanization, nor was the process survival oriented in essence. It was an administrative and economic impulse that caused the evolution of towns. Rural settlements had been small and located in a largish area close to a water source that could easily be utilized for agriculture. The Urban unit tended to be a large community in a relatively small area [increased density of population] with a water supply and drainage facility, primarily for human needs other than agriculture.

The urban phenomenon emerged perhaps initially as a result of trade. Within a certain geological environment the production abilities of different kinds of land and the genius of its people dictated a variety of production patterns. Variety of goods led to a tendency of exchange and brought about trade; thus a location having easy accessibility within a geo-system acquired the status of *mundi*. Cohabitation of assorted people from different areas, having various traditions and practices, must have necessitated a coordination between the judicial and administrative systems of separate units having their own internal organization.

The assortment of material and skills available in one location due to trade took a step forward; yielding industry. Commerce, trade, industry and administrative pressures drove agriculture out of a centrally located village; making it into a town. Once urbanization as a human activity took root and civilizations

developed, it is likely that societies began to regard city life as a natural phenomenon. Urban dynamics may have thus dictated the emergence of many historic cities which came into being because *human effort decided to surmount limitations of nature*.

It must be remembered that the town/city cannot exist without a hinterland while the rural system which constitutes a hinterland may exist and thrive without an urban centre. Initially societies seem to have chosen streams and rivulets, in preference to rivers which they could not harness or control. Two critical differences between urban and rural usage of water are scale and drainage[15].

Technically, urban units may have emerged earlier but the first civilization perhaps emerged in Egypt about six thousand years ago. Civilizations have always relied on rivers for water. In modern times supply of water through advanced technology has made it possible to locate large urban units from their sources of water. Consequently location of towns has become dependent on military, political and economic priorities.

It is possible that in five or six millennia following the last ice-age the greater part of the world's population acquired sedentary mode of life. However it is certain that still the greater part of the inhabited globe was populated by pastoral/nomadic people. Initially, it is certain that the islands of sedentary population did not materially inhibit the movement of non-sedentary groups. It also seems likely that the ecological changes wrought by the

[15] This is an extremely complex equation which deserves a separate study. Since its implications have not been sufficiently explored yet, it has not been addressed in the current study.

settlements may have affected pastoralist lifestyles in particular and nomads in general. A likely outcome would have been that pastoral people acquired the functions of trade and the supply of labour for stone based industry. The plains, having wide rivers with a big supply of water did not have much stone to offer; this naturally provided a push factor for hard materials to replace stone. On the other hand, fire and riverine mud plains provided the pull factor for using ceramic and earthen material. Settlers probably lost the knack of working with stone in time and relied on fresh blood from stone using communities to revive it[16].

In the process of exploitation of nature by primeval man. It is likely that the semi-sedentary societies of foothills would have transited from the Palaeolithic to Mesolithic and Chalcolithic cultures. The last in particular [needing the use of clay, stone, fire and ore] cannot have developed in the mud plains alone as it demanded the collective utilization of materials, knowledge and technologies available to all three communities: pastoral, rural and urban. Metallurgy could only be achieved by the union of independent advances in pastoral and rural life put to use within an urban hinterland. The place of terracotta and earthen paints or clay types for pottery in the Neolithic and early historic periods is well recognized in archaeological literature but is not used as a classification of an age like the Iron or Bronze Ages.

Here it must also be noted that nomads and pastoralists have had a double role to play in sedentary societies. Some of them would

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[16] This kind of labour would be found in peripheral areas where pastoral people still used stone tools.

have considered settled areas as potential hunting and gathering ground; they would have attacked settlements and looted crops and grain reserves. Others gravitated toward the settlements to become part of agriculture based life; providing fresh blood and impulses to sedentary development. Thus the number of settled people began a relentless process of increase.

Pastorals were distinct from nomads. They retained the memory of food sources; gradually this drill lead to a qualitative change: the constantly sedentary rural life of agriculture; which in its turn evolved into the non-agricultural lifestyle of the city. As a consequence of scale of population on one hand and trade needs on the other; political economy and plural society thus became natural adjuncts to urbanization and civilization. The lifestyle of nomads makes them hardier than other communities. Urban dwellers are least used to physical adversity. Conversely urban people are better equipped to deal with complexity of social life. Through history there has been a flow of hardy people towards sedentary comfort, adapting to its complex society and politics.

Numerical strength also translated into control of larger portions of the globe. The geographic up-scaling of settled life was more intensive and less extensive. Non-settled pastoralists continued to control a larger part of the globe but now settlements began to inhibit the free use of resources which was the natural norm for mobile tribal society. Ultimately mobile people were segregated in areas to the north and south of the ‘old world’. Settlers also formed two groups who were distinct, first at a quantitative level and later at a qualitative one, the rural-urban divide.

A parallel natural process probably combined with man-made conditions to make a complex system; as long as natural forces are allowed to operate there should be no rural-urban conflict for use of water resources. Thus a town would tend to accommodate as much industry, trade, commerce and population as its water supply allowed; it would therefore have no conflict of interest with its life line. If urban settlements disregarded environmental dictates, nature was likely to take revenge soon. Mismanaging a hinterland is like biting the hand that feeds you[17].

A town, society or civilization may, for some time, artificially extend itself beyond its natural limits by:

1 extending the quantity of its hinterland or improving it qualitatively by a technology or exploitation of new resources.

2 relying on pre-collected surplus, and

3 very rarely/for a short time, by anticipating the future output of the hinterland; a kind of 'inflation' in commodities.

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[17] Four conditions are envisioned regarding the way humans have managed natural resources: the first is a 'natural' use, the second an 'a-natural' use, a third is a 'non-natural' usage and the fourth is 'unnatural' usage. Natural usage is using something as made by nature in the use it was made for such as feet for walking and fruit for eating. An ''a-natural'' use is one which disregards the nature of the thing, such as leaning against a tree or a rock to rest or sit. The non-natural use of a substance would be using mud for making bricks or utensils as it is not the way nature uses it but it is a use that is consonant with the nature of the substance being used. An unnatural or perhaps more adequately anti-natural usage is the artificial construction of elements that have not been created by nature. Each of these tend to bring a consequent reprisal for violation of or deviation from natures 'limitations'.

The typical hinterland of a historic town within a state which was part of a civilization would be expected to comprise of a food providing topography with routes for trade and sources of industrial raw-material. In pre-modern times when the major sources of energy and transport came from biological sources [botanical ones for energy alone; zoological ones for transport and human sources to drive animals] communications, tourism and entertainment were not major industries. The nomadic and pastoral communities and the unutilized biomes thus constituted a vital element of the hinterland. The relatively small volume of trade throughout history still needed an extended hinterland so as to diversify industry through the acquisition of raw material and finished products which were not available in the immediate vicinity. There were different levels of hinterland for different urbanisms. The greater the economic variety, the greater its need for a diversified hinterland. Conversely, the larger the hinterland available to a town, the greater its potential to grow into a city.

In order for an urban unit to attain its potential, however, the human factor was of prime importance. Ability, will and vision to make use of natural *and human* endowments are all required to convert necessary and sufficient conditions for urbanization into reality. This applies as much to geographic scope [size of a state], as to its population [the substance that makes a society] and to their intellectual and spiritual essence [that we identify as a civilization]. The current study is unashamedly elitist in the sense that it does not expect civilizations to materialize without the leadership of a committed elite. We may go on to suggest that a single individual vision, translated into mass will, through

leadership can transform a wilderness into a brilliant civilization by the exploitation of hinterland and its people. All the potential of land and people remains unutilized without leadership.

Urbanization, being the condition which justifies the use of the term civilization instead of culture for a specific socio-political entity, is based on socialization. The lifestyle of hunter-gatherers did not necessitate socialization. However, the emotional ties of physically weaker humans created the necessary and sufficient conditions for tribal pastoralist life. Although Childe does not use the term barbarism for pastoral people, they were important links in the chain leading to civilization.

The three types of human existence, nomadic, pastoral and rural, predating the urban phenomenon do not qualify to be termed as civilization. Though nomads and pastorals are not considered components of civilization yet they may contribute to it by using its routes and as adjuncts to its hinterland[18]. Rural communities however, are always an integral part of civilization and must be in harmony with its language, skill, artistic expression, festivals, beliefs, knowledge, sociology and art.

Usually civilizations rely on rural communities for food-security and surplus labour. Urban settlements are always at risk when they exceed their potential of food security, civic resources and water supply. Large settlements need larger supplies of water, as such the greater would be the size of the river system feeding it.

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[18] Nomads, and more especially the pastoralists, would have been the natural early traders and are likely to have retained that function in later times.

The historical geography of the Indus Enclave shows that its urbanisms included well irrigated valleys and arid hinterlands within state systems, states and administrative structures which provided the socio-political environment for creation of cultures and their culturemes. The potential of Indus urbanisms to lead to its various civilizations and the causes of their growth and decay are addressed indirectly in this study. The regional environment, administration, socio-economic vitality, population, commerce, industry, trade, soil productivity, agricultural technology and climate of the Indus Enclave will also be reviewed incidentally.

Growth in size of Indus settlements and increase of agricultural land were directly proportional to enhancement in technology for harnessing water resources. When the ability of control was limited to mountain streams and water holes, a few homesteads may have constituted a village. When streams were harnessed, some small towns must have emerged to create the embryo of a state. As the technology determined the size of settlements, population in its turn increased the available brain power or variety of skills and expertise necessary for raising capacity for scientific development in a community and its state structures. Thus a cyclical and spiral process increased collective human effort around the basic function of water management for rural and urban needs. Wittfogel's view that oriental despotism was the fruit of government directed water works reflects this idea[19].

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[19] Karl A. Wittfogel, "Development Aspects of Hydraulic Societies" in Jeramy A. Sabloff and C.C. Lamberg-Karlowsky, eds., *The Rise and Fall of Civilizations: Modern Archaeological Approaches to Ancient Cultures* (California: Harvard University Press, 1974), p.15 ff. He contends that

Waterways have been used as instruments of imperialism as well as defence; thus they have been divisive as well as cohesive factors in delimiting civilizations. Because destructive ability of rivers caused devastation of urban centres, great cities were at times located at a safe distance from the water while ensuring a sufficient supply of the vital life source and means of sanitation.

As a universal solvent and eminently mobile fluid that allows aeration and heat and light purification it ensures the ecological balance as both creator and preserver. Aqueducts, dams, canals, moats and reservoirs for defence, security or other contingencies were developed by 'civilized man'. It may not be possible to kill with good quality air but it is certainly possible to drown in good, life giving water. As contender for the title of "good servant, bad master", water far outranks fire. As a torrential rain or river in spate it can drown and destroy; as a blizzard or hail it may freeze, smother and clobber; as vapour its humidity may enervate or singe. Yet water is the essence of life and its dearth, in any form, may damage as easily and as much as it's excess.

The paradoxical duality of water may be seen in virtually every conceivable use. It is the only substance that expands on either side of a specific temperature *within the same state*. It is simultaneously a source of warmth and cold during night and day,

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hydraulic societies have a local origin [formative phase], regional maturation [classical period] and empire like expansion [age of fusion] where hydraulic regions may be integrated: "occasionally stimulated [by] the creation of interlinking navigation canals …." we may look for such a system in the Indus region from time to time. He has also listed, p. 22, certain conditions which cause the end of oriental despotism.

both as clouds and in the form of lakes or rivers. Physically it is simultaneously both barrier and highway for demographic flow. Its duality may be seen to exist in all its forms and uses in nature. Rural water utilization is basically need based but urban usage may be largely, and at times even mainly, luxury oriented.

The entire human phenomenon is linked with water. The list of direct and indirect uses of water is too long to be included here. However, a classification of the varieties of its usage which is vital for urbanization and relevant for our study is as follows:

1. Primary/essential -As necessary/sufficient condition of life.

- Direct need of fluids [primarily used as water] for human life.
- Indirect need of fluids [essentially in the form of water] for sustaining sources of food – Crops and animals (herbivorous or carnivorous) need water.
- Indirectly, as an essential ingredient in cooking. Neither animals nor vegetables can form part of diet without the use of water for cooking.

2. Secondary/Facilitative-Health and Sanitation.

- Essential for cleaning soluble as well as insoluble undesirables from food, clothing, body, utensils and any other conceivable item of human use – personal and extra-personal hygiene.
- Miscellaneous: as an essential in the processes of silting, salt deposits, the nitrogen cycle and numerous other natural processes which are associated with water, many of which may yet be

undiscovered. The dual role of water, in the form of clouds, (as a coolant as well as a blanket which tends to retain warmth to produce a greenhouse effect) in *global warming* is the cause of controversy even at present.

- Human innovations in the use of water as both a protective barrier as well as a highway as it is found naturally [rivers, lakes, and oceans] and as moulded by man [canal, lake, dam, head-works]

Urbanization: a collective function of human societies derived from settlement as a social phenomenon. Its exhibits itself in the form of social organization, architectural style or town planning. Urban centres, in order of priority/chronology, arose in order to:

a) Provide a trade centre/*mundi* -being central to a rural area including agricultural villages and artisan or craft villages; it requires facilities of communication and water.

b) Provide an administrative centre in a region served by a *mundi* -for trade purposes as well as the requirements of a community to expand interpersonal socio-legal relations.

c) Be an industrial centre producing multi-input goods - is only possible if preceded by trade/administrative infrastructure.

d) Act as a centre for communication and interaction.

Towns acquired locational and strategic importance resulting in population concentration and flow within geo-units as well as mega-systems. They fed cities which in turn served as hinterland for a metropolis or a mega-polis; towns located between/within civilizations were more likely to grow compared to those outside the lines of communication.

- Urban centres may be found almost throughout history at the intersection of channels of water flow with directions of demographic movement.
- Urban centres emerged and vanished due to the changes in environmental and socio-political factors.
- De-urbanization occurred with political decline and fragmentation, change in direction of trade and the drying up of water courses.
- Urban planning derived from technology, defence requirements and from climate.
- Technology inhibits geographic forces of urbanization.
- Lack of grand aspirations of state cause de-urbanization.
- State, civilization and urbanization are interdependent variables in growth/decay.

Typology of urbanisms:

V. D. Divekar has identified three kinds of cities: religious, economic and political[20]; the 'religious' identity of cities is more an Asiatic phenomenon that may be universalized as 'cultural'.

[20] V. D. Divekar, "Political Factor in the Rise and Decline of Cities in Pre-British India – with special reference to Pune" in *Studies in Urban History*, ed. J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga (Amritsar: Department of History Guru Nanak Dev University, nd.), p.91 ff. He also talks of a 'seed' factor, this seems to be the same concept as cultural DNA used by me, except that it refers to the nature of a city rather than that of a civilization; this distinction is of vital importance especially for medieval urbanization.

The economic driving force for urbanization lies in commerce and industry as identified by Divekar and that of the political city lies in political patronage. Divekar believes that a religious city has a virtually unassailable position within its hierarchical status. This may be contested in view of the decline of Buddhist sites in South Asia but, being a cultural construct, spiritual importance of a locale is bound to be more secure than transition of material forces. Changes in the culture of a region can lead to the decline or rise of spiritualism and affect religious urbanisms as much as political ones. However, the frequency, finality and violence of a political change is likely to be much greater than that of a spiritual one. Divekar believes that changes in cropping patterns or topography in the hinterland can alter trade patterns and evolution of commercial towns as well.

We contend that the political, economic and cultural factors envisioned by Divekar must be taken as parallel influences that bring to bear common and also mutually exclusive forces to act upon urbanisms. Whereas the origin of a city may lie in one factor its growth may depend on another. This is implied in Divekar's treatment of political cities and, in the case of Pune, in the transmission of political patronage in each era. Examples of this may also be seen in the political fate of Lahore and Delhi through several political transitions. This concept is particularly apparent in the study of urbanization, de-urbanization and re-urbanization of several urban centres of the Indus. Similarly, political forces

are bound to have an effect on culture and trade due to patterns of state patronage.[21]

Another classification referred to by Divekar identifies cities as "central places providing various services for the surrounding region; storage places and transportation centres; and production centres"[22], he believes 'economic surplus' was stored in towns in feudal times due to the residence of the political-military elites in these centres. As a rule, economic surplus will gravitate to urban centres because rural economic output is perishable and is transferred to urban regions where it can be converted to non-perishable form, such as grain storage or currency and valuables, through exchange and barter. This corresponds to the first and second urban function as a central and transporting place.

As production and trading centres, conversion of raw material to finished products and of component parts into a manufactured whole and the redistribution of value added produce[23] are also functions that get associated with towns and cities. Cities thrive

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[21] Political change has an inherent ability [often an innate tendency] to change priorities of emphasis within a society. It generally brings in its wake a structure of patronage of arts and crafts, beliefs and practices as well as of laws and norms. All these powerful cultural engines, which change or maintain its trajectory, are susceptible to political influence just as much as economic factors.

[22] Divekar, *op. cit.*, p.91.

[23] There were natural orchards and grasslands but it is unlikely that nature provided grain or vegetable fields. K.V. Flannery [in Lamberg-Karlowski], *op. cit.*, believes *Human domestication* was a function of changes in means of production and "man's potential for environmental destruction" made it impossible for him to return to his former means of subsistence.

on industry, commerce, services, administration and politics; as a result it is easy to confuse political economy with civilization. Because the society is a function of population and culture, its common denominators are determinants of political economy.

Technology and resource use are forces that dictate how a unit of land is to be utilized for town planning, location of urban centres and hinterland, provisioning a single town; an entire civilization. Pre-modern societies envisioned development as increase in territory, population, trade or wealth. The modern emphasis on technology was conspicuous by its absence in the past; limited growth in comfort or monumentality appears to have actuated the gradual scientific and technological growth of the societies while their social values determined the scale and direction of the civilization. Limitations imposed on urbanization due to size of population released from agriculture on the basis of then current technology, economics and location of administrative[24] centres also determined the potential political will of a community to exploit the hinterland in order to optimize an urbanism.

Early settlers in the Indus Enclave possibly consist of all three types of communities, which did not have any common formal organization. Thus nomadic, pastoral and rural societies had an informal mechanism of adjustment. Mutual interaction over time

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[24] Agricultural technology, water supply and climate dictate the ability of hinterlands to support a non-food-producing population and release part of it for industry, administration and trade to sustain urbanization and states. Villages, are repositories of culture/sanctuaries for de-urbanized people which transmit social norms between civilizations.

must have evolved into consensual structures of dependences and integrated interrelationships. These were duly converted to formal arrangements which came with growing urbanization. In case of Harappan civilization, it seems that this formalism may have been inarticulate to a great extent. Relations of production and exchange therefore took the shape of social usage more often than of political dispensation. While protagonists changed their ethnic composition and, consequently their socio-economic existence at least six times during the last six millennia, the essential factors of production and their concomitant relations of production retained a consistency in their forces of production.

One line of argument is that the dissipation of economic surplus by political-military elite caused failure of capital formation and, as such, prevented the rise of capitalism in Medieval India. This obsession with capital formation is a result of the 'positivist' and 'scientific' epistemology of the West, which is ever in search of a 'formula' for 'uniform' human existence; idealizing Weber's Protestant Ethic in this instance. This does not correspond with the cultural seed/DNA concept to which we subscribe here.

Monumental urbanization, shifting of capitals to the conqueror's base of operation and creation of suburban camps and residences for elites has been the norm rather than an exception with the pre-modern world. Divekar believes that these cities had a large consuming class forming an inverted pyramid along with small producing classes. He believes that for survival in the event of decline of political power such towns needed to rectify the balance by increasing productivity of the consuming class.

The idea of political towns is a seminal and valuable concept for the understanding of urbanization. This need not be corrupted by emphasizing a failure to cause capitalism which may have been an economic form that was alien to the DNA of civilizations of the Indus Enclave. These economic factors need not necessarily form the basis of the urbanization of political cities. Political cities can be as ephemeral as the tents of an army encampment [or a royal Mughal entourage] or as stable as a cultural/religious metropolis if it acquire basic economic/cultural paraphernalia.

Wittfogel thinks that large scale state-run waterworks caused the emergence of 'oriental despotism'. Certainly changes in supply of water are the most significant and consistent causes of urban growth and de-urbanization[25] because subsistence is impossible without it. The collective organization of human communities is of prime importance for urban and rural existence. The unity of command, vital for effective organization, thus led to monarchy. Changes in productive capacity of hinterlands affect agricultural surplus, raw material and natural resources.

Close competitors as 'prime movers' of urban growth and decay are technologies, efficient administration, political will and trade routes. Deficiency in one may, up to a point, be countered by investment in some other aspect; but absence of will is virtually impossible to substitute. Economists distinguish between micro and macro-economic dynamics; this applies to urbanization also. An increase in urban size/scale may convert quantitative change into qualitative change. Non-city based societies did not have the

[25] Wittfogel, op. cit.

means to build forts or major waterworks for food security. This in turn affected precipitation and silting patterns, causing changes in water courses. Interestingly such changes occur more often in 'civilized' societies than in 'uncivilized' ones.

The potential of a geo-unit to have an integrated identity which dominates contiguous spaces over time is a common occurrence in world history. Such identities find expression in the lifestyles, technologies and languages of these units. A unit of population [person, tribe or community] can be absorbed in other composite entities if they are compatible as supplements or complements. The cohesive tendency of geo-units or population may be strong or weak, having a short existence; or a tenacity that gives them a shared regional, historical identity. The tangible or intangible environment which surrounds human populations acts like water or air around particles of matter. Demographic flow responds to demands of ethnicity, political imperatives and dictates of rural-urban location are its determinants within a given topography.

Water provides internal mobility even when it is not flowing but does not regenerate if stagnant. Physical environments generate demographic human movement similar to movement of particles in an ocean or river inspiring humans to roam; but human nature conspired with ecology to make them seek sedentary existence. If an individual be treated like a grain of sand, clay or any building block of the earth, societies are like lumps or mounds of such grains. From a blob of clay to a piece of igneous rock, from metamorphic or sedimentary rocks to sand dunes, human integration takes many forms and properties. Some are natural, others acquired, while some are artificially generated. Society is

able to manufacture social varieties that can possess artificial characteristics similar to those of steel and ceramics. Integration of societies creates ethnicities; they are composite entities [often preceded by ethno-genesis] which evolve, historically absorb migratory units of settled émigrés or immigrants and, in due course of time supersede previous identities.

The perspective of nomads, pastoralists, villagers and city folks regarding economic, social and cultural values is distinct from one another. However, each succeeding stage in the process of settlement is better able to communicate with/understand views or values of the stage preceding it because of a shared collective subconscious. But when we move away from the nomadic level of mobility, some of its crafts are lost. As we move to a settled mode of life, certain area specific materials are introduced into the technological and industrial environment. This, in its turn, influences the economy, culture, society and ultimately, politics. Basic needs for nomads are purely natural, food and sex; clothes are a secondary need and shelter is incidental and tertiary. At the other end of the spectrum, the urban dweller cannot conceive of public life without clothes, considering shelter at par with food.

Since they use "natural materials" in a "natural environment", nomads can be oblivious of litter in a biotic environment due to their biodegradable consumption pattern. It is unlikely that early nomads would store/carry much more than their tools or value preservation of animal life. Pastoralists however, though equally biology conscious in the use of materials and being in an equally natural environment, would have been quite conscious of litter because they stayed in one place temporarily. They also carried

more equipment and certainly were a lot more considerate in the preservation of animal life. Interestingly awareness of unutilized waste/litter may have led to development of industries based on by-products. The entire socio-economic structure of society [also probably a meaningful concept only after emergence of pastoral life] was restructured by marginal differences between nomadic and pastoral life. This restructuring was a prerequisite for the emergence of the next stages of rural and urban life which presupposed communal and social responses.

Whereas the pastoralists had learned to herd and tame animals to provide mobile food, agriculturalists domesticated animate and vegetate matter, becoming hunter-gatherers in their back yards. Urban dwellers, unlike all other groups, abandoned the hunt and even the gathering function to rural people, thus relegating food to the status of a secondary need. Industry on the other hand, a by-product of hunting and foraging for the nomad or pastoralist, along with trade, constitutes the basis of subsistence for urban life. Surplus, which was alien to the nomad and temporary for the pastoralist, became a source of wealth for the rural and a prerequisite for the urban community. Communal leadership, an achievement for the nomad, facilitated pastoral life and was vital and for rural life and an imperative for urban existence but its adjunct, statehood, inhibited the nomads and pastoral people.

Today the economy and society of hunter-gatherers is confined to small communities within the vast construct of state systems. Early nomads, were not deterred by cities or states. Non-settled people must have had three responses to the intrusive islands of sedentary life. For some these would have been the goose that laid

the golden egg, a place to raid when possible; for others the prospect of settling there if permitted was alluring; a third option was to provide trade as a bridge between them, thereby retaining their mobility and exploiting the sedentary. This hunting and gathering of goods from one industrial pasture to another gave a fillip to trade and industry and facilitated state formation. Pastoral minds need little reorientation to adapt to the trader outlook: from mobile food supply to exchangeable goods.

Survival skills of the modern adventurer may compare with the average nomad but, as a community the nomads of prehistory possessed skills/techniques that are lost to modern society. Of course the technologies, materials or skills available today were not even dreamt of then. On one side each successive stage of development built on the preceding technology; on the other it shed part of its intellectual heritage as dated and irrelevant to its altered lifestyle. Changes in food sources [animal or vegetable, grain], materials [stone, clay, copper, leather, gut, bone, cotton, wool, synthetic], energy source [human, animal, fire/coal, oil, electricity, steam, nuclear, gas], natural forces harnessed or exploited by technology [sun, wind and water], technologies: physical [mechanical, electro-magnetic, pneumatic, mixtures or alloys] or chemical [compounds, biotic/organic] accompanied changes in lifestyle. Many changes have dictated chronological concepts such as Iron Age and Nuclear Age.

A gradual selectivity of environment and territoriality became a human trait where even natural constituents of an ecology were excluded from its habitat. Snakes, ants, lizards, rodents and their ilk continued a surreptitious and partly tolerated existence in the

settlements but predatory beasts like the tiger and the wolf were represented only by relatives like the cat and the dog. Even the wild buffalo stayed out while its close cousin was happy to be domesticated. Marginalized and excluded animal communities inhabited the hinterland till human progress or avarice displaced them or made them extinct. In a parallel process, humans spread to a variety of climes to claim primacy in the comity of versatile animals like the dog and the horse. Together with climatic and environmental conditions, human ingenuity has created myriad varieties of habitat in time and space.

The urban phenomenon is identified here with respect to two essential attributes. 1. A group of people settled in a relatively confined area and 2. Absence of sufficient adjacent agriculture and animal husbandry for supporting its resident population.

Civilization by contrast emerges only when there are a sufficient number of urban units in a hierarchy of importance and size; which have existed over a sufficient length of time and possess an inherent and uniquely identifiable set of values that separate it from other civilizations. It presupposes an integral relationship between the system of urbanisms and their rural and ecological hinterland. Thus the culture of a civilization is a composite one which comprises of values and distinct characteristics [culture], such that there is a consonance between its urbanisms and the hinterland in its rural, nomadic or uninhabited regions.

The town as a political entity with its citizens and some sort of self-administrating mechanism envisioned by Webber was a European phenomenon of the eleventh century. The independent

town was not a Germanic or European innovation, but its unique Germanic-European form, that was born in the 10th century and facilitated Protestant tendencies, was certainly a[26] product of the 'Germanic Spirit'. That it was impelled on one hand by Muslim advances and proselytization on the fringes of 'Europe' and on the other by Viking pressures and inputs in the European ethnic framework is not universally accepted but the Protestant faith and urban organization of the particular genre that produced the modern nation state did begin and flower when Germanic races were beleaguered on both sides one by a rival monotheism and on the other by a fresh wave of mythology.

S. C. Misra[27], has pointed out that the non-European city did not enjoy a status superior to rural areas but at times had an internal organization in addition to its state structure. This condition also applies to most villages and even pastoral communities through history. This may have been only one of the many features of societal distinction between Medieval Europe and the rest of the world which inhibited trends of capitalism or communism for that matter. However the essential deduction from this line of enquiry is that Urbanism in world history has had many forms and created varieties of civilization based on similar or unique characteristics. It is the characteristics of communities, societies and cultures that

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[26] Max Webber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, tr. Talcott Parsons (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1956), p.23 and elsewhere.

[27] S. C. Misra, "Some Aspects of the Self-Administering Institutions in Medieval Indian Towns" in *Studies in Urban History*, ed. J. S. Grewal and I. Banga (Amritsar: Department of History Guru Nanak Dev University, nd.) p. 81f

engineer the DNA which sets one culture apart from the other and one civilization form the next.

Note on sources:[28]

The variety of sources used for the study is sizeable as our data relates to several disciplines. We have, therefore, not included a survey of literature in this chapter. Instead, comments on source material of each stage are included in different places, especially with reference to their future utility. The bibliography at the end of the study is a sample of the kind and quantity of literature that may be used for each topic and each stage that we have studied.

[28] See also note 2 above.

INTRODUCTION:

Scheme and Rationale of Study

Rural settlements emerged in the distant past of pre-history and urbanization took place in the murky shadows of proto-history. Muslim historiography has generally estimated the historic life of human-beings to have begun eight to ten thousand years ago, which corresponds approximately to the emergence of the urban phenomenon. In fact, history of humanity should be dated from that stage in nomadic or pastoral societies when, as a clan, some homo-sapiens formulated rules of conduct to create a culture which transcended the natural instincts of animals. The problem with such a definition is that its dating will not only be highly speculative but it will vary from locality to locality.

The urban phenomenon may be studied from many perspectives, some of these are mutually exclusive; others are interdependent and best understood if viewed collectively. The present study is an attempt to reconstruct the history of urban lifestyles in the territories comprising Pakistan today. Phenomena such as de-urbanization and re-urbanization seem interconnected through administration, technology, economy, and state systems.

Town-planning, value systems, lifestyle, language and other cultural elements form part of civilizations emerging from an urban process. This study aims to identify the common thread in location and planning of towns within the territory in question on one hand and digression in the matter of unique features of various urbanisms, such as architecture, building material and other issues which cannot be generalized in time or space.

Our conceptual framework has been discussed in a preamble followed by this introduction which highlights rationale and methodology. Section one of the work is a survey of space and time settings of Indus urban phenomena in two chapters. Section two consists of six segments of time, called stages. Ideally each stage should have been presented in three sections preceded by an introductory statement and followed by a concluding one. As each stage has its own dynamics, the internal scheme of each chapter has been adjusted accordingly. However, we have tried to prefix the sections of each chapter with perspectives on the internal configuration of the Enclave and inter-state environment outside it. Section 'A' generally includes the mainsprings which caused state formation in the Enclave. In Section 'B' we deal with socio-cultural aspects like ethnicity, language, architecture, town planning and economy. In Section 'C' we enumerate the limiting factors of the human and natural environment.

The limits of natural environment have changed to some extent from time to time. Topography has most often been influenced by changes in the path of rivers. However, the human interface with the same elements has been a more potent and noteworthy aspect of changing effects of natural environment in each stage. It is for

this reason that a technological persona of each stage has been seen in conjunction with its environmental constraints before summarizing the urban pattern of each stage. This applies equally to civilizations as to the interim phases.

Historical atlases and texts have been used to identify political and administrative forms in each stage. It has not been possible to fully exploit changes in language to reconstruct the ethno-genesis of each stage. Place names such as Patyala [Patty wala], Ambala [Amb wala], Batala [Butt wala], Jandala [Jand wala], Bure wala, Sahiwal [Sahi-wal] etc. provide clues for the reconstruction of the ethno-lingua-genesis in the Enclave. We have occasionally made use of such data but it requires a multi-disciplinary and multi-lingual team to study each stage and perhaps even sub-localities in each stage for such a study to be useful.

The lone subcontinent & the Indus Enclave[1]

Eighty million years ago when the two land masses in the north and south of the globe broke up into 'continents'; one portion of the southern mass[2] connected with mainland Asia. The process

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[1] The term "***cusp***" has been introduced along with "***foyer***" in this monograph to denote the unique status of the Indus Enclave as a geographic unit. The historical and geographic justification for use of these terms may be found throughout this monograph, particularly section I where general aspects of its history and geography are outlined.

[2] Large portions of the southern land mass that crossed the Tethys were four in number and came to form: South America, Africa, Australia and India. The first two joined with other continents but, having a large size with a thin land bridge, acquired the status of continents; Australia, having taken a position aloof from all others, despite a relatively small size and lack of

took ten million years [map 1&1a]. The impact produced the Himalayas and a series of adjoined small mountain ranges in the western *suture zone*. It created a geo-unit consisting of virtually every conceivable barrier and terrain which was made up from portions of land from the mainland of Asia, the 'Sub-Continent'[3] that came from the south and the land beneath the sea that must have been pushed up by the bulldozer like effect of the impact. The sea took its time to vacate the region of modern Pakistan, leaving the Sindh region last. The Indus river system, including the Hakra-Luni channels, may only have emerged as late as half a million years ago due to reorientation of Swalik drainage.

An area that forms a bridge for cultural traffic can be designated as a cusp. Areas that form states of Pakistan, Turkey and Egypt today constituted classical cusps of history. Areas of transit are not cusps, they are either porous, thus it is impossible to regulate

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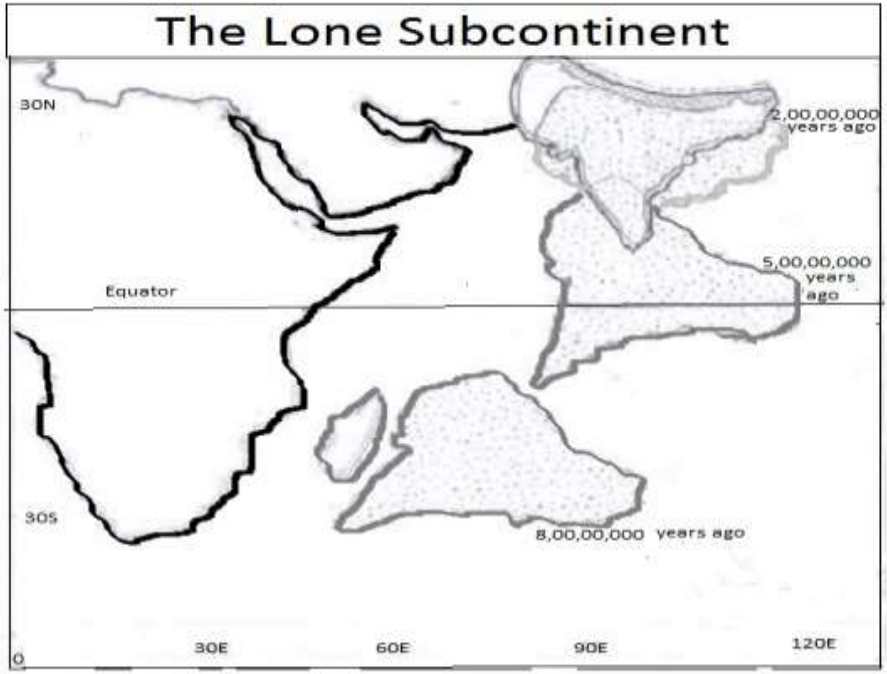
habitation, also wrangled the title of continent, perhaps because of its later association with the Europeans who arrogated to themselves the same title, even though there is hardly any justification for designating Europe as separate entity from Asia or Eurasia. The fourth piece, about the same size as Europe or Australia, joined mainland Asia with a series of mountains to identify the suture. This was designated a sub-continent along with other parts of Asia; see note 1 above.

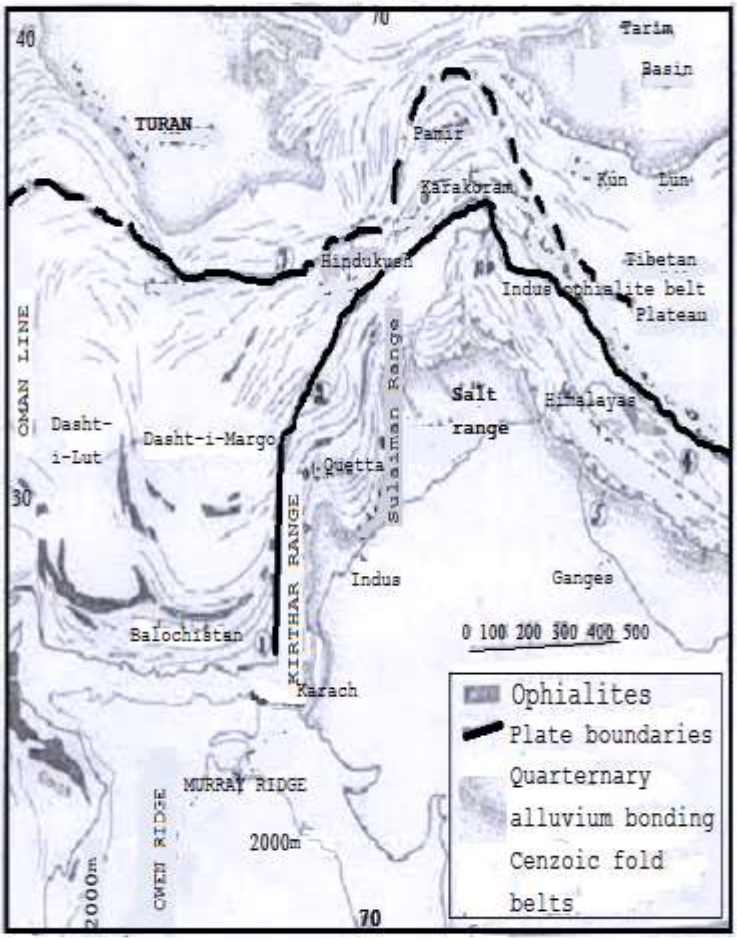
[3] For a description of four sub-continents of Asia, to cut it down to regions of the size of Europe, see Rapson, E. J. *The Cambridge History of India: Ancient India* vol. I. (New Delhi: S. Chand and Co, 1987), 1. It describes them: the east which is mainly 'Buddhist', a Lower or south-west, being the 'homeland of Islam'; a north and west centre that was united under Russian rule and the 'Indian sub-continent' in the middle south. The term did not stick with the other areas. Only the Indian region is entitled to the term sub-continent on the basis of tectonic theory and demography.

the flow of population and culture, or so impenetrable that they can be called watersheds. A cusp absorbs cultural elements from adjacent regions/permits demographic flow between watersheds. Various Turko-Mongol peoples crossed the Indus between 100 BC-1700 AD. They provide a classical example of demographic transition and cultural trade in the foyers of the Indus.



MAP 1

Map 1-a



This map is based on the probable techtonic form of the Enclave as given by Powell, C. Mc A., 1979: see bibliography

Egypt was the cusp between ancient civilizations across the deserts on either side of it. Turkey was the arbiter of the varying fortunes of South Europe in general and those of Southeast Europe in particular. The region of Pakistan, which is our main concern here, is unique among the cusps as it provides several bridges or passages between Bharat and Southwest Asia[4]. While other geographic and climatic factors may have contributed to making this region the cradle of civilizations and watersheds in temperate and tropical zones ensured for it a constant supply of cultural inputs and outputs through other cusps. The western cusps provided narrow passages; Egypt with an effulgence as a river valley civilization derived from nomadic life; and Turkey had a greater potential for ingress into South-west Asia than from it. There was, it seems, greater flow of influence from Asia to Africa than towards the Balkan and Italian peninsulas.

Pakistan, with multiple openings along the ranges from Kirthar to the Hindukush, Karakorum and Pamir, several rivers entering the Indus from east and west, and its eastern passages restricted by a system of deserts, forests and river swamps, was a cusp and an Enclave and a ***foyer*** with several access points.

Starting with a unique tectonic event which created the only real "Subcontinent" in world geography, the sweep of history shows changes/phases of geology, geography, ethnology and politics in

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[4] We have designated as Southwest Asia the stretch of civilized, cultivable semi-arid land bounded by the Mediterranean on the west and the range of Hindukush in the East (the gradually ascending mountains to the west of Pakistan). The Arabian Sea bounds its south while the Black Sea, Caucasus and Caspian Sea make a porous barrier to the north. This was the central watershed of the 'old world'.

the Indus Enclave. The operation took eight million years. Its suture has not healed completely during the last twelve million years. This led to a tectonic fusion that formed an arch of hills and lofty mountains from Gwadar to Chittagong spanning 4000 miles; the suture unites Asia and South Asia. It is nowhere more porous or historically active than in areas that now constitute Pakistan. Prehistoric animal life[5] is testified by dinosaur fossils near Chakwal and unique animate wonders of the Indus Enclave that include the Baluchitherium and Pickecines.

The human race however, first recorded its existence in the Soan Valley in modern Islamabad. Here, five hundred thousand years ago Palaeolithic humans made the first known tools on Pakistani soil. Since similar tools were made across several ice-ages, long before sedentary life, they will be the craft of nomads or pastoral people. We may infer that the Soan valley gradually became a nomadic stop for tool making. Just as the nomads must have observed prime locations for seasonal food supply they probably identified convenient locations as sources of stone for tools; it seems that Soan was such a site.

Perhaps inheritors[6] of these crafts perfected pebble tools in the Rohri hills before the evolution of Balochi village culture which

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[5] The great variety of this life may yet be unexplored but a giant whale at Kuldana [Pakicenis] and the gigantic camel like animal [Baluchitherium] from Baluchistan have been mentioned because they are quite unique in the known animal world to date.

[6] Joseph E. Schwartzberg, ed., *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 7f has given some of the sites for stone tools and weapons during the Palaeolithic and Neolithic times. The Soan region

contributed to the sophisticated and refined town planning of the Indus valley civilization. From the first interglacial period Soan seems to have attracted humans to make implements, we find proof of the presence of Palaeolithic man in the area but skeletal remains are not reported. The Pothohar region produced eoliths[7] and may be considered an industrial centre even though it may not have been constantly inhabited in Palaeolithic times. It is possible that because of availability of convenient raw material for eoliths it became an industrial pasture for humans.

Mankind came to inhabit this area early. Tools found in various regions so far tend to suggest that the first people who inhabited some part of Pakistani soil [Soan valley] would have had more contact with the north west, Oxus-Jaxartes, than with the east or southeast, the Ganga and Vindiya regions, some sixty thousand years ago [map 2]. These were the Stone Age people. Early rural remains found in Pakistan are dated ten thousand years ago; this pre-urban concentration seems to have been in the Baluchistan region. It is expected that precipitation would have been greater

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was a site for stone tools up to the Chalcolithic period while other sites like those in the Beas region were used in the early period but not in the later stone ages. The history of changing topography and elevations of mountain ranges probably ceased to be a factor in location of specific kinds of stone before the end of the last ice age and, as such, would not have influenced urban and even rural evolution of human settlements. However, the Palaeolithic era witnessed the growing human awareness of quality of stone, use of specific qualities/location of stone reserves resulting in the emergence of the Neolithic horizon.

[7] See for eoliths [flake tools: pre-Soan era], Yu V. Gankovsky, *The Peoples of Pakistan: An Ethnic History* (Lahore: Peoples Publishing House, n. d.), probably published in 1968 or 69, p. 23.

at the time; perhaps smaller social units also preferred smaller water supplies and may have feared larger rivers because of inability to control them. Thus a dual incentive was required to move rural and urban settlements to the brink of the Indus, larger social units as a push and technology as a pull factor.

MAP 2

It is likely that even during the glacial periods Pothohar's stone reserves remained accessible if the region was exposed during the summers like the lower Himalayan area today. Gankovsky identifies three racial types in the Indus Enclave at this time:

Eurasian-Europoid, Asian-Mongoloid and Negro-Australoid or Equatorial from tropical Asia-Africa:

> In the Upper Palaeolithic, the first local types of human culture … is connected with prolonged and isolated development of rather large groups of population. Archaeologists contend that in the Upper Palaeolithic, much of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, together with Africa and Western Asia, constituted a single Caspian 'cultural province' with the exception of the Punjab where … industry reveals certain features common with contemporaneous stone industries of the northern foothills of the Pamir range. [8]

A Mesolithic phase is estimated to have covered the 16th to 13th millennia BC which were coeval with the close of the glacial period in Pakistan. A new kind of stone implement [microliths] was used for arrowheads as inserts. At the end of the Mesolithic period we find the first use of pottery. Gankovsky believes that it was in this period that the first animals were domesticated and cultivation was attempted. He also contends that at this time fishing began to gain importance and settlements began. The probability that agriculture was preceded by animal husbandry, which in turn was preceded by the regular supply of game to

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[8] Gankovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 24:

facilitate settled life and water management before agriculture is a very real one. Gankovsky records sites in Sukkur and Rohri for emergence of microlithic finds of the Mesolithic period. He believes that the first 'farming oases' emerged in 'mountain valleys of small rivers in the north-west of the subcontinent'. *Since, until this stage the topographic watersheds did not inhibit nomads, there were no cusps.*

The lower Palaeolithic gave way to its upper phase during the interglacial period about sixty thousand years ago. It is possible that during interglacial periods human population was confined and insulated thus creating the colour and race types identified today. It is also likely that the upper Palaeolithic led to the dawn of art, religion, and the use of bone tools. Gankovsky believes that human genus and clan take shape in the Upper Palaeolithic. We may infer that racial types and the concept of aborigines are based on insular development of humans starting from this time. However, the mixture of Negro-Australoid and Europoid groups created the racial type could be called Dravidian in order to give them a name that is familiar in European historiography. It is not actually possible to ascribe a name for the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the Indus Enclave that describes their racial identity.

The original settlers in the Enclave, as we shall see, came from many areas and included a variety of the racial identities that we can assign for people of early rural communities. The tribal life of pastoral people is perhaps the stage at which ethnicity can be first ascribed to a human population. There were several tribes which constituted the initial settlers in Baluchistan and Sind.

Structure, Foyers and Historic usage of the Enclave

Notoriously, the passes of the Hindukush have been identified as entrances to the Indus Enclave but have seldom been viewed as its exits because of an India-centric perspective which is based on the assumption that those who entered India became indolent and never left it. This is only partially true for those who crossed the northeast exit of the Enclave: a triangle of land enclosed by Sirhind, Bhatinda and Hansi, between Punjab and the Ganga-Jumna Doab. The northern entrances of the Enclave to its east and west figure frequently in history but exits to the due north and south or those in the southern half of the Enclave [east or west] are equally important, as much on account of the limited ingress or egress that they provide as due to the fact that they imposed serious limitations on military movement and conquest of or by people in those regions. Internal passages are created by riverine flow and mountains that integrate/fragment topography.

Generally flow of population to the Indus Enclave for economic or political reasons is said to have been northwest to southeast. It may be argued, on the basis of urban history that there were several varieties of counter flow from east to west and from south towards the north. A variety of desert dwellers, mountain men, riverine communities and people of the plains formed a matrix across continents which influenced demographic flow in the Indus Enclave as well. In historic [pre-modern] times people had the option to depopulate an area and migrate to productive regions when floods, silting, desertification water-logging or salinity made an area temporarily or permanently uninhabitable. This option has become increasingly unviable in modern times.

Historically climatic or ecological changes dictated the direction and quantum of a demographic flow and also determined if, as a consequence, urban reorientation would occur at all. This flux of population, entering the Indus Enclave through various doors, flowed into geographic locations that suited their nature, bonded with ethnicities that matched their disposition and created units of control, governance and administration around cities.

The rivers of Pakistan have been highways for commerce; land crossings to Oxus or Jaxartes provided drainage for trade with Central Asia and the Arabian Sea through the ages[9]. The Hakra-Ghaghara may have split into Sarswati-Sutlej in the north or the Luni-Indus in the south. The northern rivers have often changed course, perhaps due to topographic contours but the change was seldom drastic. In the South, however, the range between the western-most course of the Indus and the eastern-most course of the Hakra may have been hundreds of miles[10]. This created a variety of states and hinterlands as foyers that were isolated in the south; and west or east centric in the north. Topographic changes

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[9] Even the British were initially inclined to use this route for trading with Central Asia and China but the failure of the Afghan conquest, Russian pressure and the military advantage in using railways caused them to abandon the facility of riverine highways for traffic in order to enhanced agricultural output. The system of locks to facilitate riverine trade was not used in the Punjab-Indus canals as it did not suit colonial shipping. A steamship operated briefly in the Indus but the project was abandoned.

[10] Maneck B. Pithawala, *Historical Geography of Sind* (Jamshoro: University of Sind, 1978).

in the movement of deserts and rivers at times caused drastic changes in these foyers.

The drying up of Hakra/Ghaghara and its tributaries in Cholistan created a desert where several Harappan settlements had been; their westward movement is one of several examples of east to west demographic flow[11] in the Indus Enclave. Rivers acted as exits and passages but were also natural boundaries for limiting emergent administrative units[12]. One of the factors determining changing structures of antechambers and foyers, in the larger foyer that we have designated the 'Enclave', was variation in its natural boundaries through topography [map 3] while the other was the change in potential of land and technological repertoire by the changing ethnic groups. A combinations of these factors created six stages of urbanization in the Enclave.

Urban centres first emerged in the Indus valley five thousand years ago. The civilization that followed, lasting nearly 2500 years, appears to have integrated various sub-segments into a single cultural entity [map 4]. Perhaps six such segments can be identified, each with its own central town within the hinterland, extending from the sea in the south to the Pothohar in the north. The extended region seems to have been better irrigated during that time. Outposts of its influence reached beyond Hindukush in the north, but the heartland that was to become Gandhara was

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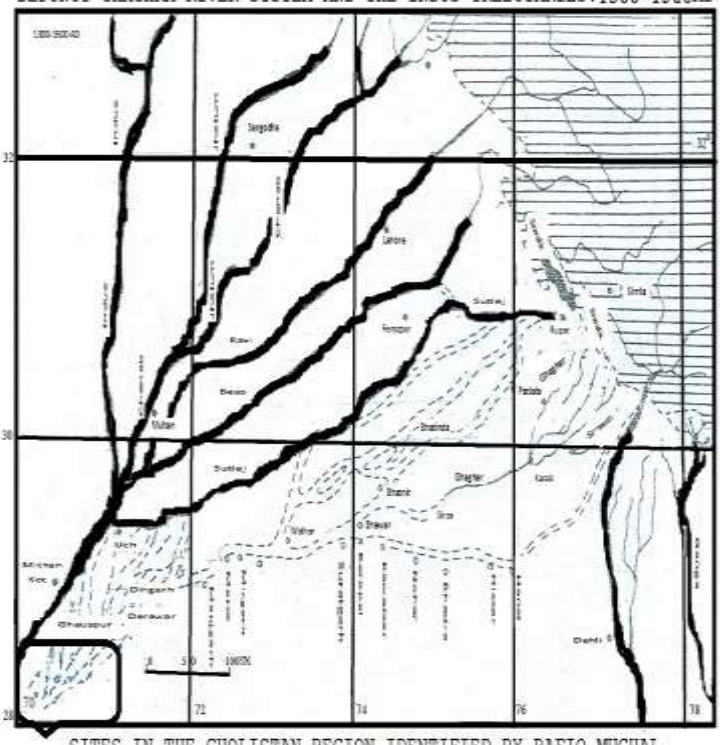
[11] A similar flow may possibly have exploited the links between Gujrat-Sindh for movement of tribes such as Gondal and Joya in pre-modern history.

[12] Ahmed Nabi Khan, *Multan* (Islamabad, NIHCR, 1983) is more reliable for changing river courses near Multan.

probably peripheral to the Harappan hinterland and may have merely contributed some stone tools for it.

This map is based on Gautam Mahajan, *Ground Water Surveys and Investigation*, New Delhi, 1995 with some amendments and alterations. The representation may be in error on the Punjab rivers. For a comparison see A. N. Khan, *Multan*, Islamabad, 1979.
Our prime concern here is the drying up of rivers to create the Cholistan desert south of Drawar. Here we find the Hakra style of the Regionalisation Era.

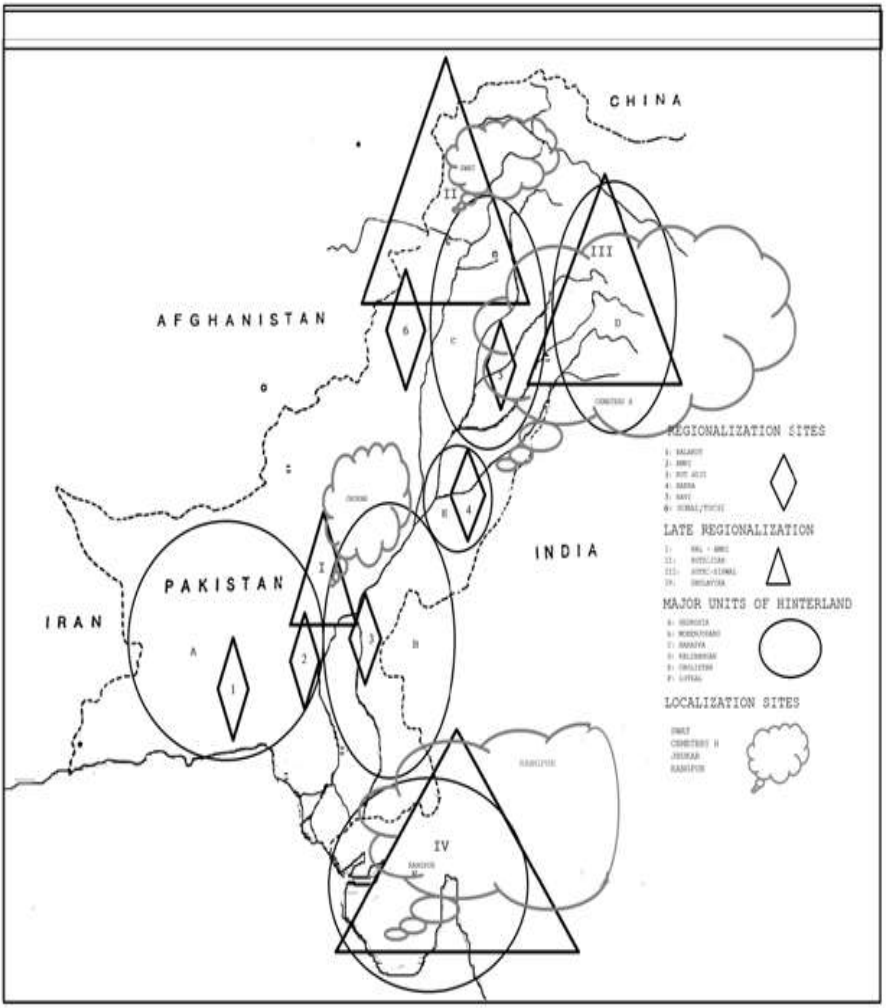
DEFUNCT GHAGHRA RIVER SYSTEM AND THE INDUS TREBUTARIES:1300-1500AD



SITES IN THE CHOLISTAN REGION IDENTIFIED BY RAFIQ MUGHAL

MAP 3

This map shows the estimated changes in river channels. For an alternative assessment see the source cited in note 12 above.


CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
IRAN
INDIA
REGIONALIZATION SITES
LATE REGIONALIZATION
MAJOR UNITS OF HINTERLAND
LOCALIZATION SITES

MAP 4

Rivers as arteries of trade and boats may have dominated Harappan transit. Being more active in the southern part of the Enclave it is likely that internal population movement during Harappan times was limited[13]. The Indus Enclave allowed more frequent and consistent demographic flow from the South-west Asian region than to it. However it also allowed substantial flow from Bharat into South-west Asia. Being a geological cusp and also a cultural one, ethnic entities passing through the Enclave from east or west tended to lose touch with their origin. The first to experience this phenomenon perhaps were Palaeolithic nomads who came from central Asia and used chopper chopping tools. The Aryans and Kushans or other Turko-Mongols came from the north and exited in the east. Buddhist influences passing through to China from the east and Hindu influences flowing to south-west Asia also lost contact with their place of origin.

The Indus Enclave has been a cusp of several passages and foyer like antechambers. The most remarkable of its delimitations is along its eastern boundaries. On the face of it there is much less to distinguish between the contiguous lands on both sides of the Pakistan-India border than there is difference between east and

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[13] This statement applies to migration not to mobility of labour and capital within the Indus Valley. In the heartland during its heyday, it is likely that the mobility of labour was higher. But external elements, generally in the form of pastoral groups, would have been confined to its periphery along northern routes of the Enclave when coming from any direction to bring stone. These groups eroded the fabric of administration and society in the long run to bring down the edifice of Indus civilization. They probably revived the stone technology, however, which was the hallmark of the Gandhara successors to the Indus Civilization.

west faces of mountains bordering Afghanistan and Pakistan yet the divide is real; as if it was in fact a physical barrier. Bolan, Gomal, Tochi and Khyber, sitting astride mountains in the west matched with Chamb and Wagah, Sulaimanki and Khokhropar as doors leading east from the Indus Enclave. In the south-east, as in the west, most remarkable are contiguous barriers; deserts having a strange uniqueness distinguishing the Indus foyer from its neighbours. What made states of Rajputana eschew expansion across Tharparkar is as strange; a fact as that the Baloch and the Pakhtuns of the Hindukush are not alike in tribal structure[14].

Today Pakistan is divided into administrative units of different sizes designated *tehsil*, district [*zila*], division [British invention between zila and subha] and province [*subha*]. Each unit implies that a hinterland is able to support at least one central town. The tehsil supports a small town while subha sustains several towns and cities including a metropolis or mega polis that serves as a provincial headquarter. Historically even the boundaries of the tehsil have not been fixed. A variety of combinations of smaller units have been formed in the course of history, creating various states and provinces structures. These urban patterns reflect ethno-technological exploitation of foyers through civilizations.

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[14] Perhaps the answer is to be found in the land beneath the sand: Hakra fed clay soil of Cholistan did not need advanced technology for agricultural productivity. Perhaps it did not hold sufficient lure for the Rajput ethnicity to challenge local communities of Sindh in the first millennium AD. As such both land and people developed a lasting distinction that pervades history as well as pre-history. The Baloch being a scattered community, due to a barren terrain barely able to support its pastoral population, could not attain the close knit tribal identity of the Pakhtun and, thus, had a loose association with their kin across vast deserted areas.

Since the time of the Indus Valley civilization three thousand years of history have been recorded. In this period the area was dominated from a centre in its west for 500 years and from a centre east of it for 750 years, with 650 years of Muslim rule. During the remaining 1750 years, the region was independent and often locally governed, sometimes as a single state; while at others it was fragmented; forming an intermediary state system [fig. I]. Since the period under study is too long and the area too extensive even a list of the major urban centres and a history of their rise and fall is impossible here. Some urban centres of modern times, such as Peshawar, Lahore, Hyderabad, Multan and Khuzdar may have remained urbanized throughout historic times with few lean patches. While others, like Thatta, Depalpur and Pakpattan, have declined steadily since medieval times. Still others are only known as 'has been' urbanisms of history.

North to south from the Pamir to the sea, we have many massifs, defiles and passes in high mountains belonging to four ranges: Pamir, Hun-do-Kush, Karakorum and the Himalayas and their foothills. The Pothohar plateau, riverine regions and the vast plains of the south follow in a sequence with a mountainous border, from Sufed Koh to Kirthar, in the west and desert plains from Cholistan and Tharparkar in the east.

In an east to west series, intervening rivers, from the Sutlej to the Kabul, form an inverted delta in the northern half. After the confluence at Panjnad, rain fed drains form small ribs of support to the Indus sternum; thus, the Indus valley does not exclusively rely on flood based agriculture at any stage. Between the Indus and Sutlej a pattern of: river-forest-cultivable land-urbanisms-

pastures-sparse population-desert; is to be seen. This is repeated before the next river is reached [fig. I & map 5]. To the west in the mountainous region, a series of passes act as doors which become gradually inconvenient from north to south even though the ranges steadily lose height towards the south. This is because the web of drains is not perennial nor sufficient for extensive agriculture needs, deserts to the east have a similar tendency; thus traffic in the Indus valley is often limited to its northern portion despite several river crossings.

Punjab Rivers according to Vandal

FIGURE 2

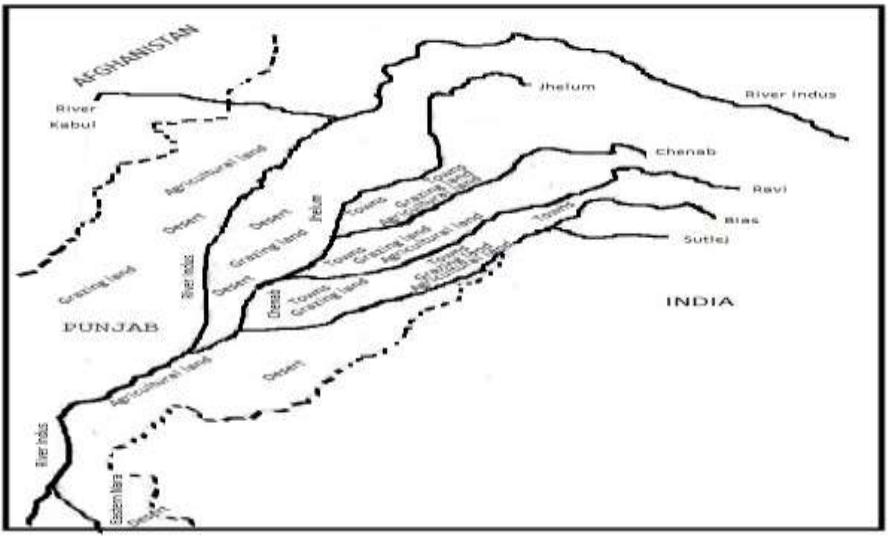
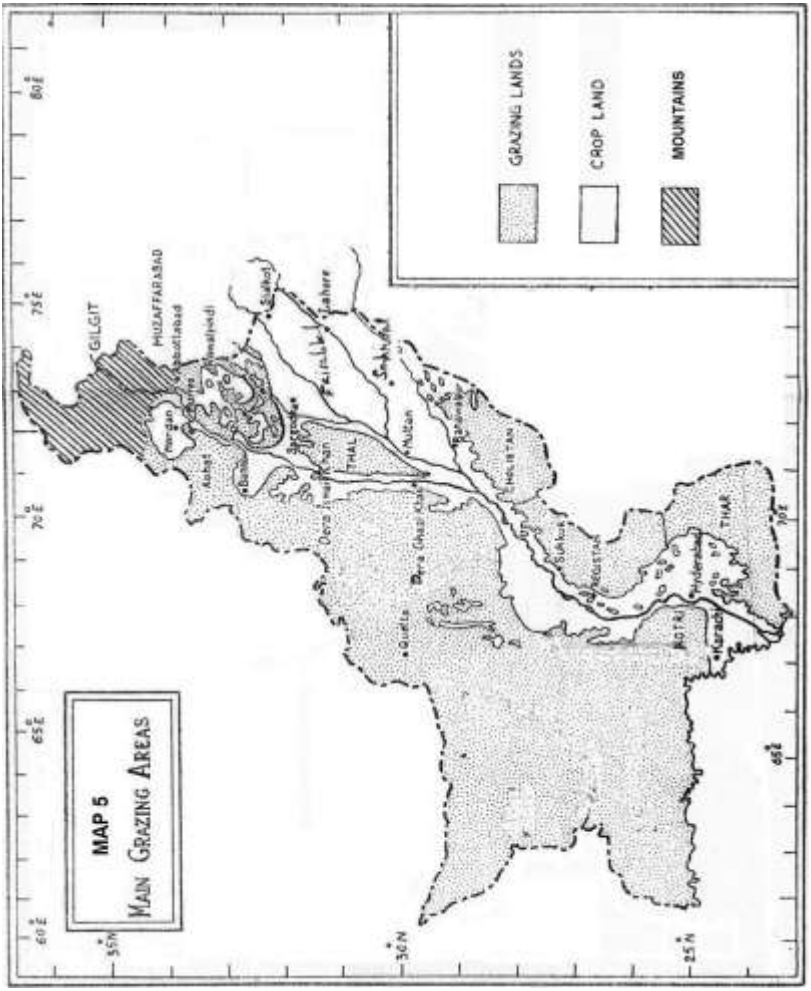


FIGURE - I


MAP 5
MAIN GRAZING AREAS
GRAZING LANDS
CROP LAND
MOUNTAINS
GILGIT
MUZAFFARABAD
Lahore
Multan
THAL
BAHAWALPUR
BALUCHISTAN
SUKKUR
KHAIRPUR
KOTRI
Hyderabad
Karachi
THAR
Quetta
Dera Ghazi Khan
Dera Ismail Khan
Bannu
Peshawar
Abbottabad
Mansehra
Mardan
Swat
Chitral
Skardu
Leh
Srinagar
Sialkot
Mirpur
Kotli
Bhimber
Rawalpindi
Jhelum
Chakwal
Mianwali
Bhakkar
Kohat
Bannu
Dera Ismail Khan
Dera Ghazi Khan
Multan
Bahawalpur
Sukkur
Hyderabad
Karachi
60°E
65°E
70°E
75°E
80°E
35°N
30°N
25°N

MAP 5

The Indus valley has an incline of about one foot to the mile from the Pothohar to the sea. The Indus river flowed in channels one hundred miles apart, east to west [map 6], in Sind. Ravi and Chenab are estimated to have moved westwards, from the south and east of Multan to its northwest [note on map 3], other rivers in Punjab also changed course to the west. Vandal believes that the trend of their movement is along a curve and they tend to erode their western bank or shift in that direction, a trend which is visible in the Indus also. He says that towns occur close to the east bank high above flood level, thus large towns were often located on the east bank of rivers; a pattern of urbanization that existed in all Indus urbanism throughout pre-colonial history. [15]

Mountains and rivers share the ability to integrate or segregate communities living astride them. If river transport is effective, the communities on either side share the highway and are bound together by economy and culture; when ineffective, it becomes an insular medium which generates watersheds on either side. In the case of mountains, their topography consistently determines the quantity of interaction between communities living on either face. If the mountains are barren, rocky or steep, communication is reduced; if they have a benign terrain, they are only insular in cases where climatic and seasonal barriers exist.

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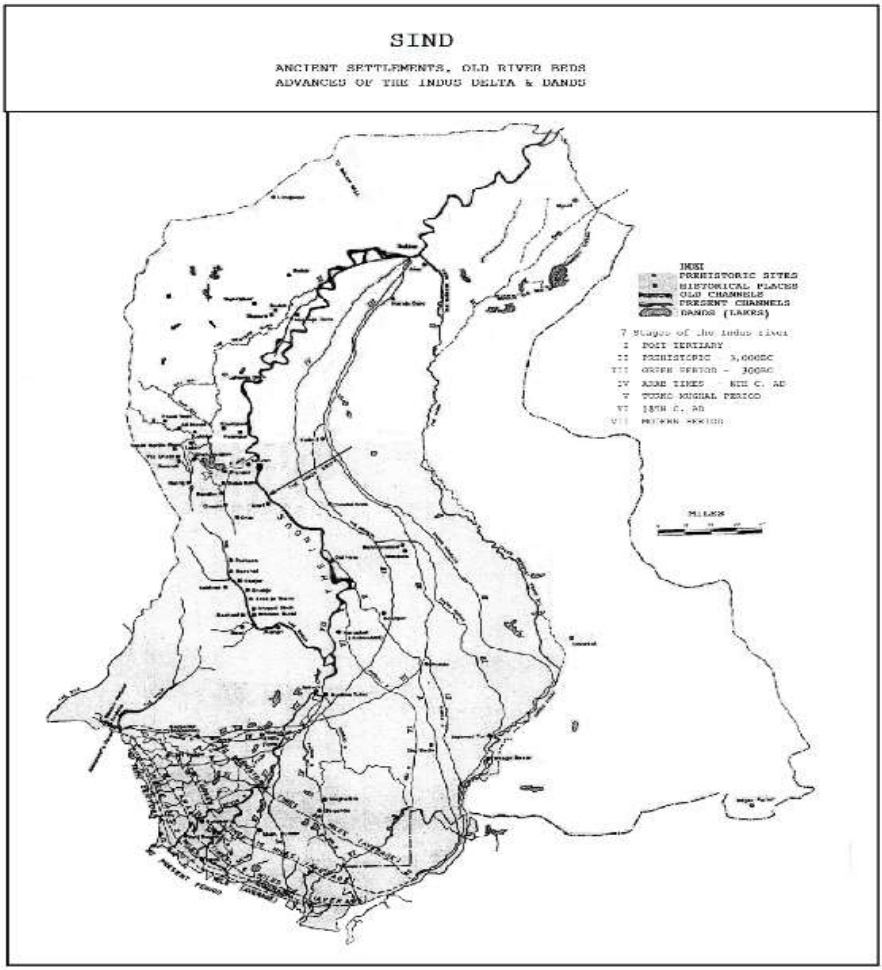
[15] This hypothesis ignores political will and intent. It can equally be argued that states centered to the east of a river with an aggressive intent sought to establish cantonments on the west bank, similarly states with an administrative center to the west of a river seeking a defensive position founded cities/town on the west bank to secure themselves against threats from the east.


SIND
ANCIENT SETTLEMENTS, OLD RIVER BEDS
ADVANCES OF THE INDUS DELTA & BANDS
INDEX
PREHISTORIC SITES
HISTORICAL PLACES
OLD CHANNELS
PRESENT CHANNELS
BANDS (LAKES)
7 Stages of the Indus river
I POST TERTIARY
II PREHISTORIC 3,000BC
III GREEK PERIOD - 300BC
IV ARAB TIMES 8TH C. AD
V TURKO MUGHAL PERIOD
VI 18TH C. AD
VII MODERN PERIOD
MILES

MAP 6

Chitral, Gilgit, Kaghan, Swat and Kashmir are integrated by rivers and isolated by the intervening mountains. The insulation between Afghanistan and KPK [Peshawar and Kabul] is less impenetrable; the Pakhtuns on either side are closely knit where communication is easy and dissociated where it is difficult.

The mountains south of the Hun-do-Kush are generally inhabited by peoples who do not have racial or ethnic links with the Huns and Kushan; the mountains they inhabit also do not encourage people to form the same kind of bonding which was possible for those who lived astride the higher, more hospitable Hindukush. The flow of culture was transmitted by small communities via channels between mountain ranges running parallel from Chaghi to Mekran and its pastoral population became less fragmented due to an intermingling of tribes. In this part of Baluchistan the socioeconomic fabric isn't strong enough to sustain large towns. Trading posts, hardly able to sustain basic industries, serve as urban centres. The larger urban centres of Baluchistan are to be found in better irrigated region, high altitude cities like Quetta, Kalat and Khuzdar are giants compared to Noshki or Dalbandin. This geography led to the emergence of trade routes from east to west and north to south which were influenced by geo-political situations within the Enclave as well as by the rise and fall of urban centres around it during the course of history.

Thus at the time when Baghdad was of greater importance, the southern routes were patronized, but when Ghaznin or Bokhara acquired primacy northern routes became dominant. When the regions of Khurasan [northeast Iran/west Afghanistan] became

centres of activity, Gomal and Tochi routes were preferred[16]. In the east there is less variation. Not only did the vast expanses of desert land on either side of the Indus deter military movement, it also limited options of trade in post-Harappan/historic times. A variety of inhospitable lands from Baluchistan to Rajasthan test survival skills of even the most versatile of desert dwellers, imposing a strictly sporadic flow of small groups by land in either direction between the sea coast and the Beas region. The fissures of the Indus and the flash flood bearing culverts around Quetta and Kalat add variety to the obstacles in the east-west passage bounded by the Indian and Iranian deserts.

Though deserts could be expected to provide variable frontiers or buffers, the Indus Enclave has used one [Baluchistan] as a hinterland and the other [Rajasthan] as barrier. While mountains divide partially they are more effective as barriers when barren than when fertile. Trade routes and demographic movements, determined by the topography and riverine flow, have dictated natural limit of hinterland for a potential town. Thus political and administrative units [map 7] emerged within territories as if marked by a demographic fault line. The variety of units, their shapes and sizes are easily identified; but the frequency of their historic occurrence needs rigorous research. An example of the variation in location of towns within a given hinterland can be seen from shifting capitals of Sind through history.

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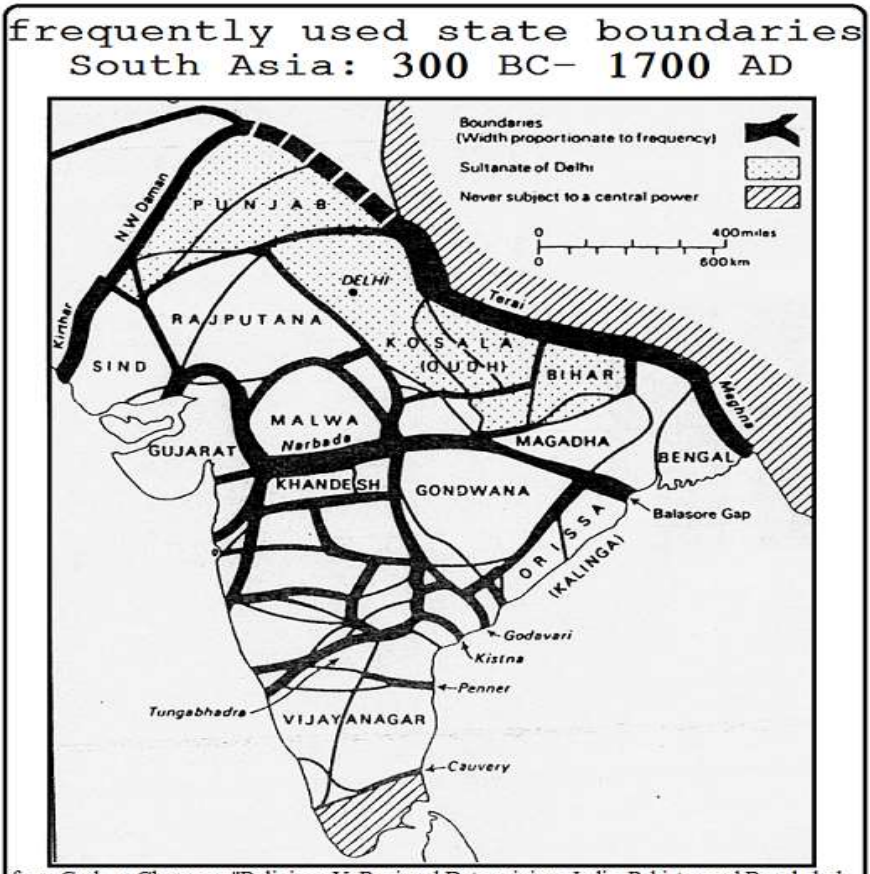
16 See F. A Khan, *Indus Valley and Early Iran* (Karachi: Department of Archeology and Museums, Karachi, 1964).



from Graham Chapman, "Religious V. Regional Determinism: India, Pakistan and Bangladesh As Inheritors Of Empire" in: *A South Asian Reader*, ed. David Arnold and Peter Robb, Surrey, Curzon Press, 1993, p. 9. Although Chapman refers to his source as ---- "Spate and Learmouth, 1967" This conceptual formulation was first put forward a quarter of a century earlier by an Indian historian.

MAP 7

SECTION 1

THE ENVIRONMENT

Physical

Topography, Geology and Geography

The tectonic history of the Indus Enclave forms the basis of its geological evolution[1]. Although this is not germane to our study it manifests the Enclave as a geological cusp. Perhaps a portion of the land mass coming from the south [that came to be called South Asia] contributed the bulk of land east of the Indus river[2]. The segment west of Indus was provided by the Asian continent while a third component came from the ocean floor that beached the Pickecines at Kuldana[3]. Affinity of the Enclave on all sides and a geological internal unity and diversity are visible from its

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[1] For a geological history of the region see A. H. Kazmi and M. Qasim Jan, *Geology and Tectonics of Pakistan*, (Karachi: Graphic Publishers, 1997).

[2] For the millions of years of travel and probable tectonic boundaries see: C. Mc A. Powell, "A Speculative Tectonic History of Pakistan and Surroundings: Some Constraints from the Indian Ocean" in A. Farah and K. A. Defang, eds. *Geological Survey of Pakistan: Geodynamics of Pakistan* (n. p. 1979), 5-24, fig 1 [p6] and fig. 5 [p10]. Map 1and 1a as given in the chapter entitled Introduction, supra.

[3] J. M. H. Thewissen, S. T. Hussain & M. Arif, "Fossil Evidence for origin of Aquatic Locomotion in Archaeocete Whales" *Science* 263 (14 January 1994): 210-11.

stratigraphy discussed by Ravindra Kumar[4]. Of specific interest is a sequence of maps showing the stages of recession of the sea from the lands on either side of the South Asian land mass[5] after its collision with Asia. The stages of formation of the alluvium and its layers also depict geomorphic unity, successive overlays thus cut across the tectonic suture and earlier levels of deposits. Each layer provided a potential for integration and dissociation that was later exploited by its human inhabitants.

While the process of geological evolution and the stratigraphic sequences show hidden affinities [soil types and minerals etc.] of one locality on the earth's crust with another, orographic maps show the most obvious ones[height above sea level, vegetation and rivers]. In certain cases this similarity of elevation above sea level may perhaps have dictated the path of a conqueror's army. Mean rainfall, sequence of winds, temperature bands and isobars also influence patterns of human settlements directly or through the limits they impose on the animals domesticated by them.

These indices have been used sparingly in this study because it would not be possible to assess all of them simultaneously. As a general rule we may bear in mind that the needs of domesticated animals were more important for the nomad and the pastoralist while soil quality and irrigation were of primary importance to the agriculturalist. The urban location was, however, influenced more by political, economic or social effects of topography; the

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[4] Ravindra Kumar, *Fundamentals of Historical Geography and Stratigraphy of India* (New Delhi: New Age International, 1985): 218 fig 11.9.

[5], *op. cit.*: 197 fig 11.1.

human interface with geography was vital in this context. Soil quality, and ecology were by-products of geological evolution.

Perhaps the most effective geological manifestation, certainly the most obvious one, is topography. In the present chapter we present the topographic contours of the Indus Enclave as they emerged and evolved throughout history. From this overview is derived a sketch of resources, routes and logistics which forms the backdrop in which the human drama took place. The most significant point of this delineation is the obvious outline of the Enclave as a geological and topographic entity which enforced its dictate equally on its pastoral, agrarian and urban formations.

Distinctions identified by ancient people that separate isotherms from one another and one mountain range from its neighbour; the subtle ecological variations that drew a line between one desert and another are as fascinating as the distinction of one sea from another when they are not separated by land. These distinctions have imposed their writ on history, ethnicity or race and culture. In the context of the Indus Enclave this is most remarkable in four stately ranges to the north: Karakorum, Hindukush, Pamir and Himalayas] and deserts in the south[6].

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[6] The deserts of Iran and Baluchistan in the west and Rajasthan, Cholistan and Tharparkar in the east are typical. The rivers of the Enclave provide it with a unique internal unity. The banks of Ravi and the Indus [Lahore-Multan-Sukkur-Thatta] provided the north to south linkage of the Enclave. These two major Punjab towns and Peshawar in KPK mark the historic entry-pots of the Enclave.

Topography

In an 'S' like formation, the topography of the Enclave follows the lead of the Indus. A mane like formation of mountains starts at its head in the north and gradually decreases in height in its south-southwest slant until they spread westward to merge into the Baloch deserts. Along similar contours, for its journey till Panjnad, the Indus flows as close to the foothills as possible. At this point it allows a wider berth to the plains and acquires an extensive floodplain that is the most mobile topographic feature of the Enclave. East of the Indus, in the northern part, run many channels that feed it, along with its five rivers. These have been central to its nomenclature from Sapta Sindhava to the Punjab. Next come the deserts in the south, marking the eastern contour of the Indus Enclave from Rajasthan. Cholistan and Tharparkar deserts, however, left a narrow passage to Gujrat Kathiawar.

G. D. Gulati has given an inspired description of contours and watersheds, found in abundance in the northwest suture zone of the Enclave[7]. More importantly he begins his discourse with a recognition of the unrecorded movements of population to the east of the Gangetic Doab; we rely heavily on his description in this section. Starting from the northwest corner, first among the

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[7] G. D. Gulati, *India's North west Frontier (in Pre-Mughal times)* (New Delhi: Ess Ess Publications, 1985), See Chapter entitled: "Physical Features" pp. 1-21. What is remarkable is the variety of small units that may be carved out in the region merely by the change of perspective. Giving primary importance to the mountainous terrain or the contours of the river flow changes the ecological use of the geography and consequently the potential permutations of the hinterland.

mountains are the Hindukush[8]. The fact that rivers from this range irrigate the Indus Enclave, Afghanistan and Central Asia provides a unifying factor as much as does similarity of terrain of its slopes on all sides. The barren Tajikistan abuts Fergana valley on one side, beauty of Dir, Chitral and Swat on the other.

Looking at the landscape, it is no wonder that the tribal people living between Kabul and Peshawar valleys have been similar in temperament even when governed by separate states. This range regulates the demographic flow in and out of the Enclave in this direction. Its foothills within the Enclave provide a series of troughs which nurtured smaller ethno-cultural entities[9].

The Koh Suleiman protects the middle Indus region from the west while integrating the pastoral tribes along its length and on either side through several passes. This, more porous, mountain range is the southernmost ingress to the Punjab. The Kirthar range has been labelled a bit extravagantly as "securely guarded against any approach from the west"[10]. It similarly resisted a passage from the east but the Kachi route down to Sind more than made up for this. Drains from several major and minor ranges make a mesh of water courses feeding the Indus from the west but they do not provide much cultivable land as the valleys are narrow and rocky. The area is more appropriate for grazing than agriculture [map 5].

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[8] G. D. Gulati, p. 3 says that for Aristotle their name was Parnasos; all allowances for mispronouncing it will not be able to mould this word into the Hindukush.

[9] G. D. Gulati, p. 5ff the 'Hindukush system' includes the Shandur, Safed Koh, Mohmand, Khyber, Kohat, Waziristan and Marwat ranges.

[10] G. D. Gulati, p.10.

It promotes tribal societies; its narrow agricultural strips and long, broad hilly areas of varying elevations facilitate such a polity.

West of the Kirthar is the desert region of Baluchistan with few passages between hilly contours that allow for east-west access. Consequently there are parallel watersheds[11] aligned east to west from Chaghi to Mekran range which had segregated the Baloch, thus assisting ethnic distinctions to survive through history.

The Enclave east of Indus is not as large as in the north. It had fewer water-courses, but probably supported a larger population even when the Indus was flowing in its most westerly channel, thus leaving vast unirrigated areas to the east of it. South of the Koh Suleiman, the mountains are generally less hospitable, as are their foothills and plains. The contours of topography seem to guide travellers in a northeast to southwest arch; pointed in the north where it makes a crossroads at the Bolan-Khojak axis.

> The Indus itself displays great variety in its long journey through rocky, lofty mountains to sandy and muddy plains which are sometimes less elevated than its banks. Before it becomes navigable at Attock it has a torrential majesty, worth seeing in the gorges in the vicinity of Skardu. From its ford at Attock to Mianwali, the lion river struggles with highlands that vainly attempt to contain it. Yet, the river does not reach the limit of its load till Panjnad, where all its tributaries have paid their homage …. From this point the

[11] The ranges from Chaghi to the Mekran lead to the crossroads dominated by Quetta, then open into the hive like Marri-Bugti hills and the Zhob-Loralai massif.

> lion has exercised its right over a variety of channels spreading over a hundred miles and a deltaic spread of about the same magnitude.[12]

East of the Indus its foremost tributaries give the entire northern region its name, the Punjab; while the southern section of about 200 miles south of the confluence, takes the name Sind from the river itself. Once again, starting at the north end of the map, the Pothohar abuts Kashmir and provides soft clayey hills that are ideal for vegetation and shrubs but do not suit a vast agricultural enterprise. The Salt Range, though it increased the salinity of its soil,[13] has not made the area totally barren due to the unevenness of its topography. Thus the clayey soil provides fairly adequate rain fed crops in its plateau regions and safe defences within its river lined extremes. The river Jhelum, defensible at the location of the town of that name, acquired a fort, offence oriented to the west and defensive for attacks from the east.

The Indus was defended at Attock from western invaders by a fort of that name in Suri times and at Ohind-Waihind during the times of Jaipal. The termination of the Salt range near Jhelum and the meander of the river is partly determined by the tectonic construct of the Enclave. Although mainly similar to other parts of Punjab,

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[12] G. D. Gulati, p. 10. There have been few variations in its course before Attock and Mianwali. Before Panjnad it may have changed course and desertified the Thal.

[13] G. D. Gulati, p. 10 designates this as part of the Safed Koh which suggests that the channel of the Indus has been created in a Paleogene or later sediment.

the Pothohar is itself a transition or cusp between the plains and the mountains of the northern part of the Enclave[14].

The next eastern tranche is the Chaj Doab or Sandalbar, perhaps the smallest of the triangular plains between rivers. The Punjab plains provide agricultural relief to the Enclave; however they too have distinctive features. The Pothohar plateau [Sind-Sagar Doab] is rain fed but the other doabs are canal irrigated because of the gradient of the land. This gradient facilitated the British railway project all along the river Indus and across its tributaries "beyond the Indian desert"[15]. East of the Chaj is Rachna Doab followed by Bari Doab and a small doab between Sutlej and Beas. In earlier times this was a long doab stretching almost as far south as Panjnad. While these doabs, especially the northern parts, where rivers do not spread out, may have been convenient natural moats for horse riding western travellers, they inhibited eastern footsloggers beyond the second or third crossing. The topography of Chaj Doab does not allow as much agriculture as the Rachna; but Bari can provide a foretaste of the deserts that line the Indus on either side south of Sargodha.

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[14] G. D. Gulati, from this point on Gulati tends to loose his inspiration and the description of the rivers and plains is not graphic. We now make use of E. J. Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India: Ancient India* (New Delhi S. Chand and Co, 1987), which, interestingly, starts the geographical description from the south. Proceeding north by northwest, he enters the Enclave from the southeast (after Rajputana) almost the sequence of British expansion. Interestingly also he designates, p.21, the "Indus Basin … as being an ante-chamber of India proper."

[15] E. J. Rapson, p.24.

Thal occupies the southern part of the Sind-Sagar Doab while Cholistan and Tharparkar abut the Rajasthan desert; the distinct cultures of the deserts lying between the great river system of Bharat and the Indus Enclave reflect the ethnic and geographic diversities in unity which integrates the Enclave as a distinct entity within a South Asian construct. Coming from the east like the Rajputs and Delhi based Turks, the British[16] too were struck by the unity of the Iranian and Afghan tablelands.

Resources:

The quality of land to support food production and to determine the surplus labour that may be accommodated for industry or urbanization is the most important single quality of a hinterland. Even though communications have minimized its significance today, historically it dictated population growth and state forms.

When consumable surplus exceeds population it gets converted to wealth for exploitation of mineral or technological resources. Topography coupled with climate and ecology influences land use for animal and vegetable food production. Raising animals needs pastures and is possible in arid areas but the ecological factors determine the breeds of stock that may be raised. The dictates of drainage system, elevation of land and rainfall within the Enclave provide watersheds for cultural sub-segments which aid administrative delimitation. However, its watersheds display

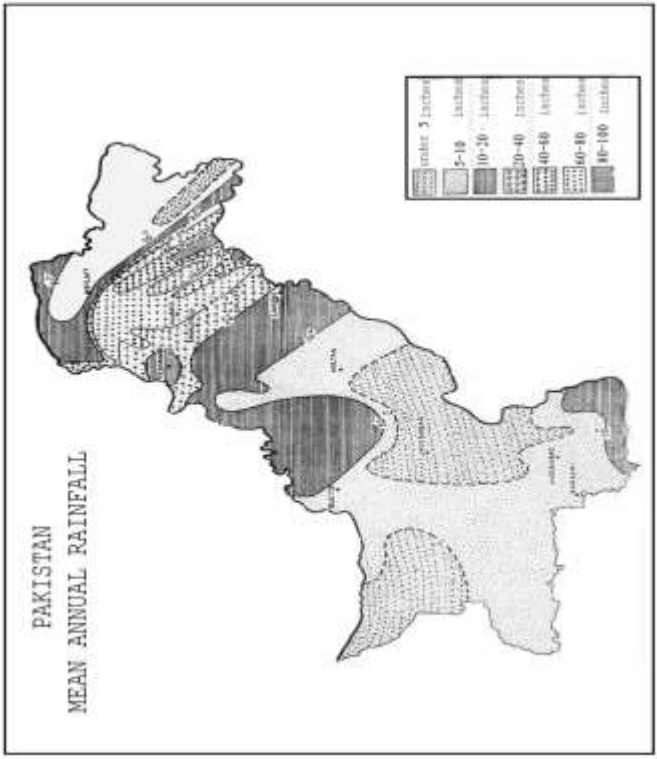
[16] Ibid.

the dichotomy of the cultural affinities of the Enclave with its neighbours; illustrating its cultural unity and political integration.

Although the Khyber-Lahore line of communication divides the Enclave in zones with less than twenty inches of rain and more than that [map 8], the bulk of the crop-worthy land lies in the less arid region along rivers. The river tracts divide the Enclave on a northeast-southwest axis that has a wide grazing region to its west and a relatively narrow one east of the Indus. However, the nature of fodder and grazing in deserts differs greatly from that in the hills and the kinds of animals nurtured in the southern and northern parts of the Enclave vary due to the nature of the ecology. The cotton country differs from wheat and cane crops so does the breed of cattle/goats raised in different desert areas.

The ability to exploit land for crops and animal husbandry has varied from era to era affecting population density accordingly in different areas. During Harappan times, the doabs were less populous than the lower Indus. Before the coming of the Turks, the Punjab plains could not compete with valleys and plateaus to their west. Perhaps forests along river belt made felons too bold or water management too difficult for the deurbanized people of the Punjab. It is unlikely that the population of the Enclave was ever more than its inhabitants when Pakistan was created.

When ecology permitted concentrated agriculture in the plains, urbanization was dense and states with centres in the Enclave, emerged. When animals became a major sources of food, towns became fewer and states of the Enclave became smaller.


PAKISTAN
MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL
Under 5 inches
5-10 inches
10-20 inches
20-40 inches
40-60 inches
60-80 inches
80-100 inches

MAP 8

Naturally the route through the Enclave as well as the structures of its states were primarily influenced by the ability of people to exploit food resources and secondarily by natural endowments. Nature endowed the Enclave with a variety of minerals which could not be adequately exploited even by the British Empire. It often imported metal and stone from its neighbours[17] but its basic tools and food were locally generated. Agro-based settlements, sponsored by urbanized conquerors occurred in the plains while animal based towns in valleys and plateaus emerged under militant, tribal, animal farmers or pastoralists.

Routes Of Traders and Conquerors

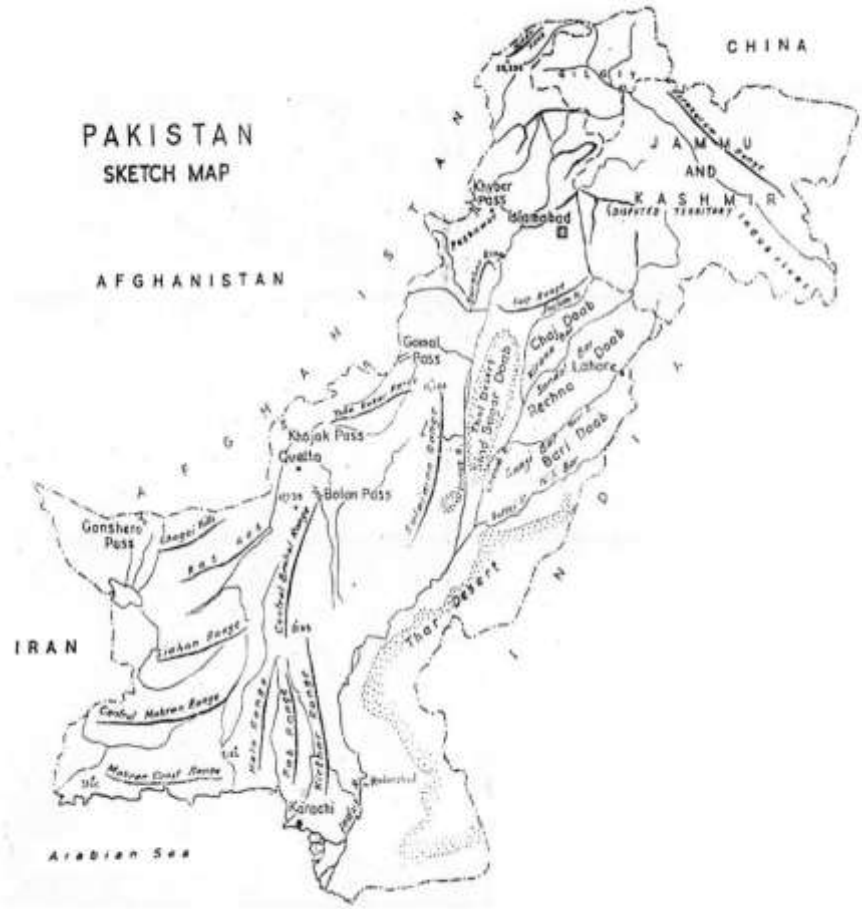
A sketch map of Pakistan [map9] shows five major rows of hills in Baluchistan stretching almost parallel from west to east before a set of four ranges in a three-one pattern block the path of those brave enough to assay ingress to the Indus from this western passage. North of the battery of ranges is the mini foyer of Quetta with the Khojak and Bolan passes opposite each other on a SSE-NNW axis. In its southwest this foyer leads down its natural set of channels, first south and then west; in the northeast it funnels between the Kakar and Suleiman ranges to the Gomal pass west of the Indus. These are the natural routes that Balochi tribes have followed from time immemorial; they are the ones that have

[17] See for the sources of stone: Randall William Law, *Inter-Regional Interaction and Urbanism in the Ancient Indus Valley: A Geological Provenience Study of Harappa's Rock and Mineral Assemblage*, Ph. D. thesis, 2008. For the sources of metals and jewels, Shashi Asthana, "Harappan Trade in Metals and Minerals: A Regional Approach" in *Harappan Civilization*, ed. G. L. Possehl, p.272.

shaped the ethno-administrative construct of modern Baluchistan. Further north, the Hindukush is rendered passable at the famous passes from Gomal to Khyber.

Instinct has taught animals to traverse the shortest possible path which offers the least resistance; humans have refined the art of using different paths for different purposes. Whereas it is natural for one to travel in a straight line to minimize distance, a series of straight lines may be used with kinks at nodal points in order to bypass natural obstacles. These nodes tend to become major towns because they provide junctions and therefore have variety in goods, services, industries or skills that are the prerequisites for larger and more important urbanisms. In fact, however, we see that except for small scale, short distance trade in necessities the straight lines through the Enclave have been more useful for those crossing it from the east than those approaching it from the west, even in times of war and other emergencies.

The natural eastern exits, when one is coming from the Khyber or Gomal, would lie in a series between Amritsar and Bhatinda, passing through Lahore and Multan or Pakpattan. The Bolan route naturally lead to some point in Rajasthan after passing through Sukkur while the Mekran coast leads through Karachi or Thatta to some place in Gujrat. While barriers and passages of Baluchistan deterred movement and inhibited trade as well as conquest the Hindukush facilitated cultural contact, ethnic bonds and trade. The northern passes were easy for those coming from the west since they were already accustomed to the mountains, but they were not impassable for those coming from the east; thus the more frequented routes were the northern ones.


PAKISTAN
SKETCH MAP
CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
IRAN
Khyber Pass
Islamabad
Gomal Pass
Khojak Pass
Quetta
Bolan Pass
Gandhara Pass
Chaj Doab
Lahore
Rechna
Bari Doab
Thar Desert
Karachi
Arabian Sea

MAP 9

In the northern part of the Enclave, deserts do not bar eastward routes[18] toward Bharat, yet there are only two popular entrances to and from the Enclave. Within the Enclave Multan and Lahore have provided nodes. The most favoured route from the east was closer to the Lahore in historic times even when Multan was the more important urban centre during the Sultanate. The Bhatnir-Sirsa route was less popular. The route between Sind and Gujrat was generally a last resort which was occasionally used from the west by troops to cross the desert in order to approach Pattan and Runn of Kuch. At the micro level transportation in sub-units of the Enclave depended on its minor routes which were many. Military movements needed major road networks while minor roads facilitated farm to market trade and local law enforcement.

Logistics: passes, fords, oases

Crossing the Enclave along the northern route a traveller should encounter at least six rivers and a pass. Along the Multan route the number of rivers may be reduced to half; beyond Panjnad it is one river crossing with at least one pass on the west. Rivers demand use of a ford or bridge and availability of supplies.

From Central Asia, facing the Khyber the first natural crossing is at Attock [confluence of Kabul and Indus rivers]. The second is at Jhelum with options of crossing the Chenab at Sodhra or Wazirabad before arriving at Lahore, across the Ravi. From here

[18] See for a list of routes and maps highlighting the main arteries of communication, H. C. Verma, *Medieval routes to India*, (Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1978).

three alternative routes lead to Sirhind and thence to Delhi and the Gangetic plain. Taking some other passes of the Hindukush, the more common and natural direction was via Bhera, Tulumba on to Delhi. This route bifurcated for a crossing of the Sarswati via Bhatnir [Sirsa, Sarswati] or Samana but it could also be used either to reach Multan or loop back to Lahore. Most frequently used passages were northern routes lying between Sialkot and Multan converging on Delhi in the east and diverging toward Baghdad and Bokhara to fan out in several westerly directions.

South of Uch there are only a few convenient river crossings of the Indus, those of Sukkur and Hyderabad are more frequented. However, smaller administrative units in Sind may have relied more on other crossings. In the southern half of the Enclave, the waterholes and oasis in the desert regions are nodes which limit the options of routes for communication and affect the volume and direction of traffic. Another limitation is the possibility of getting lost in desert crossings. Conquerors taking these routes came to grief because of the treachery and betrayal of guides.

Each hinterland of a town or hamlet, had its own network of communication. The common pastoral use of these hinterlands naturally resulted in linking their urban centres with each other. Urban hinterlands were neither mutually exclusive nor could major cities be sustained without linking them to sources of raw material for industry and to minor settlements for value added semi-finished products and intermediary trade needs.

Fords, oases and passes are the capillaries of trade and culture. In military-economic[19] terms they are restrictive, but exercise a pull factor in arts, crafts and technologies. Since they possess an inherent tendency of convergence and divergence on either side, their innate trend is to concentrate and magnify. When regions on both sides of a node are sparsely populated, as in the case of deserts/barren Mountains, they create cultural watersheds. When they are densely populated as in the case of plains, they promote cultural exchanges between existing watersheds. In the Enclave, rivers provide cultural watersheds as well as conduits; thus the lower Indus integrates the region of Sind even though the river has changed its course several times and extended its shores by many miles[20]. Punjab may be divided along any given river.

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[19] E. J. Rapson has drawn several parallels between the Nile and the Indus. He seems to be overwhelmed by pride in British achievements. It is remarkable that even the advanced industrialization and transport technology of the British could not adequately bring about a cultural and administrative unity between Sind and Rajasthan. When faced by a dilemma of managing the lower Indus, they chose to unite it with the Bombay presidency rather than the Rajasthan administration.

[20] See Maneck B. Pithawala, *Economic Geography of Sind*. (Jamshoro: University of Sind, 1978), map facing p.284. See also details of routes in the same source, pp. 149-180 and detail of passes and fords pp. 262-281.

Human

Changing Leadership: Ethnicities & States

Based on current research we may conjecture that some humans began a semi-settled life near river Soan[1] in the Indus Enclave[2].

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[1] See Introduction for the importance of the site and the needs of the *hunter-gatherers in the pre-urban life of the Indus Enclave.*

[2] Indus Enclave is a term coined by the author to indicate the Indus River and its tributaries along with catchment areas and arable tracts. The reason for its use has been rationalized in the preceding chapters.

Some Indian scholars try to include Pakistan and even parts of Afghanistan in "India". Analysts are agreed that Pakistan is a part of South Asia, some are also inclined to identify it as part of the Middle East or Central Asia. In a sense, variety of classifications endorses our concept of this region as a cusp. A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1990), 57f, shows that the Gandhara region was racially and culturally distinct and its towns were different from those of Bharat. His point reiterates the premises of our study. Ghosh: [p. 61] "Foreign in origin and conception, Sirkap is not a representative Indian city" as it was built by Parthians. Greek, Parthian, Scythian, Kushan or Hun; Gandhara cities of the Indus Enclave were not 'Indian', but these peoples were absorbed in the local [Pakistani] ethnic construct. It may be that Scytho-Parthian and the Hun-do-Kushan population put together form the basic genetic core of the people of Pakistan. Here the term Bharat will be used for the northern part of the state that is India today.

These 'settlers' [we do not know their physical features since we find their tools not their bones in the region] may have moved south along the bank of the Indus to Rohri in the Mesolithic time and from there to Baluchistan; perhaps the first transition from nomadic to pastoral life in the region. It was then that sedentary lifestyle created issues of governance in human settlements.

At Mehrgarh[3], many millennia after the Soan dwellers, Balochi Village Culture led to the early phase of the Indus civilization in the fourth millennium BC. This prelude to Harappan civilization prefixes urbanizations within the Indus Enclave. More accurate estimates to date flows and channels of the Indus, the Hakra and their tributaries are needed to gauge if river crossings affected demographic flow in Early Harappan hinterland also[4]. However

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[3] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization* (Karachi: OUP, 1998) believes that the site of Kili Gul Muhammad near Quetta testifies to the early exploitation of cereal while Mehrgarh, along the Bolan River may have been a seasonal stop to begin with. If similar inferences can be drawn from research along the Nari, the link with the Southern Indus will become easier to establish. J.F. Jarrige, "Pirak Excavations: New Data about the Second and First Millennia BC in Kachi Plain on the Boarder of Sind", in Hamida Khoro ed. *Sindh through the Centuries* (Karachi: OUP, 1994): 58-63. Pirak mound is eight meters high, covers 12 acres and is situated 20 km from Sibi towards Jacobabad, 1.6km east of the Nari River. The proximity to a small river and the distance from the Indus is very significant if it can be proved that Nari and Indus have not changed their courses significantly in the intervening period.

[4] Rita Wright, "Urbanism in the Indus Valley: Environment and settlement on the Beas River" in M. A. Halim, ed., *Indus Valley Civilization* (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 2001),103, believes that Beas river crossings were a normal means of regional trade in the Harappan period. Wright et. al., explored 1183 sites in 23 districts spanning the Paleolithic to the

it is fairly certain that riverine interaction along the entire Indus system was part of life in the mature Indus era.

Rural life probably started with arid agriculture due to limited human ability to manage water resources. Cultivation of terraces in the arid regions of Iran and Baluchistan thus provided a rural impulse which stimulated civilization in the Indus Enclave and Mesopotamia. The inherent unity of the Punjab and Sind[5] as upper and lower riparians of an integrated water system made economic interaction between these areas inevitable. However, it is unlikely that there was either water scarcity or management of watercourses on a large scale before 1000 AD; only natural factors influenced water supply for urbanization till then[6].

Recession of the ice-age formed transitory habitats facilitating agricultural growth some ten millennia ago. Farming settlements emerged in areas of Asia and Africa north of the equator, having an east-west pastoral span where a small workforce with limited water supply could be sustained perennially[7]. This in turn led to

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historic periods. For details see *Pakistan Archaeology*, No 29; 18, the sites were designated 'gateways' as they do not have a rural network.

[5] See Sir William Patrick Andrew, *Indus and its Provinces, their Political and Commercial importance* (London: W. H. Allen & co., 1858).

[6] For one set of answers see Saiyid Ali Naqvi, *Indus Waters and Social Change* (Karachi OUP, 2013).

[7] Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982): 97-127: early agricultural communities are to be found to the west of the Indus system. They have not noticed that these sites are all in a region of small streams at a height of 1000 to 1500 feet on a north-east to south-west summer-winter pastoral axis. For nexus of

development of trade and industrial urban life. In the northern part of the Enclave, the Indus probably took longer to tame than in the south but its minor tributaries were exploited more easily as were the arid defiles of Pothohar which were later engulfed by two imperial enterprises. In administrative-political terms the Enclave had a confederative tendency. Its internal form could be dominated by a local state. Alternatively external imperialisms arising in its east and west would occupy parts of it, or the entire Enclave. These states would confine their activities to economic management, regulating mobility of goods/people, enforcement of legal code, defence and foreign relations. Education, politics and monuments changed with social priorities of ruling elites.

A cusp par excellence, the Enclave continued to absorb ethnic and cultural influences from all directions. Many religions found fertile ground here; but the influence of Buddhism and Islam probably penetrated to the grass-root level. Much evidence has been gathered to study the Indus civilization and its population. However, research seems to have ignored the existence of a vast eddying sea of nomadic and pastoral people beyond its urban hinterland which led to the evolution of its cultural ethos.

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high and low lands, see H. P. Francfort, "The Relationship between Urban Lowland and Mountainous Areas in Protohistory as seen from Shortogai" *JAC* 8, (Vol.2, 1985): 125-132. Pastoral life naturally limits size of its cohabiting groups, thus these groups could not control large streams. A combination of caused the emergence of early settlements in plateau-like locations girdling hilly regions having a fast flowing, narrow drainage. When these obstacles were surmounted settlements emerged in plains near larger watercourses that produce enormous surplus grain.

Division of labour, political will and social pride, prerequisites for urbanized integration of hinterlands[8], were present from time to time. In periods when monumental remains are lacking, we can infer that only a weak state or social fabric existed because an integrated society is a prerequisite for building monuments. Even today, people of the Enclave build with perishable material like mud which leaves no archaeological trace, since its climate is not conducive to brick work without cooling technologies. Its historic urban settlements also used mud bricks sometimes and had thatched roofs. These, being biodegradable, caused a dearth of material urban remains. Reasons for relying on burnt brick at one time and thatched wood frames at others[9] provide a basis for inferences regarding shifting bonds in sub-units of Indus towns.

There were three types of pre-colonial towns in the Enclave: Towns, planned on a grid pattern – a likely object was to allow

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[8] Both Gordon Child and Robert McC. Adams, in Gregory L. Possehl, ed., *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, op. cit. have discussed the relationship of cities with their hinterland. Small topographic biomes of the Enclave form its basic unit of hinterland. For our study this is the primary geographic entity. Ethnic and political factors of evolving demography in the Enclave determined the demarcation of its hinterlands and location of towns.

[9] A primary premise of this study is the unity in variety of Internal and external links of the Enclave. F. Khan, et. al., "Bannu: A Melting Pot for Cultural Change in Protohistoric Periods", in M. A. Halim *Indus Valley Civilization* (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 2001), tried to prove the insular existence of non-Harappan people in Bannu but did not question the unity of the Indus civilization. In the same Colloquium Bisht has a similar argument for Rajasthan and Kakar for Baluchistan. They do not consider technological commonality in ethno-cultural diversity possible because the idea of a stateless unity with cultural diversity is difficult to grasp.

productivity even at the cost of administration. Social tradition seems to have provided a substitute for administrative functions – Defence needs were minimal – *Indus Valley Civilization.*

Towns, planned on a rectangular grid were located at strategic points – administrative need took precedence over productivity – Defence was a priority – *Gandhara Civilization*[10].

Citadel towns were planned like irregular circles – they exhibit a limited conflict of interests between administrative priorities and production – Declining defence needs – *Muslim period*.

After the Harappan period, town plans depended on the security of movement. From the time of the Sakas we know that gardens were developed around the citadel area and outside the ramparts of a town. This trend was enhanced by the Muslim Turk rulers. In border areas and times of conflict, the emphasis on strategic fortification increased. At such times moats and other defences made it difficult to develop gardens and aesthetic architecture.

British colonial rule reverted to use of unfortified cantonments. Grewal[11] makes a convincing case to illustrate that British-colonial urbanization in Punjab was in fact a re-urbanization. De-urbanization took place during the decline of the Mughals and the early colonial period. Later British urbanization could not make up for the loss of earlier settlements.

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[10] John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, 4th ed., (Cambridge: CUP, 1960): 11.

[11] See, J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga, ed., *Studies in Urban History* (Amritsar: Department of History Guru Nanak Dev University, n. d.).

A structure of six stages has been discussed here with reference to three dimensions of urban evolution. The administrative and political aspects, the basis of emergence of state and society, are the most obvious; next we focus on socio-economic and cultural evolution within each civilization through archaeological and historical data. These are three faces of the "social cube"[12].

The political-administrative aspect represents State; technology, ecology and economy underpin the Urban Fabric; while culture and ethnicity manifest Civic Evolution or Civilization; each face must naturally be consonant with the others. The technological base of socio-economic fabrics needs speculative reconstruction because it is seldom part of a historical narrative.

The Indus Enclave has been integrated from time to time as a single and distinct/discrete entity; at other times it has been part of a larger entity including areas to its east and/or west. It has also been fragmented in certain periods of history, being divided as parts of entities based outside the Enclave, or as independent units within it. The basis of emergence of state and society within these units and their structure depended as much on political will as on ecology, technology and economy.

In the present chapter, we will take stock of the ethnic pool and genetic resources which became available in the Indus Enclave from time to time. The stock of 'races' and people was quite mobile during and after the mature Indus period. Later additions

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[12] The Characteristics of Urbanisms and Urbanization as a phenomenon are discussed in the preamble. It is too long to include here. Simply put, it is postulated that, state, Urbanization and Civilization are interconnected.

to their variety took place in each of stage studied in chapters of the next section of this book. In each stage we have envisioned an ethno-genesis and a parallel lingua-genesis. A preliminary statement of the 'Patterns of life' in the Indus Enclave showing the evolution of ethnic and genetic resources; the location of its political entities; and resources, economy and technology which underwrote the rise or fall of urbanisms is given below:

Ethno-cultural Pool and Genetic Resources:

Three stages of 1000 to 1500 years each have been designated as I, II and III respectively. They embody two civilizations and an interregnum: the Harappan Civilization, Vedic interregnum, and the Hindu-Buddhist/Gandhara Civilization. A second transition took place through the Hun, Persian Arab, Hindu & Turk polity during an interregnum [650 to 1250 AD] which led to Muslim Civilization. This is presented as stage IV[13]. The two Phases in the next 600 years represent the third civilization, followed by a phase of transition before the British modernization. Naturally, human movement patterns that existed before the 4th millennium BC did not cease with the coming of Neolithic settlements of the

[13] In Bharat, from 1250-1400 there was Mongol pressure from the west with a Muslim state countering it from the east; 1400-1550 was the changing of guards from one Turkic community to another via the Afghans; followed by the dominance of the Mughals till 1750. After this was a century of transition which completed stage V and heralded the British. The smaller time span of these stages is because they are closer to us in time, it is easier to see sub-phases of the process. Being a period of alternating fragmentations and integrations, it is possible see the urban process as a function of state formation which depicts phases of Muslim Civilization.

pre and early Harappan phases[14] but they were hampered by the nascent civilization. People in the Enclave began to acquire an ethnic identity that came to be designated as Dravidian

About thirteen thousand years ago global environment became conducive for humans to shape the habitat, resulting in a surge of population. Some of the groups settled while others disperse. This process had probably been repeated many times in the past but it may have become more effective during this phase because of advancement in the technology of stone or bone tools, especially microliths, arrowheads and spears. Indus "Dravidians" lived in stone and adobe buildings, made pottery without a wheel and domesticated dogs, sheep and goats[15]. When they learnt farming, their affinity with Iran and Central Asia grew. Thus Iran, Central Asia and the Indus Enclave constituted a vast cultural zone[16].

The classification of Dravidian[17] used by Gankovsky includes many anthropological categories [Mongoloid, Europoid as well

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[14] The population movements through the Indus Enclave are not germane to our discourse in racial terms per se but are vital for the understanding of cultures and ethnologies that fostered urbanism from time to time.

[15] Gankovsky, p.27, known as the Painted Ware Culture.

[16] Gankovsky, p.27.

[17] The term Dravidian has been applied to the pre-Aryan population of South Asia indiscriminately with the assumption that these were the 'aboriginal' inhabitants of the region. We subscribe to the view that aborigines are only the first known settlers, often an 'ethno-genesis' after the end of the last ice-age. Watersheds during the Mesolithic period facilitated this ethno-genesis but, concurring with Gankovsky, it is not taken to be a uniform racial entity. For Gankovsky's views see, Yu V. Gankovsky, *The*

as Negroid] of people. Whatever was the baseline composition of ethnicities in the Indus Enclave it was stable for two thousand years prior to the coming of the Aryans. These newcomers may have arrived as a deluge, or in waves like the Turkic tribes who crossed the Enclave later, between 100 BC and 1700 AD.

Apparently rural population grew faster than hunters; artefacts of copper & bronze emerged during this time. Mountains, passes and foothills of the Hun-do-Kush[18] and Kakar ranges integrated nomads and settlers[19] of piedmonts instead of segregating them. East of the Enclave, in the southern Ganga-Jumna Doab lived a people of the Copper Hoards/Yellow Ware[20] who are identified as the Munda tribes. These militant people used swords in war and the hoe for cultivation; they also tamed elephants. Cultures

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Peoples of Pakistan: An Ethnic History (Lahore: Peoples Publishing House, n. d.), probably published in 1968 or 69.

[18] The association of the Hindukush with the word Hindu may be a historical misconception. This name should be a derivative from post-Gandhara nomadic integration provided by this range to the Huns and Kushans. We have used the word in the form of Hun-do-Kush [inferring 'do' to be rapid pronunciation of -o- as in a Persian, meaning 'and'].

[19] We see in this phase an integration of peoples due to commonality of rural technologies of agriculture and animal husbandry based on the use of grazing lands or riverine irrigation. Technology of transport and cargo by pack animals integrated mountain people and boats integrated riverine people with seafarers. Integration doesn't imply socio-political integration as known today. For some aspects of this transition see, G. R. Sharma, "Beginning of Agriculture: New Light on Transformation Form Hunting to Domestication of Plants Animals and Food Gathering. *JAC* 6:1, 51-65.

[20] Joseph E. Schwartzberg, *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* (New York: OUP, 1992): p.11

on both sides of the Indus Enclave penetrated it to form and to influence its first civilization. The impulse for Mehrgarh and Kot-Diji, however, need not be directly linked with the people of the Copper Hoards or the Painted Ware Culture.

It is believed that the Indus civilization was a slave owning or at least a class society that had urban centres with a population of 100,000[21], Perhaps some of the 'slaves' were drawn from the militant Mundas while others came from the trading Sumerians. It is also estimated that the blood lines of tribes in the hinterland were breaking down;[22] we may assume that the Enclave was a kind of melting pot at this stage. Northern pastoral traffic across the Harappan periphery provided genetic and cultural variety. Globally, sedentary people would still have been a minority. However their rural-urban nexus had probably begun to inhibit nomadic and pastoral movement by this time, confining them to spaces beyond the periphery of prime agricultural land.

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[21] The civilization covered 10,00,000 sq. km., has 1500 discovered settlements located in clusters separate from each other with a major central city and several towns: see Rafi U. Samad, 'Institutionalization, key to Rapid Rise of Indus Civilization', in M. A. Halim, ed., *Indus Valley Civilization* (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 2001), 59.

[22] Gankovsky, p. 31f, the 'ethnic' identity of the Indus people was 'fairly uneven' according to Gankovsky. He lists several mixed racial groups and claims that the Indus people were formed by the intermarriages of these races. Whatever this mixture may have been, we have used its homogenized form under the title of Dravidian for convenience. Ethnicity is justifiably distinguished from language and race. It forms a socio-cultural index in which linguistic/racial identities are constructed. Here race is taken to mean an identity based on prolonged insulation/isolation of human genetic groups. See Gankovsky, p.36.

The hinterland of the Indus Valley civilization at its height may have extended across the Hindukush but it was not well integrated in economic or technological terms; and had virtually no political integration beyond the plains. In these regions pastoral groups would have roamed at will and when they began settling down in large numbers the *localization* phase set in. The socio-ethnic fractures caused by the emerging leadership of new settlers and their cultural values affected governance as well as technology of the Enclave.

A map of four phases[23] shows at least four concentrations, three subsets in Sind being treated as one, from these the Ravi type seems to have gradually gained dominance. The pervasive ethno-genesis till 1900 BC seems to have given way to the dominance of new settlers in the northern region where Sothi-Siswal had been during the late regionalization c. 3000 BC. The ethnicities that had existed prior to integration may have been subsumed within the integrating overlay of the civilization but the topography and climate of areas [where essential irrigation techniques of the Indus-Hakra system did not apply] were home to foraging communities whose Mesolithic and Microlithic technologies eroded the unity of Harappan culture c.2000 BC, the time when these communities ceased to exist[24].

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[23] Law in his dissertation [fig. 2.6]

[24] See: Law [fig. 2.4]

Aryans, coming from the western passes, crossed the Sirhind triangle[25] to the Gangetic plains in the east[26], naturally generated interaction between residents of the Indus Enclave and settlers of Gangetic Doab. The Brahmanical[27] religion may have had a predominantly Aryan base but it picked up local elements of Indus people as well. Possibly craft and trade divisions forming

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[25] See note 2, supra.

[26] Gankovsky, p. 43f, builds a plausible argument to support the fact that the Aryans did not form a single conquering community. In attempting to develop etic-emic distinctions with post Aryan invaders, Bharati-Hindu historians are at pains to assert that the Aryans were not invaders, see for example B. B. Lal, "The Mythical Twins 'Aryan Invasion' of India and 'Extinction' of Harappan Civilization", in M. A. Halim, ed., *Indus Valley Civilization* (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 2001).

[27] Some Pakistani scholars are keen to establish the western religious linkage of the Indus civilization; see Abdul Aziz Farooq, "Mesopotamia and Indus Valley Interaction in Matter of Religion", in M. A. Halim, ed., *Indus Valley Civilization* (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 2001). See also R. S. Bisht, "The Rise and Fall of the Harappan Civilization in the Light of the Recent Excavations in India" in M. A. Halim, ed., *Indus Valley Civilization* (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, 2001). In the case of Hinduism, however, it will be impossible to deny that the primary impulse for the Brahmanical faith came from the Aryan psyche. It is also certain that the residents of the Indus Enclave did not venerate the Brahman and his religious machinations as did the people of the Gangetic Doab. It may even be argued that the Brahman's Hinduism was actually a product of the conditions in Bharat even though it evolved out of a mixture of Indus beliefs with the 'Aryan' faith.

Perhaps a basic flaw in the assessment of the "common" features of the Harappan technology and culture is the assumption that this must indicate political unity. Indus Enclave actually tends to have a cultural unity through history independent of political integration; a similar misperception seeks to associate cultural borrowing with ethnic linkage.

the basis of jati in later times had roots in the Indus civilization while Aryan[28] colour consciousness was probably responsible for the early identification of Varna. Later, influenced by the trade division of the Dasus, the Aryan mind invoked fourfold varnas and the socio-cultural form elucidated in the Rig-Veda.

If there was no major revival of pastoral life following the decline in Harappan urbanism, there was no major urbanization to inherit its heartlands either. To the south it found successor variations at Jhukar and Rangpur; in the northern periphery, the Cemetery H people gave it the transition necessary to adapt to the people of the Rig-Veda. During the two millennia following the compilation of the Rig-Veda, the Indus Enclave gave proof of its inherent qualities as a cusp, foyer and Enclave in handling cultural and racial baggage which transited through it.

During this phase pastoral and tribal lifestyles began to flourish again creating the conditions for a Rajput polity to flourish. Next

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[28] Societies are transformed and overwhelmed by xenocentric influences either by conquest or by peaceful migration. While the former has generally been taken for granted, the latter has not been noticed because histories of peaceful migrations have often not been documented. Even in case of militant migration, the duration of the dominance and size etc. of the immigrant populations play an important role in the extent of xenic influence. In case of the Indus Enclave, the so called Aryan incursion, whether militant or peaceful, in a single sweep or in waves, was the first population that changed ethnic complexion and balance in the region radically. Ahmed Abdullah, *Historical Background of Pakistan and its People* (Karachi: Tanzeem publishers, 1973). A millennium later, nomads from Central Asia changed the structure again and provided the ethnic baseline for all subsequent incursions which have been dominated by Turko-Mongol peoples.

came a renewed Turkic movement from both sides of the Enclave. The back and forth movement of Rajputs and Turkic clans wove a linguistic fabric in short spans of space with long spans of time. The several sub-sectors of the Enclave provided convenient watersheds of ethno-racial settlements to supplement the linguistic and cultural mosaic that was being formed.

From this melee emerged three faiths, which may be considered to be variations of Indo-Aryan (Indus-Aryan) faith that had evolved into Rig-Vedic cannons and postulations. The original trunk, headed by the Brahman jati, continued to be the main and dominant one[29] [subsequently identified as Hindu] but two strong contenders also emerged in the form of Buddhism[30] and Jainism[31]. Both started by seeking escape from continuous reincarnation, thereby bringing to an end the interminable trial of souls through a series of rebirth.

The Idea of an 'India' as a geographical unit is the manifestation of the area of Aryan culture at the height of its power. The term India was used originally for the region of Pakistan, recognized

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[29] A study of the different treatment of the concept of Samsara in the three religions may provide clues to the cultural origins of variant philosophies and identification with elements of ethnic traffic in the area.

[30] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903): iii, in his preface claims that his is the first presentation of this phase of history from a non-Brahmin point of view.

[31] For the preliminary British understanding of Jainism, see E. B. Havell, *The History of Aryan rule in India* (London: George G. Harper, n. d.): 58 ff.

as such by Herodotus[32]. It grew to include many areas that had come under the influence of Aryan culture for a length of time and retained a semblance of it through history. This India was what later Muslim authors referred to as Hindustan. Historical events between 1000 BC - 500 AD gave it form and shape.

Changes in values and skills of dominant ethnic groups has led to shift in technology and economy in terms of materials used, sources of energy and the hierarchy of sciences[33]. In the Indus Enclave the first ethno-genesis was during the third millennium BC, the second occurred when it was culturally integrated under Aryan rulers; thus:

1. Despite integration and fragmentation within the region, religious schools and faiths competed with each other for supremacy in the entire Aryan region.

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[32] Aubrey de Selincourt, translation, *Herodotus the Histories* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983): 246, talks of the inhabitants beyond the Indus as living far "from Persia towards the south, and they were never subject to Darius". Obviously this is beyond the Satrapies of the Sassanid rule and the region conquered by Alexander; essentially Bharat.

See also Joseph E. Schwartzberg, *Op. cit*, p.17 for the Greek term of "India".

[33] In the matter of materials, a shift from stone to clay to metals, wood and glass etc is visible. Starting with man-power, humans graduated to fire, water, animal and wind power before using steam and electricity. As the affiliation with animals and plants was primary at the beginning, botany and zoology were dominant. A shift in favor of physics came with the enhanced use of metals and then mechanics, replaced by chemistry, as the science of medicinal and other compounds, became applicable to human life. See G. M Bongard-Levin, "Materialism and Ancient Indian Science" *JAC* 4:2, 19-28, for some thoughts on the subject.

2. The ethnic entities in the Aryan state system were subsumed and later divided into a number of states, occasionally segregated as separate state systems, east of the Indus Enclave into broad Hindu and Buddhist zones[34].

3. While these states were political entities, they also represented (to varying degrees) watersheds of cultures or sub-cultures within the Aryan socio-cultural polity.

The people referred to as Dadicae by Herodotus and Derdai by Megasthenes may be said to be residents of the Gomal region while the Gandhara region lodged the Gandari, Sattagydians and Aparytae tribes. These people were absorbed in the Achaemenid Empire and may have spoken an Iranian language.[35] However, names of lands to the west of the Indus are clearly identified on

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[34] Hegemony of states and regions created a complex interplay in which at times religion was able to sway political affiliation, occasionally politics was able to marginalize one faith to help in establishing its rival. While Aryans of Rig-Veda period may not have had an identifiable state, their successors probably set up Brahman dominated states in Bharat and, perhaps even parts of Pakistan, see Zenaide A. Ragozin, *Vedic India* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895). The ascent of Buddhism [5th century BC] did not lead to an immediate split in the Aryan polity. However, Chandragupta patronized Jainism and Asoka established the dominance of Buddhism in his realm; after this the revival of Brahman influence had to wait until a decline of Kushan power. Meanwhile beliefs of Siddhartha passed from Bharat through the Indus Enclave, to Central Asia/China. In this stage the division is most visible though Havel, *op. cit.* denies it.

[35] Gankovsky is least reliable at this point as his ethnic inferences are essentially linguistic. However, he is on more secure linguistic grounds as it is easier to verify the time and space coordinates of the languages.

the evidence of Erastosthenes[36] [Greek geographer]; a dominant Iranian influence is obvious. Gankovsky is of the view that the Derajat and northern Baluchistan along with Afghanistan were occupied by Iranian tribes. This is the second time when nomads from the west integrated with people who were already settled in the Indus area. Our hypothesis, based on linguistic evidence is: though religious affinity of the Enclave was to its east; linguistic similarity was more with western Aryan people[37]. On both sides was an ethno-genesis of later day pastoralist with early settlers.

A group known as Paktyes[38] inhabited the lower Kabul region but became unimportant in time; their identity may have come to dominate the region in recent times through the term Pakhtun. Perhaps the Paktye and Kamboja were Zoroastrians or that their

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[36] Gankovsky p.61 reports that Paropamisadae occupied the southern slopes of the Hindu Kush, Arachotoi south of them and the Gedrosians further south [in Baluchistan], along the Indus with Arias and Drangians to the west of the Paropamisadae and Arachotoi respectively. This region along with parts of Central Asia and Iran was called Ariana as it embraced a fairly uniform linguistic region. By the 1st century AD, it seems that this linguistic unity had transformed into a cultural similarity as attested by Chang Chien [note p.62].

[37] Havel, *op. cit.* p.145 also asserts that the "Indo-Aryan culture" extended to the "highlands of western and Central Asia" even though he has been at pains to exclude Darius the Persian from the Aryan stock. We see from linguistic sources that the languages of the Enclave as well as those on either side of it are classified as Indo-Aryan: Lars O. Dyrud and Carla F. Radloff, *A Sociolinguistic Survey of Punjab, Pakistan* (Islamabad: NIPS, 2011) for languages in the extreme east of the Enclave. A religious affinity may have existed between Buddhism and Zoroastrianism.

[38] Gankovsky, p.64, reports with reference to Herodotus.

beliefs were influenced by Zoroaster; the practice of leaving the dead to be eaten by beasts of prey in Baluchistan and Gandhara testifies to the affinity in the Indus Enclave with the Zoroastrian beliefs. Another proof of influences from east Iran in the Indus Enclave comes from the Sakas who inhabited the eastern Pamir in the seventh century BC and are believed to be a branch of the Scythians. This cultural, racial-ethnic baggage binding parts of Iran[39], Afghanistan and Pakistan was assimilated in the political administration of the Achaemenid Empire.

This control did not last long, perhaps it was mainly a tributary relationship, and the states soon reacquired their independence. However Aramaic language, being the vehicle of administration in the Achaemenid Empire became the official language[40] of the Indus Enclave. This probably led to syllabic scripts of Kharoshti and Brahmi which bred many varieties of Devanagari; Kharoshti itself lasting till the fifth century AD. About this time the White Huns or Ephtalites came to the political scene and overran the Kushan territories. The rising Sassanid state in Iran may have facilitated incursions of Ephtalites from their centres in Malwa

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[39] For a monograph on Pakistan's ancient contacts with Iran see: F. A. Khan, *Indus Valley and Early Iran* (Karachi: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Pakistan, 1964). Gankovsky, p.68. Areas from Gandhara to Mekran were part of Darius' state according to the Behistun inscription.

[40] Marshall, *Taxila* (London: CUP, 1960): 74, believes that the city of Taxila, the heart of the Gandhara civilization, was founded under the Persians when the region became a Satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire. Persians gave the region Aramaic script leading to Kharoshti and punch marked [karshapana] coins along with the satrapy system which then remained the hallmark of the Indus Enclave for many centuries.

and Central Asia, on both sides of the Enclave, before the Hun Empire finally collapsed with the revival of independent local rajas[41]. Achaemenid rule, replaced by Greeks and the Mauriyas in the Enclave, was followed by the independence of Gandhara which fell to the Bactrians under Demetrius[42]. The sequence of integration by conquerors and disintegration under independent local rulers continued for two centuries.

While Achaemenid conquest of the Enclave merely siphoned off cultural overflow, Alexander's conquest provided Chanakya the opportunity of nurturing his political protégée. This, however, did not result in the creation of an Indus centric empire; instead it created a Bharat-centric state system[43]. The period 1500 to 500 BC saw the ascent of the Aryans and their passage to Bharat but in the next two centuries politics of the Enclave dissociated from the Gangetic Doab. When Hindu rivals evicted Buddhism from that Doab, it found temporary refuge in the Indus Enclave while Jainism flourished in Gujarat and the Deccan[44].

If Alexander's invasion had a more potent Hellenizing influence it may have caused a permanent breach between the Enclave and Bharat. However, as the Macedonians did not leave a significant

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[41] Marshall, pp. 33ff.

[42] Marshall, p. 19.

[43] Havel, p.66 ff.

[44] Havel, p. 365 notes the Jain presence in Gujrat as does Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, here quoted from Urdu translation by Maulvi Muhammad Husain, *Ajaib-ul-Asfar* (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1983). As to Buddhist areas the testimony of history is too extensive to need confirmation, see also Havel, passim.

socio-political heritage, they are lost in the ethnic restructuring. The Bactrian racial residue brought a lot of cultural baggage but the dictates of the ethnic-geography in the foyer were too strong.

Between 500 BC and 500 AD, the Aryan nexus from Bharat to the north-west came to an end as the Indo-Aryan polity became virtually confined to Bharat. Buddhism and Jainism ceased to represent Aryanisms and probably came to represent an anti-Aryan ethnicity. Floodgates of a fresh ethno-genesis, including a variety of races, cultures and languages, had been opened by the Iranians who dominated both sides of the millennium ending in 500 AD. Sakas and Parthians were aroused to mobility along with Turkic Kushans and Huns; a smattering of Mediterranean people added spice to this genetic concoction. It was this ethnic formation that constituted the core of subjects ruled by Chach.

The centre of political and cultural gravity shifted from Indus Enclave to Magadha. For half a millennium after the decline of the Bactrian Greeks, the Hun-Kushan influence remained active before the Arabs came from the southwest. This interlude of a few centuries exercised great influence in the sparsely populated deserts of Sind and Baluchistan. Before long, Turkic influences from the north were revived; a few Afghans enriched the genetic pool. However, extensive two-way traffic through the Enclave did not begin till the 12th century, it lasted till the establishment of colonial rule c.1848. Since then, the concept of the modern state and the maintenance of fixed borders enforced restriction of demographic movement, except for Afghan refugees.

By the time the Arabs arrived, the second major ethno-genesis had taken place in which the Aryans, Turkic peoples and other assorted races had become undistinguishable ethnicities within the Enclave. It was perhaps this phenomenon that necessitated formulation of the laws of Manu[45]. The distinction of identities was virtually confined to religion; this aspect was also soon to be minimized[46] with the coming of the Arabs. The Turks who were to follow from the north reinforced the internal unity.

A small Arab elite and their executive arm of Persian extraction did not disturb ethnic construct of the Enclave but introduced a religious regime. When the Turks, invading from northwest also subscribed to the same faith, Islam provided the unifying force element for various belief systems existing within the Enclave to blend with those that were imported through incoming, Mongol, Turk, Afghan and Khurasani immigrants. Muslim government brought considerable cultural diversity and linguistic variety, but it failed to maintain a stable western frontier in the Enclave that it ruled from Delhi. This enhanced its socio-linguistic diversity.

For two centuries Ghaznavi rule integrated the Indus Enclave and Afghanistan. However, during three centuries the Sultanate of

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45 *The Laws of Manu*, tr. Wendy Doniger and Brian K. Smith (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1992).

46 Fa Hien, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms* tr., James Legge, (reprint Islamabad: Lok Virsa, n. d.), provides information of the pervasive Buddhist creed c 400 AD, a millennium later the overriding influence was Islam with a homogenized version of Hindu-Buddhist beliefs.

Delhi contained the Mongol pressure within the Enclave[47] which was used as a buffer. With the coming of the Mughals, Afghanistan acquired this function and the Enclave was virtually integrated with Bharat. By 1750 conditions reverted to the norm for a century. British attempts to recreate the Mughal frontiers only resulted in consolidating the foyer within British India.

In sum we can deduce that the Ethno-genetic pool of the Indus Enclave is a composite of three elements with several minor but potent racial representations. Its three major elements are: the so called Dravidian substratum which is itself a myriad of nomads and pastoral people; ethnicities to its east which have overrun it several times in history; and the mainly Turkic people who came to it from its north-west. The Aryans may not have injected a large population in the Enclave but, like the Mughals underwent an eastern ethno-genesis[48] before returning to try to subjugate it.

The Ethno-genesis of the second millennium AD is the one that is being recast in the state of Pakistan. It is based on the lingua-genesis of Turko-Mongol races that came from the west, crossed to the east and returned as conquerors several times. Quite often mutations of the same ethnic group faced each other. This would have been the case with the Aryans [also as Iranians] and later the

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[47] For a recent reconstruction of the Mongol interaction with the Delhi Sultanate and, consequently the Indus Enclave, see, Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999): especially 217ff

[48] The smaller racial components, like the Greeks in the north and the Arabs in the south, had a more lasting cultural impact than could have been expected.

Saka, Parthian or Hun conquerors. States which emerged in the Enclave formed the present-day ethnic and linguistic mosaic. Commonalities exhibit cultural unity in areas that were covered by a single state while diversities depict fractures or fragments of hinterland under an urban centre as a distinct political entity.

The series of eastern conquerors and peaceful immigrants to the Enclave certainly comprised of the pre-historic settlers in Bharat and the Deccan. However, their genetic pool was enriched by all those people who passed through the western cusp. While this genetic and ethnic replenishment is well known that which came from the north, east or south into Bharat has gone unrecorded in history. We need not rule out the possibility that the hazy and legendary reference to penetration of the Himalayas or wetlands of Bengal and Assam were historical realities; but nor it can it be asserted with conviction. What can be said with assurance about historic times is that various Bharati, Aryan and Turkic races entered the Enclave from all sides.

Languages of the Aryans, the Hunnish clans, the Persians and the Turks intermixed freely along with elements of Hellenistic and Arabic words were transmuted through many scripts before settling on Persian-Arabic alphabet with some variations. The Enclave also experienced the transition from the dominance of nomads to the pervasive urban life of pre-modern states before being put into the global village lifestyle of today. Its economy, started from animal husbandry, led to agriculture and developed a full blown urbanism but, being confederative, did not become imperial or cosmopolitan. Northern trade routes were alternately active from time to time, agriculture dominated the south of the

Enclave, especially in the east; while the west was pastoral, more so in its hilly and barren tracts. The ecology of the Enclave has seen a gradual depletion in species of wildlife while climate has maintained an alternating pattern of droughts and excessive rain with a shift of river courses leading to desertification.

Ethno-genesis, occurred many times and at several places within the Enclave. Whenever the process of assimilation ceased, tribes came into being and claims of racial identity subsumed language and culture so that ethnicity came to mean racial identity. When tribal conflict led to internal fragmentation of a racial or ethnic group, ethnicity and race became separate markers and language facilitated cultural the bond of fresh ethno-genesis incorporating other racial stocks in a new racial identity.

Politics and administration:

The process of lingua-genesis is a natural concomitant of ethno-genesis because an accommodation between people of distinct cultural norms need manoeuvring space. Communities surrender concepts, their words are excluded from vocabulary. The forms of words undergo mutation to include cultural nuances. New words also come into being to create cultural spaces. The barter for cultural space needs political dialogue which is facilitated by administrative unity. Thus, invariably the formation of states led to ethno-genesis through administrative or political bonds. With nationalism as a means of ethno-genesis ethnic identity became co-terminus with national identity. Whereas older nation-states were forced by historic imperatives, the newer state-nations are

trying to coerce the component ethnic groups to surrender racial, cultural and linguistic identities for 'national integration'.

The political or administrative unity of the Harappan civilization cannot be established on the basis of existing evidence for any of its phases. Its urban remains do however give credence to the speculative inference that it consisted of six or seven units of hinterland[49], each with its central city and array of smaller towns in the Indus plains. Its influence may have reached trading posts in the mountains from which these areas acquired raw material or labour, perhaps skilled in using stone. A second concentration of towns arose in the periphery of the earlier civilization. While Harappan urbanism thrived on geographic security in the south, minimizing casual ingress and free passage through hinterland, its successors flourished on transit through northern entrances.

Ethnic changes caused shifts in economy and technology during later Harappan, Vedic and Buddhist periods. It is also difficult to assess the unity of administrative and political command in the early Aryan period. The sixteen states/tribal groups of Buddhist literature, probably identifying regions where Vedic religious influence spread, are mainly in the region of Bharat. Two of them to the extreme west, abutted both sides of the Hindukush; Gandhara [the eastern one] falling within the Indus Enclave.

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[49] See G. L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, OUP and IBH, New Delhi, and Randall William Law, *Inter-Regional Interaction and Urbanism in the Ancient Indus Valley: A Geological Provenience Study of Harappa's Rock and Mineral Assemblage* (Ph. D. diss., Madison -Wisconsin, 2008): 80, fig. 2.6 for demarcation of sub-units of the Indus Civilization by eras.

If not purely nomadic or pastoral, Aryans were certainly mobile as a community; perhaps consisting of several communities of occupational, militant or trading groups. It is obvious from the location of their states that they were formed along some travel path dictated by ecology, technology or trade routes[50]. The area in which a variety of painted ware was found [supra], could be the result of Aryan movements in view of the sudden burst of coloured pottery east of the Indus Enclave at this time. Aryans passing through Iran and Central Asia absorbed the technology, and perhaps even some skilled labour. Although the periphery of the Harappan Civilization included the upper reaches of the land of seven rivers, it was not its heartland. It is probably the region of the Punjab, via Khyber Pass and Attock that Aryans passed through in numbers, with a trickle going southwards.

The Aryan sojourn in the Indus Enclave has been interpreted as their interaction with the Harappans. This presumption is based on Vedic references to Aryan stay in the Sapta Sindhava region. Neither the evidence of the Harappan remains nor that of Vedic texts is sufficient to establish interaction between Harappans and Aryans. It is likely that the Aryan movement remained in the north of the Indus Enclave where the settlements may have been overlaid and cannibalized by Gandhara remains.

Gandhara was a distinct historic region at about 500 BC. It was not culturally unified by state administration but by a religious elite even at the height of its political power. The northwest part of the Enclave formed its heartland: the Peshawar valley and

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[50] Joseph E. Schwartzberg, op. cit.: 11ff.

Taxila, extending to Swat and on to Dir. Gandhara retained and enhanced its distinct characteristic as a civilization for about a millennium through the occupation of several conquerors.

Obviously its hinterland is hilly, as the mountainous terrain is its unifying feature; its internal division is east to west; Taxila and the Pothohar region being a tier of less elevation, was separated from the Peshawar valley and its adjuncts by the River Indus. Strangely the river divided the administrative units but unified the civilization while the mountains integrated the state. Perhaps the rain fed Pothohar attracted a different group of Aryans from those who settled in drain fed valleys west of the Indus. Ashok may have been the first of adventurers to conquer and cross the Indus Enclave from its east since the Mahabharata era. Like his Achaemenid predecessors and Kushan successors he contributed to the evolution of the Gandhara civilization.

As the first phase of Muslim ingress to the Enclave was from the south, Chinese travellers and the Gandhara region that they visited remained oblivious of the Hindu-Buddhist fate in the erstwhile Harappan region. Before Muhammad bin Qasim and his successors invaded southern urban centres of Brahmanabad and Multan, Hiuen-sung had returned from visiting the northern Buddhist centres[51]. The size of Taxila's towns attests that unlike the Harappan civilization, the Gandhara civilization did not have large urban populations nor did it have many cities, rather it provided a seminal function for the dissemination of its religious and cultural norms. In a sense it consisted mainly of "religious"

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[51] Marshall, *Op. Cit*., p.17.

cities[52] in which its sanctity remained unchallenged till an ethnic change occurred in the north with the coming of the Muslim Turks. The political difference between northern and southern Buddhist urbanisms needs special attention because of their responses to changes caused by two racial groups of Muslim conquerors[53] set apart by three centuries.

During stages IV and V Muslim civilization made inroads in the regions of Harappan and Gandhara civilizations; both of which had acquired Hindu rulers prior to the arrival of Muslims. Cities in the south continued to be larger than northern urbanisms but the art of fortification had developed greatly. Mahmud did not find cities/defences that could compare with the Kushan towns.

The Hindu rulers in both areas exploited the strategic depth by retreating east of the river Indus. Because there were several rivers in the north, the state that faced the Ghaznavi onslaught was able to exploit greater depth, up to Lahore, east of the Ravi. The

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[52] V. D. Divekar, "Political Factor in the Rise and Decline of Cities in Pre-British India – with special reference to Pune" in *Studies in Urban History*, ed. J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga (Amritsar: Department of History Guru Nanak Dev University, n. d.): 91ff. He also talks of a 'seed' factor, this seems to be the same concept as cultural DNA used by me, except that it refers to the nature of a city rather than of a civilization; this distinction is of vital importance especially for medieval urbanization.

[53] We have adverted to the Muslim conquerors without mentioning the intervening Hindu revolutions. Both Buddhist states of the Enclave succumbed to Hindu viziers [Turki-shahi in the north and Sahasi Rai in the south] before the Muslim conquest. Hindu viziers may not have been ethnically different from their masters but the Muslims were as different from each other as were the Arabs from the rulers they replaced.

southern state, being astride the Indus, fell quickly to the Arabs[54]. During three centuries in stage V, the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi seldom[55] held a significant portion of the Enclave west of Indus. During this period qualities of cusp are most obvious in the Enclave which acquired a fragmented political structure. It did not develop many new urban centres but Multan acquired the function of centre, linking political fragments. The western Mongol thrust to the Enclave, came from Transoxiana[56] and the eastern pressure emanated from Bharat and the Delhi Sultanate.

Whereas the onslaught of Changez shook the foundations of the Muslim states in Iran and Central Asia the Enclave limited the Mongol pursuit of Mangbarni. Changez's successors could not

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[54] The southern state was almost coterminous with the heartland of the Indus valley civilization while the northern state encompassed a little less than the Gandhara heartland on both sides of the river Indus. Since the urban centers of the southern state lay close to the Indus and the confluence of its tributaries, Arab conquerors moved south to the north on either side of the river and soon captured major towns from the mouth of the delta at Bhanbore to the north-most major city, Multan. For northern conquests see: C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal publishers, 1992); and Muhammad Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mohmud of Ghazna* (Cambridge: CUP, 1931): 158.

[55] Peter Jackson, *op. cit.* avoids outlining the frontier west of the Sultanate in his maps. K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis* (Allahabad: The Indian Press, 1950): 79, and A.M. Husain, *Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq* (London: Luzac & co., 1938) show a frontier west of the Indus, following its curvature to indicate that it was within the grasp of the Sultans.

[56] For the history from the Mongol perspective see Bertold Spuler, *The Mongol Period*, tr. F. R. C. Bagley (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969): especially map facing p. 68 for the area of the Enclave as a contested region.

push through to the Delhi Sultanate as both forces were fairly well balanced[57]. In the 16th century the balance tilted westwards; when Babar overran the Enclave Turks found, like the Aryans and Ilbaris before them, that their centre of gravity had shifted to its east[58]. Nonetheless they managed to retain hold on the region east of the Enclave, surpassing Asoka's limits of control[59].

This was a unique event in the history of the enclave since no conqueror, crossing the Enclave from either side, had been able to retain control of the lands from which he came. This period of two centuries saw considerable urbanization in the northern part of the Enclave. Life in the region may not have been politically as integrated since Harappan times. Socially the regional traits of the 'provinces' as they exist today can be seen in bold relief. While the Mughals had found it difficult to integrate the Deccan with Bharat or to unify it internally they had a firm hold over the Indus Enclave. This enhanced the Muslim cultural affinity in the land conquered in the last days of the East India Company's rule

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[57] Ibid, the fact that the northern portion of the Enclave remained contested throughout the period with the Sultans being content with control east of the Chenab and the Mongols generally satisfied with control west of Jhelum until the Mughals thrust to the Doab and back west into Afghanistan illustrates the point; passim.

[58] Jackson, *op. cit.* map, p.131 shows that the Enclave had very few towns as compared to the Doab during the Sultanate, Mughal Urbanization in the northern passage alone would rival Sultanate urbanisms.

[59] For western limits of Asoka's empire see Havel, *op. cit.*, p.89ff. For Akbar's Afghanistan, Farishta, *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, Urdu Tr., Abdul Hayee Khwaja, Sheikh Ghulam Ali, (Lahore: Sheikh Ghulam Ali and Sons, n. d.): 680ff.

and revived ties with Afghanistan that had been severed since the time of Mahmud of Ghaznin, nearly a millennium earlier.

From c.1700 the phase of a century and a half forms the second interregnum. The transition to the colonial urbanization and its aftermath in Pakistan. In another sense this phase is a period of attrition in urban traditions of the Indus Enclave. It paved the way for colonial political change with its several administrative re-designations. Gradual increment in the British limit of control and the innate racial and religious perception of a colonial mind cast and recast district and municipal limits. It also brought to bear a different set of political and economic priorities, making a different organization of hinterlands and urban cores essential. Several locations which had never been used as urban centres acquired importance in the changed politics of land use, a factor that has been active ever since then. The racial-religious colonial perception of polity yielded a state structure that reasserted the cusp and foyer functions of the Indus Enclave.

Technological and socio-economic fabric:

Relatively more arid regions suited people experiencing a stage of transition from the mobile to a settled lifestyle; consequently, preliminary urban evolution depended on technology using low precipitation for agriculture in the hills. In Baluchistan signs of early urbanism have been found but there is no sign of rivers or watercourses in this arid region that could sustain a civilization.

Whereas the growing control of water as a means of irrigation and urban consumption led to the rise of states and an increase in the

control of hinterland, it also facilitated increase in the size of urban units. We may conjecture that primitive rural habitat in the Indus Enclave developed in foothills which facilitated both, supplementing of agriculture through pastoral memory and the management of small waters in the limited collective capacity of these societies. Later, the push from more aggressive pastoralists and the pull from increased confidence and ability to manage broad rivers led to settlements in the flood plains. Extending this argument we can contend that a Ravi/Chenab borne urbanism of Harappa preceded that of Mohenjo-Daro. This adds credence to the idea that the latter was laid out fully developed based on the earlier urban experience near the smaller water courses.

The Harappan sites are found at varying elevations. Some were diachronic while others had synchronic occupation. Diachronic occurrence of sites at different heights may have been caused by change in building material and improved water management. The mighty Indus and the vast area irrigated by Hakra probably encouraged people of Mature Harappan era to develop advanced water management. Once the preliminary stages of urbanization had been crossed along a small water channel; Harappa came into being. Though located at a latitude comparable to the Early Harappan sites, its bigger river could sustain a large population.

The Indus civilization does not seem to have been swept away by one inexorable wave of Aryan conquerors; it may have been the work of various tribal groups over several years or centuries, sometimes militant, sometimes peaceful. Among the reasons for considering this probability is the unlikelihood of single-minded military organization at such a scale in tribal peoples at that time

in history[60]. The Iranian and Macedonian ventures within five centuries of this so called Aryan incursion may cast some doubt on this argument, nonetheless it is not to be refuted outright. A set of internal/climatic and external factors may have brought about the decline of the Indus civilization and replaced it by a new ethnic structure. Minor change in the course of rivers and climate/extinction of certain species was capable of altering the social balance of power Perhaps the Aryan genius in languages and lifestyles, diluted by a pre-Aryan culture found expression, beyond the Sirhind[61] triangle in the Ganga-Jumna Doab where it probably blossomed as the Painted Grey Ware Culture[62].

Ethnic composition and culture determine the ability of society to exploit its environment. It was not feasible for the people of Harappa to build with stone, nor would it suite Gandhara people to rely heavily on burnt brick. Since both built durable habitats, they left archaeological remains. Urban planning is influenced by a sense of security in the political climate surrounding a state. The urban grid patterns of Harappa and Taxila suggest a sense of security that did not need extensive fortification.

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[60] Gankovsky, p. 43.

[61] The Sirhind triangle holds the key to controlling the Ganga-Jumna Doab and Rajputana, thereby opening the routes to Gujrat, Malwa and Awadh and on to Bihar/Bengal or south to the Deccan.

[62] It is visible in archaeological finds at the end of the second millennium BC. These people raised horses, pigs, sheep and cattle, made use of potter's wheels for earthenware and used bronze for tools and weapons.

Perhaps metallurgy could only be developed with the combined skills of stone technology and clay moulding expertise to quarry the oar, melt it and cast it into shape. The Harappans probably provided the first obstacle to nomadic and pastoral movement in the Indus Enclave. They may even have inconvenienced traffic from Central Asia, India and Iran. On the other hand, trade may have encouraged movement of pastoralists to supply materials and manpower to civilizations in river deltas of the Arabian Sea.

This later caused Khurasan to become a great source of human capital. It is probable that from 2000 BC this region contributed both farmers and technicians for the civilizations that emerged around it. It is possible that, if the Harappans were jealous of the use of their territory, they may have caused a reshuffle in routes. Changes in pastoral movement outside the Enclave may also have influenced their relations and factors of production[63].

We have suggested earlier that a nomadic and pastoral socio-economic fabric in foothills of the Hindukush and Suleiman ranges lead to pre-Harappan towns in the Balochi environment. A gradual transition to semi-sedentary society and economy led to a rural and then an urban lifestyle. Perhaps the semi-pastoral or non-urban Baloch of today lead a socio-economic life similar to their prehistoric ancestors; their wares and industry mirroring their pre-Harappan occupations. The leather, fabric, utensils and

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[63] This may be one reason for the emergence of the Gandhara Civilization in the north of the Indus. It is possible that people used to stone technology overshadowed the Harappan job market and gradually shifted other aspects of the urban technology to the north. This, in turn, would have changed their trade, commerce, industry and administration.

arts would have refined archaic patterns, improved or changed by modern technology in some way. Ancient Balochi village culture however, altered social hierarchy through changes in the production and consumption functions. It does not seem likely that a major conflict occurred between herdsmen and farmers with the rise of agriculture; population in both communities was sparse and each was learning how to exploit different resources.

Four components of technology form the basis of our analysis. One is building material: starting from purely natural materials that were tooled by man [stone and wood]; to semi-natural ones [like baked earth] which occur naturally but not in a form that is developed through technology; to "a-natural" manufactures such as cloth: natural treatment of natural matter yielding products not found in nature; un-natural materials [elements or chemicals that do not occur naturally] are a modern development.

The second component is the energy that drives technology, the oldest being human power, followed by animal power harnessed mainly from large mammals. Fire based on vegetation or wood was supplemented by use of simple fossil fuel; the combination which lasted almost until modern times. Electricity provided for the use of extraordinary power as substitute for almost all power sources. Human progress prior to the industrial age was limited to innovations in materials and use of natural energy.

A third is that branch of physics which converts materials and power to technology; this converter may be mechanical, electro-magnetic, light, pressure, sound or heat.

Finally human aspirations and socio-cultural needs that instigate progress of humans determine technological developments. The war industry uses the same material, power sources and physical converters as the tourist or medical industry but the output of a radar is essentially different from that of an x-ray or a television.

When we discuss the transition of various societies in economic and technological terms, their changing types of matter [stone, iron, bronze], sources of power [horse, camel, ox, mineral oil and coal], type of technology [electrical, mechanical or ballistic] and aspirations [astrologic/hydraulic/agronomic development] will be brought in to focus to assess their socio-economic forms. The major technological change in the Enclave was in building material. Earthen utensils and sun baked bricks displaced more natural materials; animal power supplemented human power[64]. The pastoral use of animals for food and load bearing was quite different from that of the animals for plough or marketing.

A hierarchy of dependent and independent groups in relations of production transformed leadership of society in the village; thus the tribal elders became more powerful in certain cases and less important in others. The hierarchy of the location or functions of settlement created an elite that was not based on personal ability of individuals. The advantages of position, family, technology or

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[64] General aspects of the shift to animal power in the non-food-producing community has been discussed by Robert McC Adams, "The Natural History of Urbanism" in Gregory L. Possehl, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, op.cit: 18-26 and the Indus based process has been discussed by F. R. Allchin, "Early Domesticated Animals in India and Pakistan" in the same volume, pp. 245-248.

personal charisma bound larger territories together till a state structure emerged in the plains of the Indus and its tributaries.

Peoples of the Enclave generally developed technologies based on the ecologies around them. Normally they chose the path of least resistance in environment and the mode of minimal effort for the human community. Building materials in Baluchistan[65] in pre-Harappan times were mud and mud brick; two distinct patterns emerged one cantered in Zhob and the other at Amri and Nal[66] in South Baluchistan and Sind. Perhaps the inhabitants were pastoral herders who had hearths but had not domesticated horses. Links between Indus and Mesopotamia[67] were based on trade by sea or via Baluchistan and around or through the central Iranian desert. A single route through what seems to be a single desert may be the justification for using the two names, Dasht-i-Lut and Dasht-i-Kavir. The southern fringes of the Dasht-i-Lut facilitated mixing of colour technologies in pottery making.

Five periods of figurines with sub-classifications are given in Clark's dissertation[68], they relate mainly to the integration era or

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[65] Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Rise of civilization in India and Pakistan* (Cambridge CUP, 1985): 136.

[66] Bridget and Raymond Allchin, p.131.

[67] Gregory L. Possehl, ed. *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, op.cit: 113-147: for the number of articles discussing the issue of Indus civilization provenance.

[68]Sharri Ruth Clark, "The Social life of Figurines: Recontextualizing the Third Millennium BC Terracotta Figurines from Harappa" (Ph. D. diss., Harvard University, May 2007): 9 in PDF, chapter 5 "For example, the Kot-Diji phase and a transitional phase (designated Periods 1 and 2)

the Harappan phase. During the preceding period of 2400 years, regional forms emerged in Balakot, Amri, Kot-Diji and along the Hakra. The Mehrgarh phase or the early food producing era has been traced back to 6500 BC with an absence of ceramics. The regionalization era, according to Clark, links social groups to specific ceramic artefacts, perhaps from western technology.

Between 6500 and 5000 BC the inhabitants of the Indus Enclave improved food production as well as food security mechanisms in various ways, thereby creating different social, cultural, racial and ethnic groups in different regions. The consumable surplus in lower Sind led to further ethno-genesis of these groups and their cultural integration in the sub-regions. The Hakra influence extended to Harappa and regionalization facilitated integration of the cultures into a civilization with the help of technological exchanges and mobility of artisans as carriers of civic ideology.

Clark agrees with Possehl that the grid pattern of Indus sites is a myth but accepts that the network of streets was fairly regular[69]. Mature Harappan towns show some hierarchical structures in town-planning. The tribal Aryans would not have had a similar

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were identified as the earliest occupations at Harappa …. However, in 1996 occupations belonging to the Ravi aspect of the Hakra phase and predating the Kot-Diji phase were identified at Harappa…. After the 1996 excavations, the 'Early Harappan' Kot-Diji phase (*formerly* Period 1) was redesignated as late Period 1B … and then as Period 2 (replacing the 'Transitional phase'), and the Ravi aspect of the Hakra phase was then designated as Period 1 (Meadow et al. 1998). The transition from Period 2 to Period 3 is not yet well understood …."

[69] Sharri Ruth Clark, *op. cit*.

hierarchy; it seems likely that they were dominated by a militant class of hunters[70] as can be expected in a mobile community.

Their settlement came to be dominated by a religious elite which dictated its sense of monumentality. Gandhara people followed suit but excelled in glorifying Buddhism in non-urban temples. They seem to have spawned a pastoral-Chalcolithic society with few urban centres. Successive heirs to this urbanism created the push and pull of urban-monastic life through a millennium or so. Their economy was neither as vibrant nor as extensive as that of their Harappan predecessors in the Indus Enclave; nor did they exploit the southern hinterland as well as their region had been utilized by the Harappans. However additions to the Gandhara technology by Scythian, Parthian, Greek and Indo-Aryans under the Mauriyas, Kushan and Huns are easier to identify through a sequence of cultural and material remains.

Semi-pastoral settlers on the Harappan periphery were possibly also of different racial/ethnic stock from the Indus people. They may have acquired some Harappan technologies. Leadership of the new urban enterprise passed to these people who were more adept in the use of stone for three reasons. First, because they had not yet crossed the urban threshold to convert to the use of earthenware; second, because they lived in a region where stone was a more convenient material to use; and third, because of the failure of earthen technology in solving some of the problems that

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[70] Havel, p.14 surmises that the warrior not the hunter was the leader of the tribe, this would be true in time of conquest but probably in peace time the hunter would lead; he could be expected to be a war leader also.

these settlers had faced. The Harappans on the other hand, having become habitual in the use of clay could not adapt to the revival of stone as a medium of construction[71].

A close scrutiny of Schwartzberg's atlas shows that Vedic India lies beyond the Sirhind triangle, formed mainly by the region of Polished Black-ware and the Grey-ware. [72] It also shows that

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[71] The human tendency to become unable to readjust to nature as a result of technological advancement can be termed 'Pepsi syndrome'. A child who has not been introduced to synthetic foods like sweets, soft drinks etc craves for natural products like milk and vegetables that can fulfill the need for blood-sugar. A child who has tasted synthetic substances is not satisfied by natural foods. A similar process limits humankind from going back to natural instincts due to an addiction to acculturated instincts. In some cases it takes the form of a tradeoff between divergent instincts.

Humans are adept in the art of balancing conflicting instincts such as security and adventure; dependence and independence; settlement and mobility. They are also expert at adapting to environments b selectively assigning primacy to one or the other emotion or instinct. Thus the familiarity with environment provided security, replacing the constant vigil of nomadic life in unfamiliar surroundings. Other similar "shifts" of policy or practice from the nomadic to the settled life in different stages included:

Primacy of food and sex, lack of care for biodegradable litter and a minimal storage/carrying capacity for a nomad as distinct from some baggage, a respect for animal life and the use of biotic waste for pastoralists.

Primary concern for animal and vegetable matter, for farmers, with a minimum quality of habitat, as opposed to lack of concern with the food production and primary concern with habitation, for a city dweller.

[72] *Historical Atlas of South Asia*, plates 11.5 ff depict a north-west-west to south-east-east axis for trade and flow of technology in metallurgy with copper and bronze artifacts during the later Harappan phase. Most of the developments occur in the periphery of Harappan urban settlements. Painted Grey-ware is found in the Gangetic plain between Sirhind [close to the site of the Mahabharata, great battle for Bharat] and the Awadh

geography of Ramayana starts near the confluence of the Ganga and Jumna moves south through Malwa to the Deccan where a concentration of rock cut caves and Iron Age burials is found. While Aryan literature and lore deal with Bharat, Panini deals with the Harappan periphery in the Pothohar and the Hindukush mountains, but the Harappan core was deurbanized by this time. Similarly Arthashastra deals with the northern part of the Indus Enclave; its south is hardly mentioned as an urban region. This may be due to Kautilya's lack of knowledge but it is obvious that Gandhara was linked more to the west-north of Pothohar.

The people of Gandhara and related regions in the Enclave made iron tools/weapons that they exported. Climate and agricultural technology allowed them to harvest two crops a year, including wheat, cotton and rice; these too they exported along with oil from a port on the Indus delta. Punch mark coins of silver and copper appear in Taxila prior to the Greek invasion, perhaps also as a result of the westward affinity[73] of the Enclave during the first millennium BC and till 500 AD. In the south the kingdom of Rai Chach had had to give in to the rising Muslim power of the Arabs. Spreading eastwards the Hindu Shahi neo-urbanism also was forced to fall back to the plains east of the Jhelum[74]. They

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region beyond the confluence of the Ganga and Jamna. The Northern Black Polished-ware and Grey-ware originate in Rupar but concentration starts in Awadh, trailing out where the Brahmaputra is met by the Ganga in Bengal; its sites are spread across the Deccan unlike the Grey-ware.

[73] Gankovsky, p.78 ff.

[74] See, C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal publishers, 1992).

were succeeded by an Afghanistan based state with its centre at Ghaznin[75], first under a Turkish and later under Tajik or Afghan leadership hailing from the mountains of Ghor.

The traffic of Persian technologies and urban trends, interrupted by Alexander was revived with a rise of ceramic and agricultural technology in the urban equation. Lahore acquired a major role in the Ghaznavi state but despite its enhanced importance, the Gomal-Multan and Khuzdar-Bolan links with Afghanistan were vital for its survival. Brahmanabad or Mansura, however, must have failed to retain its status, as it faded from Ghaznavi urban lists[76]. The hinterland of this state included the territories of modern Afghanistan and Pakistan as other gains during the rule of Mahmud Ghaznavi lasted for one[77] generation only.

The absence of a political focal point within the Enclave proved detrimental to its economic evolution but yielded huge cultural dividends. Muslim management left the task of economic and technological innovation to local communities. However, state patronage of town-planning, communication networks, urban and rural growth and architecture was its forte. It did not sponsor

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[75] Minhaj-us-Siraj *Tabqaat-i-Nasiri*, tr. [Urdu] Ghulam Rasul Mehr (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1975) does not settle the question of the ethnicity and race of the Ghoris but they were possibly of Afghan stock.

[76] C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids, Splendour and Decay* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1977): passim.

[77] See Ikram, *History of Muslim Civilization in India and Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1982), for details S.M. Jaffar, *Medieval India under Muslim Kings, Vol.II, The rise and fall of the Ghaznavids,* Peshawar: S. M. Sadiq Khan, 1940.

agriculture or trade unless they fell within the ambit of state-interest or when traders and agriculturalists showed initiative[78]. Thus canal facilities were improved and trade routes and posts developed according to the priorities of rulers.

While the Ghaznavi state controlled the entire region, the Ghori state was more effective north of the confluence of the seven rivers than south of it. The difference between a centralized state and freedom to conquer eastward distinguished their respective use and influence on the socio-cultural form of the Enclave[79]. In terms of economic infrastructure however, they invested heavily to its military and architectural technology.

Though writing had existed in all the urbanisms of the Enclave, it had been in the form of small texts, generally for formalities of administration, religion or trade. The Muslims however made use of the Iranian model of "language as a social technology".

Turks from Ghaznin brought the use of paper and a widely used script with them along with a wealth of varied vocabularies to match the lingua-genesis of Gandhara and its Turkic conquerors. The result was a flowering of a myriad of spoken languages and literary outpouring by a cross section of racial groups to form the

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[78] We will focus on resource environments and technology which underwrote the rise and fall of urbanisms. Some of these have been spelled out in detail by researchers like Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi, *Urbanisation and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, 1971) others are generated from original sources.

[79] See Khurram Qadir, "Implications of the Distinctive Features of the Ghori Chain of Command," *PJHC* XXII (June 2001): 1-13.

regional languages of Pakistan today. A uniformity of script could not facilitate integration of the Enclave. Since it was used on both sides of the Enclave, it however linked the region with its neighbours. However, administrative diversity encouraged the emergence of discrete ethnicities, especially because none of the regional languages was the language of the state. A common corpus of literature existed in Persian. A parallel 'spiritual state', however, exploited local dialects and languages extensively and led to a flowering of devotional poetry along the riverine region.

The growth in literary tradition did not affect the economic or technological development in material terms. Instead it caused a basic shift in technology of education and thus facilitated a cross fertilization of cultures between Central Asia and South Asia. Indirect effects, in the form of beliefs and practices brought by the Muslims influenced material growth as well. The production function was changed through a shift in social grouping twice during three centuries, once by the Ghaznavi and once by the Ghori state. While the Ghaznavi government primarily relied on agriculture and was content with the output of its semiarid land, the Ghori economy was of a military establishment in search of lucrative/productive regions to govern.

In the second millennium AD major hydraulic changes took place in the Indus Enclave to shift the course of the Indus and create a delta at Liari[80]. The trade with Central Asia was an important part

[80] Liari was an important port by 1334 when Ibn Battuta visited it. The Indus carried 400 million tons of silt per annum and discharged 60,000 cu km of water [as opposed to 100m ar. ft. today] and caused a 3 km increase per

of the economy of Sind for several centuries until the British blocked the Russian path to warm waters via the Oxus-Indus link. On the political front, whenever a Delhi based government blocked Turko-Mongol incursion to Bharat, some demographic residue filtered down along the Indus to the lower reaches of the Enclave. Sometimes this resulted in consolidation of control all along the Indus plains while at others it led to a greater fragmentation. The Kalhora and Talpur capitals and the integration/fragmentation of their state are among more recent examples of this process during the decline of the Mughals and the rise of British colonial/imperial designs from the East.

In sum it may be said that the inhabitants of the Enclave were technologically innovative, technology was ecology sensitive[81].

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century along a 240 mile long coast. According to this estimate, the coastline as seen by Ibn Battuta was 18 km more than that which faced the Arab attack under Muhammad bin Qasim. It is believed that the ports of the Indus were 15-20 miles inland from the mouth of the delta. Other considerations perhaps influenced the popularity of a port. The use of Liari, Keti and Orangbandar [Orangi] or Shah Bandar of Kalhora times and the rise of Karachi [used by the Portuguese on Liari river in 1756] after the British conquered it are issues of that need further scrutiny.

[81] We find that canals were similar to river-channels, routes were developed along lines convenient for the domesticated animals and agriculture used natural means of tillage and irrigation. Even the mechanism used for ironing relied on tools such as starch and wind-drying. Perhaps these ideas depict the mental processes that led to the philosophy of Jainism.

Some Generalizations

The general pattern of urbanization since the Indus civilization has been a concentration of rural sites on both sides of a river[82]. Their density varied with the ability to exploit its soil. Urban centres rose and fell with the size and wealth of the hinterland and decrease or increase of trade and industry that an ethnicity could dominate. The population densities of modern towns are proportional to the rural density of the hinterland[83]; this was also true in pre-modern times. Occasionally a town defied deterrence of political turmoil on the basis of commercial interests[84].

The frequency with which urban hinterlands of the Enclave tend to gravitate towards the east or west or to integrate on a north-south axis indicates its inherent unity as a region [map 7]. As it is more convenient to increase hinterland along the length of the Indus and the breadth of the Punjab, these areas developed as larger urban imperial units. Unproductive regions, like deserts, unmanageable terrain of mountains, rivers that were difficult to cross, forests that limit administrative control and opposition of other human communities delimitated the urban hinterlands.

Unlike the divisions of India in which the ethno-political fault lines are consistent, the Enclave comprised of seven interlocking zones as shown in the map. Each zone had a set of five to ten sub-

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82 See: *Atlas of Pakistan* (Rawalpindi: Survey of Pakistan, 1997): 63.

83 Ibid, p. 62

84 This was true of Shikarpur during the seventeenth century.

zones which could join the adjacent zones or be added on one by one as the expansion of a state dictated or was possible. When the state capital was located in a zones of the Enclave, it generally expanded only to the adjacent zones. If it was located outside the Enclave, it generally held the northern zones[85].

The socio-linguistic fabric is knit on the basis of small units of space [bana] and large units of time [tana][86] to provide an ethno-cultural integration. The strength of social fabrics depends on the

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[85] The region east of the Chenab tended to gravitate toward a state in Bharat in case the Enclave was not entirely under a single rule. The region west of the Indus generally gravitated to the west in similar circumstances. Its intervening areas [Chaj Doab and Sind-Sagar Doab] were likely to be independent in these times. During the Sultanate of Delhi, occasionally the central links of Gomal and Multan were the ones which integrated other areas of the Enclave with its external overlords. The Quetta link was more active for trade and formed the cross roads with the north-east to south-west chain of mountains from Gomal to the sea in one direction and Helmand to the ports of Sind in the other. The ranges of Baluchistan formed a unique peripheral zone as this arid area was seldom an active urban region but it was always relevant to urbanization in the Enclave as a filter of demographic inputs going south from Afghanistan or west from Iran. Tharparkar performed the same function toward south and east, but this was frequently a political dependency of Alor/Thatta. The Multan zone comprised of the Harappa and Kot-Diji regions and remained the central link that held the zones of the Enclave integrated through socio-economic relations even when they did not form part of the same state.

[86] Tana and bana are term used in weaving in Urdu. Longitudinal strands are tightly knit on a frame, these are called the tana and the weaving is done through these strands by a lateral, but shorter, uniform breadth of fabric. The lingua-genesis, in a similar process operates on a tana of time and a bana of space; this would also generally be true of ethno-genesis but is not as essential for ethnicity as it is for language.

length of time during which a coherent administrative form integrates a region, because administrative unity is the catalyst for a lingua-ethno-genesis. The Indus region depicts a pattern of alternating periods of geographic integration and fragmentation which is cantered on the confluence of its tributaries at Panjnad. This does not imply that its administrative centre as at this point when the Enclave was; rather it assumes that, as a strategic link it bound together the sub-units of its hinterland. Topographically delineated by rivers, deserts or mountains, the southern units on either side of the river, tended to remain Indus-centric as far as possible, occasionally gravitating to a centre in the east or west,.

The Indus Enclave has been recognized as a distinct geographic zone throughout history by almost all analysts, even those who treat it as a part of the Middle East, Central Asia or South Asia. Analysts who treat it as part of a large geographic zone consider, we may even suggest that some are forced to concede, that it lies on the periphery and possesses affinity with several contiguous regions; qualifying it as a cusp. There has also been a trend to treat it as a monolithic socio-political entity through antiquity. In fact cultural and ethnic diversity of its present, and its political history, are amply reflected in units of administration of modern Pakistan. In the present paper our hypothesis is that while some cultural integration has always existed, ethno-political diversity due to its nature as cusp and foyer has enforced a variety of political and economic life on the inhabitants of the Enclave that has generally maintained a balance between east and west.

A major historiographic realignment is that we have viewed all ethnic and cultural entities, originating from any region outside

the territory designated as the Enclave, as inputs of its history and all factors emanating within Pakistan, as its contribution to human society. This significantly changes the interpretation of events, for example 'invaders' of the Enclave are not limited to those coming from the west. Conquers of its regions coming from the East, whether Hindu, Buddhist or Muslim, are seen as invaders, but not necessarily as aggressors in a negative sense. Similarly cultural inputs from all directions that came to Indus Valley Civilization, Gandhara or Turkic civilization are treated as inputs which were absorbed by its inhabitants at that time.

During the 2nd & 3rd millennium BC Harappan society, culture and politics had its core in the Indus Enclave while its periphery included Gedrosia/Baluchistan and bordered Rajasthan. There was extensive racial-cultural interaction between old settlers of the Indus Enclave and newcomers from the west or north from 500 BC to 1500 AD, this affected its northern part more than the southern one. There is evidence to suggest that the Mongols and Turks predominated the influx from the north and the northern component was far greater in the 1st century AD. This process continued even after the Arab conquest in the south of the Indus Enclave where a religious/cultural shift, not a racial-social one, took place with the coming of the Muslim Turks.

When the successors of Alexander settled into a state system to the west and north of the Enclave and successors of Ashok had adjusted to the fragmentation following the rule of the great Mauriya emperor, the Indus Enclave regained its status as the cusp between these state systems. However, in the post-Ashok period, the Bactrian and Scythian-Parthian west influenced the

Gandhara region more than its Gangetic counterpart. It appears that during this time the southern regions, Baluchistan and Sind, experienced desertification and de-urbanization which started in the late Harappan (Ravi culture) period and continued through Vedic times. These southern regions attracted neither Mauriyas nor Greeks except as a periphery to lucrative adjoining territory. From the east the Mauriyas penetrated beyond the cusp; while from the west Bactrian influences spilled into the Enclave.

On the political plane, states cantered to the east or west of the Indus Enclave have from time to time overrun the territory, and even crossed it to extend their control beyond it on the other side; or a state has emerged within the Enclave which spread its influence to one or both sides (the east and west); or the Enclave has been fragmented under petty rulers. On the cultural plane, this politics led to periods of integration and segregation of regions in various permutations. Interestingly once an influence filtered through the Enclave it acquired an identity distinct from that of the cusp. Religion, language, and cultural baggage was absorbed in the cusp as well during these times, making distinct from its relatives on both sides. At times the region was neither periphery nor heartland or empire; but was an outlying province.

Before a small community of Arabs settled in Sind as rulers the northern state structure of Enclave began to fragment. A variety of land tenure was in use along with joint or common ownership practices. De-urbanization may have occurred at this time but did not last long. Simultaneously script changed from Kharoshti to Brahmi and religion reverted from Buddhism to Hinduism.

The Arabs failed to extend their control beyond the north of Multan's hinterland. From this time on, a slow revival of towns in the south took place due to the contest of supremacy between Hindus and Muslims to their west and later between the Muslim rulers of Delhi and those of Central Asia. The change in the defence-offence orientation of the powers and states, within the Enclave and on either side of it, dictated the location of forts and towns on the west or east of rivers and passes.

The British, with modern technologies of train and telegraph and an aspiration to imitate the Great Mughals, tried to gain Kabul but failed. Their defence system used the forts of the Mughals as accessories to their own military machinery but had to centre the northern command east of Margala, playing the Great game well within their limit. In the south, however, they built their rail across the Bolan Pass, to face the Middle East. They also chose to promote urban centres in places like Lyallpur which had not featured in any previous urbanism, in preference to Chiniot and Shahpur which had been patronized by the pre-modern Turks.

The state of Pakistan did not perhaps deviate materially from its colonial legacy for two or three decades. With the separation of Bangladesh, its urban patterns and exploitation of hinterland has undergone a radical changes and the variety of urban locations that has been experienced at any time in history is being tested for its growing population. The result is a revival of a Harappan pattern in Sind and southern Punjab; Gandhara locations in KPK and Pothohar, Muslim urbanisms in the Punjab and an increase in Baloch urbanisms in and beyond the Balochi village culture region. This stage has not been addressed in the present study.

SECTION 2

PERIODIC TRENDS: CITIES-STATES-CULTURES

STAGE – I:

Indus Valley Civilization

Through a series of glacial and interglacial periods, nature kneaded its genetic dough for evolution. The Quaternary period saw the emergence of Homo-sapiens from varieties of Hominids who had been taking shape for millions of years. The fascinating evolution of species has a lot to do with the process of human development, mainly after the last glacial period. We will only concern ourselves with the last two interglacial events during the Quaternary period; these occur in the Phanerozoic phase. The late Pleistocene saw a glacial period from .2 to .13 million years ago; during this time the first major segregation of humans into groups took place due to impassable frozen regions. This would have confined the gene pool in some areas for so many millennia that evolution of separate races could have taken place. With a relatively brief interglacial period [20,000 years] the next glacial event would have enforced segregation for a hundred thousand years more. We believe the sequence of interglacial and glacial periods is responsible for the pastoral and Palaeolithic evolution of human society. The second segregation succeeded a period of racial mixing during 20 interglacial millennia; it was during this

time that the Enclave emerged as a cusp during the Palaeolithic period due to the varieties of stone found near the river Soan[1].

Emergence of Cusp: Transformed into Enclave

When the last glacial period ended 12-13 thousand years ago the Holocene epoch started. During this age foraging was the norm. It is probable that while the Ice Age restricted the movement of some of the less adventurous communities it encouraged others to perforce explore newer areas for sustenance. In both cases it made watersheds and created boundaries for nomadic movement within the more habitable [warmer; more productive] regions. We believe enforced territorial unity and the limit of productive regions caused adoption of pastoral life and foraging practices.

Perhaps even in the early part of the post-glacial period [13,000-8,000 BC] the region did not yield sufficient natural produce for inhabitants of Central and West Asia. While the former focused more on animal husbandry the latter also learnt to produce grain; perhaps because of enforced routes in their pastoral life. Despite the new technology of food production, several pastoral groups and nomadic communities continued to live in their old lifestyle. When people began to settle in different areas for the first time, domicile became a relevant identity; tribe became a component of ethnicity. On a different plane nomadic-pastoral communities maintained a parallel tribal or racial identity also.

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[1] Chopper chopping and hand axe stone technologies arose on either side of the Enclave; they were unified by their respective communities across the cusp through Soan stone which was useful for both. See p.56 above.

Settled peoples gradually developed an integrated affiliation within a region leading to states and civilizations. When these communities were tightly knit with a hierarchy and religious or ruling elites, they limited nomadic and pastoral movement. This was not the case in the Harappan Civilization where extensive nomadic movement may have been the vehicle of civilization. As a consequence we see that the initial links at Mehrgarh were to the west but in the course of time, probably due to trade, its focus shifted towards the Indus around 5,000 BC. Thereafter the Kot-Diji and Amri people, again driven by trade, established links to the north and the east up to Harappa, Kalibangan and Lothal. The western limit of the Enclave was now marked; it took three millennia, till the recession of Harappan civilization, for ethnicity and ecology to mark its eastern boundaries.

Eight preliminary skills were needed in the three stage process which led primitive man to a modicum of urbanization. *Animal husbandry* and *geographic knowledge* were necessary before nomads could organize their lives in a pastoral fashion reducing the vicissitudes of the pure hunter-gatherer's life. *Domestication of animals*, an advanced form of the animal husbandry practiced by the first pastoralists, and the *domestication of plants* [perhaps primarily for animal consumption] reduced human mobility due to agriculture. From this stage the skills of *water management*, *fire control*, *ceramic manufacture and metallurgy* were added to that of *organization* of population to reach the final stage: a non-agricultural community based on trade-industry-administration, reliant on a hinterland for food and raw materials. These **non-agricultural communities are what we designate as urban**, irrespective of size and contribution to their composite society.

In Baluchistan where the early urbanisms have been found, the possibility of a river or watercourse that could sustain a large scale urbanization or civilization is unlikely. This arid region may have been the root and a potential hinterland for Harappan civilization. If we assume Mehrgarh to be the place where focus shifted from north-west [across the Khojak pass] to south-east, over the Kachi plain, it would have taken three millennia to evolve the Harappan template. This civilization, which arose in the fourth millennium BC, grew, perhaps as an integrated urban system based on a technological or cultural template, without a unified administration. Some important aspects of topographic history to be explored in the evolutionary context of Harappan civilization are: the dates of changing watercourses and channels of the Indus and Hakra[2] rivers; the possible east to west drainage of a river originating in Assam; and the South-Asian monsoon crossing the Himalayas into China[3].

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[2] The issue was extensively discussed by Maneck B. Pithawala, *Historical Geography of Sind* (Jamshoro: University of Sind, 1978) and M. B. Pithawala, *A Physical and Economic Geography of Sind* (Jamshoro: University of Sind). W. A. Fairservis, Jr., "The Origin, Character and Decline of an Early Civilization": 66-89 in G. L. Possehl, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*: 80 has also offered an explanation of the river movements below Sukkur and the link with Manchar Lake. Also Louis Flam, "Fluvial Geomorphology of the Lower Indus Basin (Sindh, Pakistan) and the Indus Civilization, in John F. Shroder, Jr. ed., *Himalaya to the Sea* (London: Routledge, 1993): 265-287, for channels at different times.

[3] Allchin and Allchin, *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan* (Cambridge: CUP, 1982) have considered the possibility that Himalayas were much lower during that time. They suggest that before the 'ensuing Harappan occupation at the site' of Mehrgarh 'its relations shifted from the interior of Baluchistan towards the Indus valley. They have taken into account the

Human beings only gradually moved up this scale increasing their control over water and fire till they were able to improve ceramic and metal production quality. The invention of wheels was of course a major boost to the development of all the skills; the resultant trade, commerce and industry enhanced the quality of urbanization leading to civilization. Human experiments in the latter five primary skills [supra] started with small rivers and small kilns, metals that required less heat for smelting, and less sophisticated pottery. Limited, well-knit communities gradually increased the size of settlements and enhanced social interaction in the form of a plural polity to create urbanisms.

There is a great wealth of archaeological evidence regarding the Indus Valley or Harappan Civilization. However, there is only a limited script from which its history can be reconstructed. Apart from the Indian and Pakistani scholars whose work is restricted to their own regions, archaeologists from Europe and America have performed valuable research all over the cultural province.

We have used the data from four major non-South Asian sources produced during the last two decades of the 20th century after an assurance by the HARP team that their conclusions presented in Kenoyer's book have not been materially challenged by their subsequent research[4]. Two books comprise of articles edited by

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pastoral people who moved about in the region, this is vital; personally I feel that enough emphasis has not been laid on this aspect, this also applies to the subject of 'factory' sites like Lewan.

[4] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization* (Karachi: OUP, 1998): 39. In a private conversation the author assured that there were no changes in the basic contentions presented in the above cited work. Corroboration was to be had from the works of Clark, Law and Wright that

Possehl and one is a comprehensive compilation by B. Allchin and R. Allchin. When added to the definitive statements of the HARP[5] team prepared a decade ago, these make a solid base on which to found our analysis. Other works are cited as consulted.

A major speculative reconstruction is required to determine the relationship between towns and their hinterland in the context of the Harappan Civilization. It is not possible to assess more than catchment areas for food supply and industrial raw-materials of major Indus cities[6]. Due to the nature of source material we will identify and approximately delimit the hinterland of some cities as visualized by HARP and Possehl. The *Foraging and Early Food Producing* eras identified are certainly pre-Harappan. The *Regionalization*, *Integration* and *Localization* eras have been

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have been cited here. We have tried to ensure that latest research on the subject including that by South Asian authors like Ratnagar are also used. Shereen Ratnagar, *Trading Encounters: From the Euphrates to the Indus in the Bronze Age,* New Delhi: OUP, 2nd edition, 2006.

[5] The ongoing Harappa Research project of the Americans, called HARP, has a long archaeological history. The work of Rita Wright, presented in her recent book, is a valuable addition to this literature. To a large extent it endorses our conclusions. Rita P. Wright, *The Ancient Indus, Urbanism, Economy and Society* (New Delhi CUP, 2010).

[6] Shereen Ratnagar, 'Some Problems Concerning the Urbanization of the Indus Valley in the Third Millennium BC', in J.S Grewal and Indu Banga, ed., *Studies in Urban History* (Amritsar: Department of History, Guru Nanak Dev University, n. d.) pointed out that there is an urban hierarchy in any civilization. The status of settlements is difficult to determine in the case of the Harappan civilization. Not only is it not possible to identify the smaller towns near Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa; the entire fabric of the civilization is a circumstantial and speculatively reconstructed.

designated Early Harappan, Harappan and Late Harappan where terminological implications regarding their political and administrative framework are to be avoided. We have discussed Indus urbanisms in five periods under three eras: periods 1 and 2 in the first era; 3A, B and C in the second; 4 and 5 in the third[7]. Geographic watersheds and regional cultural variations need not conform to this structure. B. and R. Allchin have referred to the presence of nomadic and pastoral people within the spatial unity of Harappan Civilization[8]**.** This is central to our view that: Early Harappans delineated the limits of the Enclave in the west and Harappan decline caused delimitation of its eastern boundary.

Law thesis: Figure 3.4: Eras and phases of the Indus Tradition (modified from Belcher 1998; Kenoyer 1991a & *in press*; Shaffer 1992)		
Eras "Text" (Shaffer 1992: 442)	Phases	*Harappa dates* (after Meadow and Kenoyer 2001)
Foraging Era *ca. 10,000 to 2000 BC*	Mesolithic and Microlithic	

[7] The variety of schemes that have been proposed for the periodization of the Harappan Civilization, are more or less similar. Chronology proposed by the HARP researchers [given below] who have excavated Harappa for decades is the latest. Surprisingly, it has an element of compromise with others. We have followed this scheme except in special cases.

[8] This point of view was first endorsed by Allchin and Allchin, op. cit., but has not been carried to its full potential by them, perhaps because they have avoided a speculative reconstruction of the socio-political fabric.

Early Food Producing Era *ca. 7000 to 5000 BC* "Economy based on food production and the absence of ceramics"	Mehrgarh Phase	
Regionalization Era *ca. 5000 to 2600 BC* "Distinct artefacts styles, essentially, ceramics, which cluster in time and space, and interaction networks which link dispersed groups"	Early Harappan Phases Hakra Phase Sher Khan Tarakai [SKT] /Tochi-Gomal Phases Balakot Phase Ravi Phase ---------- Kot-Diji Phase Sothi-Siswal Phase Amri Phase	Ravi Phase – Period 1 > 3300 BC - ca.2800 BC ---------- Kot-Diji Phase – Period 2 ca.2800 BC - ca.2600 BC
Integration Era *ca. 2600 to 1900 BC* "Pronounced homogeneity in material culture distributed over a large area reflecting an intense level of interaction"	Harappan Phase *Indus Civilization* Late Kot-Diji Kulli/Sorath	Harappa Phase A– Period 3A ca.2600 BC - ca.2450 BC Harappa Phase B– Period 3B ca.2450 BC - ca.2200 BC Harappa Phase C– Period 3C ca.2200 BC - ca.1900 BC
Localization Era *ca. 1900 to 1300 BC* "Comparable to regional-ization except that there is a more generalized similarity in artefact styles, indicating continued, but altered, presence of interaction networks"	Late Harappan Phases Punjab (Cemetery H) Jhukar Rangpur	Harappa/Late Harappa *Transitional* Phase – Period 4 ca.1900 BC - ca.1800 BC? Cemetery H Phase – Period 5 ca.1800 BC? - <1300 BC

A preliminary level of urban development was accomplished at Mehrgarh in the vicinity of small water channels. At this time Mehrgarh was probably linked with southeast Afghanistan, it soon, however, shifted orientation to its south across the Kachi plain on one side and in the Zhob valley towards Rahman Dheri and Loralai on the other. The Early Harappans then ventured to exploit a larger volume of water at about the same latitude in the plains: in Cholistan or Harappa; perhaps they experimented with hills in Rohri and Kot-Diji. In all likelihood these developments were initiated by some nomadic-pastoral element which decided to settle in specific regions or carry out trade along river valleys as highways accessible from passages fanning out via Mehrgarh.

It seems that the Kot-Diji settlers took some cultural features of Mehrgarh and the spirit of emigrant traders. They picked other traits on the way and spread them along trade routes. Probably after this experience, management of an urban metropolis on the banks of the Ravi, the Indus or the Hakra became possible as a result of greater productivity or perhaps more human enterprise.

The Indus civilization is remarkable for the longevity of a highly advanced town planning. The fact that it spanned 680,000 km^2 and included cities of more than 100 ha[9] and towns of 10 to 50 ha; having 1500 identified sites and potential population of 30-40,000 in a single city, testifies to the variety and tenacity of its urbanism. Since its homogeneity is not the obvious outcome of governance, its urban planning becomes even more remarkable.

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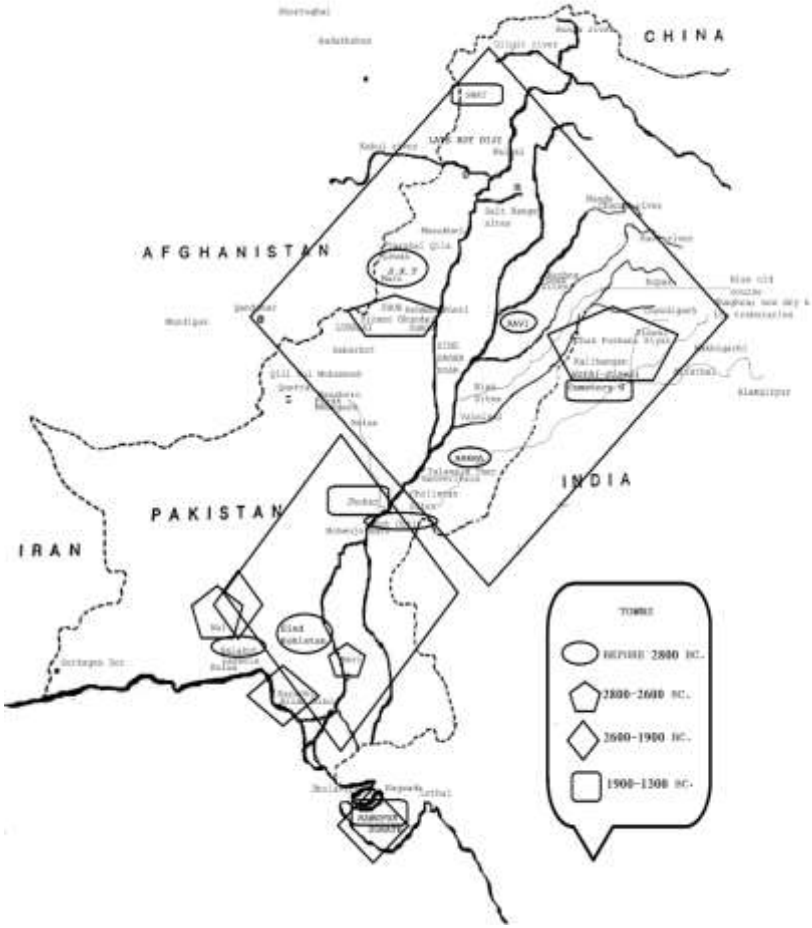
[9] Hectare: 'ha' is the standard abbreviation which is used for this archaic measure of land.


CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
IRAN
TOWNS
BEFORE 2800 BC.
2800-2600 BC.
2600-1900 BC.
1900-1300 BC.

MAP 10

Its settlements have been designed on irregular grid pattern with alignment of streets along north-south on one axis and east-west on the other. Major roads were 4.5 and 9m and the minor roads were 2-3 meters wide. Drains were lined with fired bricks and located on the edges of the roads with corbelled arches to carry the drainage under buildings or for crossing streets. Successive layers of urban development of the Harappan period caused sites to rise 18-20m above the surrounding regions.

Nearly a millennium of standardized urban construction with a 1:2:4 ratio[10] in size of bricks marks the mature Harappan phase of the Indus valley civilization. The 'Localization era' or Late Harappan phases 1900-1300 BC probably saw the disintegration of binding forces, such as trade, shift in the location/path of water courses and redistribution of their discharges.

The etic-emic[11] debate assumes that a people can be permanent residents in a given regions for millennia. Despite the presence of racially identifiable groups the nomadic Harappans cannot be classified[12]. Central Asian pastoral traffic to Mehrgarh gave way to traders from Iran and Afghanistan. Its economic orientation remained constant but cultural orientation of people at Mehrgarh changed; so began the Early Harappan [*regionalization*] era.

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[10] More details are given in section 'C' of this chapter under technologies.

[11] Etic: generalizations about human behaviour - considered universally true.

[12] Clark's dissertation suggests that there were two 'discontinuities' in the population of the Enclave, one between 6000 and 4500 and the other between 800 and 200 BC, the present case belongs to the first one. We will not place much emphasis on physical anthropology in our study but focus on the cultural aspect, especially lifestyle.

Urban phases

In this section we have given a description of evolution of urban life in the Enclave from 3300 to 1300 BC in five sub-sections. Each sub-section will deal with a 'period' as identified above, in terms of seven aspects that constitute this evolution. Four social aspects will include orientation/linkages; occupation, economy & organization; and relations with other communities. Spatially we will consider the limits of the regions, localities and areas; in period 3 alone, we discuss the possibility of monolithic identity. The settlement patterns such as town plans, location of towns or villages and material or style of architecture form the seventh aspect. Next we will present the nature of evolution from across periods as a continuum in a separate section.

Period I; Era 1: 3300-2800

This period is subdivided into four parallel parts designated on a regional grid as Ravi, Hakra, SKT[13]/Tochi-Gomal and Balakot. SKT/Tochi-Gomal and Balakot should probably be earlier than the others. One lies in the northern part of ranges used by people from Mehrgarh; the other is located at a point in the south.

The Ravi and Hakra sites lie across the mid-reaches of rivers in the Punjab. They may not have carried a large discharge in those times. While SKT may have only been an area of stone industry like Balakot, Ravi and Hakra sites exhibit early signs of trade as well. The early Regionalization Era exhibits three Balakot-Indus sub-cultures in hilly region between Sindh and Baloch deserts.

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[13] SKT stands for Sher Khan Tarakai a site in the Bannu Basin.

In Baluchistan the dominant racial features continued to be Iranian but its people had "already adapted to the new ecological situation". However, influence from southern Iran, Helmand and Bampur penetrated as far as Kolwa and the Mekran coast; while Sialk and Namazgah influences came to northern Baluchistan[14]. This could imply the mixing of at least three ethno-racial groups in the region of Nal and Amri via south Baluchistan and at least two in the north, in Loralai and Gomal river valleys.

Each of the groups first became subdivided within smaller units having interaction, along a fixed route, with watersheds adjacent to it. Interlinking of a watershed led to a convection of traditions in both directions; more intra-regionally than inter-regionally. At this stage each 'region' would have had greater affinity with extra-Indus links but, by the end of this period, the Indus centric links became stronger, perhaps even dominant.

In food production there was a constant movement from game to domestic animals to agricultural produce. In the use of materials stone was supplemented by clay and copper or bronze. Thus the transition from hand and basket moulded pottery to wheel thrown technology also took place. The mode of transportation for items of trade as well as pastoral baggage became more sophisticated. Rivers, as highways for movement of goods were introduced by peoples of the flood plains who were also responsible for some of the refinement of pottery. Boat making and the riverine trade for inland locations like Harappa was their exclusive domain.

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[14] W. A. Fairservis, Jr., "The Origin, Character and Decline of an Early Civilization" in G. L. Possehl, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*: 71. Allchin and Allchin, *op. cit.* p. 133 emphasize consistency of links to north and west.

Specialized communities lived in distinct areas and had different occupations as in case of Lewan and Tarakai Qila [stone factory and agricultural settlement] in close proximity. Perhaps pastoral animal herders performed the double task of supplementing food for factories and towns and of trading in finished products and raw material. Most of the mountain communities may not have progressed from the simpler economy, remaining less developed than younger sites. They seem to have been more susceptible to violence or demographic change[15] compared to sites in plains. On the other hand Harappa, enjoying the advantages of location, continued to expand gradually. Perhaps Kot-Diji near the south end of the Indus also acquired urban life at the end of this period due to control of inland trade while Amri shared in sea trade.

Growing season in the Bolan River flood plain is different from the highlands; winter crops may have been sown in November. It seems that eating of domestic animals at Mehrgarh began after 5500 BC. It looks as if west Asian genetic components in human population also increased at this time. Kenoyer[16] deduces that an increase in west Asian trade to the Indus caused this. This would rationalize a change in genetic pool at Mehrgarh, but changes[17] in consumption patterns and burial practices away from those to the north and west were probably induced by Indus traders.

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[15] Allchin and Allchin, p.231

[16] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization* (Karachi: OUP, 1998): 39.

[17] Ibid., p.38 & 43 the norm of burying valuables existed from Egypt to Central Asia but not in the region of Mehrgarh after 3300 BC, where it existed before.

According to Fairservis, in the Quetta valley from "villages dependent on limited agriculture and sheep … to an elaborate ceremonial complex, complete with monumental buildings"[18] a continuous sequence of evolution is visible. Kenoyer's view is that settlements at Mehrgarh[19] in its a-ceramic period may have been seasonal but in due course they became perennial[20]. These People, however, knew the 'plastic properties of clay' because they used it to make unfired figurines and containers.

Whether driven by politics, economy or social networking, there is no doubt that the mountain people of this period were able to muster considerable human resources for building or maintain gabar bunds[21]. We also find a refinement of jewellery in the form of beads from Ghazi Shah Site in the Amri tradition where agate, carnelian, and lapis lazuli are found. Sites combining 'multiple-function crafts' and 'habitation related activities' in one place are found in small numbers in Cholistan from this period also. Division of labour as well as available work force did increase

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[18] W. A. Fairservis, Jr., "The Harappan Civilization: New Evidence and More Theory" in G. L. Possehl, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*: p.51

[19] Ibid 52 believes that there is a definite 'Indian' quality in the later periods at Mehrgarh. He also notes that the flora in 'areas directly affected by the waters of the Indus river' are distinct from other areas of Baluchistan, an ecological watershed. We contend that innovations at Mehrgarh, Kot-Diji and Amri led to a distinct cultural genre, later adopted by the Harappans. When this was absorbed and adapted by their eastern neighbours it came to be identified as an 'Indian' characteristic.

[20] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization,* op. cit., p.37.

[21] A structure [dam = band] for harvesting of flash floods and rain water that Muslim historians associated with the Hindus [whom they called gabar].

many fold leading to larger settlements ergo larger communities. But there is no evidence of hierarchy or governance to indicate that there was any political or communal organization.

The first part of this era [begun c. 5000 BC] should actually be considered dispersal of the highlanders along their lines of trade and industry, mainly in the mountains of Baluchistan which may have been extensive along the north-south axis, maybe primarily for stone resources; Kot-Diji and Rohri at the foot of the Kachi plain provided a third option. To the north were Rahman Dheri, Perano Ghundai and Lewan; in the south were Nal, Balakot and Amri. This is an era of 3 lifestyles [3l]; in 4 regions [4r] as 5 [2 + 3] ethnicities[22]. Thus arose mutually dependent groups of semi-urban settlements within the Enclave focused at Mehrgarh; linked with the west via Bolan and Khojak passes.

We have treated this highland belt, comprising of many distinct culturemes as the area of the first ethno-genesis[23] in Baluchistan.

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[22] We have used the numeral code of 3-lx4-rx [2+3]-e to denote lifestyles =l, regions =r, ecology =b, ethnicities =e that comprised this urban venture. We will use a similar set of notations for later stages of this civilization.

The three lifestyles were riverine, mountain and floodplains; the locations were Tochi-Gomal, Hakra, Balakot and Ravi; the racial components were the Mehrgarh/Kot-Diji, Helmand and Bampur [3 in the south] and Namazgah and Sialk [2 in the north]. The 3+2 racial/genetic mixture underwent an ethno-genesis which endured till the third era.

[23] Race is a genetic construct and ethnicity is a cultural one. Ethno-genesis may result in the emergence of a racial identity but that is not essential. A partial integration of communities in the Baloch highlands, who may be the parent population of those identified as Brahui today. Words from their languages may survive today as part of local/Dravidian languages.

During the fifth and fourth millennia BC people of the Indus, Helmand and Iranian would all have been outsiders to this area. However, Amri, near Manchar Lake, had strong ties with both Baluchistan and Sind; it probably provided the hill-river link.

The mountainside settlements, like Mehrgarh, were located near small branches of small rivers and shifted from one side to the other. A number of sites could be considered variants of a single town when they occur sequentially[24], especially when supported by topographic evidence. The 'factory' settlements naturally lay close to the site of the raw material with water not far away in mountainous ravines. In the Ravi and Hakra regions skills of boating and flood plain agriculture dictated the location of sites near crossing sites for trade. During this period, the need to form relations 'between the upland valleys and the flood plains' led to intermediate sites in the form of trading posts close to the later regionalization era, when regions started expanding.

The evidence so far suggests that in this early regionalization the riverine sites were concentrated in the northeast, close to the few sites of early agriculture. The mountain sites are scattered along foothills and piedmonts west of the Indus, also close to early[25] agriculture sites which are quite numerous in the area. Evidence of "temporary huts made of light wooden frames, matting and

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[24] Allchin and Allchin, *op. cit.* p.135 compare Kili Gul Muhammad with Dumb Sadat. We would also include Mehrgarh with Naushahro possibly even Pirak although it is at a considerable distance on a different source of water but the context is its position at the head of Kachi plain.

[25] Allchin and Allchin, map p.132 compared with map on p.98, even though the picture they present does not include recent research, also p. 141.

thatch" from Lewan, Bannu basin, and hearths found at Gumla with no super-structure suggest that 'mobile homes' slightly in advance of simple tents may have been introduced early during this period[26]; at Amri we find incipient mud brick construction. At Lasbela "number of sites is so great and so closely adjacent to one another as to approach urbanization"[27]. This pattern of "**add on"** units of settlements may have occurred accidentally to start with, but it seems to have emerged[28] as a convention and led to communal settlement of skills in the irregular grid which was to become the hallmark of Harappan urbanisms.

Life in the Enclave during this period was barely at a stage when it could qualify as a connected set of cultures. Communities that had settled in certain areas must initially have experienced some degree of alienation from their companions who continued to be nomadic. At this time they must also have experienced pangs of changing values and identity. It would have been the roving and mobile pastoralists who provided a cementing element between their racial and tribal compatriots among nomads and villagers or urban settlers. Since the need for new technologies would be a pull factor towards innovation and industry in the settled areas, it is likely that they would have attracted people of sharp minds and thus have started the first 'brain drain' in the Enclave.

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[26] Allchin and Allchin, p.130 and p.109.

[27] W. A. Fairservis, Jr., "The Harappan Civilization: New Evidence and More Theory", p.52.

[28] The concept that convention rather than administration was the means of standardization in the Indus Enclave is central to our analysis.

Period II; Era 1: 2800-2600

This period has been entitled the Late Regionalization/Kot-Diji phase, partial integration/ethno-genesis is visible in this period. Two ecological and topographic environments emerged in two regions, simultaneously supporting three lifestyles in a parallel, mutually dependent system. The riverine region including main tributaries of the Indus from the west seems to have been most potent; referred to as Kot-Diji. The Hakra-Ghaghara supported an independent eastern variation and was called Sothi-Siswal[29].

The mountain region was now poorly represented by the area on both sides of the Kirthar, displaying the Nal and Amri styles. A variant of the Amri style took root further along the coast to the east at Dholavira. Three lifestyles they supported were: pastoral, rural and urban [non-rural]. Only urban settlements needed to obtain a considerable part of their dietary needs from the rural or pastoral communities. We call this the 2r x 3l x 2e period.[30]

While agriculture seems to have emerged locally through use of local conditions in flood plains, nomadic and pastoral lifestyles emerge fully formed in the Enclave. It seems that the growth of

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[29] Location of riverine sites depended on a flood plain for agricultural support. Secondly, they needed to benefit from navigable waters; Harappa was thus the last major north-western site.

[30] Three lifestyles in two regions along two locations of two riverine ecologies.

non-rural life based on trade and industry was a result of contact between people of the floodplain and pastorals at Mehrgarh[31].

At the start of the Kot-Diji phase apparently two varieties of pastoral communities came to interact with rural and non-rural settlers, they were: exotic nomads who covered long distances; and Enclave cantered pastoralists who soon became movers of raw material and finished products to and from factory sites to trading or gateway cities. The movers may also be classified as two communities; animal grazing[32] land route transporters, and fishermen who used boats and perhaps also brought sea fish to the inland cities. Lying at the estuary of Hakra, Dholavira was an outpost of this community which branched off to sea trade.

Probably communities of both varieties began to be formed by people who found one or the other lifestyle convenient. Without developing a militant class, they protected life and their property by the use of topography: the high ground and the river. Behind rivers, with settlements facing away from them, was access to subsistence [agriculture and grazing]; across it were the sources

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[31] We are in agreement with Ratnagar that the Indus urban phenomenon remained afloat due to trade and may even have been caused by the riverine nexus with mountain passes in Baluchistan and the sea in Sind.

[32] This classification is not regionally exhaustive as the pastoral lifestyle also has several variations. The Shepherds of the barren hills lived and still live a different life from their brothers in hills with grass and shrubs, those in desert and floodplains are very distinct from the hill people as well as from each other. Farmers of vegetables or grain are naturally different from those of cotton, but this specialization may not have emerged by this time even though the ecological imperatives had become effective in animal husbanding societies causing their differentiation.

of industry and through them was trade. In the mountains, where valleys narrow, mountain slopes suitable for crops and grazing determined which side of a valley was occupied. A multitude of drains near the coast provided variety of options for sustenance; here distance for trade dictated the location for settlements.

Crafts and skills of the mountainous regions were acquired by people of Rohri and Kot-Diji. Perhaps the people who knew how to cultivate and navigate in rivers established a cooperation with highlanders. This began the main regionalization era during which mixtures of Kot-Diji and the Amri models[33] were adapted to the needs of different regions. This era depended on riverine technology for locomotion as is evident by the concentration of its sites[34] in the vicinity of rivers, unlike sites of the previous phase which were concentrated in highlands.

This new phase was innovative in material, art, communication and travel, standardization of its weights, preservation of foods, human relations and communal integration. A highly diversified

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[33] M. Rafique Mughal, "Further Evidence of the Early Harappan Culture in the Greater Indus Valley: 1971-90," *South Asian Studies* 6 (1990). In the Amri model natural springs for cultivation in piedmont regions provided sustenance for settlements while Kot-Diji type settlements used sheet irrigation in large alluvial areas during their quasi-urban development for initial regionalization, later their industrial and trade traditions merged.

[34] We consider sites in deltaic regions, which are in fact more abundant to the east, in the delta of the Hakra, also to be riverine. They were also prime locations for sea trade; and provided links for Kot-Diji and Amri models.

economic profile had emerged during two[35] centuries of the late regionalization/early integration era [2800-2600 BC] resulting in dynamics which led to a non-state driven civilization. Evolution as testified in the two major centres of Amri and Kot-Diji may have taken two hundred years or more. Maybe Indus cities were not created by rulers. Perhaps they "grew out of earlier villages that had existed in the same locality for hundreds of years …. the crafts that began in the earlier village set the foundation" for the ornaments and pottery of urban centres which had emerged during the later part of regionalization phase[36]. Between 2800 and 2600 BC, [Kot-Diji phase] settlements grew in size to 25 ha. and set up distant trade links. Of the three major driving forces behind the emergence of settlements that did not produce food, trade and industry are more dependent on communal will[37] than individual leadership. Indus cities are classic examples of urban evolution driven by forces needing minimal socially motivated administration. This period also exemplifies how various ethnic communities learnt to manage water and animals differently.

Kot-Diji had assorted chert-blades, leaf shaped arrowheads and stone querns as industrial outputs. Stamp seals and cubical stone

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[35] W. A. Fairservis, Jr., "The Origin, Character and Decline of an Early Civilization," p.69ff dates this from 2500 to 2300 BC. His estimate is outdated, consequently we have relied more on HARP estimates.

[36] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*, p.49. Ratnagar holds a different view; see in Grewal and Banga, op. cit.

[37] This is not to say that enterprise is not individually motivated but that it has more communal involvement than agriculture. The urban enterprise is an aggregation of communities of trade, industry and services.

weights also became common along with the diversification of crafts and an industrial economy. Long distance trade facilitated by bullock carts made supply of non-local raw material in larger quantities easier. Riverine trade is also attested by the presence of salted sea fish at Harappa, brought from about 800km in the south. Isolation during the glacial periods fostered pastoralists, similarly, confinement in a rural space stimulated use of ceramic technology and the use of fire initiated metallurgy. It is probable that the original use of ceramics was developed at Mehrgarh but lessons learnt from other places refined technology and art for which surplus labour had now become available[38]. While settled life facilitated specialized skills, it brought dependence on special communities for aggregation of divided labour also.

The Kot-Diji, the site that gives its name to this phase, lies close to one of the channels of the Indus in the general vicinity of Rohri

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[38] We believe that surplus labour should not be computed merely in terms of unemployed people but also in terms of underemployment and/or energy released for employment in new pursuits. Thus the time or energy spent on travel by nomads was reduced by pastoralists who knew where they were going and had learnt the most efficient routes to get there. Similarly time and energy used by pastoralists in transit was conserved and put to other use by agricultural or rural people who were able to generate their food needs within a small area. This time was used in adding two new materials for utilities and several rarer and brighter ones for decoration that needed sophisticated technology.

Thus, in the sequence of knowledge, the first 'sciences' learnt by humans would have been zoology/botany followed by physics and chemistry; naturally at this early stage, the process took centuries and millennia.

It is not clear what quantity of labour was required for 'industrial' production of any kind. We have no mechanism to speculate and how much value was attached to such products in terms of surplus agricultural produce.

hills near the later fort on a small rocky outcrop[39]. The Kot-Diji style was particular to the core region. It was distinct in terms of town and house plans across the Enclave. In the region that was the heartland of the civilization, it was unique as a style of pottery but the main change in this period was the appearance of metal objects and disc beads of steatite paste. Copper objects include bangles, rings, pins and rods. This innovation is visible both at Saraikola at the further end of the Kot-Diji region and at Jalilpur in the middle. The Sothi-Siswal style is represented best at the Kalibangan site where stone and brick were both used for town walls, however the brick proportion was 3:2:1 not 4:2:1. Typical of this region are some of the surface decorations on pottery and shape of some utensils. Presence of a ploughed field is unusual and may indicate this agrarian skill as area specific.

"Fine line Kechi Beg wares of the Quetta Valley and their equivalents at Loralai and Zhob" are viewed as one cultural region by Fairservis[40]; these people did not bury their dead in the houses. Distinct from this is the practice cantered on Nal and stretching to Kolwa and Lasbela. It is the riverine contact of the latter group and their experience at the Manchar Lake that probably led to the Amri and Kot-Diji composite cultures. These

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39 Allchin and Allchin, p.144. The fact that the site is fortified but does not lie atop the adjacent hill like its successor four thousand years later is significant, perhaps the walls protected a factory or storage site from animals, the weather or robbers but not invaders.

40 W. A. Fairservis, Jr., "The Origin, Character and Decline of an Early Civilization," p.69ff. His sequence of stages places the period 3300-2500 as stage II of regionalization.

people integrated the culture of Sind plains with that of the Baloch hills; perhaps the new kinds of figurines exemplify this integration[41]. Possibly this period saw the inclusion of some new settlers from the southwest in the Kalat region. [42] In the east a similar process was taking place around and beyond Rajasthan.

Starting with mud bricks at Amri, the second level shows some 'footings' of stone; this pattern is refined at the next level. The third Amri phase shows 'four structural phases' of houses built with brick or stone. A curious feature are numerous square compartments, one meter in length. The citadel wall at Kot-Diji rises to 4 or 5 meters in places. Some common practices began to emerge in the Ravi period. Settlements were aligned along the cardinal points. Construction with 'wattle and daub' continued. In the Kot-Diji phase the brick size was standardized along with cuboid weights[43]. Later burn brick was introduced, consequently the compound walls of cities became massive.

The settlements of this phase acquired the two section plan for towns and the boundary wall style of demarcation/protection. The size of a town could be in the range of 5-10 thousand souls, as in the case of Rahman Dheri. Sites of Rahman Dheri, Lewan and Tarakai Qila, in close proximity of each other illustrate the relationship between urbanisms in a district as part of a region. Fifty kilometres from Kot-Diji is the site of Mohenjo-Daro, now

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[41] See Allchin and Allchin p.148f.

[42] We may consider this a subsidiary process of ethno-genesis involving minor and peripheral pastoral communities.

[43] Law, thesis, p.37.

three miles from the river, located on the floor of the flood plain and affected by the flood channels towards Jacobabad.

Perhaps the people of Rahman Dheri I and II [3350-2850; 2850-2500BC], contemporary with Lewan and the Ravi and Kot-Diji Phases respectively, used the Kurram or Gomal passes to get to Harappa via the Indus or across southern parts of the Sind-Sagar Doab or Jalilpur. The Bannu Basin, in particular, like, but far more than Rahman Dheri, Zhob and Loralai had the geographic form ideally suited to the creation of culturemes. These phases are not chronologically identical in all regions. We can infer that technology was not acquired simultaneously across the Enclave. The carriers of a particular practice were able to influence local communities of different areas at different times. Subsequently, the carriers of the next advancement in technologies displaced older practices at a different pace[44].

From Mehrgarh through Naushahro came two influences: Nal and Amri. Arguably a riverine influence ascended to Mehrgarh in the preceding period and reverted via Amri towards the sea. Conversely, the mountain influence that came across the Khojak pass took the Nal route along the west face of the Kirthar, also

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[44] Vishnu Mittre, "The Harappan Civilization and the Need for a New approach" in G. L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization* (New Delhi: OUP and IBH, 1993): p. 33, noted the simultaneous cohabitation of pre-Harappan and Harappan people at Kalibangan; he also refers to the continued habitation of 'locals' at Bara and Mithal in period 5. Whereas his inference is that they may have come from Kot-Diji, we surmise that the 'Harappan' and 'Kot-Diji' way of life was adopted by dwellers of the sites in the northeast when the traditions came to them through trade.

towards the sea. The former looked out to the east and the latter faced west; the northwest route being an obverse outlet. The northern group of highlanders, who, along with people at Rohri, established links with the Ravi-Hakra region, achieving a high degree of ethno-genesis in both regions and collectively came to be, called the Kot-Diji culture. From the Suleiman range to the banks of Hakra, technology and artefacts became un-discernible. The outlets of this region were the upper passes from Khyber to Gomal] and Sodhra-Bhatinda tract, to Sothi-Siswal, facing east. Its southern orientation was towards Kot-Diji and Amri; it thus abutted two Harappan regions and had a north-westerly face externally. Dholavira and Sothi-Siswal, the eastern extremities naturally faced east on the outside.

Settlements in the southern part of the Enclave, where the Indus flows at a level higher than its surroundings, were located above elevation of the flood-plain. In this phase, tributary river valleys or locations on the piedmont west of the Indus were preferred; Amri is a perfect example of this. In the north, site preference is in plains east of the river in the upper reaches and west of river Ghaghara in the middle reaches, perhaps as dictated by the flood pattern of respective rivers. On current information, it appears that there was an absence of towns between Kalibangan and Kot-Diji. The probability is that population of industrial artisans was concentrated at regional cores of the previous phase.

This was the second stage of an Indus centric ethno-genesis. The communities that had been integrated at Mehrgarh bonded with other people with whom they could be linked by the river routes from Rohri, between 3300 and 2800 BC. From this time, people of the Indus region gradually ceased to be seen as outsiders in the

culture that had evolved from its early form at Mehrgarh. The composite Indus-Hakra or Greater Indus system now began to acquire the form of an Enclave while retaining its quality of cusp. A 'backyard' form of communal bonding was taking place in regions which all had their backs to the Indus, facing away from it for exotic trade. Inputs of industry entering the Enclave from any of its directions of ingress passed through to emerge as finished product sold under agreed upon sign and seal.

Period III; Era 2: 2600-1900

This, the high water mark of the Indus Valley Civilization; it is designated 'Harappan Phase' and subdivided into three portions: A, B and C, with peripheral variations called late Kot-Diji, Kulli and Sorath. Kulli materials included clay bangles, carnelian and lapis lazuli beads, steatite seals, stone and copper tools. Villages occurred in cultivable land as dictated by the meander of rivers. While settlements in Baluchistan have monuments[45] outside the town, riverine towns have monuments in the enclosed city area; perhaps signifying a greater threat from predators in the plains.

We have defined as urban any settlement that does not produce its own food; the concept of quasi-urban is a natural corollary which applies to settlements that produce some food for part of their needs, supplementing it with other occupations for barter. Piedmont settlements fall in this category while urbanisms in the plains were more exclusively urban. Differentiation of patterns in

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[45] Two articles by Fairservis in G. L. Possehl, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, p.56, p.74, op. cit. should be seen together.

sub-phases in this era is impossible due to regionally variable growth rates. This was a 3l x 3e phase: an ethno-genesis of three lifestyles in three ecologies, as one civilization [46].

Professions identified by Fairservis include "metal smith, potter, weaver, seal carver, brick maker, figurine maker … possibly the toy manufacturer". It seems that at least two others should be added, the butcher and jeweller, in view of the meat diet and bead industry[47]. While simple pottery of a wheel and ordinary stone or metal implements could be a one stage process, refined forms of the above list would need multiple skills. For example painting and firing of ceramics may have needed workers with special skills; weaving or seal making would require people who were adept in various skills, belonging to separate communities.

It is difficult to believe that no central organization dominated the system of measures and the town planning of the Harappans. From the simple process of doubling quantity an elegant scheme of weights and measures was in vogue. Four types of metals were used in the Enclave: gold, silver, lead and copper. Precious stones included carnelian, jade and lapis lazuli. These would have been imported, through a trade network using the central passage of the Indus to link five exits of the regionalization era.

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[46] The ecologies were riverine, mountainous and desert; the lifestyles were pastoral, rural and urban [with a quasi-urban variation]; and the single civilization was the unified form of Mature Harappan life.

[47] W. A. Fairservis, Jr., "The Origin, Character and Decline of an Early Civilization".

Ships used masts to harness wind power but are unlikely to have ventured far from shore, perhaps they were the same as river boats. If a modern bullock cart is not much different from its Harappan predecessor, their boats may also be similar to those used by traditional sea fishing communities today. An ekka type of cart, drawn by cattle instead of horses, seem to have been common as trade was also in the hand of cattle breeders[48]. Hens, goats, sheep, cows, camels and even elephants were eaten.

In this period a monolithic identity of Harappan civilization was emerging, which is why it was designated the integration era. However, peripheral areas that were exposed to a cosmopolitan communities displayed individual traits. Those in the northwest retained Kot-Diji characteristics; while seaward extremes, Kulli and Sorath, probably reflected elements of the west and east that they faced. The backyard structure of the late regionalization era developed sense of community and a society integrated by water in the Enclave replaced one that had been based on the leeward of mountains and piedmonts. Of the three lifestyles referred to in the previous section, riverine nomads of the kachha regions, using boats, probably dominated the process of integration. The riverine people had charge of long distance travel in the Enclave but short distance links of villages to cities were covered by cart.

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[48]The five exits of the Enclave included four land routes and the sea. Of the four land routes, two opened to the west through mountain passes while two in the east circumvented the Rajasthan desert which was a great obstruction even then. Cattle seem to have been the more popular means of transportation by land, see Allchin and Allchin, p. 189.

Externally, the south was linked by boat and the north by pack animal transport, rather on the same lines as the Kot-Diji phase.

Before Period I we noted that only settlements in the mountains and along the piedmont were to be found. During Periods I and II we saw that although these continued to dominate the map a small but highly significant group of settlements emerged in the plains. In Period III mountain and piedmont settlements are seen only as variants on the periphery of the Harappan civilization[49]. The trend of settling along the coast probably gained greatest currency but riverine settlements also gained momentum.

The former emerged as full-fledged trade towns but the latter grew from rural origins, gradually becoming specialized in trade or industries. Outposts of the Harappan phase are Rangpur and Lothal on the eastern seaboard; Sutkagendor and Balakot along the Mekran coast; and Musakhel to Shortughai as a link across the Hindukush. On the northeast it is not so easy to designate a terminus as the sites circumvent Rajasthan; but transition of the Hakra channel and its tributaries that marked the limits of flood-plains were now creating the Sirhind triangle/gateway to Bharat.

Use of stone, mud-brick and burnt brick is found in construction of buildings; bricks were made in an open mould but special sawn bricks were also used. Floors of brick were common but other practices such as brick dust or lime plaster were also in vogue. The true arch is absent but corbelled arches are found. It is also possible that pillars and timber were used for flat roofs. The size

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[49] Though archaic in terms of knowledge of sites today, see maps by Allchin and Allchin, p. 98, p. 132 and p.168

of buildings was varied, large houses of twelve rooms or more and one room apartments are found.

Large houses had private wells; sometimes very large houses formed a complex with several courtyards and houses of two or more stories. Bathrooms in every home and can be identified by their sawn brick pavements and surrounding curbs. Drainpipes made of pottery and covered drains, together with consistency in town planning, are the two most amazing features of Harappan Civilization. They compel one to believe that some governance structure must have existed. Houses had no entrances from the main street, not even a window; exits were in narrow side lanes.

Apart from famous large cities like Harappa and Ganveriwala, Kalibangan, Rakhelgarhi and Rupar in the northeast, Dholavira, Rojidi, Surkotada and Rangpur in the southeast; Sandhanwala, Lakhenjo-Daro and Judeirjo-Daro in the centre probably drained resources of their Indus-Hakra sub-regions, perhaps incidentally feeding or draining the major cities with semi-finished products for industry and finished products for trade. Cities generally had a citadel to the west "on a high podium of mud-brick with a long axis running north-south, and to the east – apparently broadly centred upon the citadel, and dominated by it – a 'lower' city"; the latter may initially have been square. The citadel was walled by massive brick walls having square towers and bastions, with exits to the north and south, at some excavation sites walls are found around the lower city also. At Kalibangan and Mohenjo-

Daro the main street is not straight but staggered like a staircase; the earlier pattern at the former was entirely haphazard[50].

Lothal, a coastal site of intermediate size, perhaps has a different plan due to trade needs; however a north-south axis is retained. Probably a dockyard to the east side, "connected by channels to the neighbouring estuary. [with] A spill-way and locking device also …" existed with anchor stones near its edge. Another view regarding the remains suggests a water storage tank function for this brick basin measuring 219x37 meters. Specialist's shops in what was perhaps the equal of the 'lower' town elsewhere were to be found at Lothal; including copper, gold and bead factories. Four "varieties of metal"[51] were found at Mohenjo-Daro which included crude copper lumps and a tin alloy.

The technology for bronze artefacts was of a simple casting, chiselling and hammering type. It was good enough to produce axes, chisels, knives, spearheads, arrowheads and saws. In due course of time the weapons were refined; as were bronze vessels shaped by hammering over a form. By the end of this period, perhaps some 'lapping' may have been used to make composite vessels by joining two portions. Refinement also led to the use of ventilated complex moulds for the casting of bronze human or animal figurines. Gold dust was panned/washed from streams and transformed into of beads, pendants, needles and amulets. Stone continued to be used especially in chert blades, grinding stones, steatite, garnet, agate, alabaster and limestone artefacts. Periods

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[50] Allchin and Allchin, p. 171ff. The street is aligned north to south.

[51] Allchin and Allchin, p. 173 & p.193: making "splendid copper and bronze".

designated as Harappan [A, B and C] span 700 years. They are classified on internal evidence of pottery styles rather than on the basis of other technological developments.

Period 3C, however, exhibits increase in economic activity and signs of socio-cultural evolution. This process is pronounced in succeeding phases where material and technological continuity is combined with changes in life practices. Thus burial practices iconography, artefacts, lifestyle and other aspects indicate the introduction of external population into the civilization. Perhaps a continuous process of settlement occurred at éntrepots during the Harappan period but initially it was minimal and easily assimilated. In the last Harappan phase larger number of artisans may have settled in cities, or the pastoralists of the Indus and its western piedmonts dispersed. Socio-economic norms probably collapsed and the communes of industry became dysfunctional. If collectives of skills survived, they acquired new variants that led to localization under the painted ware people.

Sea borne trade had increased during the Harappan phase; in fact Gujrat and Runn of Kuch sites like Lothal, Rupar and Rangpur began to emerge during that time. In the "Cemetery H" period localization witnessed the emergence of a separate region under the sea-trading and east-looking community while Jhukar, probably the point of origin of sea borne trade, looked westward in the direction of Sutkagendor or Shahr-i-Sokhta and acquired a distinct character of its own. We may note that of the four points of ingress and egress to Harappan regions, only the northwest one failed to acquire a new identity, perhaps due to termination of trade. In the Baloch hills and across the Hindukush there seems

to have been demographic changes which brought the integrating mechanism to a halt. Thus Ravi and Hakra cultures maintained their eastern contact, Jhukar integrated the Mekran-Gulf link and Rupar looked to the Narbada region.

Period IV; Era 3: 1900-1800

This is a transitional phase as would be obvious from its brevity. Essentially the defences of Harappan civilization were based on trade which was protected by topography. This needed special skills of transit across mountains by pack animal; through plains by bullock cart; and by boat for rivers. Thus three communities: mountainous people from Balakot to SKT; riverine from Ravi & Hakra to Kot-Diji & Amri; and seafaring from Sutkagendor to Lothal respectively provided the expertise to create integration of the Harappans. People of Cemetery 'H'[52] culture disturbed the equilibrium of the community using pack animals.

Together with other disturbances caused in skills for stone, grain production and a shift in water channels; these factors broke down the fabric of Harappan corporate civilization.

The heartland of the Harappan civilization seems to have been the lower reaches of the Indus and the upper course of the Hakra since we find a larger number of less important towns in these regions. With the growth of sea trade deltas of both rivers and assorted coastal regions provided port towns for trade. In these regions we find large and small towns with a broad economic base of trade, industry and secure agricultural hinterland. These towns were

[52] We will discuss these people, who may have been Aryans, in Period V.

bound to the hinterland by sedentary ties that make an alliance natural. In contrast were the hinterlands of Kot-Diji and Late Kot-Diji traditions which were cemented by pastoralist communities of rivers, deserts and arid or semi-arid mountains. This insecure economic base was more susceptible to adversity.

As the localization sites are not found along the Indus north of Rohri and west of the Chenab, it is obvious that the communities in these regions were disturbed. Perhaps supply of raw materials from across the mountains could not be maintained; therefore its industry and trade declined. This phase saw the decline of unity in the Indus valley region as well as other parts of the Enclave. It also witnessed the accentuation of centrifugal cultural trends and a decline of civic facilities in the heartland. It is in this stage that there were the maximum encroachment the city of Harappa.

The decline of the civilization initiated a cultural retrenchment which set pace and procedure for subsequent de-urbanizations in the Enclave. Non-urban people learnt the art of cultural survival in communal watersheds, an art that has served them ever since.

Period V; Era 3: 1800-1300

Generally called the 'Cemetery H' period, this late Harappan era is also part of the Localization process and covers at least three 'local' trends: Punjab [where 'Cemetery H' finds are], Rangpur and Jhukar. Cemetery H remains, generally located to the north of Harappa, span the eastern and central portions of the Punjab. Jhukar sites like the majority of Harappan remains lie south of Harappa; and skew westwards. Rangpur sites in contrast to both are in the periphery of the Enclave and not located in a cluster.

It may be reasonable to conclude that the people of Jhukar were ethnically similar to the people of the Harappan phase who had been displaced by socio-economic changes compounded by the arrival of the Cemetery H people. For their part, the Cemetery H people while benefiting from the Indus civilization did not try to go south; but settled in the slightly cooler clime of upper Punjab. Possibly their eastward thrust was due to the need for cultivable land; changes in water courses; and inability to maintain riverine trade. We call this a 4r x 2e x 3b phase; it comprised 4 regions, 2 ethnicities and 3 ecologies in local Late Harappan forms[53].

Kenoyer highlights continuities between Late Harappan, Painted Grey Ware [1200-800 BC], and Northern Black Polished Ware [800-300 BC] in the Indus & Gangetic regions and emergence of the Mauriya Empire thereafter. He believes that many sites of continuous occupation have not been unearthed because they lie under modern settlements[54]. He also views the de-urbanization as a "localization" process or fragmentation of "socioeconomic and political interaction". While Kenoyer is willing to accept a variety of geographic and economic factors as partial causes for the decline of Indus towns, his main focus is on "disappearance of

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[53] The northwest and northeast orientation of Swat and Cemetery H and the south-eastern and southwestern outlook of Jhukar and Rangpur each with an urban and trading community; and possibly a third separate rural one. They had a hilly ecology in Swat and Jhukar; maritime at Rangpur and riverine in the Cemetery 'H'. This was a prelude to the next ethno-genesis in the Enclave and led to lingua-genesis of Sanskrit in Bharat.

[54] J. M. Kenoyer, "New Perspectives on the Mauryan and Kushan Periods". In *Between the Empires*, ed. by Patrick Olivelle, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006: 33.

key ideological symbols"[55] which perhaps imply the socio-political mainsprings of the Indus Valley Civilization.

The continuity between the Indus Valley Civilization and later cultures has been noted by other researchers as well. If urban forms are radically different, some beliefs and social structure show affinity sometimes sooner and nearer sometimes later and further. Perhaps the 'roaming potter' who was a carrier of wares and ideas acted as a conduit for Indus culture[56]. The role of this community was central to the emergence, evolution, expansion and contraction of the Indus valley civilization. The unofficial formalism of a non-glamorous society [that made monumental progress through small scale and low-profile communalism] was perhaps developed at Kot-Diji or Rahman Dheri on the style of Mehrgarh. This became the Harappan hall mark which, when it was passed on to the Aryan clans spread across the Subcontinent and became its distinguishing characteristic.

In any event the Vedic culture coincided with the transition from the Indus tradition to its successors. There is no consensus on the form of polities of northern India during the Vedic period. They have variously been designated as monarchies, tribes and republics. Kenoyer has used the extension of Kushan and Gupta

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[55] Ibid., p. 34.

[56] B. P. Sinha, "Harappan Fallout(?) in the Mid-Gangetic Valley", in G. L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*: 135. This continuity is highlighted by Y. D. Sharma, "Harappan Complex on the Sutlej (India)" in G. L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization* (New Delhi: OUP and IBH, 1993): 158, he refers to Baran style and Painted Grey Ware as post-Harappan.

culture in Punjab and Sind as conclusive proof of their dominant influences having emerged in the east of the Enclave. On the other hand linkage between Later Harappan and Painted Grey Ware culture with Northern Polished Ware is well established. This is also substantiated by comparisons of Mahabharata and Ramayana with Buddhist literature. It is, however, necessary to find supporting evidence to establish if there was any "*dramatic* shift in the socioeconomic and political centre from the Indus river valley to the Doab" [57] in Bharat between 1900 and 800 BC. Sites of Shorkot and Bhawani are among the potential successors of Indus Valley elements in the Rachna Doab. However it is the *Black Burnished* ware, a possible local variation of the *Northern Polished Black* ware, found alongside *Red burnished* ware that is the most convincing evidence according to Kenoyer. Some of the finds in the area have been identified with Painted Grey Ware but Kenoyer is not convinced.

Kenoyer believes that fresh excavations at Bhir mound clearly establish linkages with Indus Valley sites[58]. However, Kenoyer is of the view that the Achaemenid and Gangetic connections were secondary. This seems to be the result of the modern east-west classification of what is indigenous to South Asia which is only applicable to the riverine topography and cannot be used in the context of the Hindukush at this time.

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[57] Kenoyer, "New Perspectives on the Mauriya and Kushan Periods", in *Between the Empires*: 35. Emphasis added.

[58] Ibid., p.39.

The elements that disappeared with the decline of the Harappans were 1) shell working industry, 2) cubical weights, 3) stamp seals and 4) script. Instead we find a) glass making & b) bead drilling technologies. The dominant grain/cereal of the region was no longer wheat[59], we witness a rise in the consumption of rice and barley and the axis of settlements shifts from the Indus-Ghaghara on a northeast to southwest line towards the Khyber-Lahore line, leading on towards Bengal in a west-northwest to east sequence. One of the reasons for this would also be the gradual diminishing and drying up of the Ghaghara[60].

The regions of the western hills that probably generated the Early Harappan Culture had become peripheral to its mature phase. These areas, being susceptible to demographic changes occurring

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[59] Vishnu Mittre, "The Harappan Civilization and the Need for a New approach" in G. L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, OUP and IBH, New Delhi, pp. 31-39, p. 32, noted that wheat and barley were staple at Mohenjo-Daro, Chanhu-Daro and Harappa, only barley at Kalibangan, rice and millet at Lothal and Rangpur. Thus already the food economy of the civilization was area specific and diversified; perhaps the barley consuming community had become larger by the later Harappan times resulting a natural shift of supply till wheat became marginalized.

[60] M. Rafique Mughal, "Recent Archaeological Research in the Cholistan Desert" in Gregory L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*: 94, suggests that the perennial flow of Hakra began to dry up toward the middle of the third millennium but southern areas continued to have sufficient water by virtue of Sutlej supplies. After about 1500 years this also started drying up and only enough seasonal flow remained for the people of the Painted Grey Ware. This was probably due to tectonic movement which may also have affected the Jhelum and Chenab rivers; the rising of the Himalayas may also have altered precipitation west of the Chenab.

to their west, show some signs of social violence; and introduction of new technologies, lifestyle, ethnic composition and material culture[61]. Apparently to the north-eastern external relations remained stable but were delinked at the limit of Hakra based agriculture. This collapse of the network binding 'regions' that had emerged c3300 denotes either an outward migration of trading communities or a breakdown in relations between them and the urban centres they fed. In view of changes noted in the hilly regions, it seems more likely that new dominant groups acquired control of passages and routes in those areas. The fact that horse and camel figurines and bones are found suggests that the ass was displaced as means of transport. The narrow defiles and inconvenient passes of these hills can be traversed more efficiently on foot or on the sturdy ass rather than on the elegant horse or ungainly camel; this change of animals for travel may have caused a serious hindrance in the range of travel[62].

The deterioration of pottery also indicates that skilled artisans had abandoned the region and those who succeeded them had not acquired the art of the potter. A change in focus of animal husbandry due to new ethnic elements can also be responsible for a depletion of some species of domestic animals in the Enclave.

The horse and camel riders probably preferred faster moving cattle and, consequently wider passes at lower altitude, such as the Khyber and Gomal, or the Mekran coast. Stragglers among newcomers may have strayed into more restricted regions and

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[61] Allchin and Allchin, p.229ff.

[62] Allchin and Allchin, p. 233f.

settled in the Kurram and Chitral regions. The technology and crafts of the localized Harappans had also undergone a change with localization. Part of this would be due to absence of certain skills and part due to introduction or dominance of other skills. The hallmark of Harappan civilization, its seals[63], began to disappear; perhaps this it was primarily a technology of the river and mountain traders who were now vanishing.

At Lothal, the mature Harappan style seems to have come to an end around 2150 BC, similarly a separate timeline may apply to other sites. Since the change is mostly non-violent it should be ascribed to withdrawal of socio-economic contact. In the case of Lothal this can also signify that people who were to influence the emergence of *localization* culture had begun to arrive now. According to Law's estimate the agate from Ratanpur on the Narbada began to be accessed about this time[64]. A similar change seems to have occurred in the supply of copper to Harappa, Chaghi no longer figures as a source of this metal just as agate from Helmand is no longer imported after the Ratanpur and Gujrat sources begin to be used. We may, therefore, infer that while a western push weakened the mountain traders, an eastern pull for raw material marginalized them.

It is possible to estimate the path taken by painted Grey Ware people since Harappa style houses of bricks are found at Bara, Rupar and Mithal. Yet south of them, in Haryana we find Grey

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[63] Allchin and Allchin, p. 242f.

[64] See fig 13.5 from Law dissertation.

Ware in Bhagwanpura where round huts with thatched roofs reappear. While painted Grey Ware suggests new technology coming from the other direction, the old style of houses would indicate a reassertion of marginalized cultures from the east. This was to be the heartland of the Aryavartta or Brahmavarta. It is possible that these people bypassed the Rajasthan sources of copper and accessed the Bihar ore[65].

Whether Aryan or some other cultural group, fresh blood is certain to have entered the Enclave in the first half of the second millennium BC. This would be the third ethno-genesis, possibly accompanied by a lingua-genesis in the north-eastern part of the Enclave. Like the unglamorous lifestyle of the Harappans, this lingua-genesis spilled in to the Gangetic plain and encompassed the Aryavarta through Vedic literature. This process will be the subject of our next chapter dealing with the arrival of the Aryans and the de-urbanization and re-urbanization of the Enclave.

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[65] Allchin and Allchin, p.256.

STAGE I

Harappan Patterns of Life

The roots of Harappan civilization can be traced to the foraging era around 10,000 BC, through the early food producing era of Mehrgarh and Early Harappan/Chalcolithic phase till 2600 BC[1]. Its geographic scope was the Indus and Ghaghara[2] river systems. In the north the Bari Doab and the Ghaghara-Sutlej Doab; in the south the Indus and Ghaghara are extensive areas of habitation. In the Ghaghara-Sutlej Doab the major sites include Dher Majra, Kotla Nihang, Bara, Rupar, Sanghol and Chandigarh apart from the more famous Kalibangan and Sothi-Siswal.

Having defined urban as a non-rural community and civilization with long-lasting culture, over an extended area that binds urban units and its hinterland in a manner distinct from other parallel relationships. We have dated the Harappan civilization from the Ravi period. Perhaps at this time a community of traders from across the western mountains or the eastern plains decided to settle on Mehrgarh as trading outpost.

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[1] Kenoyer "Indus Civilization" in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, p. 717 refers to this as a 'regionalization' process: of adaptation to the Mehrgarh pattern.

[2] Y. D. Sharma, "Harappan Complex on the Sutlej (India)", pp. 141-165, has presented an overview of information regarding sites of this system.

Pre-Harappan culture from Mehrgarh[3] then spread and began taking Early Harappan shape in regional shades over a period of fifteen centuries. Among the early sites in Baluchistan we may note Rana Ghundai, about eight miles east of Zhob; Kulli, Amri and Nal are major sites of the southern culture[4]. The northern branch grew into Tochi-Gomal/SKT culture, transformed into the Late Kot-Diji form and passed out of the system. While the southern immigrants to Baluchistan, via Balakot, were absorbed in the Harappan mainstream only to emerge as Jhukar [this also we deem to be urban] in the late Harappan phase.

People using flake tools settled in Mundigak, Rana Ghundai, Kili Gul Muhammad [Quetta], Surjangal, Dabar Kot [Loralai], Perano Ghundai [Zhob] and Anjira [Kalat] before 3300 BC. It is likely that they produced some cereal agriculture and had domesticated goats, sheep and cattle. They used sickles, gouges, arrowheads and ground stone implements, bone needles and awls, the pottery they made by hand was basket marked and crudely painted. Flake blade industry is found on either side of the Kirthar from Karachi to Kapoto and Wadh. This bears an affinity with Sialk and Djeitun in Iran and Turkmenistan; this changed soon. Stable mud brick villages emerged where wheel made ceramics and copper were employed for utensils and tools.

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[3] W. Fairservis, “The Harappan Civilization: New Evidence and More Theory”, p.51, believes there were several intervening stages of ‘cultural phases’.

[4] Certain village communities may be considered as culturemes or, to coin a term ‘ethnemes’ with distinctive genetic structures. However, peoples of other communities joined them, thereby enriching/diversifying its gene pool.

Sites related to the period between 3300 and 2500 BC in Baluchistan emerged in the region of flake tool production apart from Surkh Dumb [Nal] and Drakalo, Kolwa, Ornach, Wadh and Lasbela; and in the south at Manchar lake and the Kachi plain. Kenoyer believes that settlements were laid out on an irregular grid oriented north-south and east-west. This use of cardinal directions for settlement planning started in the Early Harappan and lasted till the Late Harappan period[5]. This pattern is visible from the childhood of the Indus Valley Civilization at Mehrgarh to its middle and old age at Naushahro and Pirak, not far away. Mehrgarh was central to the developments of its time but Pirak was peripheral to the subsequent phases.

It seems likely that lessons learn by the residents of Mehrgarh provided a preliminary model for settlements that were not self-sufficient in food production. In the Early Regionalization phase when this became a trading hub between the Indus Enclave and western settlements, some practices of the eastern traders [such as frugal burials] were absorbed; and a hybrid culture emerged over the next millennium or so. In the Late Regionalization, the Hakra, Tochi-Gomal, Kot-Diji, Amri and other models emerged. An economy of regional industry, with components based on community became concentrated in towns composed of communes of skill housed in separate quarters or mounds of the town. These regional industries were integrated in a network across the Enclave such that the town having more sophisticated

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[5] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization,* p. 52ff.

industries [sometimes a gateway town, due to the availability of foreign craftsmen] became the larger, more developed one.

The first stage of the change may have occurred at Mehrgarh, but the lead was taken by Kot-Diji and Amri, leaving Balakot and Hakra styles far behind. The Amri style extending along the coast line and the Kot-Diji style extending all the way north and east are both dated between 3300-2600 BC. West Asian trading influence nurtured regionalization in the lower piedmont areas facing the Indus west bank for nearly two millennia.

Indus centric trading and production patterns that originated at Mehrgarh began creating the conditions for regional integration which were to lead to amalgamation of regions into one cultural province. Parallel local communities emerged in the Enclave till surplus food or industrial capacity made waterborne networks of trade sustainable. Areas of *Regionalization* had emerged on the basis of local ecology and its ability to sustain a craft/skill or industry. *Localization* was driven by a disintegration of relations of production in complex industries nurtured during *Integration*. New cultural provinces now emerged based on skills useful for ethnicities that took the lead in the Iron Age.

SECTION 'A': Political & Administrative

Political structure and administration

During the entire period from the Ravi phase to the Cemetery H it is not possible to ascertain if there was any formal apparatus of state or governance mechanism in the region. Nor can we say with certainty that the Harappan civilization was a collection of cultural and technological units based on major towns. There

would probably have been some political organization in towns which also extended to their hinterlands. We may designate the hinterland associated with each major urban centre as a state but this would be a speculative classification not an empirical one. It is reasonably certain that initially ethno-cultural communities occupied technological territories *and the boundaries* gradually expanded until a consensus or uniformity emerged. There is no evidence of aggression from Mesopotamia or from the east.

The fact that the rural community did not become "Harappan" in the Sutlej region even though town dwellers acquired an Early Harappan character about 2200 BC[6] indicates that the Harappan life-style was essentially a voluntary exercise. Most speculations regarding religious and political structures of the Harappans start with reference to lack of written record and inability to interpret text on seals. In fact absence of written records may be taken as proof that no ruling class existed because the survival of such classes is dependent on written records.

Perhaps the second most important group that needs scriptures is the religious elite; we may infer that Harappan society failed to develop a lengthy script because the religious class, if any, was more ritualistic than speculative. Contrary to rulers and priests, tradesmen need text essentially for accounting purposes; the Indus seals appear to be eminently suited for use as invoices and accounts and other trade related matters. Harappan Civilization

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[6] See Y. D. Sharma, op.cit. in G. L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, p. 163 for chronology, he assumes that Baran and Harappan people cohabited in towns but not in rural areas.

displays no indicators of a socio-political hierarchy and lacks obvious control mechanisms. In trying to locate a binding forces the city-state mechanism with wider cultural links seems to be the only reason for its remarkable complex uniformity. [7]

We believe that new terms must be coined for the Indus formula of state organization which probably originated here and were emulated to its east by those successors who passed through its foyer on the Gangetic plain. In due course it became entrenched in the state DNA of South Asia; however, its original home, the Indus Enclave retained this characteristic throughout its history.

We have introduce two terms: '**nesting sovereignties'** and '**split control'**. While these practices may have some similarities with modern 'distribution of powers' between organs of state and levels of governance, they were unusual in ancient states which had begun to expand from a centre to their neighbouring areas or states. By nesting sovereignties we mean that states, groups or political entities in a 'state' exercised simultaneous sovereignty vis-à-vis the state and each other; sometimes being tolerated by

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[7] J. M. Kenoyer and R. H. Meadows, "Harappa: New Discoveries on its Origin and Growth" *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, XII (1999, pp.): 2 has traced Harappa chronology from 3300 to 1300 BC. On p.4, however the paper addresses the "interpretative models" that may be used to study Indus urbanism. It is pointed out that the centralized state model cannot be applied to the Indus Civilization and more complex means are required to assess its political and economic relations. Some degree of control of production and distribution is visible but its mechanism may have been similar to city states exercising control over their hinterlands. At the same time the paper envisions the existence of some elites which had links with their counterparts in other cities and urban centres.

the 'states' but more often sponsored, supported, instituted and recognized by them. The Ulama and Sufia of the Sultanate period, like the rajwara, Iqta or Tumandar and lumbardar [Alam bardar] fall into this category. Control within such a state system was split between the multiple coeval sovereigns. What is more important, the 'sovereigns' did not feel any need to eliminate competitors or infringe upon their rights.

Kenoyer believes urban management may have been supervised by individual rulers or town councils, but ruling/religious elite groups associated with civilizations of China and Mesopotamia do not seem to have had any counterpart in the Indus Valley Civilization. On the other hand social stratification is visible in architecture or settlement patterns as testimony of shared social ideology and its associated network of trade.

Though generally acquired from closer areas, Law demonstrates the possibility that raw material used at Harappa was drawn[8] from

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[8] Randall Law, "Regional Interaction in the Prehistoric Indus Valley: Initial Results of Rock and Mineral Sourcing Studies at Harappa" *South Asian Archaeology* I, *Prehistory* edited by Catherine Jarrige and Vincent Lefevre, Editions Recherches sur les Civilizations, Paris (2005): 180 has a map outlining the region from which materials were drained. In a later publication, R. Law, "A Diachronic Examination of Lithic Exchange networks During the Urban transformation of Harappa." In *South Asian Archaeology: Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archeologists 7-11 July Held in Bonn2003*, edited by Ute Franke-Vogt & Hans-Joachim Weisshar, 111-121. (Lindensoft: Aachen, 2005), 119, Law concludes that urban growth led to increase in quantity of stone used, lithic variety was diversified and new exotic sources were exploited. The links with Himachal Pradesh and

distances up to 700 km. Predictably, distant materials were used for luxury items of high quality, imported for the elite.[9] When and how the elites emerged and what was their changing ethnic, economic and social composition. The answer may be found in chronological assessments[10] discussed in the previous chapter derived from the Harappan experience[11]. The changes in materials for construction and the plans of houses may be due to

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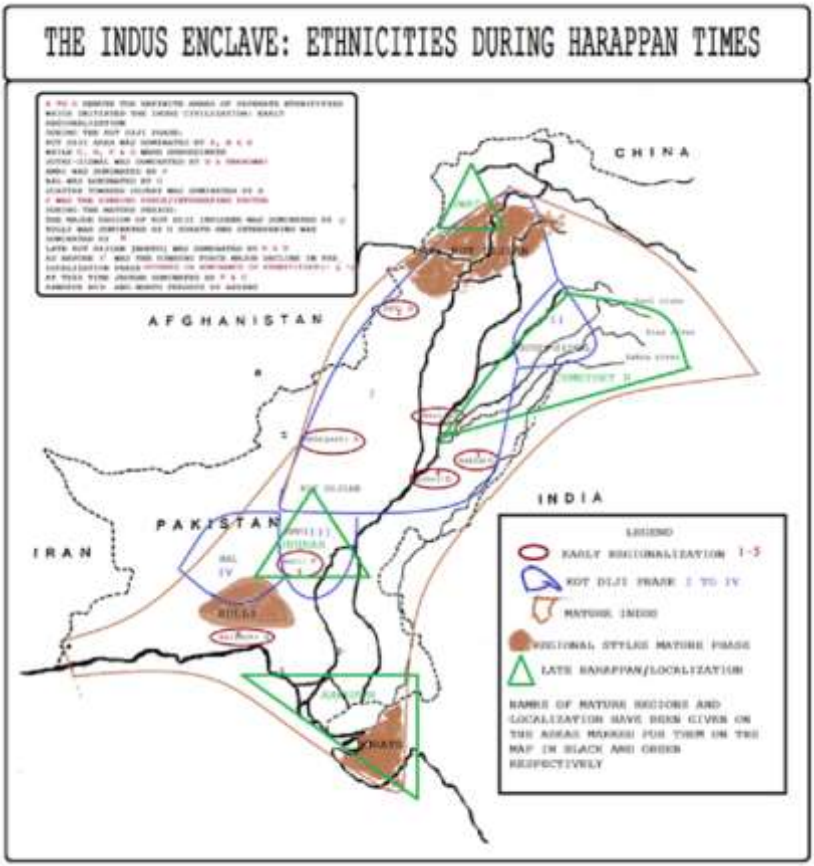
Baluchistan as sources of stone for Harappan industries may have been created between 2600 and 1900 BC.

[9] See also Randall Law, "Potential Steatite Sources for the Indus Civilization" in M. A. Haleem, ed., *Indus Valley Civilization* (Islamabad: Ministry of Minorities …Youth Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 2001).

[10] Richard H. Meadows and Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, "Excavations at Harappa 2000-2001: New Insights on Chronology and City Organization in *South Asian Archaeology* I, *Prehistory* edited by Catherine Jarrige and Vincent Lefevre, Editions Recherches sur les Civilizations, Paris (2005) has raised interesting issues of town planning based on a scatter of trenches at the site. While other aspects may need further exploration or analysis, the age of the finds and the dating of the civilization seem to be a final estimate of five [3300-2800 BC], two [2800-2600 BC], seven [2600-1900 BC] and six hundred [1900-1500] years with subdivisions of the seven hundred year Harappa span into three sections of 2, 2 & 300 years. We need to study this distinction, identify its causes and patterns.

[11] Developments around Harappan life are called Indus tradition. J. M. Kenoyer "Indus Civilization" in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, ed. By Deborah M. Pearsall (New York: Academic Press, 2008) 716:"The Indus tradition (also called the Indus valley tradition) refers to the wide range of human adaptations in the greater Indus region [from] approximately 10000 to 1000 BC. … [it includes] all adaptive strategies that contributed to the emergence and decline of the first phase of urbanism, including hunting-foraging the origins of agriculture and …the emergence of cities and state-level society, and finally the … decline of the Indus cities."

evolution of technology but the change in materials imported is likely to be a rise of new trading communities.



MAP 10 - a

SECTION 'B': Socio-economic

Economy

In this section we have speculated on six aspects of economic life, three of which fall in the category of necessities while three others are classified as industries. Food, naturally, takes the first place among necessities followed by clothing and shelter, which became necessities within the sedentary cultures.

We have relied almost exclusively on archaeological material for the speculative reconstruction of these activities in Harappan times. Urban life requires specialization of occupations with the exception of food production. As a community, people also need clothing and shelter to be treated as industries. We know little about the clothes of the Harappans and have dealt with shelters in the section on town planning; therefore in this section we will focus on their food economy in the context of necessities.

In addition to necessities, civilizations need artistic expression and refinement of luxury items. Like other Neolithic cultures, the Harappans had refined rare and beautiful stones, ceramics and metals. We can gage that while the food surplus of farmers, fishers and herders was consumed by neighbouring urban people, urban output was delivered to places in and around the Enclave. Indus seals suggest that its exports were mainly toward the west. Some raw material was being imported as noted earlier.

Harappan food industry included animal husbandry, fishing and hunting as supplements to its major crops. Irrigation depended primarily on rain water or river floods as dams and canals were

virtually non-existent. Perhaps well water, a common source of urban needs, was also used for fields in the suburban regions of the Indus. Food grains included wheat, barley, pulses along with sesame, peas, rice, mustard, millet and sorghum; rice like dates and melons was uncommon in this period

While cotton was used for clothing, the common farm animals were the humped bull, water buffalo, sheep and goat. Pigs do not seem to be popular while domesticated dogs were used for hunting and as pets. Elephant, rhinoceros, elk, deer, antelope and wild ass bones testify to their being hunted for food. Their horns or antlers and hides were put to industrial use. Fish were an obvious riverine or sea contributions to the diet; while shells provided ornaments as well as tools. It is probable that salt was used for preservation of meat/fish in long distance transport.[12]

Vegetable food of the Harappans included cereals [wheat, barley and millet], grams [horse-gram, chickpeas, peas], seeds [sesame, mustard] and fruit[13]. Specifically, wheat at Mundigak; wheat & Barley at Mohenjo-Daro, Chanhu-Daro and Harappa; wheat at Banawali; only barley at Kalibangan; millets at Surkotada; rice at Rangpur and Lothal are to be found as staple. Although in the modern age cultivation in different areas has been diversified,

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[12] Kenoyer "Indus Civilization" in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, p. 721.

[13] Vishnu-Mittre and R. Savithri, "Food Economy of the Harappans", in G. L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, p.215ff. The author goes on to elucidate the conditions, such as precipitation and soil etc under which these crops could have been cultivated.

staple food grains generally remain traditional, according to the ability to cultivate them under primitive conditions.

Perhaps Harappans grew crops without ploughing, manure or providing additional water. Fields may have been surrounded by walls to retain flood water as in rodkohi[14] regions of the Derajat even today. On the other hand they seemed to have known the use of gypsum for desalinizing lands to facilitate cultivation. Perhaps they did not segregate grains for cultivation; they may have grown wheat and barley in one field and consequently have eaten bread made from a mixture of cereals.

Fairservis is of the opinion that near Mohenjo-Daro in Sind, the cultivation was limited to the flood plain and settlements existed in approximately the same places where they are located now: Judeirjo-Daro near Jacobabad; Jhukar, like Mohenjo-Daro, near Larkana; Naru-Waro-Dharo and Kot-Diji near Khairpur. He also believes that the Harappans only grew the winter or rabi crop.

Four types of flood plains have been identified: active, meander, cover and bar regions. The cover and bar plains [considered the best] account for 12m acres, active have 1.2m acres while the meander plain were probably under forest in Harappan times. Based on modern census patterns Fairservis has estimated the population sizes of some Harappan sites: Mohenjo-Daro, about 40,000 and Harappa about half that size. Assuming that 30% of the agricultural produce was surplus for urban consumption. The rural population would be about twice the size of the urbanism it

[14] The rodkohi is a mountainous seasonal water channel for torrential rain.

supported[15]; by speculative extrapolation, one acre/annum could feed two people; available flood plain area, producing 8 or 9 maunds/acre, could support a population of 16 million annually.

Considering the fact that the Harappans lived in more temperate plains their clothing requirement may have been the unstitched dhoti, lacha and chadar that are still popular in the region. Thus the clothing industry may have been confined to the weaving and block printing arts; these are also in vogue today.

On the other hand, in view of extensive management of public works, streets and drains in the cities, civic apparatus of shelter must have been extensive, organized and diversified, in terms of both, production and in service delivery at the public and private level. While urban labour may have virtually no contribution in production of raw materials for food, communities of butchers, cereal grinders and bakers could have been occupied in urban activities. Weavers as a community would have been a small but vital urban sector, perhaps with an adjunct of tailors. A large community of masons, and artisans in civil works would have been needed to look after the construction as well as water and waste management activities in Harappan towns.

Since the Harappan construction medium was ceramic, with an easy to raw material, utensils and artefacts of clay were easy to make and sell. Stoneware, being more durable can have been a close competitor while metal objects, based on new technology,

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15 W. A. Fairservis, Jr., "The Origin, Character and Decline of an Early Civilization" in G. L. Possehl, *Ancient Cities of the Indus*, p.83f.

must have been luxury objects. We may thus expect that stone and ceramic working communities would have been large while metal workers would have been few. Naturally jewellers, bead makers, skilled artisans for special structures and entrepreneurial traders would have been Harappan elite classes.

Trade

Archaeological finds, especially seals testify to trade between Indus and the Euphrates via Iran and the Gulf. Some scholars like to read too much into available data. However the Harappan settlement patterns suggest at least an equally active southward trade link by sea. The fact that no seals, which are the hallmark of Indus trade, are to be found in the Deccan or the Far East may suggest that there was little trade in that direction. However, the existence of Dholavira, Rangpur and Lothal in Gujrat suggest a considerable volume of eastern trade. Perhaps this region was used mainly to obtain stone from Aravalli and Vindiya ranges.

It seems that Indus people were more interested in exporting goods than in importing them because finished exogenous materials in the Indus region are few but Indus seals are found in abundance elsewhere[16]. Seals have been seen as totemic symbol of clans. Ten animals are found on the seals: unicorn, humped bull, elephant, rhinoceros, water buffalo, short horned bull, goat, antelope, crocodile and hare, with the unicorn seals being the

[16] Kenoyer "Indus Civilization" in *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, op. cit.

most abundant[17]. Identical symbols are also found on seals with different motifs but the humped bull is almost exclusive to the towns of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. This analysis illustrates that the Harappan origin and growth was due to trade; it does not follow that this was a centralized or administered activity.

Similarly, there is little doubt that internal and external trading networks were means of standardization and technology transfer that connotes the *Integration* phase of the civilization; ultimately the failure of trade networks led to *Localization*.

Apart from standardization itself, there is no evidence to support the assumption that governance was responsible for the creation and maintenance of the trade network. The ***consensual economy of trust*** that still exists in Pakistan may be a cultural throwback from Harappan times. Seals would have performed the double function of *hundi* and the *arti's* promissory note. Pastoral people [*pawindas*] would have manned the arteries of trade; providing a perpetual transient component in the fabric of the hinterland.

This concept is vital in the economic history of the Enclave in particular and even in South Asia in general; where it may have been imported from its Harappan origin. It is one of the cardinal elements of continuity in the culture of the Indus Enclave where the state driven economy has always held a subordinate position.

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[17] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization,* p.83. We may speculate that these were animals exported either as livestock or as processed body-parts such as skin and bone or horns etcetera.

The prime mover of economic relations of the Enclave prior to enforced monetization of local communities by the British was Social contract. A closed economic relationship existed at the village community level or the tribal platform for exchange of goods and services. The 'fair share' and 'obligatory' or 'penal' relations of production and distribution were formed by the social consensus included public works. An example of communities sharing the waters of a river was found in vogue by the British near Jacobabad [see chapters on the colonial period, infra].

A *socially driven, community based, skill oriented organization operated under an economic elite*. This elite was agricultural, industrial or commercial in later eras. The communal structure was the guarantee that parties remain true to a contract that was seldom written. When written, it was a few marks made by the trader or keeper of records, such as the 'patwari'. Large areas and widely distributed communities living in similar productive conditions and ecologies exercised a great deal of 'uniformity' by the emulation of 'successes' and 'best practices'. Communal life and social norms overrode or underpinned state mechanism unless imperial elites felt compelled to challenge them.

Just as there is no sign of administrative and religious pomp or monumentality, there is no proof of grand ornaments, utensils or metalwork at Harappan sites. Despite a variety of metal objects discovered from Allah-Dino including silver and gold, Shaffer says that metal objects from the site are essentially utilitarian. He concludes that the society was more dependent on internal than

on foreign trade[18]. A majority of Harappan products are utilitarian, resources for their manufacture also do not demand extensive foreign input. However, Shortughai was a Harappan outpost or trading station for lapis lazuli perhaps from the time of Mehrgarh before the rise of the Indus Valley Civilization; this industry and its affiliate trade was vital to the Harappan rise.

Ethnicities

The first identifiable ethnic entity in the Enclave was probably a community along Suleiman-Kirthar axis from Lewan to Lasbela which emerged between 5000 & 3300 BC. We cannot tell either the race or language of these people. A few aspects of material culture however, were discernible and may be associated with a pastoral or quasi-agricultural trading people. We believe that an ethno-lingua-genesis took place over a period of two millennia which led to a similar process of assimilation between riverine people in the plain during the next 500 years.

These processes are responsible for demarcation of the Enclave as somewhat different from that which came into being during the next stages of urbanization; consisting of part of the Indus river system and most of the now extinct Hakra drainage. Their form of interaction emerged from a series of discrete foyers in the Kirthar and Suleiman ranges identified with Lasbela, Amri, Nal, Loralai and Zhob, links of Mehrgarh with Gomal and Tochi

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[18] Jim G. Shaffer, "Harappan Culture: A Reconsideration" in G. L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, pp. 41-50.

passes. Each region produced a variant of Neolithic skills which were put together to form a pseudo-urban trading community.

These 'diode-like' entities transmitted and integrated cultures to create nodal localities with a yin-yang/luni-lingam relationship. This pattern of social integration lasted during regionalization, integration and localization eras; without needing a structured administrative or religious hierarchy till it broke down under the weight of population movements around 2000 BC. Since these communities had a limited capacity to control their environment initially they used difficult terrain to avoid contact with predators.

As their capacity grew with mutual dependence or aggregation of skills, their scale of communal activities became grand, their routes became easier and language skills improved. Kot-Diji and Hakra-Ravi regions acquired an internal ethnic commonality

In *transitional/localization* phase Kenoyer identifies "significant continuities" which include the weights used for measure [even though their cuboid shape was abandoned], pottery styles and brick sizes, general layout of the sites, some symbolic objects. The 'Local' varieties are classified 'Cemetery H' in the Punjab, Jhukar in Sind and Baluchistan and Rangpur phase in the south-east. A similar outreach in the north is Swat. Kenoyer tends to identify some overlap with Bactrian culture in the northern part.

These four forms typify the kaleidoscopic ethno-genesis within the Enclave. The communities as they emerged from six original regions that developed the Mehrgarh model. The most important and vital component of Harappan people was a community that is not visible in the localization; these are the invisible nomadic

inhabitants of the mountains and the piedmont west of the Indus from Kalat in the south to the Peshawar valley in the north.

Society

The 'agglomeration' of societies and 'occupational specialists' at Harappa has been noticed by researchers[19]. This is a natural phenomenon at all urban centres. However, Harappa and other Indus urbanisms depict a pattern of town planning which, when viewed through the prism of the Hindu faith that emerged later, may suggest a social stratification of people on the basis of which they inhabited various sectors of the city.

This is not substantiated by the lithic remains at Harappa which are scattered throughout the site, nor is there a concentration of large buildings in one quarter. It therefore seems that there was classification and grouping of population but not as a hierarchy. Being an ancient and common material, stone would have been an item of use for all segments of society; stone workers were therefore found in all parts/quarters of the town. Probably each community had its own rich and powerful people whose houses were larger than others. The urban society thus seems to have comprised of communities in separate muhallas[20] formed in an assigned rectangle with a minimal indication of hierarchy. Rural

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[19] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization,* p. 43.

[20] This term actually gained currency in Mughal times but was used throughout the Muslim period as well. We can not say for sure if it applied to Kushan times but the likelihood is that as an urban culture this continues even today in a slightly altered form in Pakistan where industries acquire wards, and single product markets are the norm.

and pastoral communities were similarly egalitarian and had an internal communal leadership based on intrinsic social norms.

This attitude may be the root cause of the simple lifestyle of the Harappan elite distinguishable only by quantitative superiority of facilities from the common people. The iconography of the mature Harappan period is "unimaginative and unadventurous …. Indeed we may not be altogether wrong if we detect in this … the roots of the cultural style which distinguishes the Indian cities of the historic period" [21] , linking them to the Harappans.

Faiths

The faith of the Harappans, like their monuments and socio-political hierarchy seem simple. No signs of religious fanfare are to be found, though figurines do suggest religious motifs and anthropomorphic deification. Certain structures, like the Great Bath at Mohenjo-Daro have been attributed with religious ritual functions. However, there are no temples or palatial buildings for religious or temporal hierarchy.

At the beginning of the Early Harappan phase, 'grave offerings of sacrificial animals, ornaments and/or tools'[22] were found at Mehrgarh. This trend changed before 3500BC though ornaments were abundant in the settlement. We may speculate on the religious intent of the Harappans but their material culture does not reflect any spiritualism. Nor are there signs of mythology in down to earth, remarkably refined artefacts found at Harappan

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[21] Allchin and Allchin, p. 202 & 216.

[22] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*, p. 16.

sites. The anthropomorphic figurines suggest shamanist leanings because the speculative reasoning of the Mesopotamians and their abstract beliefs apparently held no lure for the inhabitants of the Enclave despite all their trade links.

Paradigms

The non-military nature of the Indus civilization is remarkable as there is 'not a single depiction of warfare or captive taking'[23] in all the evidence that has been collected. It now seems to be an established fact that no region of the Indus Valley Civilization dominated the others[24]. Probably the Harappan cities were self-contained administrations, having minimal management.

Each city established relations with its hinterland comprising of towns, villages and roaming communities [trading in animals and raw materials] according to its own complex of skills and industries. The civilization evolved through the appreciation and adoption of best practices that spread voluntarily and remained in place until relations of production broke down. Thus instead of 'rise, expansion and fall', it may be appropriate to discuss progress in terms of 'evolution, growth and recession'. We thus visualize Harappanization as a composite way of life which integrated agriculturalists, urbanites and pastoral people. When the model broke down, because of ecology demography or trade factors within the Enclave and outside it, a de-Harappanization took place. Later history, however, shows that this process was a

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[23] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization,* p. 15.

[24] Rita P. Wright, *The Ancient Indus, Urbanism, Economy and Society*, p. 80.

temporary and superficial one. The temperament of the Kot-Diji culture seems to have set the template for life in the Enclave.

Not only were the physical contours of the Enclave brought into sharp focus during Harappan evolution, growth and recession, a socio-psychological architype also evolved simultaneously. When a new ethnic group or community arrived or evolved in the area, it was soon cast in the Harappan moulds of ***'communes of skills'*** to be discussed in the next section, **nesting sovereignties'**, '**split control'**, ***consensual economy of trust,*** and *socially driven, community based, skill oriented organization* mentioned earlier.

SECTION 'C': Capacities and constraints

Technologies

In one sense the eras and phases of the Indus Valley Civilization are determined on technology related economic grounds. The *foraging* era is distinguished from the *food producing* era based on techniques of sustenance and later eras, assuming continuity in food production are defined on the basis of ceramic and metal technologies. Regions are identified for the *Regionalization* era on the basis of ceramic styles/techniques, and the *Integration* era on the basis of uniformity in these industries.

We suggest the terms '***communes of skills' and 'collectives of industry'*** for the nature of Indus urbanisms. The grid pattern of settlements does suggest segments of the town being assigned to people of specific skills; this may have facilitated the later day caste system. One view attributes this to specialization of skills

after settlement[25]; here again we disagree with the interpretation regarding the sequence of events. The Regionalization era itself, was an outcome of different localities letting different lifestyles develop in different environments. It was the collection of these skills that led to the grid structure of Indus settlements.

The technologies of the Early Harappans were naturally refined by the Harappans, some survived beyond Late Harappan phase. By 5000 BC skills of domestication of animals and even plants became commonplace for nomads. Ceramics, metallurgy and advancements in stoneware were supplemented by refinement of stone and metal jewellery. Mehrgarh became a centre for ornament and ceramic decoration with Kili Gul Muhammad III style of wheel turned pottery c. 4000 BC. Workshops for lapis lazuli, carnelian beads and seashell are found and bow driven micro-drills of fine quality in green stone are attested. Locally available materials at Mehrgarh were reed, leather, bone, antler, bitumen and flint; lapis lazuli and marine shells [later gold and copper also] were imported[26]. At this time a new element was introduced in its population;[27] this changed its economic polarity towards the Indus valley. Whether this element emigrated to

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[25] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization,* p. 43.

[26] Rita P. Wright, *The Ancient Indus, Urbanism, Economy and Society*, p. 63ff.

[27] Jean-Francois Jarrige, "Excavations at Mehrgarh: Their Significance for Understanding the Background of the Harappan Civilization", in Gregory L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, female figurines have some different characteristics as well.

Mehrgarh from the Indus region or Mundigak is difficult to say; though earlier burial practices were similar to western norms.

Kenoyer believes that chipped stone tools, shells, stone beads and copper metallurgy etc. were crafts of the pre-urban people of the Indus. Metal casting, stone drilling, steatite and glass faience and stone bangles, however, were industries that emerged in its urban centres. Fast wheel pottery was supplemented by mould and handmade earthen ware in the Harappan phase of the Indus Civilization. Metallurgy of tin, copper, bronze and gold was fairly well developed and use of silver and white gold was also known. Copper and bronze were used for making specialized tools for building, chisels, drills, saws, axes and adzes are some of the important metal tools that were added to stone equipment like hammers etc. Among technologies created or refined by the Harappans may be creation of Ernestite, a kind of flint clay that is deliberately heated[28] to induce/enhance properties that made it an appropriate material for making drills c.2200 BC. During the next two millennia there was a sophistication of town planning and standardization of weights and measures.

Urban forms

The technologies for which the Harappans are most famous, however, are town planning and public works in urban centres. This is such a vital and consistent phenomenon that one cannot visualize its occurrence without a central organization. A highly efficient city councils and an extremely competent engineering community must have existed along with communal consensus

[28] Law, Dissertation, chapter 4, p.148.

on civic planning. That Harappans were able to generate group efforts on a monumental scale is testified by large structures but more so by its civic organization through so many centuries.

The view that the town of Harappa existed in a kind of vacuum is not really tenable even though only a few sites near it have so far come to light. Two different explanations are offered for lack of coeval sites to its west[29], both expect higher forestation across the Ravi restricting settlements in that area. This hypothesis is viable, with the stipulation that the raw material trade made an important contribution to the urbanization of Harappa from that direction. Another explanation focusses on the cattle breeding pastoralist inhabitants of the bar regions west of the Ravi[30].

Harappan sites were non-agrarian and non-rural industrial towns or trading posts. We may assume that most rural settlements left no archaeological trace. Probably Indus cities relied on agrarian hinterlands within the Doabs which they occupied and industrial hinterland across the rivers. This gave them protection on one side and facility of communication on the other. At Harappa city imports came from the south via the Ravi, exports via Hakra and food & semi-finished products from Cholistan.

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[29] Marcia Fentress, "From Jehlum to Yumna: City and Settlement in the Second and Third Millennium B. C." in G. L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, and Shereen Ratnagar, "The Location of Harappa" in *ibid*.

[30] G. L. Possehl, "Harappan Civilization: A Contemporary Perspective" in G. L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, p.17, the important point to note is the difference of a goat herding economy to the south in the Baloch hills and a cattle herding one in the northern forested plains.

Sites of the Indus valley civilization are found in an arc around the Rajasthan region. One of the reasons for this is bound to be the need to access copper from there. Another possible reason may be the skilled manpower from those regions or the trade of finished products with the non-urban population of the Ganga-Jumna Doab on one side and Narbada/Vindhya/Malwa region on the other. During the localization process the non-urban peoples on the periphery of civilization are likely to have revived their ethnicities and asserted their respective cultural identities[31].

It is also possible that communities peripheral to localities that emerged as new entities were responsible for at least some of the new trends that emerged. Thus people of Malwa who may not have seen any Harappan developments could have a role to play in the subsequent evolution of Sorashthra just as people of the Oxus may have affected the region that became Gandhara.

The underlying assumption is that while Mehrgarh had been the terminus of 'trade' till the fifth millennium, its associate bases at Amri, Kot-Diji and Rahman Dheri became termini for the next 1500 years. Indus Civilization emerged when Kot-Diji traders expanded riverine trade [later sea trade] to Dholavira, Lothal, Kalibangan and Rakhelgarhi in the east. Raw material and some

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[31] Vishnu Mittre, "The Harappan Civilization and the Need for a New approach" in G. L. Possehl, op.cit has pointed out the 'local' tradition existing alongside Harappan society. This needs to be reiterated because the elements that disturbed the Harappan socio-economic equilibrium came in from its periphery in all directions, including the east. In the same edited volume R. C. Agarwal and Vijay Kumar, "Ganeshwar-Jodhpur Culture: New Traits in Indian Archaeology" contends that OCP people belonged to the Ganeshwar-Khetri region of Rajasthan.

finished goods were imported and value added material was sent out. It seems likely that the imports from the east were mainly raw materials and exports were of finished products.

Five largest cities of Harappan Civilization are Mohenjo-Daro [200ha], Harappa[32] [150ha], Dholavira [100ha], Rakhelgarhi [80ha] and Ganveriwala [80ha]. Hamlets of 1-10ha and towns of 20-50ha constitute the bulk of the 1500 sites discovered so far. It is often asserted that major Harappan urban centres are approximately equidistant from each other in a zigzag pattern. This too does not appear to be a planned 'state' driven venture but rather the natural range for traders' travel stops and limits of exploiting a hinterland from an urban perspective. Dholavira, Lothal and Sutkagendor on the coast highlight the fact that sea trade relations of the Indus people were extensive and, if skewed in one direction, more active towards the east than the west.

We see the evolution of a two section town system in which a citadel area may have housed the elite, perhaps masters of trade or the leaders of industry. On the other hand public buildings, market areas, large and small private houses and workshops are found in all sections of Harappa. Kenoyer believes that 'each city is composed of a series of walled sectors … oriented in different

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[32] For a reconstruction of its evolution: J. M. Kenoyer, "Urban Process in the Indus Tradition: A Preliminary Model from Harappa" in *Harappa Excavations 1986-1990: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Third Millennium Urbanism*, ed. by Richard H. Meadow, Monographs in World Archaeology No. 3, (Wisconsin: Prehistory Press, Madison).

directions"[33]. The 'grid' of streets was 'an irregular net pattern'; occasionally the walls even had a curvature but the main street side of the houses generally presented a blank wall with no doors or windows. It is possible, then that the 'citadel' area was in fact the area of the central industry or core trade area where communal wealth was stored. Major houses in different 'sectors' would be residences of industrial or trading elite of a sector or of a major or minor industry.

The construction of houses displays uniformity in some aspects for the entire period, for example the proportion of all bricks is: thickness = 1 [7 or 10 cm.]; width = 2; length = 4, this norm is maintained from the Kot-Diji phase on. The building tradition is fairly uniform, mud and baked brick are common but stone is used where readily available. Doors and windows are made of shisham wood and mats. The floors are made of hard packed earth covered with sand. Some floors, like drains, were paved with baked bricks or stone; roofs were made of wooden beams thatched with reeds; monumental structures have occasionally been built exclusively of wood.

The buildings are grouped into three categories: private houses, a complex of houses and public structures, each with its general pattern. The first category had a set of rooms arranged around a central courtyard with a wall or hallway blocking view to the inner rooms. Many houses had two stories with 70cm thick walls and 3meter high ceilings. This pattern was popular till pre-colonial times; even during British rule less westernized people,

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[33] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization,* p. 52.

living outside the cantonment were likely to build houses in this style with the kitchen and toilets in opposite corners, preferably on the roof. The larger houses were in the form of a complex [second category] with smaller units for servants, dependents or relatives. Public buildings were assorted with multiple exits[34].

Environmental constraints

The area covered by the Indus Valley Civilization has a range between five and sixty centimetres of rain per annum. There are different views regarding the climatic condition 5000 years ago. Whether the climate has changed or not, river channels and the quantity of their inundations did change radically in places. More important perhaps is the length of the seasons, duration of maximum and minimum temperatures in the day, wind and humidity factors and a hosts of other aspects regarding climate that are not generally taken into account. These factors become vital in the "semiarid regions where the ecology hangs on a precarious balance"[35]. While details of temperature fluctuations

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[34] For more detailed description in a single place see J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization,* passim, other alternatives are the two volumes edited by Possehl for a variety of views.

[35] See Agarwal & Sood, "Ecological Factors and the Harappan Civilization" in Gregory L. Possehl, ed., *Harappan Civilization*, p. 225 for an overview, we believe that more delicate issues need to be addressed as well. There are days when the maximum temperature in Rawalpindi exceeds that of Multan and when the minimum in Multan is lower than Rawalpindi but residents do not register this because in Rawalpindi maximum temperature may have been experienced for an hour while the Multan temperature may have remained close to its maximum for the better part of the day. These conditions influence life in the locality without being

may never become available for ancient times, the drainage patterns are quite well known. One reason for the variations in drains is due to tectonic events, another is global temperature and precipitation patterns, especially during the 'little ice age', yet another was the natural tendency of rivers to change course due to rotation of the earth, soil conditions and discharge rates.

Rita Wright believes that it is possible to give a definite verdict[36] that the Harappan Civilization arose in a time when aridity was increasing. If this is true, it follows that a reduced riverine flow facilitated the exploitation of the flood plains, this was not possible in the Mehrgarh phase. It is now generally accepted that Indus people did not have a system of harnessing waterworks as did the Mesopotamians. This may partly have been because the Indus had a higher discharge and partly due to lack of administration to integrate its sub-regions. We may also infer that there was no major technological/conceptual exchange between these civilizations despite trade links. The increase in aridity may also have contributed to changing river courses.

We have accepted environmental and demographic factors as contributors to the Harappan decline and Aryans as contributors to demographical flow and socio-ethnic restructuring during the late Harappan period. Thus peaceful Aryan migrants, perhaps

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registered as such, similarly other aspects of the ecology that are not being recorded today because they are considered trivial can have a bearing on overall potential for exploiting the environment. One such important factor in human observation is the repetitive exposure to contrasting as well as closely resembling objects and situations.

[36] Rita P. Wright, *Ancient Indus, Urbanism, Economy and Society*, p. 29ff.

arriving over a period of several centuries from many different directions, settled in ecological regions in accordance with their temperament, available options and opportunities. Aryans were a group of militants, traders, refugees and adventurers whose ethnic form like the 'Mongols' during Changez conquests was varied and barely integrated as a community. Linguistic variety of this group later evolved under a single integrated umbrella.

Resource constraints

A very interesting resource constraint is visible in the grindstone material at Harappa[37]. Periodic orientation of the hinterland of Harappa is as remarkable for its chronological predictability as for its history of technological evolution. The nearest variety of Kirana stone available was most used during the 1st and 2nd phases. It came down suddenly to a third of its value in phase in 3A and again at the same rate in 3B. It was first replaced by Pab stone from Suleiman range, indicating rise of western influence. A major change occurs in period 3C, it was enhanced in periods 4 & 5. In period 3C, Delhi quartzite began to compete with Pab stone and gradually became the dominant type.

That nearby sources would have been exploited first, followed by the westerly sources, flowing in to the plains, naturally and through trading communities emerging in those regions, was to be expected. That the eastern source, offering the best material would have captured the market, reiterates innate technological rationalism of society. What is remarkable is the fact that this prepared the ground for the declining phase as well.

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[37] See the Ph. D. thesis of R. Law, op. cit.

Unfortunately Law does not give the era-wise distribution of steatite artefacts from Harappa, nor does he link sources of raw material to the location where the product was found. Perhaps this was not possible with finished artefacts that had been 'fired' but the number of artefacts from each era could have provided valuable information regarding the growth of the industry. That this technology was a part of the Mehrgarh legacy does not itself attest to its refinement and growth in Early Harappan times.

The fact that the bulk of steatite was obtained from mountains to the north and west makes both the contemporary link across the Hindukush and the later rise of stone technology at Gandhara more comprehensible. Similarly we see that a jade like stone was obtained in periods 3B & 3C and is likely to belong to the KPK region. The overall supply of stone used by the Harappans seems to have come from peripheral areas of their civilization, more from the north and west than from the east. The communities trading in stone and those working on 'new' varieties may also have changed because of the difference of material, conversely material or its labour may have come to the town earlier and when excellence was established people turned to the 'advanced' material and its technology, thereby changing the production function. The copper sources of the Harappans may have been derived from the region within the horseshoe of its frontier, in Rajasthan. Although subsequent research may prove this false, we think the Ravi phase preceded the Kot-Diji phase. Since riverine trade probably emerged in the Ravi phase to augment the mountain borne trade based at Mehrgarh, people of the Loralai River may be credited with introducing it.

STAGE – II: 2000-500 BC

De-urbanization: The Aryan Interlude

Developments during the Vedic period did not lead to an Indus based state structure and, in due course of time the Iranians took the lead, absorbing much of the Indus hinterland. Their imperial design integrated almost all of Pakistan as it exists today; later Alexander the Macedonian subordinated Persian vassals in the Enclave. This chapter deals with developments from the decline of the Harappan Civilization to the rise of Achaemenid power in the Indus region. This stage, also referred to as the Vedic period, overlaps with the later Harappan phase. In one sense this stage is highly speculative, even more so than the previous one where a large volume of archaeological data was available from all parts of the Enclave. In this chapter our written sources are not really historical; also they are confined to northern parts of South Asia and are insufficiently supplemented by archaeological data.

One extremely important question in the context of this chapter, as in the decline of the Harappan civilization, is the matter of the Aryan incursion. [1] This issue has been discussed for a long time,

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[1] K.C. Jain, *Prehistory and Protohistory of India* (New Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1979), 208 for some theories.

sometimes with pride in the conquering white races, sometimes with a sheepish desires to declare the Aryans a local race not to be confused with colonizing maleech conquerors from the west.

We have suggested that there were various 'kinds' of Aryans; even though the concept of 'racial' is suspect, except in terms of confined/segregated gene pools during glacial periods. Here we will consider conditions which created hostile nomadic-pastoral conquering groups and what caused peaceful settlements. The prime concern of community is security, especially that of food. In nomadic and pastoral life it is convenient to move in small groups that can be fed off the land, on the move, or at pastures that sustain manageable populations. The size of a group would generally be big enough for collective hunting and foraging but lean enough to manage with minimal governance and capable of moving at a uniform pace. Such a pastoral group would tend to agro-pastoral life to enhance animal fodder or grain output and, in due course, settle on the most manageable location on their beat that was suitable for making a rural settlement.

With the emergence of rural settlements a natural food source was opened to more hardy nomads. Their marauding band could assert pastoral claims on agriculture: surrogate farmers by force of arms. It is possible that this kind of exploitation provided the incentive for statehood on one hand and enlargement of militant nomadic communities on the other. Thus, agrarian communities agreed to maintain militant clans on condition that they should provide defence against others of their ilk; marauders enhanced their number on promises of secured supplies of food based on extortion of farm surplus from settlers and goods from traders.

Both nomadic and settled communities were forced by ecology, climate and nature to move from their pastoral routes and settled localities at times. We may therefore expect that: the genetically isolated group, identified as Aryans, was forced to move from their habitat sometime in the second millennium BC. They moved as several sub-groups due to difference of temperaments, leadership and potential and were affected by the experiences and environments due to the various paths that they took. Some of these bands made their way through the Indus Enclave and on to Bharat; they included some militant groups which had grown in number, and some settlers of the kind who find it convenient to practice a trade where it is in constant demand.

The environment: ethnicity and topography

The mountains west of the Indus were peripheral to the Mature Harappan Phase; since then perhaps, their ability to bond people had reasserted itself. Mehrgarh perhaps reverted to a relationship with Mundigak. Relations also existed between Shortughai and Musakhel but dwindled during the Late Harappan Phase because Aryan movement delinked Central Asia's Indus contact.

Many smaller groups of the so called Aryans continued nomadic existence in different localities which had an ecology that was in some way similar to the environment they had known earlier. During the Later Harappan Phase ethnic environment west of the Indus Enclave changed. Its tranquillity north and northeast of Sumer before Hammurabi had come to an end shortly before his rise to power; coinciding with the Harappan Phase of Transition. The change in the scenario in Khurasan and Khvarizm remained

a constant phenomenon in the second millennium BC. This also impacted on the lives of nomads of the Hindukush and sailors of the sea southwest of the Indus Mesopotamian literature testifies to this when it mentions decline of contact with Meluha first and then with Megan; while Dilmun continued to flourish[2].

Demographic change adversely affected the Harappan backyard assembly-line culture by disempowering vital segments of the chains which linked both sides of three riverine tracts. Mountain nomads who had controlled communication between the Indus-Ghaghara, the Tigris-Euphrates and the Oxus-Jaxartes; and the agro-pastoral boatmen of these rivers were two such casualties.

During three millennia from the rise of Mehrgarh to Harappan withdrawal, nomadic life had become much more marginalized. Urbanization, especially state sponsored urbanization, would not have become the norm even in the Fertile Crescent[3] yet but now agrarian settlement was an established norm. The agro-pastoral communities gradually became more rural while pastoral people tended to acquire agro-pastoral economies and settle down.

Surplus produce from their settlements encouraged them to trade and attracted states or marauding nomads who exploited output with or without the producer's consent. When it took place with their consent, a kind of governance and security was its natural

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[2] Rita P. Wright, *The Ancient Indus, Urbanism, Economy and Society* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010), 314 mentions that only Dilmun is referred to in Mesopotamian texts after 2000BC, mention of Magan and Meluhha declined gradually.

[3] A fertile corridor of land in an arc like a crescent which includes Egypt and Mesopotamia, the areas of the oldest known civilizations.

outcome; when it was without consent, it became a conquest by a state or nomadic/pastoral tribes. In either case, if exploitation became the norm it caused expansion of the conquerors domain and community, perhaps leading to ethno-genesis.

Since the Indus Enclave does not lie on an easy path of pastoral movement only a more adventurous group would penetrate the Hindukush with its several subordinate enclaves; or the western passages around the desert. Whether approached from Khurasan, Transoxiana, Kabul or Ghaznin, the tract between Peshawar and Bannu offers opportunities to turn back from the succession of valleys. Large marauding groups found the southern mountains tedious; the ingress from the Helmand or the Mekran coast was used more by traders though even they preferred northern routes once they had been opened. Similar limits may be identified for invaders from the east, as the Aryans were to find out later.

If there were marauding Aryans, and probably there were, they came along the Khyber and Gomal routes but did not tarry in highlands which were not agricultural in the Mature Harappan Phase. Perhaps less adventurous or mountainous people among Aryans settled in Gandhara using Timargarha as their base. This developed into a civilization borrowing from the Harappans. A more militant group perhaps moved through various Harappan and pre-Harappan cultures to the Gangetic plains; skirmishes, if any, with non-militant Harappans were perhaps short and swift.

Communal and Local construct of the Enclave:

The Harappans had evolved into a two-season, multi-cropping strategy without material changes in irrigation systems. New

crops, when domesticated along with older varieties, increased yields, releasing land for orchards and perennial use of fields for crops like cotton. Experiential learning of agriculture, pastoralist practices and environmental or ecological communal wisdom remained a part of the social heritage even after urbanization and its technologies were lost to the Enclave.

It is likely that the communal integration that had been essential for urban enterprise was a casualty of decline of trade. Perhaps at the village level communal threshing or winnowing may have been abandoned for family level activities of processing cereals. Animal husbandry progressed through breeding of special cattle for dairy or ploughing and of draft animals for transportation; these needed specialized knowledge like domesticated plants. While the non-urban skills continued to prosper, urban skills and technologies declined as did the script, seals, weights, beads, urban sewerage and town planning that depended on them.

If the western mountains were not directly part of the Harappan urban formula, flood plains of the Indus and its tributaries were a core component of its hinterland. These regions did not have large towns and, consequently, became deurbanized; or perhaps they withdrew from the urban enterprise because they had lost the raison d'être for their west facing demography.

Food producing communities are essentially self-sufficient, as minimal skills for clothing and shelter can generally be managed from the communal resources. Their socioeconomic growth can take three directions: diversification [leading to urbanization as defined supra – this is a difficult transition from rural life]; more output; or trade. Hunters, agriculturalists and herding societies

would often prefer to trade in surplus food. Nomads were likely to trade in a variety of goods but a pastoral lifestyle is eminently suitable for a regulated exchange of goods. The capacity for diversification or trade among non-urban people is limited; thus they could become affluent only through increase in output. If forced by nature they can fall back on a subsistence level of production and consumption, if demand rises, they may increase surplus. They adjust automatically for disposal of surplus; as did riverine the agro-pastoralists of the Enclave in this stage.[4]

We mentioned earlier that the Early Harappan phase demarcated western boundaries of the Enclave and the Late Phase outlined the eastern ones. In the second stage of our chronology two bi-faced regions of the eastern periphery, toward the north and south, delineated the Harappan civilization. The dual orientation showed the mongrel nature of Harappanization of eastern ethnic groups, the backyard nature of Ravi-Hakra culture in the north and continuity of Amri culture in the south.

Since we are primarily concerned with the Indus Enclave its orientation determines our concern with neighbouring regions. Because Aryan states were mainly situated outside the Enclave, they concern us only in the Mahabharata battle. The Enclave had

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[4] The mountain nomads also formed a vital component of the infrastructure of Harappan urbanism but they were one source of some raw material with other competitors. Riverine traders emerging from the fishing agro-pastoralists of the Indus on the other hand controlled central regions of the Indus with hardly any urban centre; the binding force of the entire complex of sub-regional ecologies, ethnicities and urbanisms with their independent hinterlands.

an introverted nature during this stage, with a decreased external interface at the corners; ecology shrank its linkage on the eastern front till its current boundary emerged along the Bias, Cholistan and Tharparkar line. The de-urbanization of the Enclave created new nuclear regions[5] on both sides of the increased desert areas of Rajasthan, virtually coterminous with Gujrat and Haryana. One was a sea route to Bharat, the other its northern gateway, where battles for ingress/egress to Bharat were to be fought[6].

As in the regionalization era, the demarcation of boundaries for sub-units is difficult, but a consensus estimate of extent has been established. The southern units were essentially those localities of trade in which the eastern locality had been import intensive for raw-material and the western one was export oriented, and dealt in finished-goods. The decline of exports on the west side could have been both cause and consequence of internal decay of Harappan culture but Bharat does not seem similarly affected.

Perhaps a trade and industry diversification had taken place near the sources of raw-material. Possibly markets for skills if not for finished products had emerged along the Narbada and Vindiya which gave the Sorath/Rangpur Harappan offshoot a new lease of life. Spreading to the estuary of the Indus, Rangpur [it later encompassed almost all of Gujrat] was a region along the coast. Jhukar on the other side was a triangular patch from Rohri down both sides of Kirthar. In the north, Swat was merely a reminder of the Harappan outreach but the Cemetery H culture covered an

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[5] Allchin and Allchin, map p.230 marked as ‘A’ and ‘B’.

[6] The first of these perhaps was the Mahabharata.

impressive area encompassing the Sothi-Siswal, Ravi and Hakra localities. This is the main point of contact with the Aryans.

Starting in the southwest, where it had all started, Kachi plains, Mehrgarh, Naushahro and Pirak occupied pivotal positions east of Bolan Pass. Shahi-Tump, Dabar Kot, Rana Ghundai, Kili and Chanhu-Daro display Afghan and Central Asian linkages which may have reverted to a pastoral style due to ethnic or ecological factors. The "tradition of painted pottery … in monochrome, bichrome and polychrome, seems to have come abruptly to an end."[7] North of it Hisam Dheri near Rahman Dheri and Gumla show a more Harappan style which gave way to people who rode horses and buried the dead. These people introduced barley and rice into the cultivation pattern of the region. Perhaps some other communities found their way into the Zhob and Kurram valleys, Mughal Ghundai and Shalozan. Squatters took over the Jhukar region causing disarray without ethnic change.

In the northwest the valleys provided natural watersheds; among them the widest and perhaps most accessible is Swat. Together with Dir and Chitral, Swat shows a distinctive grave culture at Katelai, Leobnar, and Timargarha lasting for centuries. Possibly nomads from Iran or the Caspian regions settled in this pleasant valley when Harappan trade came to a halt.

Turning to the east from Swat is a huge deserted region which did not have any noteworthy town during the earlier period. It is, however, likely that trade related traffic had been heavy during

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[7] Allchin and Allchin, p.231.

the preceding millennium but had dried up when Harappa had ceased to look westward. The Painted Grey ware people, having come past the Gandhara region, through Mughal Ghundai and Shalozan, seem to have passed south of Harappa, through a now depopulated portion of the Hakra, on to the east.

These people, or fresh settling groups at Harappa, enriched its limited practice of burying the dead by introducing the cemetery H style[8]. This region, terminating in *Uttarapatha* of the Aryans, opens in the Gangetic plains just as the south eastern Harappan locality opens into *Dakshinapatha* across the Vindiya as well as Malwa north of it. The general tendency to seek broad, flat land at the earliest opportunity may indicate that the newcomers were cattle herders but because there is no proof to this effect, we can consider the possibility that the Aryans acquired their veneration for the cow at Harappa [which is still famous for its cattle], and used dung as building material. A Harappan influence spread across "the Doab of the now dry Sarasvati and Drishadvati rivers … the whole of … the ancient Aryavartta" has been referred to as the 'Northern Nuclear Region'[9] Whereas the northern nuclear region had a constant interface with the Enclave, at times friendly

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[8] We have noted the fact that for such a large, long lived settlement like Harappa, its graveyards are small and under-populated. The fact that grave cultures, like painted ware appear during the second millennium can suggest common ethnic bonds and a new element across the region. Allchin and Allchin, p.246 find similarities with Vedic deities in the motifs, it therefore would not be inappropriate to consider the possibility of Aryan burials and painted ware as an indicator of the ethnic and conceptual restructuring that was effective in some Harappan sites.

[9] Allchin and Allchin, p.250.

and occasionally aggressive, the *Dakshinapatha* soon became delinked from the Enclave at Sind.

Tharparkar allowed limited cultural exchange with its southeast. The rare occasions of conflict in historic times indicate a fall in contact. However, the heavy Harappan baggage remained part of the localized Rangpur culture linking Gujrat and Sind. Here we see two faces and patterns vividly emerging from the Sorath variation of Harappan culture. In the mature period also there was, as in Sothi-Siswal, a mixture of Harappan and local styles. The post-Harappan earliest settlement is Somnat, other sites are found at Lothal, Rojidi and Rangpur with reduced Harappan features. Like other localized cultures, material technology did not suffer as much as managerial aspects of Harappan civic life.

This may have been revived in an attempted renaissance which succumbed to a Deccan oriented polity[10]. Dholavira and Lothal depict sudden collapse, perhaps due to earthquakes that changed river courses and the consequent delinking of the eastern, Sorath or Gujrat region from Amri related cultures in the Indus estuary as opposed to a Sorath related ethnicity of the Ghaghara estuary. Dholavira and Lothal may have been the abandoned links which

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[10] S. R. Rao, "New Light on the Post-Urban (Late Harappan) Phase of the Indus Civilization in India", in G. Possehl, *Harappan Civilization*, 2nd ed., compares sites in different regions: those that represent continuous occupation from the Mature phase on and those that arose only in the Late phase. The number and variety of the localities belonging to the "southern nuclear zone" of the Allchins depicts the local duality that is most obvious in this region. See also Rita P. Wright, *The Ancient Indus, Urbanism, Economy and Society*, p. 318f.

delimited the southern part of the Enclave[11]. These were the end points of the emerging polity of the Aryavarta.

Like several other aspects of Harappan civilization, details of dead bodies discovered and burial practices have been provided. This data is too small for adequate generalization but is large enough to need classification and encourage speculation. The variety of burial types at Harappa and Kalibangan along with some comments regarding health and pathology studied by Ms. Wright is of particular interest. First it is noteworthy that the cemeteries are inadequate to represent the probable population over 7-800 years; second the genetic affinity is interpreted as an indicator that those buried belong to a closed community.

It has been noted earlier that Harappan towns may comprise of several communities. It seems reasonable to infer that burying need not have been the only form of disposing of dead bodies. If cremation and drowning of corpses were also practiced in this society, the dearth of graveyards is easily understandable. Three practices for burial were simultaneously in vogue at Kalibangan. This suggests that there should have been three ethno-religious cultures at the least. Thus the possibility of a multi-racial/plural community undergoing some level of ethno-genesis becomes a likelihood. To this we may add that a 'matrilocal'[12] practice still

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[11] Rojdi, like other Sorath sites may have been transformed by demographic changes in the Mature Harappan phase.

[12] Rita P. Wright, *The Ancient Indus, Urbanism, Economy and Society*, 263 ff, compared burial practices at Harappa and Kalibangan. The 'matrilocality; that she points out is additionally significant because it indicates the encouragement of male migration to the city from other areas; this creates a natural space for artisans from other communities. When these

exists in the region between Harappa and Multan. This in turn is suggestive of male in-migration to Harappa.

Assuming a partial ethno-genesis in the Enclave during the Harappan period, we still expect that a constant, though not large or regular, influx of population to Harappan towns was the norm. A closed community or racial purity is out of the question but a semi-homogenized ethnic variety would thus have formed the population of the Enclave when fresh movements at the start of the second millennium caused fresh restructuring.

It seems likely that the major impact of this was in Punjab where its western traders were dislodged while its eastern population underwent a change of social organization. The custodians of Harappan culture lost the leadership role and the earlier, eastern local traditions vied with newer, Aryan and western culture in replacing Harappan practices. Toward the south, three segments may be identified: westernmost, came to form Balochi cultures; the central one, mostly de-urbanized, provided the foundation of Sindhi identity; and the easternmost showed the decline of some Harappan elements and emergence of new ones in the Deccan-Malwa tradition but having no Aryan element at this stage.[13]

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immigrants would have been in small numbers they would have been absorbed, when the settlers came in large numbers they would have changed the socio-ethnic complexion of the city.

[13] For an estimation of the region which first came under Aryan influence and those that followed later see map 9.19 on p. 255, Allchin and Allchin. The peninsular group, the Doab Hoards and the Eastern group depicted here show a remarkable affinity to the distribution of Palaeolithic tools as depicted by Jaswal, see Introduction of this monograph.

The Vedic period: Iron, Aryans and the Enclave.

So far in this chapter we have studied less urbanized extremities of the Enclave, excluding its deurbanized central region which reverted to a subsistence lifestyle; partly rural, partly pastoral. In the context of their relationship facing away from the Enclave we have seen a four cornered picture in the northwest, northeast-east, southeast-east and southwest corners of the Enclave. On its east face, orientation is Bharat-centric in the north and Deccan-centric in the south, these being regions from which populations had been Harappanized in the first instance. While placing them in context we can see their relationship with classical Bharat as it emerged during Vedic times. To the west face, the northern unit displays a western link across the Khyber but no alignment.

It is commonly believed that the Rig Veda was compiled in the Harappan region as it depicts the geography of the region; we question this view as its events are not verified by archaeology. After the early Vedic period even towns at the extremities of the Enclave vanished, leaving complete de-urbanization.

In the present study, especially the current chapter, we challenge a Bharat centric historiographic fixation in studying South Asia. Indeed right of passage to Bharat from its west passed through the Indus Enclave as did an eastern one through Assam but both had one face away from Bharat as well. Since the western cusp is much better documented in historic times, it is more obvious; as it was home to a great prehistoric civilization, its archaeology well known. The Bharat centric perception of history is nowhere more misleading than in the case of the ‘Aryan Interlude’. This was an administrative change induced by new elements in the

population who, though not numerous were influential. Tracing the path of the Painted Grey Ware [PGW], which leads us across the Hakra near Bhatinda, it seems possible that these emigrants from the west and crossed the Gomal or Tochi, went through the Enclave near Harappa and reached Bharat perhaps via Ajodhan.

They too, like the Early Harappans seem to preferred rivers with low discharge and, consequently, settled in large numbers along the drying channels of the Ghaghara, *a natural ethnic boundary thus emerged in the north east of the Enclave, perhaps based as much on race as culture.* Likewise in the south the Jhukar region displays changes in artefacts. Sudden administrative decline and a lack of signs of racial change suggests that its 'administrators' abandoned this region or did not educate their successors, this led to executive collapse. It was no longer gainful to administer the region and the brain-drain left space for local innovators.

Allchin and Allchin have analysed the ethnic and cultural fabric of South Asia in the context of Indo-Aryan speaking people, not of an Aryan race. They look for relations between agricultural, pastoral and urban communities. They do, however, base their analysis on Sanskrit literary texts that are known to have been put on record much later. These texts bear affinity to languages found west of the Enclave. This, however, does not suffice for us to accept a linguistic classifications which forms the premise of their interpretation and reconstruction. Western scholars have turned a blind eye to history, forgetting that the lingua-geneses of the Achaemenid, Greek, Sassanid and Hun-do-Kushan groups in South Asia which were superimposed on Harappan and Indo-Aryan languages long before the Vedic literature is known to

have been transcribed from its verbal form.[14] Even if the corpus of data is unaffected, its linguistic form and structures may have changed during two millennia of verbal transmission through several ethnicities and changing textual traditions.

Kassite rulers of Babylon are believed to be Aryans because of their names and a Hittite treaty is 'proof' that gods of Rig Veda were known in that region. It is estimated that the Aryans moved through the Enclave in two major waves c2000 & c. 1400 BC. If not a general consensus, there is a school of scholars who accept the problematic nature of linguistic classification; however there are indications that in some respects the text is reliable.

The geography of the Rig Veda for example is bounded by the Ganga in the east, the Kabul and Gomal in the west. Its society was a tribal horse raising, stock breeding barley eating, chariot riding community that had not learnt uses of iron yet. Its major tribe was the Bharata which led a collation against five tribes, an encounter that acquired an epic expression as the Mahabharata. They worshipped Indra Agni, Varuna and Mitra and destroyed by fire and conflict 'cattle breeding, phallus worshipping, snub-nosed, dark skinned people living in fortified cities'.

While the vivid images are not supported by material remains of the Harappans, its geography is virtually irrefutably the Khyber-Gomal to Sothi-Siswal belt. The fact that the culture depicted in the mature and later Vedic period is quite different from that of

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[14] Sir William Jones discovered the affinity with Latin and Greek etc in 1786, Allchin and Allchin, p.299f. However, we believe lingua-genesis, like ethno-genesis is a recurring process and may occur at a micro level in any direction.

the Rig Veda also suggests that the texts reflect a community in transition geographically and socially. Two scenarios should be considered as extremes of the range of possibilities: that no Harappan site has been discovered along the Aryan route; or that Vedic literature is a romantic fantasy of a tribal group, Both of them seem to be impossible, however, the annals of Rajasthan as reconstructed by Todd provide an example of misplaced history mixed with legendary epics. When verbal folklore is poetically constructed and transmitted, it cannot adhere to chronology and geography as fixed parameters. When an epic is reconstructed in a different geographical context, it is often adapted to suit local culture. If the Rig Veda was composed c1500 BC, it may be a product of the declining 'Cemetery H' polity, using abandoned Harappan sites as a propaganda weapon to induce submission[15].

If Vedic texts are not entirely later-day Brahmanical fabrications the Later Harappan phase must have been coeval with original drafting of the Rig Veda. The ethnic distinction inherent in its formulation and the implicit conflict and subjugation of locals[16]

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[15] Such a rendering could turn a small corpus of fact into a large and vibrant narrative. For a succinct description of Aryan history see Allchin and Allchin, p. 306ff. The Early Vedic period is considered to begin around 2000 and lasted till 1500 BC, the Mature Vedic is said to have lasted from 1500 to 1300 and the later period from then to 600BC. The Vedas, seen in this light emerge as a master narrative constructed to facilitate subjugation and control.

[16] Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*, p. 174 is quite categorical in stating that "there is no archaeological or biological evidence for invasion or mass migration into the Indus". We may add that

aside, there is no doubt that it was a superimposition of religious ideology upon existing belief. That the new faith had some local following is as certain as that its hold was not as comprehensive in the Enclave as it was beyond it, to the east.

Because the Harappans do not seem to have had a common faith they did not jointly subscribe to the new beliefs formulated by the Brahmin. Perhaps the formal statement of the new faith only emerged under the state system that was created by regrouping Aryan tribes in Bharat. In any event the deurbanized inhabitants of the Enclave had neither a monotheistic nor a pantheistic faith; being content with 'best practices' and 'pragmatic traditions'.

Two serious problems with archaeological material come from its major tools of dating by levels at which evidence is found and comparison with other sites. Together these tools make it difficult to visualize coexistent cultural traditions within a single time-space continuum. This is a serious weakness in studying the Aryan phenomenon because it occurred on a large scale, both in terms of time and space. We encounter a similar problem in the Turko-Mongol period. We have visualized the Aryans as a group having certain common characteristics; they moved as a diffused ethnicity before settling in the Bharat region; here they regrouped and gradually developed a unified ethnic identity.

Politics - identity: Dravidian-Aryan ethno-genesis

Identity for a person is personality; an individual carries several identities within a community and society. Thus, starting as a

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there is also no evidence of flat nosed dark people inhabiting the Harappan towns or any part of the Indus Enclave.

child, the person is a son or daughter, grandchild, nephew, niece or any other relationship that applies vis-à-vis family members. Outside the family we have our identities based on occupation community or biradri/zat; beyond that are identities of domicile and ethnicity. Concepts such as ethnocentric and xenocentric are based on the idea that society and community have personalities like persons; thus developing an insider-outsider relationship for inclusion or exclusion of people in association and organization. At a mass level this process can be the cause of administrative structuring of states and even the delimitation of statehood. Conflict of interest between identities exists at the individual level; at a social level or in a community, such conflicts result in the choices that form the basis of ethnic identity.

Ethnicity is a loose, diverse and diffused genetic pool which is often seen as a function of language but other cultural, social and racial markers may be equally valid from time to time.

These are based on the primary distinction of insider-outsider classifications that are derived from cultures or culturemes. Thus people who are generally classified under the same racial group may find themselves in different ethnic brackets as easily as those speaking the same language. Communal consensus is the only, though variable, criterion of ethnic delimitation on a scale of time or space. Pakistan's varied and diverse topography, has a plethora of spatial organizations unified as well as divided by the elements of water, sand, stone and soil, and wood [rivers, deserts, mountains and forests] to suit different races and people who came here through the ages. The ethnic chronology of the Indus Civilization refutes the idea of aborigines in the Enclave.

The original inhabitants, that is to say the earliest known settlers in Pakistan, were the residents of the cross roads commanded by Quetta. Here, where the Pub and Kirthar highroads arrive at the mouth of the Bolan Pass and the Khojak pass leads to Qandahar and the Helmand, double roads lead to Zhob and Loralai. Along a parallel river axis, settlers from an unidentified direction, used the water as a highway. This seed blossomed into a structure based on communes of skills and collectives of industry which linked and integrated units of hinterland with various urbanisms.

Two ethnic layers had formed with racial and cultural donations from east and west before large assortments of new ones came in between 500 BC and 500 AD. During this millennium came the Iranians led by Achaemenid and Sassanid conquerors; the Turkic peoples like the Huns and Kushans; and possible Aryan variants like Scythians and Parthians, and Greeks. An enormous variety of tribal traditions; pastoral and nomadic communities or cultures, had also come from the east either on the rebound from Aryan migrants to Bharat or directly from earlier settlers in that area; frequently lumped together as Dravidian tribes.

We are often drawn by the romance of Buddhism and Gandhara while reconstructing the history of that stage but it was equally significant for Multan and the regions south of it, all the way to the sea. There was formed the structure of ethno-cultural mosaic where language, occupation, specialization in animal-husbandry, agriculture, mobility, transport protocols and our socio-political patterns were interwoven. The relationship of hinterlands with towns, absent at this stage, became relevant in the next one.

The concept that the Aryans moved out as a set of 'common language communities' from Sapta Sindhava relies on the lack of geographic detail regarding an earlier home in the Rig Veda. On the other side the lack of references to ecological [botanic and zoological] features of the enclave militates in favour of a highland home where pine and birch trees would be found.

The fact that a consensus version of the Vedas may have been formulated at a later date also does not inspire[17] the confidence necessary for historical deduction. Despite their weakness texts of the Vedas depict the mentality and culture of the so called Vedic Aryans. Differences between a down-to-earth, a-political, a-religious Harappan polity and the fanciful Vedic mythology of the Aryans alone would be enough to establish the Aryans as new entrants to the region. The familiarity with the Enclave too is actually limited to the western and eastern exits in the north.

The river Parushni/Iravati [being the scene of the Bharata war] delineates the last stop [Harappa/Sothi-Siswal watershed]. The snake-worshippers of Taxila/Margala mark the first stage for an entrant from the west; entrants from the east would approach these locations in the reverse order. If time, space and ethnicity of the participants of the Mahabharata are historically accurate, this may be the first recorded invasion of the Enclave.

Speculations regarding the earlier invasion of the Enclave by the Aryans are even less definite in time and space. Similarly it is not

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[17] R. C. Majumdar, ed. , *The Vedic Age* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1951), p.226.

possible to identify earlier sub-tribes of the Aryans but the Anu and Druhyu tribes of the Mahabharata can have been among Alexander's opponents later. Considering the possibility that the Aryans came in several waves, like Turko-Mongol tribes, the battle may signify a contest between earlier and later emigrants and hegemonic issues between Brahmans and the Kashatri casts. Among the newer tribes may have been the Alinas, Pakthas, Balanas, Sivas and Vishanins situated near the Indus; perhaps included in the maha-jana-padha of Gandhara or Kamboja later. The physical description of the Dasas or assumed Dravidians of the Indus does not match with the remains and artefacts of the Harappans. Their religion also does not seem to conform to the Vedic description. Neither the phallus nor the snake appear to be deified in Harappan ritual worship or religious symbols.

Three features of this second Aryan movement [probably their first real militant expansion, from east to west] are noteworthy. First, new immigrants from the west were not militant; second, the interaction between the new comers and the earlier settlers took place in the northern part of the enclave; and thirdly that a restructuring of tribe and clan occurred, creating an intra-Aryan ethno-genesis in which some earlier tribal forms were lost.

The second and third features mentioned above are extremely significant; Bharati influence in the enclave percolated through the northern triangle currently known as east Punjab. Southern parts of the enclave generally received their overflow from the north or a filtered influence from the deserts that emerged from the drying up of the Hakra and the Sarswati near Cholistan and Rajasthan. In the south of the Enclave, more specifically in Sind, there was an independent interaction with Gujrat. Baluchistan and

the Daman region west of the Indus were more prone to influences from Iran and Helmand. Most significant of all, pre-Aryan tribes of the enclave may have retained their identities as they were not as susceptible to integration with Aryan settlers as readily as new Aryan emigrants. During the time that the Aryan polity became entrenched in the Gangetic plains they probably discovered the capacity to dominate the earlier inhabitants.

Legends, glorifying exploits of their ancestors, were constituted in a neighbouring geography, the history of which was relatively unknown to the older tribes. The glory of the Kashatri generated a rival trend in the Brahmans who glorified their religion beyond the recognition of incoming Aryans. In order to integrate tribes and castes, the glorification of language and culture provided the cement. This is the tone of the later Vedas. Invasions from the east may have included king Parikshit and Janamejaya's efforts to subdue the northern Enclave and a possible counter-invasion by the ruler of Takshshila [Taxila]. The mixed Aryan polity in Bharat may have adopted some local beliefs and norms, just as Akbar was to do later, so as to assimilate assorted tribes in their states, thereby generating a locally rooted amalgamated culture.

In the northern part of the enclave, the Gandhara and Kamboja region was becoming alien to the Bharati clans. Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalanas' are not found in Vedic literature now but the Bahlikas and other tribes emerged east of the Indus. Language and other cultural traits of these people were distinct from the Bharat region but new interaction began during the last half of the first millennium BC in which common features between Gandhara and Madhiyadesh excluding the intervening Punjab indicate a

lack of integration of the Aryans with the older Harappan polity east of the river Jhelum. The Ambashtha/Abastaoni who settled in the lower Asikini/Chenab may be non-Aryan but Mujavants, Kesins, Kaikeyas and Mahavrishas could be Aryan settlers in between the Kamboja and the Koru-Panchala on either side of the enclave. In the vicinity of modern Sialkot were to be found the Uttar Madras who enjoyed a reputation for Vedic learning and for speaking pristine language of Aryan clans.

A possible inference may be that areas which had been sparsely populated by Harappans and remote hinterlands became Aryan majority regions and therefore retained their purer culture. This is a common experience for tribal peoples; when they become urbanized they revert to rural roots to find their cultural purity.

The Gandhara region [Taxila, Swat and the Peshawar valley] probably acquired a status of home of Vedic learning some time prior to the Achaemenid invasion. We have generally[18] followed the classification of states and tribes given in Buddhist sources. The Gandhara king Nagnajit is believed to have propagated the Soma cult and an Upanishad scholar came to him at Taxila for guidance. Gandhara[19] princes were descendants of the Druhyu

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[18] The Puranic sources present difficulties of both,: complexity and reliability.

[19] Closely associated or somewhat similar to the Gandhara and Kamboja, perhaps were the Sivi and Dasarna tribes; as in a list of mahajanapadas we find these names; the more well-known are Gandhara and Kamboja. It is possible that at an earlier time these four tribes had settled on either side of the Hindukush but when identified as mahajanapadas, those east of the passes [Gandhara and Sivi] were considered as one and those west of them [Dasarna and Kamboja] were taken as another. Thus the sources identified them by the name more familiar to their readers.

tribe, one of them called Pakkusati or Pushkara-Sakti attempted to extend his empire towards the east, beyond the Enclave. The Kaikiya tribe may have occupied the Bannu region or Pothohar, one of their rulers Asvapati also was a man of learning who instructed Brahmans[20]. Another tribe, the Sibis, who may not be Aryans, lived in the Rachna Doab near Shorkot and perhaps also the Daman region west of the Indus at about the same latitude.

Tribes that are not certainly identified as Aryan include Andhra, Pundra, Sabara, Pulinda and the Mutiba clans; their location and politics are vague but socially they seem to have inhabited the periphery of Aryan settlements. Working on the hypothesis that most Aryan tribes and settlements were confined to the range of the Khyber-Gomal passages, with the former being the higher concentration, they would have lived in the vicinity of a modern road between Khyber and Wagah; north of motorway but south of the foothills from which the rivers emerge. An ethno-genesis between Aryans and 'Dravidians' took place within the Enclave creating tribal formations that are noted by the Achaemenid and Greek people who came in contact with them.

Between the Early and Later Vedic periods the Aryans acquired tin, lead, silver and iron in addition to gold, copper and bronze that had been used by the Harappans. Elephants were tamed and may have been used in war in addition to horses that the Aryans

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[20] This suggests three deductions: first that Brahmanical complaint against people of Sapta Sindhava may have had more to do with the lack of reverence for the Brahman than for his teachings, the Vedas; second that the caste system was not strong in the enclave; and third, tradition of religious learning was strong among its rulers.

brought with them. The innovation in agriculture may have been use of manure, increase in the use of the plough and irrigation, especially in the cultivation of rice. Improvements in jewellery or metal manufacture, art of weaving, spinning, dying and tanning probably took place, at least in efficiency if not in innovation of technology, to support the state as an enterprise. Chariot making was perhaps the most important new item in list of occupations; probably followed by the variety of agricultural implements.

In Dir were Asvakayana/Assakin also called Asvaka or Asmaka with their capital at Ziarat, known as Massaga to the Greeks. In Swat, Charsadda/Pushkalavati, Peshawar valley and Taxila were designated Gandhara; next to them were Kamboja, perhaps in the Hazara region, south of Poonch, or west, across the Khyber pass. The Gandhara and the Madras to their east, in the Punjab, had relations with the rulers of Magadha c.500 BC and, perhaps, benefitted directly from or contributed to the rising Buddhist and Jain religious ideas. The 6th century BC was one of the most productive periods of spiritual activity among the non-Semitic peoples of Asia. Tao and Confucius in China; Siddhartha and Mahavira in South Asia; and Zoroaster in West Asia contributed to flowering of spiritual culture in non-monotheistic societies.

Pastoral movements in peace and war contributed to the cross-fertilization of ideas between these people for a millennium or more. It is not germane to discuss whose ideas influenced whom as it was a mutual process in which ideas were adopted and adapted to suit the localized cultural and normative base. We may say that more settlers migrated from west to east but in ascribing quantitative or qualitative value to movement of ideas and trading communities on this basis will be highly misleading.

The Sarvastivada sect of Buddhism spread from Mathura to Gandhara and Kashmir; later it was taken to Central Asia under the Kushans and from there to China. While the Sarvastivada used to discourse in Sanskrit, the Vaisali based Mahisasaka sect preferred to use Prakrit as its Tripitaka language. Doctrinal and ritual differences between Buddhist sects may indicate political, ethnic, cultural and social differences between communities and the locations where they were dominant. Gandhara and Kashmir provided the Sino-Kushan nexus which was more important for cultural influences than for military exploits. Whereas Gandhara and Kamboja regions may have provided a military conduit for Kushan and Hun aggression, Kashmir and Gandhara probably facilitated the quantitatively limited, qualitatively intense traffic of religious pilgrims involved in siphoning Buddhism to China where they cross fertilized with Confucian and Taoist thought.

Cyrus, and before him an Assyrian queen, invaded Gedrosia or Baluchistan without much success it seems. Cyrus perhaps fared better in Gandhara. Darius [522-486 BC] conquered most of the lands west of the Indus along Parapamisus [part of Pamisus] as the Hindu Kush was known to the Greeks and made Gandhara a province of his empire before 518. Some years later he extended his control to Hidu, possibly the Punjab region[21]. Tribes residing in the area conquered by Darius included the Gandari, Kaspio, Sattagydia, Dadikai, Thamanai, Paktye, Saranga, the Ashtaka,

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[21] Gadara [Gandhara?] is mentioned in the Behistun dated 520-518 and Hidu [Hindu?] or Sindhu: Persipolis and Naqsh-i-Rustam inscriptions between 518 and 515 BC. Sindhu may mean any part of the Enclave; however an eastern extension from Gandhara seems more likely than southern one.

Mykoi, Assakin and Aparytae. They are variously identified as belonging from Dardistan to Mekran but their exact locations within the Enclave are difficult to identify.

De-urbanization and partial de-Aryanisation

A number of hypotheses have been postulated for Aryan-Vedic-Iron age developments of the first millennium BC by Indian scholars. We have already noted the lack of archaeology for the reported militancy within the Enclave as well as the variety of 'ethnic markers'[22] indicating the presence of new communities in the Later Harappan/Early Vedic times. Also we have noted that there is no evidence of snub-nosed dark people[23] defending forts that were burnt down or Aryans displaying a unified culture. The claim of the Rig Veda stands in sharp contrast; we interpret it as

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[22] K.C. Jain, *Prehistory and Protohistory of India* (New Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1979), has taken into account a number of possibilities, others in the field whose work has also been consulted here include: R. K. Pruthi, *Prehistory and Harappan Civilization* (New Delhi: APH publishing, 2004); and D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture & Civilization of Ancient India in Historic Outline* (New Delhi: Vikas, 1977). Two interpretations that are quite similar and attempt to depict the Aryans as coeval with the Harappan civilization [which seems fanciful] are Malati, J. Shendge, *The Civilized Demons: The Harappans in the Rigveda* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1977) and Purushushottam Lal Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age* (Lucknow: Upper India Publishing House, 1956).

[23] R. K. Pruthi, *Prehistory and Harappan Civilization*, p.142 has identified four types of Harappan craniums: the Proto-Australoid; the Mediterranean; Mongoloid and Alpinoid; none of these can be defined as the defending 'dark snub nosed people' of the Vedic construction of events.

a legendary, semi-mythical[24] construction of folk memories with some confusion of time and space. Events taking place in or east of the Cemetery H region from 1500 to 1000 BC may have been associated with the Kabul to Sarswati trek; when viewed romantically as Aryan unity during a period when many of them had not become conscious of their emergent ethnicity.

Perhaps the first stage of integration is depicted in a confederacy of ten kings against Sudas, the Bharata. He emerged victorious and also subdued the non-Aryan tribes near Jumna. Glorifying Aryanisation of the Bharata territory, the Rig Veda may represent an embellished memory of the Bharata as collective achievement of the Aryan clans. This served the triple purpose of bonding the Aryans within one region; inspiring awe in subjugated peoples; and creating the common heritage for an integrated society in conformity with Bharata religion and culture.

This was the last de-urbanization at the north-eastern terminus of the Enclave, east of the Ravi, called Parushni in the Vedas. The cemetery H region was being fractured along the Sothi-Siswal cultural watershed line which marks the Bhatinda-Sirhind-Hansi triangle also. The emergence of the Kurus, an amalgam of Purus and Bharata tribes may have been the second stage of the Aryan integration and creation of the Bharat land. However, we are not concerned with regions that lie beyond the Enclave; which was

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[24] R. K. Pruthi, *Prehistory and Harappan Civilization*, p.22 notes that the Purana lists are mythical at the start but historic at the end; it seems plausible to expect a similar pattern in Vedic literature.

de-Aryanised by the battle of the kings. Any residue of Aryans in the Enclave became marginal to the Bharata mainstream[25].

The Indus people had been able to adjust to the agro-pastoral and riverine economies originating at Mehrgarh and developed by the Kot-Diji people. They had learnt to exploit ceramic and stone, especially semi-precious bead making and integrated themselves into the network of trade in the west. They even extended their hinterland for raw material to the east and west to get the highest quality, refining their technology till they could compete and capture the Mesopotamian markets. In metallurgy they learnt the fine arts of crafting copper, bronze, silver and gold but they seem to have failed in adapting to iron technology; here the Aryans of Bharat took the lead.

The use of Iron for making tools drove out copper/bronze and perhaps resulted in subjugation of societies using those metals. An ethnic restructuring may not have been inevitable but socio-economic change was. Technicians working in iron acquired the primary status in practical products while artefacts of the softer metals would have become more decorative and refined.

Though too mild to be classified as revolutions, the twin change in the use of material [iron] and power source [horse] during the second millennium BC brought urbanization, social organization

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[25] K.C. Jain, *Prehistory and Protohistory of India*, p. 221, mentions names of tribes possibly residing in Rachna Doab [between Asikni and Parushni] and further south. Incidentally, these Vedic names should probably be taken as Harappan names for their rivers. The newcomers perhaps mispronounced words. They are unlikely to have ascribed new names to a topography historically occupied by a literate people.

and statehood to a new level. Societies that failed to adapt faded in history; their urban hinterland were challenged, reduced and, occasionally eliminated. Irrespective of its ethnic origins, a look at the stages which brought iron technology to the Enclave is germane here. At Pirak iron objects begin to appear c.1000 BC and painted pottery of earlier periods was gradually replaced by a plain grey-black one. In the Gandhara graves few iron objects are found along with the majority of bronze objects with red burnished pottery in Charsadda. From 500 BC 'a fine grey or black burnished pottery' appears in the vicinity of Taxila. We can assess that painted ware technology may have arrived from the west, but what skills and materials did the artisan need?

Perhaps if addressed in the context of iron production and the charred remains in soil, the burnished and grey/black potteries may be seen as imported elements that absorbed local painting techniques. Again we are constrained to look at de-urbanization of the Enclave in distinction to its neo-urban north corner which had hardly any urban centres during Harappan times. By this time the southeast had been delinked from Gujrat and southwest had lost contact with the Gulf region. Vedic literature is now completely grounded in the Bharat region[26].

We have cautiously advocated the multiple cause theory for the recession of Harappan culture to its four corners, somewhat at

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[26] To the exclusion of Ravi and Hakra, see Allchin and Allchin, p. 315 notes that "the focus of attention of the Rigveda was the Punjab; now it shifts to the Doab of the Ganges" and beyond in the east to what came to be known as Awadh and Bihar, see there: map, p.312.

variance with the six-point origin of its regional cultures. New people, the decline of western trade, shifting river channels and technological reorientation put together a formidable formula for localization and gradual eclipse from all but its northern corners.

The passage and sojourn of so called Aryans through this region reiterates both, the cusp and foyer nature of the Enclave. If the Aryans did not bring iron technology with them, they certainly adopted it quickly; this was in contrast to the lack of adaptation on the part of the earlier inhabitants. One reason may be that the closer sources of iron were now under control of the newcomers in the north. Another may be that iron rich areas mostly lay in the east to which most skilled labour would have gravitated. Thus leaving a technological vacuum like the managerial one that characterized regionalization. As a result urban centres of the Enclave, like prominent tribes of the Vedic Aryans vanished.

Probably the concept of statehood was in the making in many parts of the globe while Harappans were receding. The Fertile Crescent model had not taken root till the end of the second millennium BC. The Babylonians, preceded by Sumer and Accad, did not extend their domain in the east across mountains. When Achaemenid expansionism finally crossed the Hindukush, states had become a norm in West Asia. Earlier, Aryan militants may have ravaged northern parts of the Enclave but even they may not have formed a state before the first millennium BC.

Within the Enclave if there were states, their structure was weak and localized. The Bactrian Margiana Archaeological Complex [BMAC] which may have contributed militants to the enclaves but not state aggression, lay in the northwest. Clear indications

are, however, available that BMAC influence was predominant in the western mountains of the Enclave and even penetrated all the way to its eastern limit in Rajasthan[27].

Local **organization** along the lines of the self-sufficient village communities of South Asia were born during the late Harappan era The a-urban entities had limited trade **relations with other communities** which probably portrayed a haphazard **settlement pattern**, an ad-hoc use of building **material** with no meaningful urbanization except as 'artisan villages' or factory towns.

Politics and statehood outside the Enclave

Before concluding the present chapter it will be worthwhile to note that, during this period that was a fallow one for the cusp, momentous developments were taking place around it. Socio-politically and culturally the Aryans had left all but the northern routes untouched. Even in the northern regions their influence was peripheral, and apparently confined to the initial part of this stage. However, once they settled in Bharat, Aryans developed a robust state system and militancy, so creating a competitive and imperial environment which was to play a vital role in the next stage. To the west, the imperial form had been conceived in the Fertile Crescent before this stage, leading to Babylonian, Hittite and Assyrian conquests. Greeks, Trojans, Phoenicians, Romans, Iranians and Scythians emerged in west and central Asia in the

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27 Rita P. Wright, *The Ancient Indus, Urbanism, Economy and Society*, p. 323, influences of a different kind probably emerged locally as at Kulli in the south of Baluchistan, perhaps from southwestern trade.

wake of a renewed demographic reshuffle that included, but was not exclusively dominated by the Aryans.

States began to follow expansionist policies that led to bridging of intervening gaps. The primary function of the state, as noted earlier, was security of food, trade and property. Development was either enhancement of this security by increasing the empire or by raising the level of trade and property beyond necessities and needs. Thus a higher state would be larger, more urbanized, with greater industry and a greater outreach.

Since the apparatus of state was led by elites, often headed by a monarch, they arrogated to themselves extraordinary rights. As a corollary, a state that subordinated other states was superior and its commoners would be superior to commoners of subordinated states. The sense of pride was vital for promotion of the imperial enterprise and naturally led to ethnic glory in repelling such attempted dominance. This theoretical template of statehood led to a continuous contest for dominance till the present, making peace possible only among equally matched contestants.

Starting with a Babylonian-Egyptian contest in Fertile Crescent, the imperial enterprise spread all along the eastern rim of the Mediterranean seaboard. Modern historiography has read much into Greco-Trojan rivalry as a contest between Europe and Asia, just as it overemphasized Aryan linkages, ironically the obverse of the same coin. Essentially it was a Mediterranean link that had started binding states along its extensive seaboard. Just as the false concept of European distinction has been challenged to yield the term Eurasia, the African distinctness too is dubious. We have hinted at this debate in identifying geographic cusps.

Understanding the Mediterranean world is vital for the study of state systems that emerged during the first millennium BC. The then 'civilized' world of viable hinterlands, producing surplus food and raw material, lay east and south of Greece, its priority was extension in that direction. Similarly, for Iran, the known 'civilized' territories lay to the west; the counter-face of state also lay in that direction, a mutual contest was inevitable. On the other side, perhaps a fallout of the Trojan War or of an emergent Carthage, a state with expansionist designs across the sea and to its north, appeared in the Italian peninsula. Unlike the Greeks it was not interested only in civilized territories, A similar attitude marks Aryans who had crossed the Enclave. By the end of this stage, both Roman and Bharati states were ready for expansion into unchartered regions, ignoring the Greek-Iranian contest.

Conclusion:

The stage between 2000 and 500 BC is the key to understanding the linkages of the Enclave and its entity as a cusp. Not only did Indus Valley civilization disband outward [instead of collapsing inward or subsiding to a core at its point of origin] but it also gave way to an economic structure where foyers of the Enclave could foster communities yielding 'ethnemes'/culturemes. Many succeeding states and state systems were unable to integrate the smaller ethnic and cultural entities for any length of time during the next stage of 1500 years. A partial ethno-genesis, its quasi-formed lingua-genesis that must have occurred during Harappan times was disbanded along with all its urban paraphernalia.

Patterns of localization, regionalization and integration are knit into the social fabric of the Enclave to serve as ethnic templates for its topographic DNA. Ecological changes and ethnological personality profiles would group and regroup these topographic units in various sequences through history but basic structures remained constant. Riverine and pastoral herding communities provided the Enclave with demographic integration, maintained cultural unity even in the absence of a state. A unidimensional, multi-community, diverse lifestyle bonded rural communities of the flood plain with the piedmont and deserts; and with linkages that reached across mountains and seas for minimal trade. The post-Harappan society of the Enclave till 500 BC retained the cultural variant of civilization within its variety of pastoral/agro-pastoral life in myriad communities, ethnicities and lifestyles.[28]

We had postulated that state, urbanization and civilization are three dimensions of the same cube, the Harappan civilization had been two dimensional, with no state worth the name. The Aryan interlude, however, was a unidimensional historical event with neither state nor urbanization in the Enclave. This does not mean that its contribution to evolution of life and culture in the Enclave can be ignored. Its most significant contribution to the economy was the formalization of the self-sufficient village that had been an incipient institution during Harappan times. Its vital contribution to society, faith and culture was the Aryan form of occupational-communal classification that evolved into biradri in

[28] See map: A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, (Shimla: IIAS, 1990), for area of Aryan polity, and p. 35ff for settlements during ethno-genesis.

the Enclave and zat in Bharat, and its spiritual concomitant of occupational work ethic [dharam] as the epitome of worship.

It is impossible to reconstruct the *society, culture* and *economy* of residents of the Enclave during this non-urban period. Non-tangible non-urban norms of the Harappans were probably retained by the communities of the Enclave. Most rural and pastoral technologies survived but urban ones were lost to the urbanisms emerging later. An ingrained Harappanism, which resurfaced in subsequent urbanisms, survived in non-urban life. The Enclave thus reverted to a subsistence agro-pastoral life as a variety of communities lost both *political will and structure*.

STAGE – III: 500 BC – 700 AD

Gandhara – The Indus Inverse

From this stage we enter the historic period of the Enclave; the first verifiable aggressive incursion and state control came from the west. An alleged earlier state aggression [battle of ten kings in Vedic times] is verifiable neither by history nor archaeology. State formation has, however, been verified on both sides of the Enclave before its Achaemenid conquest. This led to imperialist designs from east and west as states tended to fill political and administrative vacuum. The voluntary nature of Harappan urban effort had receded with the economic and social dispersal of the communities unifying it. In one sense this was a tabula-rasa for a fresh urban enterprise, however it carried much topographic, ecological, ethnic and social experience in formation of its units of hinterland capable of supporting an urban entity. The pattern of hinterlands that emerged from two stages of evolution were: units were horizontal, thick, a-centric and extended; vertically they followed topographic contours. The mountains to the west, where the Harappan urbanism emerged from, appear to have lost much of their relevance to the urban enterprise of the Enclave.

The previous stages had not seen much militant activity in any segment of the Enclave. States and marauding nomads had been unable to assert control, primarily because they lacked capacity to cross its natural barriers. The 'Aryans' who crossed into the benign plains of Bharat preferred to set up their states in that region as did the Turk who were to follow them later. However, at this stage we find Achaemenid and Greek states willing to subsume the Enclave and exclude Bharat from their imperial sway. The Huns and Kushans followed from the west. Unlike the Aryans before them, they stayed on in the Enclave and formed states, perhaps emulating the Achaemenid or Greek conquerors; this pattern is also visible in early Muslim states. A counter pressure is visible from the east where the state was able, for a short period, to penetrate to the mid-Afghan regions.

The Enclave was more often west-centric during this stage with eastern interludes in adjacent areas, a pattern that was reversed in the next stage; political east-centricity being maintained up to the end of colonial rule. From this time on, the Enclave as cusp finally came into its own: the link between Asia and South Asia.

The sixteen states *mahajanapadas* of Buddhist texts[1] speak eloquently of both, Aryan linkages and the span of the Enclave. *Mahajanapada*, literally great collections of people, represented the larger tribal formations which established themselves in the territory. They are found mainly in Bharat along the Ganges. The

[1] We must bear in mind that while the social memory reflected in the Buddhist texts may belong to the Vedic period; since they are Buddhist, they were certainly compiled during the third stage of urbanization in the Enclave.

westernmost of the Gangetic sequence of fourteen are Kuru, Shurasena, Matsya and Panchala; being the Sothi-Siswal region. No such state is mentioned in the Ravi-Hakra or the Kot-Diji to Harappa regions. Even the late Kot-Diji area is virtually empty except its corner, the eastern side of the Khyber Pass. Here the Gandhara and Kamboja straddled the pass, the Aryan gateway, the lifeline of the plainsmen, manned by two of the mountainous tribal groups. It is fairly obvious that the new ethnic-linguistic group which entered the Enclave in the second millennium BC did not regroup here, consequently the *mahajanapadas* emerged outside it. One view suggests that the western Aryans of Iran and the eastern Aryans of Bharat parted ways due to a sectarian clash. If this is true their contest for dominance may have been motivated by religious causes as well. The western outposts of the Enclave fell to the Achaemenid conquerors in 530 BC, thus revitalizing the urban enterprise in that area.

History and Geography – a survey

Regardless of an Aryan connection, the Achaemenid state would in any event have pursued its expansionist course to Gedrosia [Baluchistan] and the Hindukush. Having gained the east side of the Khyber Pass, it naturally continued to the limits of Gandhara in the Pothohar. The western barriers of the Enclave, mountain and piedmonts yielded to the Iranians but rivers did not inspire them with the confidence to follow the advantage. The recurrent barriers in the Enclave discourage all advancing conquerors. This had served the Harappans well and it remained a defence mechanism of immense potential which turned back prospective aggressors. Alexander followed the Achaemenid lead but the battery of Punjab Rivers and states broke the spirit of his army.

Even though the Greeks did not penetrate beyond the Enclave in the east, future incursions from Bharat carried Greco-Bactrian influences to its Doab. In this epoch the Enclave was very active as a cusp between West-Asia, Central Asia and South Asia. At the end of this period direct West-Asian influence was replaced by an indirect one through Central Asia. Iranians reintroduced the textual tradition in the Enclave which was carried to Bharat by Asoka in the form of his edict rocks and pillars[2]. The Greeks brought punch-marked coins; Alexander and his insatiable thirst for founding and renaming settlements in his own name.

In the absence of positive evidence of earlier urban settlements, the indirect appearance of defensible settlements with integrated societies willing to defend them indicates that the later part of the preceding stage and the early part of this one may have seen a revival of urban settlements larger than the artisan villages to which Harappan towns had probably been reduced. The Iranian Aramaic script created the need to formulate grammatical rules for the uninitiated arriving at Taxila; and perhaps it precipitated Panini's work. [3] A lingua-genesis of Sanskrit was in the making now along with Bhasha, Prakrit and Brahmi.

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[2] See for the distribution of Asoka's edicts, the map at the end of the volume by Romila Thapar. *Early India* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2002). The edicts were in local script of different regions [Kharoshti near Peshawar, Greek and Aramaic in Qandahar, and Brahmi in other places] mostly in Prakrit, but in Greek and Aramaic in Bactria.

[3] For a variety of scenarios that could be considered for the grammarian's work see Thapar, *op. cit.* Naturally, enunciating unfamiliar script needs an understanding of grammatical rules.

Buddhism and Jainism, the two revolts against Brahman tenets, especially the cycle of rebirth and the Varna system, took place east of the Enclave. They probably did not penetrate this region till a century or more after being formulated. Asoka may have been responsible for introducing Buddhism to the Enclave, here it was to stay for nearly a millennium before being uprooted. On the other side, the Enclave passed its beliefs to Central Asia and on to China with some elements being passed on to Iran to be absorbed into Zoroastrian beliefs. The most significant influence of Buddhism on urbanization in the Enclave was the concept of ascetic settlement and university town. Almost constant political turmoil of this stage could not disturb the Gandhara civilization, its urban enterprise or pilgrimage towns[4] up to Kushan times.

The political history of the Enclave has become considerably clearer during the last century but there are still some issues of chronology that inhibit our analysis. The limit of control and the sequence of rule of the series of sovereigns are still difficult to assess even to the extent of the Mauriya Empire that arose in the east and extended its control to the Enclave. Alexander unified the Achaemenid state and part of the Enclave in his empire but could not alter the socio-political dynamics of the region. His Greco-Bactrian successors, the Scythe-Parthians and the Hindu-Buddhist struggle for dominance overshadow the first half of this

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[4] V. D. Divekar, "Political Factor in the Rise and Decline of Cities in Pre-British India – with special reference to Pune." In *Studies in Urban History*. Edited by J. S. Grewal and Indu Banga (Amritsar: Department of History Guru Nanak Dev University, n. d.): 91 ff. He talks of religious towns as one kind of urbanization; in the Enclave this took the form of pilgrimage towns, education cities and specifically ascetic settlements in Gandhara.

mercurial period. The second half witnessed eclipse of these forces under the Kushans and Huns; Buddhism and Hellenistic influences were evicted from the Enclave under Sassanid rule.

Side by side with *mahajanapadas* and *gana-sanghas* there were in the Enclave, as also in other parts of South and Central Asia, pastoral groups as a residue from preceding ages. The desolated regions of forested bars[5] revived tribal/city-state polity in some parts of the Enclave. Between 327 [departure of Alexander], 306 BC [Antiochus' pact of land for elephants with an obscure raja] and 232 [death of Asoka] we have brief glimpses of political history in the Enclave; but not enough material is available on its urban pattern. Two conjectures seem probable from events of Alexander's conquest and later historical records of Gandhara. First, that Achaemenid urban development in Kamboja, Bactria and Gandhara maintained a vibrant existence through a period of turmoil while the southern and eastern regions suffered some decline; second that the social life of rural, pastoral, fishing and herding communities of the Enclave continued as before.

Apparently Achaemenid kings made Greek settlements in their eastern and northern satrapies; another group of Greek settlers

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[5] Kautilya's advice regarding forest people and reference to pastoralists is reported by Thapar, *op. cit.*, p. 198. The word bar, properly speaking is a term from the time of the Arab conquest. Earlier the term *Beth* was used by the people in Sind to denote a tract of silted land close to the river if it was not suitable for constant agricultural occupation. The term Kachi is also used for such lands. However, the bar of the Arabs was also more forested. It was therefore likely to be used by brigands. Generally this term was applied to the river bank areas of the Punjab.

came to the region with Alexander and after him in the wake of armies of his heirs in Bactria. The infusion of Greek linguistic forms in Hindukush and Punjab during this period along with Aryan vocabulary caused lingua-genesis across the northern half of the Enclave without materially affecting spoken languages in Baluchistan and Sind. Early Scythian[6] and Parthian conquerors did not made consolidated inroads into India but, the Kushans did. However, none of them made any significant impact in the south part of the Enclave at this time. The Kushans integrated Gandhara and part of Punjab with Afghanistan.[7]

By 200 AD the Iranians asserted themselves in the Enclave. The Sassanids also took a northern route as it allowed them to bring a larger military force. Ardashir conquered Peshawar and Taxila soon after his victory over the Parthians in 226 AD; the Kushans became his vassal also. The Bharati lingua-genesis moved from Prakrit to Sanskrit[8] due to the dominance of Hinduism and the writing of Upanishads. In the Enclave, Buddhism had the upper hand but Greco-Iranian influences dominated its social order. Although the early Harappans had delineated the western border of the Enclave, its northwest corner was not clearly defined.

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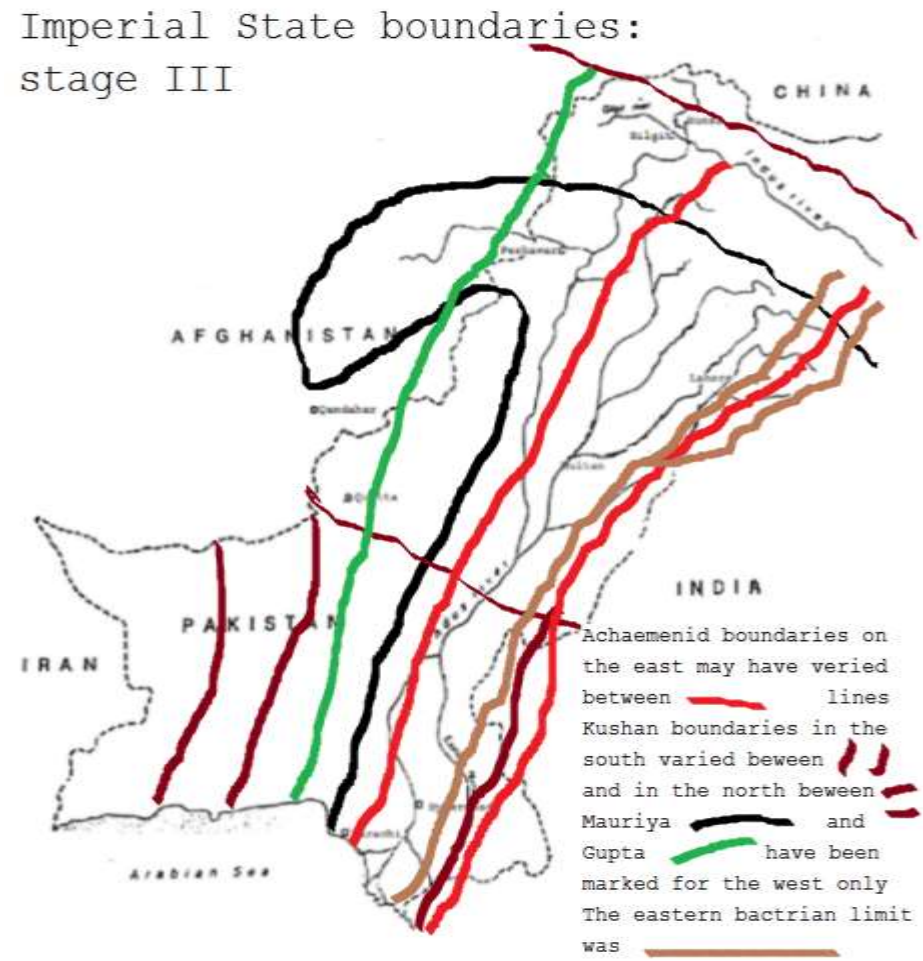
[6] Other groups of the Scythians [Sakas], who seem to have been a varied and versatile tribal group [like Turkic peoples in the next three stages] did inhabit and rule parts of Bharat [like Malwa and Gujrat] and the Deccan.

[7] The location of Kushan art see map 7 in J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etamadi, eds. *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. II. (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999). This map is particularly illustrative of the Hindukush focus and concentration of Kushan cultural expression.

[8] Thapar, *op.cit.*, p. 224.


Imperial State boundaries:
stage III
CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
INDIA
PAKISTAN
IRAN
Arabian Sea
Achaemenid boundaries on the east may have veried between lines
Kushan boundaries in the south varied beween
and in the north beween
Mauriya and
Gupta have been marked for the west only
The eastern bactrian limit was

MAP 11

Major states around the Enclave

The Gandhara civilization brought into focus the north-western limits as the inverse of the Harappan civilization. In one sense the Gandhara region was an exact replica of the Late Kot-Diji area; in another sense it covered the region which was the trade hinterland for Harappa. The region in which no major Harappan urban centre was found is the locality where all the Gandhara settlements can be identified. Not in this alone is Gandhara the inverse of Harappan civilization. It is militant and monumental with religious and political elites in abundance. Gandhara is not a common man's civilization. It was not as extensive and multi-tiered as its predecessor; though perhaps more plural than it. The entire formal apparatus of culture, power, ethnicity, society and administration is visibly linked through the northern mountains. A monetary formal economy is seen as an instrument of power, but its web of social forms, lifestyles and skills is obscured.

As humans moved from pastoral to rural life, a surplus of labour had been released for urban settlements and industry. On one side, urban need for food encouraged agriculturalist and animal husbanding communities to produce more than their needs. On the other side, the need for food security, industrial raw material and trade of industrial output led people in urban communities to enforce an administration within the town and its hinterland.

Three aspects of organization put together initiated a tendency towards state formation which, for its own part, created the urge of dominance in the organizers. The need for food security led to the most basic and obvious link with the hinterland as a rural-urban bond, generally dominated by the latter. As a corollary,

cities needed to arrogate to themselves a higher status which entitled them to dictate terms to producers of rural surplus. The next most important element dictating need for organization was security of skilled labour and raw material for industry which constituted the urban contribution to society. A concomitant of both the needs for security was communication and its resultant trade. Third, because it was needed only when others had been met, came military security which arose from potential threats to all the above. These threats from nomadic or pastoral people may have first become obvious to the people of Mesopotamia and soon extended to all of West Asia.

Perhaps because the threat to food security had been felt from a very early stage, Sumerian social organization for rural uplift led to statehood; with a monarch as the focus for unity of command. Perhaps also the threat of marauding nomads was greater in the vast expanse of West Asia because it lay open, without a major mountainous barrier, especially for the horse riding nomads of 2000 BC. Both factors did not seem to affect Harappan traders with their **add-on type** of urbanism and their **pass-on style of trade**. No major urbanisms are noted east of the Enclave before 2000 BC, maybe no states existed there. Conditions changed on both sides with the arrival of the Aryan. Their horses, iron, tribal structure and political aspiration motivated them to form states, probably in the image of Mesopotamian states which they also acquired. Thus Aryan states emerged around the Enclave vying for control over resources of food and Industry. Apparently they were uncomfortable in the Punjab environment and set up their states in highlands or wide plateaus and plains.

For some reason, perhaps the multiple channels of the Indus in Sind, they did not enter there either. This pattern was created by the early Aryans and was followed by their successors to a large extent; except for the two Iranian enterprises in the Enclave, which also extended their influence to the southern mountains.

Alexander overstretched beyond his capacity and was forced to turn south; he can have revived the southern link to some extent. Nonetheless, east-west transit, for which the northern Enclave was mainly used, remained the norm from 1500 BC to 700 AD. The western state, c.500 BC, initiated the imperial enterprise; soon thereafter the eastern states also entered the contest. The Macedonian experiment added a new dimension and pastoral empires contested for dominance over KPK and Pothohar with the eastern Aryans; from time to time the southern part of the Enclave also acquired importance for states spanning it.

The highland Achaemenid rulers gave way to another highland people, the Macedonians from the craggy Balkans. Alexander's soldiers may have been travel weary and battle worn; they may also have been deterred by the prospects of campaigning in the vast Gangetic plains. The Seleucids who succeeded Alexander looked west too, towards their homeland and campaigns in lands familiar to their generations. The Parthians who came next also looked southwest, to the cradle of civilizations of millennia past; that is where they established their empire. This gave Mauriya rulers a free hand till the edge of the Hindukush. The Parthians and Bactrians alike were desert people of the northern hills in an oasis civilization based on Bronze Age Bactrian technology with its centre at Balkh. Integrated by the short two humped hairy camel, the horse for war and the wheel for chariots.

Layer upon layer of statecraft and politics had been spread over southwestern Asia with its core in the Zagros and Elburz or Mesopotamia. Varieties of statehood evolved in mountains, deserts, doabs of rivers and fertile plains, finding experiential expression under Semitic, Persian, Greek and Scytho-Parthian leadership. These models were woven into the body politic from Achaemenid to Sassanid times; each was cast in an Iranian mould and disseminated accordingly. May be most of them [except the Hellene model] were largely influenced by the Mesopotamian base and the systems it spawned. The Greeks were very critical of Achaemenid kings, however, perhaps their criticism was only a political ploy to justify conquest of the Persian Empire; they withdrew their criticism when their domain was established[9]. The Greek governance model on the other hand did not make much of an impression on Iranian kingship and statecraft.

Neither the imperial Guptas nor Harsha of Kanauj made serious attempts to control the Enclave. Preferring a defensive posture, these states relied on the Rajasthan desert, the Aravalli and the Jumna, using the Enclave as buffer for protection. Kushans and Huns penetrated the barrier causing an ethno-political upheaval, shaking the fabric of Hindu religion to its foundations. This was a time of contest between Hinduism and Buddhism for authority in Bharat. Apparently the rigorous discipline of Jainism lost its potency when Asoka put his weight behind Buddhism.[10]

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[9] Joseph Wiesehofer, *Ancient Persia*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004): 106, for some aspects of this interpretation.

[10] A Hindu resurgence was to follow even under the Kushans and Harsha.

Orientation of the Enclave

This stage started with a westward orientation in the northwest highlands and eastward orientation in north-eastern plains, with a partially disoriented southern portion. In this stage orientation was to change several times as states and state-systems arising in South Asia, West Asia and Central Asia tried to incorporate the Enclave or cross it. Perhaps it was Chandragupta Mauriya who was able to obtain a favourable treaty from the Seleucid ruler of Bactria; he acquired control over parts of Paropamisadae or Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Mekran or Gedrosia, in addition to KPK [Gandhara] and Sind [Hindus]. This control lasted during the reigns of his successors till 232 BC. The western contiguous regions included Kerman, Zrarka/Drangiana, Aria or Haraiva, Arachosia/Harauvatis and Bactria from southwest to northeast.

During the earlier part of this stage the recently acquired west-facing orientation of the Enclave remained effective but with the decline of Achaemenid and Greek power, the Parthian interlude provided the Mauriyas with an opportunity that lasted for about two centuries. When the scales of power had been even on both sides for nearly five hundred years, the Enclave became central to the rising states on both sides of its northern passageway. The southern cul-de-sac of the Enclave remained aloof from most of these developments. It was affected more indirectly than directly by invaders. Mauriyas were succeeded by Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians/Indo-Parthians and Kushan rulers before the arrival of the White Huns and the Sassanid rulers from Iran again[11].

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[11] All these people started from the west of the Enclave, except the Mauriyas [who started from the east], crossed the Enclave and established states

Militarily the Enclave was more vulnerable to the west but it was the faith of eastern origin that found a home here. Perhaps Buddha's ideals harkened to the Aryan beliefs in Iran which had been considered heterodox due to religious rivalries that divided Aryan clans earlier, and evolved into the Zoroastrian faith. They however, found favour with people of the Enclave and Central Asia. Linguistically the western influence was dominant through the entire stage but at the end the eastern one gained the lead. In the field of art, and through it, religion, the Enclave displayed its role as a cusp by integrating, in a unique form of its own, the entire gamut of influences that came to it from its neighbours.

Towards the close of the period under study in this chapter, the control of Taxila[12] shifted from Kapisi to Kashmir. Its several monastic suburbs, inhabited mainly by the Mahayana Buddhists, were rather deserted by this time and its political and economic power was declining[13]. Dani makes an important observation: the Taxila region was not depopulated[14]; but its socio-economic structure and orientation changed towards Hasanabdal.

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that straddled the cusp. Here it is not germane to verify their chronology. as we are concerned with the general trend of politics.

[12] A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, (Lahore: Sang-e-meel, 1986): 5, on the authority of Hiuen-sang c.650 AD.

[13] A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, (Lahore: Sang-e-meel, 1986): 8, on the authority of Hiuen-sang c.650 AD, Cunningham counted 55 stupas, 28 monasteries and 9 temples in the vicinity of the city prior to excavations.

[14] A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, p. 6, on the authority of Hiuen-sang c.650 AD. He also notes that the memory of the old name and its Persian variant [that gave Margala range its name] was known in 1000 AD.

The boundaries of this region may be estimated to be the Indus, Jhelum, and Soan rivers with Murree hill in its north. While these may be the outer limits of its administrative control, cultural and social affinity of the region ends at Margala hills as a sub-unit of the Pothohar. This, a fertile segment of Pothohar, linking all the mountain ranges is the key that unlocks Central Asia for traffic from South Asia. While the orientation of Gandhara is to the north, other regions of the Enclave were mainly inward looking even when subjected to the aggressive designs of its neighbours. Again, we see an internal integrity of sub-units; however, they reacted to invasions by neighbours in the same fashion as to those by distant powers. The various units noted by Greek historians continue to be reflected in the mutual rivalry of Parthians and Sakas or subordinate rulers under the Bactrians and Kushans.

Urban trends: pastoral vs. rural empires.

Perhaps the Huns like Alexander had a purely military vision of state and the only contribution to economic activity was through conquest. The Achaemenid, Mauriya, Gupta and Sassanid state structures were built around agriculture while Bactrian-Greeks, Scytho-Parthians and Kushans were primarily pastoral peoples, consequently their socio-economic and political vision was cast in that mould. Since the Enclave was peripheral to agricultural states, their urbanization was mostly concentrated close to their respective political centres in Bharat and Iran. They supported the existing urban fabric of the Enclave, particularly its rural potential so as to siphon off surplus produce. This generated an urban growth as well especially in flood plains but the political fabric remained unaffected; retaining the form that it acquired in the partially de-Aryanised polity of the previous stage.

The Achaemenid had unified west Asia with the Balkans from Gandhara to Greece while the Mauriya state integrated Deccan with Afghanistan through their centre in Bharat. It is not certain how far the Achaemenid state penetrated into the Enclave but it certainly held regions west of the Indus. Its cities in the Enclave included one in the vicinity of Rohri, at least one in Gandhara, maybe as far north as Timargarha, as provincial/local capitals[15].

The Enclave was periphery to Bactrian and Parthian imperialism also; at times their state was localized in the Afghan region, like the Ghaznavi state in the next stage. Being pastoral the empires had a propensity to split along the lines of ethnic sub-divisions and create local states, as they did in the Enclave.

Unique among states which governed the Enclave during this stage is the Kushan state, built on the unity of the Hindukush. Its urban concentrations lie in foothills on both sides of the range to which they bequeathed part of their name. From Ashkhabad to Allahabad it unified the Oxus-Jaxartes with the Ganga-Jumna.

Like other conquerors, the Kushans found pre-existing towns and cities with socio-economic hinterlands which dictated their political nature. Since the Enclave was the Kushan heartland and topography provided a natural defence, particularly in Gandhara, their prime concern was draining resources of hinterlands. On the direct route to China and Central Asia the area between the Swat, Kabul and Indus rivers provided stone and solitude for

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[15] These were defensible localities of importance with stone reserves to suit the imperial culture; they were retained because the conquerors had no incentive to shift the centre of operations in this peripheral area.

monasteries, rich agricultural soil, an ideal venue for trade and all the accoutrements for being the core region for these militant pastorals. It appears that the economy of Hindu states depended on agriculture and militancy; that of the Buddhist states relied on pastoralist and military activities. The Greeks and Huns were militant marauders but Achaemenid and Sassanid imperialism integrated agrarian and pastoral communities in military and administrative activities for generating economic growth.

Since metal and stone are durable, and because they are easier mediums for nomadic people to exploit, they replaced ceramics for the manufacture of many items of art as well as utility. Since Achaemenid stonemasons had already adopted these materials before they came to Gandhara. Therefore abundance of stone in this region made it the most suitable medium for monumental enterprises of all its conquerors. Another advantage, particular to Gandhara was its location at a natural passage for pastoralists who were undergoing a mass transition from the hunter-gatherer to marauder lifestyle. Aryan marauders of the preceding stage had settled down on either side of the Hindukush; during this stage several others followed in their footsteps.

In this section we will comment on why conquerors focused on ruling cities, what dictated their choice of location or relocation of cities and the hinterland they chose to drain from them? It seems that the Babylonian tradition had placed urbanization and civilization at the heart of statehood since it recognized that the drive for integration of sedentary society came from towns.

Trade, administration, industry, grandeur of monuments, in fact the imperial apparatus in its entirety rested on the urban ‘pull

factor'. Consequently all the states emerging from the debris of Mesopotamian empires emphasised urbanization. Alexander's predilection of founding Alexandrias was an extreme, but most other empire builders were also keen to found cities[16].

The Achaemenid[17] conquest was not preceded by urban revival but it generated an incipient urban process by siphoning off rural surplus. This regenerated economic activity, trade and industry; and led to an increase in populations that did not produce food, enhancing the independence of *gana-sanghas*.

Gandhara emerged as a pre-existing core region for urbanization first, in its capacity as a periphery to Harappan Civilization and

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16 Joseph Wiesehofer, *Ancient Persia*, p. 189 believes that Sassanid rulers used towns as a means of increasing control over the country. Rural society is subsistence oriented and needs incentives or disincentives for generating surplus. The urban population depends on ensuring that rural surplus is available, thus the need of governance! A nomadic marauding band may be content to exploit rural output even if it is not a surplus, the nomadic marauder needs continuous productivity of villages as much as a regular government. As a corollary, marauding pastoral, an army and a state have a stake in rural security much as the agriculturalist and the animal breeder have in their crop and heard. Since the consistent rural-urban economic and social link is more potent than state coercion for productivity it is a common interest to maintain towns; but if a conqueror needs to hold a territory he must secure the town not the hinterland.

17 D. B. Vohra, *A Panoramic History of the Indian People*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1992): 42 says the satrapy of Gandhara yielded a phenomenal 360 talents of gold to the Achaemenid coffers. This would indicate a large gold production or an extensive hinterland. Since we know of only a few towns as part of Gandhara, we must assume that the satrapy owned a much larger area, which could have extend to either side of the core area [the region between Peshawar, Taxila and Swat].

then as an Aryan district of the 'Gandhara grave culture'. Taxila, as a cosmopolitan centre for exchange of ideas between Iranian and Bharati Aryan communities, gained importance in Gandhara even though orthodox Brahmans considered the region impure. Perhaps Peshawar, which was to become the capital in Kushan times, was more important as a trade town in the Achaemenid era. Gandhara is reputed to have been among the wealthiest and most populous Achaemenid satrapies. Since Buddhism had not yet flourished as a religion in this area, its wealth probably came from trade rather than education, religion or industry.

Apart from this *mahajanapada* conquering Greeks found several small kingdoms, like that of Porus [Jhelum] and independent towns [*gana-sanghas*] along the route. Proceeding along the northern horizontal route, they came to a halt at the edge of the Enclave, the bank of the Sutlej, and returned to the Indus before exiting the Enclave through its southwestern trails.

The Maloi whose town may have been located at Uch or modern Shorkot or any point between them, offered stiff resistance to Alexander. Probably "areas along the middle and lower reaches of the Indus" were added by Darius to his domain between 518-513 BC. Skylax could have mapped the course of the Indus by that time and may have provided geographic information for its conquest. Special kinds of wood and ivory were imported from here for the Achaemenid palace at Susa[18].

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[18] G. M. Bongard-Levin, *Mauryan India*, (New Delhi: Sterling, 1985): 62-. 64; It seems that the people of the Enclave did not know much about developments in the east as we find from Herodotus; this despite the fact

Around 200 BC, a Greek from Bactria conquered Gandhara and later ruled from Sakala, which is identified as Sialkot of today. The Greeks, and the Kushans who followed them, converted to Buddhism and invested in its monuments. It was a characteristic of Buddhist rulers to emphasize religious glory rather than the majesty of state. We may even suggest that the Hinayana school of Buddhism, with its emphasis on personal spiritual elevation, may have dissuaded Asoka from further imperialism while the Mahayana school, with its emphasis on a humanitarian mission, was sponsored to justify expansionism as exercised by Kanishka and the rulers of Gandhara. Carrying this hypothesis further, we can understand why the former could proselytize in the Chinese environment attuned to Tao and Confucius while the latter was more welcome for the Mongol and Turk conquering zeal.

Alexander's conquests provide the most reliable information on urban locations but it is not good enough to detect exact location of many towns. Even towns which are identifiable do not help in eliminating controversy regarding the Macedonian's route. This causes some difficulty in interpreting finer aspects of Gandhara Civilization, available data is sufficient for identifying a general pattern from Achaemenid times. We may, therefore speculate on likely locations of Gandhara towns from these generalizations to estimate routes taken by him[19]. The heart of Gandhara before

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that Some people from the Enclave possibly also settled in Nippur while others joined the army and received land grants.

[19] The accounts of Alexander's invasion available to us are from historians recording some time after the event. By this time the successors to his imperial design were seeking legitimacy and ideals for their monarchs to

Alexander lay between the rivers Kabul, Swat and Indus but was cut off by Margala, Sufed Koh, Swat and associate eminences[20].

We have mentioned earlier that the Indus Enclave does not have a strictly delimited geography. During this stage, its limits in its northwest varied with the changing boundaries of Gandhara as a socio-political and cultural entity. Somewhere in the vicinity of Kabul Alexander regrouped his army so as to enter Gandhara, probably targeting Charsadda to begin with. We identify some routes of the campaign exactly, others by inference. Generally relying on the assessment of secondary sources. Occasionally we will interpret locations on the basis of established patterns or likelihoods, as in the case of Charsadda in Gandhara[21].

Dani believes that Alexander went from Ningarhar, Bajaur to Charsadda/Puscilatis, following his advance party. The area he passed through has been identified as Mohmand agency, Bajaur, Nawagai, Dir and Swat. After Nawagai Alexander won a great victory, according to Ptolemy the captives numbered 40,000 and

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dominate known civilized regions of the world. Diodorus Siculus wrote in the 2nd century BC; Arian, Appian, Strabo and Plutarch 2nd century AD; Justin 3rd century AD, Curtis Rufus in the 5th century AD.

20 Another remarkable feature of Gandhara is the fact that its contours can be marked equally by a riverine or a mountainous boundary; strangely both the natural features also served to provide it internal unity and division.

21 J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etamadi, eds. *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. II. (New Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1999, Dani's view is that Alexander took the route north of Kabul river to enter Gandhara. Considering the location of sites and the general area of Gandhara that Alexander conquered personally, this seems to have been his target, not Peshawar or Bannu, thus a northern route to Charsadda is more likely.

booty included 230,000 oxen. If accurate, these figures signify a high population density and animal productivity in the region. Then crossing the river Panchkora in Dir, beyond the Karmani pass he had to subdue many cities, the most important of which was Massaga, 16km north of Chakdara fort, on a bare hill[22]. An army of 38,000 infantry defended the city which had a stream on its east side and natural rocky rampart on its south and west, the fort was strengthened by ramparts of bricks, stones and beams. The city was besieged, terms were settled for raising the siege allowing the mercenaries free passage. However, once they left the fort Alexander attacked them; they died to a man along with their women and children. Messages to surrender were then sent to two other cities named Ora and Bazira; the former was also on an eminence and could not be easily subdued but after the fall of Ora, the Bazira garrison lost heart and abandoned the city. Both forts lie on the left bank of river Swat and are identified as the present towns of Udegram and Birkot respectively[23].

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[22] W. J M'Crindle, *the Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969): 66ff, does not give a specific location except that it was in Bajor near the river Swat [note D, p. 334f].

[23] We have omitted the conquest of a few towns like Orobatis because they do not add much information regarding the direction of Alexander's march or the pattern of urbanization in the region. What is obvious is that the region was fertile and populous but divided into small, perhaps tribal, domains which did not unite against Alexander but individually gave him a tough time. On his side, Alexander had planned to reduce the highlands and cross narrow rivers of the Gandhara civilization of the militant people rather than the plains with wide rivers at this point.

Since the next move was to Buner in the east and Shahbazgarhi in the south, it seems reasonable to assume that Alexander was moving from west to east towards the Indus and north to south within the Swat valley. In the eastward march towards the Indus Alexander conquered Aronos, a place in the Buner principality ruled by Erices and gave the region to Sisicottus, a local ruler who had aided the Greeks all along their way from Bactria. An interesting aspect of Alexander's route and campaigns is that his limits were drawn at the elevation [5000 ft.] and latitude [about 35° north] of Macedonia, to which he belonged. Having subdued Gandhara west of the Indus, Alexander came to Taxila, its ruler had already become his ally. Perhaps the Indus was crossed at a point between Tarbela and Attock token submission/goodwill messages from rulers in the vicinity of Buner were considered good enough for the conqueror to continue his eastward march.

Three hundred towns and cities are believed to have existed in Chaj doab[24] and Porus had an army of about 50,000 soldiers. Alexander followed the southern route to the Chaj from a point near Jalalpur, 30 miles south of the modern town of Jhelum, to fight with Porus, whose nephew [ruler in Rachna doab] hoped to gain this territory by helping the Greeks. The river Jhelum has a defensive bank on its western side while the east bank is easy to climb; it is for this reason that cities are generally located on its west bank. We can assess that the capital city of Porus's state was

[24] J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etamadi, *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. II, p.82.

some distance east of the river. Alexander founded two[25] cities and then turned to attack the younger Porus who had rebelled when the elder was reinstated in his original kingdom.

Alexander proceeded into upper Chaj and conquered "seven and thirty cities… also a great many villages, which were not less populous than the towns"[26]. Contrary to expectations, it seems that Alexander crossed the Chenab at a northerly point because he used a ford that was rocky. Since the river in the plains does not have such a terrain, and Alexander was in pursuit of tribes north of the domain of Porus, he must have crossed near Sialkot or above that point. At Sangla Alexander had to fight a fierce battle; this perhaps was the limit of the Achaemenid Empire[27], probably this entire northern part was called Gandhara by them.

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[25] W. J M'Crindle, *the Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, map p. 56 identifies one with Jalilpur and the other with an adjacent location on the east bank of the river. These cities do not seem to have any economic or strategic [defensive, offensive or consolidative] significance but only an imperial/commemorative one like all Alexander's towns in the Enclave.

[26] W. J M'Crindle, *the Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 112. It is important to note that habitations are not designated as city or village based on their population but on their function by the Greek historians who note that none of the 37 cites had a population of less than 5000. This was the region of the Kalacha tribe in Mirpur [Kashmir & Punjab.

[27] J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etamadi, *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. II, p.82, Dani, has suggested Bias as the Achaemenid limit, which seems reasonable. As the wealth of two of these northern parts is attested in Alexander's conquests [Swat-Buner and Chaj doab] and the mutual rivalries of rulers in this region are also recorded, it seems reasonable to infer Gandhara's rich revenues would not be from a small area; and perhaps mineral wealth was also tapped from Swat.

No cities conquered after the battle with Porus are mentioned, not even the capital of Porus's state or a new capital of extended control. Also, for the journey down the Jhelum to its confluence with the Chenab and then Indus no cities are named. The point of confluence is identified as a narrow spot where the combined flow rushes forth with a lot of force and noise.

It seems that victory over Porus started a decline of Alexander's control over his forces and the thrust across the Punjab Rivers unsettled his military machine. A sense of bravado and bluster seems to have overtaken the conquering army; pride would not allow it to make a quiet exit. A non-aggressive attitude would have been taken as a sign of weakness, Alexander seems to have rushed southwards with swift encounters which he could claim as victories without trying to hold or consolidate possessions.

Alexander Cunningham has attempted to identify various sites in the Maloi territory based on the geography provided by Greek historians. Kot Kamalia, Tulumba, Atari, Shorkot, Multan and Harappa are some of the possible 'conquests' as Alexander hurried through this militant area by boat, skirmishing with the locals[28]. Certain it is, however that the entire Punjab consisted of small principalities or rather tribal communes which resisted the Greek passage but Alexander was able to push through. The proximity of sites to rivers during the journey to Panjnad indicates that the riverine highway and flood-plain technology for cultivation had not materially changed since Harappan times and

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[28] W. J M'Crindle, *the Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 140ff. Cunningham was among the early British travellers in the region who wrote about its geography.

the unit of governance was still local and voluntary. The Greek documentation of Alexander's path is the best image of habitation and social life in the Enclave at the start of this stage.

There was a political reshuffled in the northwest Enclave due to Alexander's campaign. Ombhi Taxiles, the ruler of Taxila seems to have lost more than he gained by supporting Greek rule. On returning to Jhelum or Chenab Alexander turned south, perhaps playing on the valour of his soldiers and hoping to complete his Greek revenge on the remaining Achaemenid possessions in the vicinity of the Indus. He had to contend with four tribes [Aglasi, Sibi, Sudracae and Maloi] between Trimmu, the confluence of the Chenab and Jhelum, and Panjnad. No mention is made of the several towns that could have been there. We are, however, told that the defence of the fortress of the Maloi was difficult to breach. Further south we are told of the cities of Sindimama and Musicanus in the vicinity of Rohri and then Patala/Pattana; Dani identifies this as Thatta, the port. The site of Akra near Bannu, like many others west of Indus, may have remained unaffected by Alexander's military deeds north of Peshawar[29]. The Tochi valley, connecting Ghaznin with Bhera across the Hindukush and the Indus was also a secluded basin that lay far enough from the Khyber Pass and river Kabul to escape notice of conquerors.

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[29] Farid Khan, J. R. Knox, P. Magee and K. D. Thomas, "Akra: The Ancient Capital of Bannu, North west Province, Pakistan, *Journal of Asian Civilizations*, Vol. XXIII, (July 2000), suggests that it may have been occupied from Achaemenid times, it is in the vicinity of Rehman Dheri, Lewan, Gumla and Sher Khan Tarakai of Harappan times.

The fact that the historians neither mention names of ruler nor of cities may be because of lack of knowledge or because the main identity was the tribal control over a region, not cities and rulers as such. If it was a lack of knowledge; that also indicates that the eyewitnesses were hazy about events and places. At the point where the Indus is met with the waters of the Punjab Alexander re-founded a city[30]. From here Alexander went to Sehwan, in the Lakki hills near Manchar Lake, and on to Brahmanabad, both of which he conquered, on the west and east banks of the Indus.

It is fairly obvious that the Greeks were uneasy in the rivers and plains of the Punjab that were vastly different from the land that they came from; though they had been at home in the Gandhara hills. Perhaps the territory of Sind, with its capital at Alor had a single ruler entitled Musicanus; Alexander moved against this state. If the inference of tribal control in the Punjab is carried to its natural conclusion it may be assessed that the Achaemenid control in the north ended at the river Chenab or Beas; while in the south, control was exercised up to the kingdom of Alor. The remaining portion of the Enclave did not have states and rulers as such but existed as small communities.

In Sind the structure of Greek accounts is quite different because geographic features and distances of travel are not given as had

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[30] W. J M'Crindle, *the Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 156f, the site of Mithan Kot or of an old fort on the opposite bank or Uch. As soon as Alexander gets past the Punjab, names of rulers and cities re-emerge in the Greek narratives, it is possible that founding of Uch was a kind of thanksgiving or a sigh of relief on getting across a web of rivers. Another possibility is that there were more towns to report but the absence of names in the intervening stage is difficult to explain.

been the case in the Punjab. It may be that reports were gathered from people whose sense of geography did not consider this data important. The rulers of Sind named Oxykanos and Sambos may not have been independent. Perhaps even the state of Patala, at the apex of the delta, was also part of the kingdom of Musicanus or a dependency of it. In the delta the towns of Bhanbore [east of Karachi] and Rambagh are mentioned. The latter may have been near Karachi; looking for it near Sonmiani seems a little farfetched. Toward the west, south of Kirthar, there now lived non-urban wild tribes who had long nails and long hair.

This general structure of life emerged during the Vedic period and Achaemenid rule in the Enclave. It appears to have persisted throughout this stage. The Achaemenid, the Parthians, the Sakas and Kushans, seem to be pastoral empire builders. The Greeks, Huns and Sassanid rulers, however, can be classified separately. The Greeks had left their pastoral roots far behind to become imperialists while the Huns were a nomadic, marauding people with hardly any imperial pretentions. The sophisticated Sassanid rulers were a class apart; the inheritors of continuous urban and administrative traditions stretching over three millennia. They were to set the stage for the Islamic world order, severed from European politics. The incursions from Bharat twice, by rulers named Chandragupta, several centuries apart, one a Mauriya, the other a Gupta ruler, were not pastoral but imperial adventures to compare with the Iranian. Apparently none of them changed the structure of hinterland units or urban configuration but they left cultural imprints, rarely relocating their towns.

While the Parthians had strangulated the silk trade to Rome, the rise of the Kushans provided another route, through the Enclave via Taxila to Barbaricum/Bhanbore or Barygaza/Broach[31]. In a sense the Taxila-Bhanbore nexus was essentially a revival of the Saraikola-Tharro Hill connection of Harappan times. However, since local produce was no longer the object of trade, its cities thrived on transit trade/commerce rather than domestic industry.

Bhanbore is reported to have been a small market town on the middle channel [of seven] in the Indus delta with the metropolis of Scythia Minagar, ruled by Parthian princes competing with one another[32]. The Parthians, often specified as Indo-Parthians, may have first established their rule in Swat and the Gandhara region; an inscription of king Maues is found at Maira in the Salt Range. Other inscriptions have been found in Mansehra and Fatehjang, perhaps dated at 90 BC. Greek historians mention the town of Nysa between Kabul and Indus as pre-Alexander Greek settlement and another named Salatura near Taxila may be the home of Panini, the famous Sanskrit grammarian[33].

The new leadership often made new cities in the proximity of older ones; perhaps a desire for segregation from locals or virgin soil actuated this practice. Sirkap replaced Bhir Mound in Taxila and Menander moved Pushkalavati from its site at Charsadda to Sheikhan Dheri. These two major towns were, however, located

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[31] D. B. Vohra, *A Panoramic History of the Indian People*, 1992, p. 68.

[32] From Periplus of the Erythraean Sea quoted in K. C. Ojha, *The History of Foreign Rule in India*, (Allahabad: Gyan Prakashan, 1968): 90.

[33] G. M. Bongard-Levin, *Mauryan India*, p. 241.

in radically different environment. Pushkalavati was located in the middle of a vast cup like plain surrounded by hills close to the confluence of two important rivers along one of the tributary streams in their vicinity. Taxila, by contrast was hidden from a small fertile plain by a fold of the Margala range close to its south eastern pass; the natural difference between seclusion of a site at a Buddhist religious hub and a political capital.

Some of the towns of the later part of this stage are known, especially with reference to Kushans. Kanishka held Sui Vihar Bahawalpur, area around Mohenjo-Daro, Jhukar and Tor Dheri in the Loralai region; but Sauvira [Multan!] and some parts of Sind may have been under the rule of Rudradaman based in Junagarh. It is also possible that the conflicting claims indicate a difference of era or the changing control of rival powers in the extremely volatile political clime of the Enclave in the second or third century AD. Cunningham thought it possible that Harappa was the town referred to as Po-fa-to by Hiuen-sang [625-45] as a Buddhist town with stupas and monasteries[34].

While a great deal of political history can be put together with the help of coins, inscriptions and archaeological remains, exact chronology can be a problem. Comparison of eras for dating the Kushans in particular pose a problem for reconstructing history since they have to be reconciled in three state systems. Central Asian, West Asian and South Asian systems had been affected by the Achaemenid and Greeks but the internal consistency of their

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[34] J. M. Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*, (Karachi: OUP, 1998): 21.

dating mechanism made assessment of chronology easier. Unlike the Kushans their intrusion was limited to the Enclave and the periphery of Central Asia; thus they only had a marginal influence on Bharat and Transoxiana.

The Bactrians, Scythians and Parthians created a state system all across the three regions; the Mauriya Empire also penetrated to Afghanistan. However the tenacity of the Gandhara civilization was brought to an end by the rise of Sassanid rule in Iran; this subsumed the Kushan state, replaced Buddhism by Zoroastrian beliefs as the state religion. As a corollary, the art and culture of Iran again began to influence the Gandhara region[35].

Location of settlements

Since the location of proto-historic and historic towns/cities of the period is hard to determine except in Gandhara, our major concern will be Gandhara towns, especially in Swat. For other parts of the Enclave we only identify the approximate location of towns and the boundaries of the hinterlands they exploited. One significant inference that may be drawn from Alexander's adventure in the Enclave is that three socio-political systems existed in the region. A sophisticated state-system dominated by the Achaemenid rulers in Gandhara; a tribal and mobile polity in the doabs east and south of Jhelum to the five rivers and along the Indus to Sukkur/Sehwan; a semi-imperial state in the south.

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[35] For the numismatic evidence of the transition and some historical data see: Martha L. Carter, "A Numismatic Reconstruction of Kushano-Sasanian History, *ANSMN [American Numismatic Society]* 30, (1985).

Alexander probably used the rivers of the Enclave as dividers of his satrapies; the first satrap was of areas west of the Indus; next was Ombhi between the Indus and Jhelum; and next Porus from the Jhelum to the Beas. Strabo believes that the last contained nine nations [tribes] and 500 cities while Arian believes there to have been 2000 cities. The hills, ruled by Abhisares included the kingdom of Arsakes while the satrapy of Peithon included the area from Panjnad to the sea. They seem to be revenue divisions while the political divisions of earlier times seem to have been left more or less intact. The city named Arigaion occupied an advantageous position in the Bajaur region.

On the Jhelum Alexander founded two cities, Nikaia at the site of his victory over Porus and Boukephala at the place where his horse died. A city on the Chenab was fortified by him while one was founded at Panjnad, perhaps Uch. He may have constructed a citadel at Patala near Rohri. Another city that may have been revived or founded at about this time was Demetrias, near the location of Brahmanabad; it was revived again c.175 BC[36].

Gandhara is located in a series of basins in the form of cul-de-sacs, protected on two or three sides by hills. Peshawar lay east of the Khyber Pass while Taxila lay west of the Margala Pass, Charsadda and Birkot being important northern and southern towns, nesting in the Hindukush. During this stage highlanders from northern latitudes acquired the politico-military leadership of civilization. Gandhara, was ideally placed at the nexus of four

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[36] S. R. Dar, *Historical Routes through Gandhara (Pakisan) 200BC-200Ad*, (Lahore: NCA- Ferozsons, 2006): 45.

major mountain ranges; it naturally suited the emerging powers. Within its natural limits each of the successors to its control chose urban sites according to their temperament; the Kushans preferred to build cities north of the river Kabul. The Greeks had a liking for open locations with hills behind them.

While the Sakas who ruled Gandhara probably preferred the hill slopes, the Parthian and Kushan elite seem to have patronized the flat land adjacent to hill tracts. The versatile Kushans may have settled anywhere and urbanized all kind of regions but the Sakas have to be classified as separate groups. One group, who hailed from the region between the Aral and Caspian Sea, were content to settle in Gujrat and extend their sway to Sind. The other, from Bactria was comfortable in the Kabul-Peshawar area which mirrored it; a third chose the Vindhya and Gedrosia.

If we focus on ethnic settlement patterns in the Gandhara region only and explore connections with aspects of their material and spiritual cultures, findings of the Italian Archaeological Mission [IOM] are invaluable[37]. Their study of a ten mile wide test area, south of the river Swat gives a wealth of information regarding life during various phases of the Gandhara Civilization.

The location is a conglomerate of four river valleys feeding the Swat: Kotah, Kandak, Najigram and Karakar valleys. Kotah, to the extreme west, has several rock artefacts and painted shelter

[37] Luca M Olivieri and Massimo Vidale, "Archaeology and Settlement History in the Test Area of the Swat Valley", *East and West*, 56, (Sept. 2006).

sites but only a few settlements[38] in its upper reaches. Kandak, the adjacent valley, has many more pre-historic settlements and rock artefact sites but not many painted shelters. In the historic period all, except the easternmost valley, Karakar, have several sites, probably covering every inch of cultivable ground in the region. Monasteries and stupas, waterworks and wine making sites are some of the structures found in the region; but in the late historic period, the region seems to have lost its importance. Naturally Buddhist monks preferred seclusion of high valleys, utilizing the defences provided by topography.

Oliveri believes that Birkot[39] site was one of the most important in this area and, like most of those belonging to the localization or Late Harappan era, was situated near the confluence of rivers. He also believes that the economic base of these sites was rice cultivation and sheep were reared as a second preference but were not the primary source of food[40].

This may have changed radically by the time the Aryans arrived because agriculture seems to have declined and burial practices came into vogue, replacing family based settlements with the village format. It may be that the Karakar valley, which was not inhabited earlier, began to be used for trade. Animal feed came

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[38] Luca M Olivieri and Massimo Vidale, "Archaeology and Settlement History in the Test Area of the Swat Valley", compare figures 2, 4 and 5, p. 78ff.

[39] S. R. Dar, *Historical Routes through Gandhara (Pakistan) 200BC-200Ad*, p. 79 or 'Bari' Kot site, facing three sub-valleys fifty miles south of Mingora.

[40] Luca M Olivieri and Massimo Vidale, "Archaeology and Settlement History in the Test Area of the Swat Valley", p. 122.

from mountain meadows from this time onward, replacing grain and straw. The rock art of this region may have some connection with the Aryans or even the earlier settlers whose lifestyle was altered by the coming of the people of Gandhara Grave Culture.

Naturally sites in Swat are likely to be located on eminences or at least along the slopes of the mountain. Generally, however, sites were located halfway up the incline along the streams that fed the main river gaining the dual advantage of a valley and the eminence. Oliveri thinks that visual dominance of surrounding area was a peculiarity of Buddhist 'monastic complexes'[41].

He also believes that this particular area is unique in availability of radial sites that may be compared with Mingora but there the connection of trade is not as obvious as at Birkot. However, we may note the difference between the two styles in the Gandhara civilization where one variety of sites is located in basins [as in case of Peshawar] and the other is located on eminences [as in case of Takht Bhai], the latter being common for monasteries. [42]

The Scytho-Parthian conquerors of Gandhara probably chose its northerly routes from Central Asia via Chilas and made their capital at Taxila in the 1st century BC[43]. It is at about this time

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[41] Luca M Olivieri and Massimo Vidale, "Archaeology and Settlement History in the Test Area of the Swat Valley", p. 129. It is possible that the paintings and carvings have an element of protest against religious dominance of these monasteries as suggested by Oliveri p.134f.

[42] Luca M Olivieri and Massimo Vidale, "Archaeology and Settlement History in the Test Area of the Swat Valley", p. 130.

[43] A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, p. 67.

that the Buddhist faith took the same route to spread to China, leaving a long trail of petro-glyphs. The kings of Taxila seem to have avoided pomp and splendour in their residence and habits c.50 AD if we are to believe a modern observer[44]; this reminds us of the Harappans. The Parthian domain did not extend east of the Enclave, Scythians were unable to make a big consolidated state and the Mauriya Empire did not reach the Oxus.

The Kushans built an empire with its capital at Peshawar[45] and integrated for a length of time various affiliations of the Enclave and all the entrances of the foyer. Though the traffic to and from Central Asia remained unchanged under the Kushans routes from the Oxus to the Ganges became numerous again. Like the Sultans of Delhi in later times, it seems that the elite quarters in the cities like Taxila were relocated for defence/administrative security while the older sections of the town remained inhabited also[46]. Sirsukh, Kushan city at Taxila, is set away from the hills and placed in the open plain. The particular stamp of Kushan art in Gandhara included Greek and philhellenic Parthian culture along

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[44] A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, p. 69, from the biography of Philostratus.

[45] A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, 71, he also mentions Kapisa as a capital, perhaps summer and winter capitals on the Achaemenid style, controlling the mountainous integration of the Hindukush and Khyber Pass.

[46] A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, p. 71f, has suggested that the city of Sirsukh did not cause Sirkap to be abandoned; perhaps a similar argument applied to the Hashtnagar of Charsadda. Dani finds the development of Taxila under the Kushans remarkable because it was not their capital, the growth was probably due to its religious significance for the Buddhists and was patronized as the spiritual capital of their empire.

with their own aesthetics and the Buddhist ideals which were translated into stone relief by local artisans.

Speculation that the monastery complex had a key role to play in economic structuring of society around it[47] may be sound. It conforms to a recurrent theme in our study: of a parallel spiritual state along with civic government. It is also a vital component of cultural continuity during a period of endless political upheaval.

Oliveri is of the opinion that Buddhist sites in this locality are from the middle to late Kushan period, when Scytho-Parthian fortified cities were being 'demilitarized'[48]. A new technique of making pottery adopted due to Kushan consolidation, probably came from Bharat. This may indicate a growth of trade with the Mathura of India during this period. In the 7th century AD, it is likely that monasteries of Buddhist sects were steadily replaced by Hindu temples asserting the dominance of the latter religion. Along with the military and political restructuring of the Kushan Empire we find a socio-religious reorientation which revived the activities of the cusp. Settlements in Swat began to be fortified with rectangular dwellings of two square rooms; one of them would generally be a tower. The villages are small settlements; houses and towers occur one after the other. Street structures on the ridges of hills, enclosed by walls, are visible to each other.

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[47] Luca M Olivieri and Massimo Vidale, "Archaeology and Settlement History in the Test Area of the Swat Valley", p. 134.

[48] Luca M Olivieri and Massimo Vidale, "Archaeology and Settlement History in the Test Area of the Swat Valley", p. 135.

Topography may have led to difference in religious and social affiliation. Buddhist seclusion created natural segregation based on ideology which could not prosper in the plains without state support. A Sassanid polity weakened Buddhism in the lowlands; and Hun onslaught opened the path for Hindu revival in the Enclave in general. At the end of this phase, it is possible that the Swat valley was divided into two portions, the north being ruled by a Buddhist monarch while the south may have been ruled from Lamghan by the Shahi rulers of that region[49].

Starting at 1400 BC [end of the localization era: Bronze Age], when people of Swat were farmers and made painted shelters, the Italian team studied the valley till 1500 AD. Its early historic phase, the Iron Age was of the Indo-Greeks who fostered animal husbandry and used chariots, its second phase lasted till 300 BC. Next came the phase of riders and bowmen, Buddhist religion, water tanks and urbanization under Scytho-Parthians, Kushans and Sassanid rules till 500 AD. Taxila suffered an earthquake c.50 AD, but its strategic importance remained unaltered though architectural traditions changed slightly from the Greek pattern.

In Udegram the blocks were divided into separate shopping and residential portion; occasionally, shops lined streets. A network of alleys crossing at right angles demarcated blocks, a set of 81 [9x9] had a special significance and was called a pada with its patron deity. The pada could be surrounded by a wall and have its own water reservoir and religious structures. Some of the

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[49] Luca M Olivieri and Massimo Vidale, “Archaeology and Settlement History in the Test Area of the Swat Valley”, p. 141.

information used to reconstruct the Kushan urbanisms is found in Central Asia while another kind of data is available from South Asia. In the absence of specific data[50] we can extrapolate from one to the other but this is not reliable. Therefore we have mainly relied on data that is area specific.

[50] B. A. Litvinsky, "Cities and Urban Life in the Kushan Kingdom" in J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etamadi, *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. II, p. 299ff has freely used the prerogative of extrapolation which seems inappropriate because there is a consistent absence of one kind of data in one locality and of the other kind in the other locality. The innovation of the Kushan as much as their administrative genius could surely have adjusted to a variety of settlements when they had adjusted to a variety of subjects.

STAGE – III: 500 BC – 700 AD

Gandhara: Patterns of Life

Only a few towns of this period are known from archaeological data. These are the political or religious settlements, Gandhara towns, of the northwest. Taxila, being the most famous of them, should be considered a single settlement which was located at three sites in close proximity. The oldest of them was the Bhir [meaning mound in the local dialect], then Sirkap and Sirsukh.

Swat may have been the most thickly populated region within Gandhara because of its proximity with the capitals at Peshawar and Charsadda. It may also have had a special importance as the route of the Buddhist missions and related trade to Central Asia and China. In this section, as in the previous one, data regarding Taxila and Swat has been used to illustrate actual urbanisms of the period but we must bear in mind that generalizations from these sites must be confined to Gandhara[1].

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[1] Certain interesting observations show the common features that prevailed from the previous urban experience and we have demarcated units of

Bhir, possibly fortified by mud bricks was first inhabited in the 5th or 6th century BC, it remained occupied till the post-Mauriya autonomous period. Its house plans and the street layout seemed 'haphazard' to Marshall[2] and seemed to have grown without any governance. He does, however, remark that the levels of "streets and lanes present the same phenomena" as are found in Sirkap and Harappa in which the side streets rise higher than[3] the main street. We should infer that the earlier tradition as amended by later [Aryan?] entrants caused the variations from the Harappan norm. The Harappan sectoral structure followed a *haveli-deorhi-sehan* plan for houses. The Bhir layout is a *muhalla-vehra-ahata* one in which outer limits of localities are marked while the inner plan is based on 'user convenience' with common open spaces[4]. This plan is ideal for varied land use within specific localities; a utilitarian-abstract spatial aesthetic for ethnic plurality.

Perhaps in its early days, Taxila was a university town that was made into a school for Buddhism under Ashok, or an Aryanised

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hinterland on the basis of Alexander's experience. All extrapolations, interpolations, inferences and generalizations, however, are tentative and conditional statements of trends and probabilities only.

[2] Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, (London: CUP, 1960): 48f.

[3] This pattern of split levels of side roads with main streets still persists in Pakistani town, especially where civic authority is unable to enforce 'modern' town planning techniques. Even the yards of houses are elevated from street level in many towns, perhaps in consonance with a drainage plan for rain water that harkens back to Harappan times.

[4] A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, p. 84, describes it as a system of squares/chowk within localities. This is fair enough as it has been a common pattern of urban planning in the region of Pakistan until colonial times.

educator commune which may or may not have been very caste conscious. The main street ran north to south, perhaps lined by a market place, possibly with iron industry and jewellery making as local occupations. [5] Private soak wells were maintained in every house; these are generally not seen after the Greek occupation. No domestic wells are to be found at Bhir, this may suggest that stream water was used for the daily needs of the city.

The location of Taxila is very interesting because it offers a variety of spatial options. Bhir was probably the eastern outpost of pre-Greek Gandhara and, consequently, lay to the west of the water course well behind the pass of Margala. Defending its east against the country of Porus in the Chaj doab, it did not need a fortification with river Jhelum and Pothohar to halt aggressors.

In contrast, Sirkap used the Haithal spur to guard its citadel and two streams to provide a natural moat to surround an irregular fort for its grid pattern settlement. A Bactrian city, c.200 BC, its grid-pattern was a throw-back to the Harappans of Saraikola or from a Greek inspiration to surround the grid with ramparts. The rampart was about $3^1/_2$ miles long and 15-20 foot wide along the contours of the land on the south and west but fairly straight on the north and east where topography allowed. The absence of wells in the town is a feature common with Bhir. House plans are in the "oriental style and they are interspersed with Buddhist stupas and shrines" but a Greek temple or cultural complex is not found in

[5] Dani and Marshall in their respective books on Taxila disagree on the possibility of shops along the street.

Sirkup city[6]. A softer stone is used for construction in this site, which suggests both a shift in technology as well as trade links for import of varieties of stone.

The north gate is not in line with the main street; instead, like house entrances of the Harappan settlements, it is aligned a little to the east. This is the same kind of space management as is to be found in the *haveli-deorhi-sehan* principle for houses; people rushing in will find an obstruction. The building designated as palace is not "pretentious in its planning or sumptuous in its adornment", again in the local tradition. Marshall does note few similarities with the Assyrian building-plans at Babylon[7]. On the whole we see an integrated architectural pattern where elements of its component cultures had blended nicely; Jandial temples were however, almost exclusively Greek in conception[8]. "The Scytho-Parthian level and Parthian level were separated in time by an earthquake" at Sirkap, and the plague had depleted its population; Marshall believes that Vima Kadphises the Kushan shifted to Sirsukh because of these calamities.

Sirsukh, built as a parallelogram, was conceivably laid out in the form of a grid but it may have combined some current traditions. Preoccupation with quadrilaterals [squares/rectangles/trapezium] continued to be an integral part of Gandhara towns during this

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[6] A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, p. 92.

[7] Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p.70.

[8] Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p.70ff, and A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, p. 112 are both agreed on this point though Dani challenged many other points.

period[9] though they were at times circular, semi-circular or even polygonal. The rubble masonry technology of earlier settlements was replaced by the diaper technology during the first century AD, because it was more stable and earthquake proof. Sirsukh remains have diaper masonry walls belonging, as they do, to the Kushan period. The fort wall has holes for defenders standing on the ground with semi-circular, hollow bastions. Neither the moat nor fortification and location backed by hills are defensive as they were in the Greek city of Sirkap. It is fairly clear that, though the Kushans too needed a defensive posture initially, their expectation of being attacked at Taxila was minimal.

Marshall believes that stupas became a standard Buddhist form during the reign of Asoka and that the high-walled monastery emerged some three centuries later. A secluded location neither too far from habitation nor too near; accessible to people; not crowded or noisy was approved for bhikshus and sangharamas. Taxila was ideally located for such secluded spots as was Birkot in Swat with its several eminences allowing insular interaction and competition that would allow various sangharamas to cater to the needs of a spiritual cosmopolitan city. Until we are able to date the various stupas more exactly it will not be possible to assess cultural elements responsible for the rise of different practices and their ethnic or political origins[10].

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[9] B. A. Litvinsky, "Cities and Urban Life in the Kushan Kingdom" in J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etamadi, *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol., p. 301f.

[10] Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, and A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, both have their interpretations regarding dates and significance of the monuments. No

The form and functions of Kushan towns may be put together by using archaeological data and contemporary texts from various parts of the Kushan Empire[11]. It is likely that West Asian forms derived from Babylon provided a base, influenced by Hellenistic and Harappan styles, to which the Kushan added other elements that they innovated or acquired from their various subjects. The cities were generally oriented north to south with a main street intersected at right angles by side streets. There was a lower, larger northern part and a higher smaller southern part of the city at Sirkap with its main street lined with shops; the Kushan city of Sirsukh was probably built on the same lines, being about the same size. Roughly, the same grid pattern seems to have been in use across the realm, from Central Asia, through the Enclave [as at Charsadda], to South Asia. The location of higher and lower cities was not standardized but it was a common pattern as was decoration of monumental structures and erection of shrines.

SECTION 'A': Political & Administrative

Governments, States and Politics of the Enclave

Alexander entering the northwest corner of the Enclave found many independent small states before he reached the Indus. The Aspasi, Gurai and Assakin lay between Buner and Bajaur in the

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doubt they are extremely important for the reconstruction of the socio-ethnic history of Pakistan; it is precisely for this reason that they should not be interpreted on the basis of inadequate evidence.

[11] One such reconstruction has been provided by B. A. Litvinsky, "Cities and Urban Life in the Kushan Kingdom" in J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etamadi, *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. II, pp. 291ff, we have used this account as a guide for the description that follows.

north; the Astaken in the Peshawar valley, ruled by Astes from Puscilatis [Pushkalavati] today identified as Charsadda and the archaeological sites of Balahisar and Sheikhan Dheri. Taxila was ruled by Ombhi Taxiles the Chaj and Rachna doabs were ruled by two rulers entitled Porus [ruler of a pur or fortified town]. In the Bari Doab were the Katha and Adrishta tribes while the Poonch district was ruled by Raja of Abhisares and nearby was the Saubhuti principality and the Ksudraka in the upper Bari region; other tribes whose location is difficult to identify were the Abastane, Xathri and Ossadii as the Greeks pronounce them. In the south [Sind] we find rulers named Musicanus, Sambos and Oxykanos vying for supremacy; Alexander passed through the region without disturbing the balance of power but caused ripples in the political fabric. The Enclave was organized into eight satrapies, in some local rulers were reinstated [as in Taxila, Poonch and east of the river Jhelum] others had Greek satraps.

The greatest Achaemenid legacy was a script. Aramaic evolved into Kharoshti in the Enclave linking it with the Mediterranean and bequeathing it a thousand years of literacy. While Sanskrit may have been the language of religious learning, Kharoshti was the language of administration. This also provided the people of Taxila with an opportunity to augment their already established status as custodians of learning and as the bulwark of the middle path between Zoroastrian and Brahmanical cannons, especially when compared with the Jain religious thought. The strictness and austerity of the Jains made the Buddhists appear to be quite easy-going; it was not until the revival of a much mellowed Hinduism that Buddhism faced a strong challenge.

Chanakya suggested that highlanders, forest dwellers or bandits could be recruited in the army along with warrior clans. These types of people were found in the middle and northern belt of the Enclave. Parvataka of the northern regions, Sakas, Yavanas, Kiratas, Kambojas, Parasikas or Balhikas may have contributed to the army raised by Chandragupta; the inclusion of Yavanas [Greeks] may refer to people who had settled here under Darius.

One school of historians credits Chanakya with the training of Chandragupta for the specific purpose of avenging himself on a Nanda king. Chandragupta probably recruited a following from tribes of the middle Indus who had harassed Alexander. Some perhaps came from the satrapy of Porus, proud of the resistance that had led to the reinstatement of their king.

Chandragupta probably established his ascendency in the Punjab and Sind by 315 AD and was able to extend his influence into Afghanistan [Qandahar/Arachosia, Kabul/Paropamisade, Herat or Aria and part of Baluchistan/Gedrosia through negotiations with Seleucus. The satrapy system of the Achaemenid rulers had created decentralized administration necessary for a vast empire when communication was difficult. Cultural sensitivity needed for setting up procedures and rules of business eluded Alexander and some of his early successors. Military prowess alone could conquer but not hold the fabric of state; when the Achaemenid decline provided the opportunity, Mauriya ingenuity supplanted the Greeks but retained the satrapy system of administration. In the Enclave, ethnic fragments created during the Aryan interlude were shaken up and the demographic fabric was ripe for change.

Chandragupta brought the Enclave during his reign, it remained part of the Mauriya Empire under, his son Bindusara and Asoka. Some time in Bindusara's reign a revolt took place in Taxila, the oppressive rule of the governor came to an end and Asoka took charge of the satrapy. Chandragupta probably became a Jain in the latter part of his life but Asoka may have been a Hindu in early life who later converted to Buddhism. He was a meat eater, this shows that the ban against this diet had not yet come into vogue. The vast empire needed some level of religious tolerance and Taxila may have become a Buddhist hub during this time.

Bactrian Hellenism from the north had perhaps adapted to local cultures and along with Gandhara tradition providing the fabric on which a rich civilization was to emerge despite political and military turmoil. Three important rulers established the Mauriya Empire but it withered quickly after Asoka, Virasena may have been Asoka's successor who set up a kingdom in Gandhara. The Mauriya dynasty lasted for over 100 years but its control over the Enclave may have been limited to Asoka's time.

While the Achaemenid and Macedonian conquests emphasized the western links of the cusp, the Mauriya conquest reiterated its eastern links. It is important to note that in all three cases, the northern part of the Enclave was more prominent than its south. The Bactrian, Scytho-Parthian and Kushan conquests generally conformed to this pattern as the pastoral empire builders did not find the Indus floodplains hospitable. An important difference between the Bactrians and their successors was a tendency in the latter to cross the Enclave like the Aryans and establish centres of power to its east, thereby optimizing its quality of cusp.

Perhaps it was not merely the ethnic limitation [the green-shrub highland ecology that suited these Central Asian peoples] that deterred conquerors from making use of the southern parts of the Enclave at this stage. Water shortage and the technological inadaptability of local people probably contributed heavily to a de-urbanization of the southern Enclave for a millennium or so. Even the Mauriyas preferred to extend their sway across the Hindukush rather than conquering areas west of Cholistan.

At the time of Demetrius, ruler of Bactria in the second century BC, the entire course of the Indus below Swat was conquered. Demetrius was the first Bactrian king to issue coins in Greek and Kharoshti; he may have built a city east of the lower Indus called Dattamitri. His predecessor may have given his name to Euthydemia after Euthydemos, the location now called Sialkot. The internecine struggle between the Bactrians reflects the déjà Vaux that was to come with Turks in Afghanistan during the 11th century AD. Bactrians and Parthians vied for supremacy to the east and west of the Hindukush, sometimes holding both. At other times they only held one or other side of the mountainous divide. Finally Heliocles may have retreated permanently to the Enclave c.130 BC. For two centuries successors of the Bactrians henceforth designated as Indo-Greeks, ruled the Enclave starting with Menander who was also a patron of Buddhism. It is said that Menander was a great conqueror who ruled from Kabul to Mathura and Baroch, perhaps from his centre at Sakala/Sialkot. He was succeeded by Antialcidas c.100 BC who ruled Kapisi, Taxila and Pushkalavati. For about 30 years the Sakas and Indo-Greek rulers vied for supremacy till the latter were eliminated in

30 BC. The Bactrian interlude helped in acclimatizing Greeks to local cultures and thus minimized Hellenistic influences.

The Sakas/Scythians are the dark horse in the regions associated with the Enclave as cusp. They appear in Central Asia in full bloom as three clans in three regions: Tigra Khauda Saka in the Caspian-Aral region, Haumavarga Saka beyond the Aral to the northeast and the Paradarya Saka beyond the Black sea. At the same time the word Saka begins to figure as an elitist identity: Sakyamuni and Sakala/Sialkot east of the Hindukush. A scatter of Saka homonyms of uncertain chronology, such as Masaka in China and Sivistan in Iran, add to the mystique of these people.

In fact Sakas, of all the tribal/pastoral peoples before the Turks, seem to have had an ordinal sort of clan structure. By this we mean that they had a very definite mutual association without strict bonding practices between clans. Wherever they went they adapted to the region as if it was their original homeland; they retained their ethnic identity without a desire to bond as a single group. Like the Parthians some of them succumbed to a domino effect from the Hsiung-nu or Hun pressure on the Yueh-chi or Kushans; this is what brought them to the Enclave.

Unable to penetrate the Kabul valley in the first century BC, a Saka group moved via Herat into the Enclave perhaps via the Khojak pass and founded a kingdom up to Sorashthra in the Runn of Kuch while the Indo-Greek still held the north. Like the matter of allowing meat to be eaten, the acceptance of warriors[12] into the

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[12] R. C. Majumdar, ed., *The Age of Imperial Unity*, (Bombay, 1980): 121.

Kashatri caste seems to have been possible at this time. One branch may have ruled Kashmir or some part of it, others moved on to Bharat, perhaps Ujjain or Kalinjar. Parts of their domain, particularly in the Enclave and to the west of it were soon lost to the Parthians. There is even a possibility that Sakas acquired Parthian norms or subordinated their domains to the rising Pahlavi/Parthian force. Some historians therefore refer to this period as the rule of the Scytho-Parthians.

Possibly the first of these rulers was Vonones whose coins give his titles on the obverse in Greek and those of his subordinate associate relatives on the reverse in Kharoshti script. This is an important fact; it shows the distinction between an official script that was unfamiliar to the common people. More importantly it illustrates the origin of the family claims as they are found in the Enclave today under the term *sharika*.

It was this horse riding population that acquired various state forms, from Achaemenid to Sassanid rule, interpolated by many Central Asian ethnicities originating from mountains or oases. Their forms of military organization and transport dictated the limits to which their states could be extended. Thus ethnic and cultural drive that motivated different people determined their patterns of movement, settlement and expansionism.

Some Sakas were horse riders but others of their clan were used to walking through high passes. Probably one such group led by Maues c.80 BC came over the Khunjrab pass and was joined by tribes from Siestan. Maues was probably the first Saka ruler in the Punjab with his capital at Taxila; five kings succeeded him.

Their next dynasty was founded by Azes whose coins are found at Taxila, Pushkalavati and a place on the middle Indus but no coins have been found in the Afghan mountains. This dynasty ruled from about 50 BC to 30 AD, extending across the Khyber to Jalalabad and Gardez where coins of later kings were found.

Gondophares founded the succeeding dynasty c.20 AD and had gained control of Takht Bhai by 46 AD. The king of Taxila at this time was Phraotes and was independent of the Parthian king Gondophares. The Indo-Parthians ruled over the entire Enclave and areas of Afghanistan and Bharat as well for some time but lost parts of the Enclave to contenders from time to time. It seems that there were several subordinate rulers who may have provided local continuity; contest for supremacy in the region however continued between empire builders in adjacent regions.

Perhaps also coeval with the last of the Indo-Greeks was a Saka-Parthian ruler called Maues who acquired dominance in Taxila c.85 BC. This ruler probably accepted Parthian dominance till 57 BC and then initiated his own calendar known as the Bikrami era to historians. An old Saka era is dated from 155 BC which coincides with Menander's accession and was probably used by Maues when he came to power. It seems likely that for nearly thirty years there was a contest for supremacy between Scytho-Parthian and Indo-Greek rulers. Maues was succeeded by Azes who may have enjoyed a joint kingship with Azilises, perhaps a brother or son. Once again we see the family bond as a recurrent

theme in the Afghan-Indus region.[13] In c.20 AD Gondophares emerged as ruler of part of Afghanistan and the Enclave. He had been ruling for 26 years when the Takht-i-Bhai inscription was engraved and is believed to be the greatest ruler of the Scytho-Parthians. The Chinese historian Fan-ye is reported to have said that when any state rising in India, Kashmir or Parthia became powerful, it conquered Kabul and when it became weak it lost it; Afghanistan was thus the heart of the region at that time.

In one sense the Saka-Parthian dominance of the Enclave was its second Iranian rule which was supplanted by the second Central Asian dominance. Bactrians had been the first Central Asians and the Kushans, in the middle of the first century AD, became the second Central Asians to rule the Enclave. Gondophares was perhaps a Parthian while his predecessor had been a Saka, later Taxila came to be ruled by Phraots [c.40AD] who probably extended his dominance over the lower Sind as well.

Parthian rule over the entire Enclave may have lasted till 80 AD despite internal quarrels as at Minagar near Bhanbore. In the north Bagapharna, a local chief, may have managed to establish his rule at Jhelum. The coins of the period suggest that either parallel governments of Scythians and Parthians existed or they replaced each other in quick succession till the Kushans replaced the Parthians and absorbed the Sakas. There also may have been a number of Satrapal families; the word Satrap, a corruption of Kashatrapa [the superlative form of which was Mahakashatrapa]

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[13] This practice continued even under the Muslim rulers. Governance was a family business with senior-junior dual kingship as in the case of the Ghoris or patron-confederate as in the case of Ala-ud-din Khalji.

or its Iranian equivalent Kashatrapavan[14]. This information is highly significant as it provides a vital clue as to how continuity was maintained at the local level of administration and politics despite rapid changes [both ethnic and personal] in monarchy at the central level and the varying boundaries of control. This may also be the secret of cultural and religious consistency.

For five centuries the Enclave had been under attack from east and west. Mighty powers rose, crossed the cusp and exchanged socio-cultural norms with each other. The three centuries that followed saw the rise and fall of the fascinating Kushans who initially made the Enclave the core of their empire. Through varying fortunes, the Kushans moved from Tien-shan in Chinese Turkistan to Bactria during half a century and then down to the Punjab in the next half century. Probably the first Kushan king of the Enclave was Kujula Kadphises; he may have converted to Buddhism upon ascending the throne in a Buddhist dominated area. Starting like Mahmud and Babur, 10 and 15 centuries later respectively, Kujula created a base west of the Khyber and went on to conquer Gandhara c. 50 AD. Like Mahmud of Ghaznin, Kujula extended his empire to the west and like the successors of Babur his domain was extended east of the Enclave by his family. Unlike both of them, however, the Kushans managed to retain their control on both sides of the Enclave almost to the limits of the Caspian Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Between 50 and 75 AD the Kushan rule was extended to Sind, by 100 AD they were carrying on a healthy trade with Romans,

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[14] R. C. Majumdar, ed. , *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 134.

which greatly increased their wealth. The Parthian blockade led to the exploitation of the silk route via the Indus leading to the riverine drainage of trade along the Oxus in the north and down the Indus in the south. Vima Kadphises may have been a Shivite Hindu or may have used a Shiva and Bull motif to gain support among his Hindu subjects. It is however certain that Kushans, like their Turko-Mongol successors were tolerant of other faiths within their empire, patronizing local creeds for political gain.

This view is reinforced by the difference between Kanishka's coins and his image as portrayed in Buddhist sources. His coins depict a large variety of religious symbols; the Buddhist sources however, show him as a devout Buddhist who built a great stupa at Peshawar[15]. Vima Kadphises penetrated east to Magadha he may have forayed as far north as Khotan without much success in the latter venture. Kanishka [78-102 AD, who started a new calendar from 78 AD] extended and consolidated the Kushan Empire from Khurasan to Bihar, west to east, and Khotan in the north to Narbada in the south with his capital at Peshawar.

The Kushans borrowed from Hindu, Buddhist and Zoroastrian religions and mixed Greek, Aryan and Scytho-Parthian symbols of authority with structures of administration. Soon, however, it seems that the Hindu Bharat reasserted its cultural influence. A century after it was founded, perhaps Kanishka II, allowed the eastern influence to dominate his polity. It is possible that one of his successors, Vasudeva, developed a Hindu political ideology,

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[15] R. C. Majumdar, ed. , *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 147.

from its base in Bharat, which discouraged the display of other religious symbols on his coinage around 200 AD.

The third Iranian incursion started around this time with the Sassanid conquests in the western periphery of the Enclave. The Kushans joined the Sakas to resist the pressure but could not sustain it for long and the Sassanid were able to gain Siestan, Mekran and lower Sind. Tukharistan also lost its independence by the middle of the third century AD and a group of Kushan rulers became Sassanid vassals. They may have been followed by a Kushan group referred to as the Kidar Kushan who were independent of the Sassanid rule. Whatever their status, the later Kushans, from Kanishka II onward were gradually confined to the north of the Enclave, the latitudes of Gandhara and Kashmir in the ecology where they had settled when they first came here.

The Kushan were now a beleaguered people whose rule had run its course, they were pressed on all sides. The Iranian, Central Asian and Bharati forces; Sassanid, Hun and Gupta imperialism suffocated this empire that had risen from its base in Peshawar. At the same time it seems that the faith that had received the most consistent support from the Kushans began to lose ground east of the Enclave. From Alexander's invasion Buddhism had found fertile ground in Gandhara and Bactrian Greeks revived its artistic expression. The Scytho-Parthians also contributed to the twin cultural entities of religion and art but it was Kushan patronage that made them blossom as an inimitable civilization. Asoka was touched by Buddhism in a way that made him abjure further conquest but Mahayana Buddhism provided Kushans the justification for an expansionist yet religiously tolerant policy.

The Huns tore apart the socio-cultural fabric of the preceding millennium. Appearing in history when they displaced Kushans from Central Asia c. 50 BC. They came to the Enclave c.450 AD and challenged the nascent Gupta power. Skandagupta was able to defeat them but they were able to create an empire in parts of the Sassanid state and the Enclave with their capital at Balkh. The Huns did extend their sway, apparently sometime around 500 AD, as far as Malwa and probably worshipped a sun-god to whom they built a temple at Multan.

One of their rulers may have converted to Jainism and lived on the bank of Chenab at a place called Pavvaiya. As the Chenab does not flow far from Multan this may mean one and the same thing except that the faith he professed to was a composite one in which older Shamanist beliefs were mixed with Jain cannons which he accepted under guidance of an eloquent and articulate monk. The Huns may have used Sialkot as their capital from 515 AD under their ruler Mihirakula, extending their sway into Kashmir. The ruler of Malwa claims to have defeated the Hun forces c.530; we may seek a parallel between the Mongols and the Huns in both ferocity and energy but without the staying power necessary for sustained dominance of Bharat.

Administrative system[s]within the Enclave

During times when the Enclave was ruled from external [West, Central or South Asian] centres, its internal political structures were naturally subordinated to dominant central elite. However the essential fourfold division of Harappan times seems to have persisted: northern passage zone, north-eastern and southern rural zones, mountains and piedmont tribal zones; and floodplain or

riverine boat people in the middle from Harappa to Rohri. In most tribal regions leaders not rulers headed the political elite but rural zones were divided into principalities like the northern passage zone, including Gandhara. While cities in tribal regions were less important [thus anonymous in Greek accounts], those that were administrative centres have found mention. Some of the centres of trade or industry in the tribal areas also served as sanctuaries and were fortified; perhaps some political activity of these tribal communities was organized in these cities.

The administration introduced by the Achaemenid conqueror shortly before the start of this stage is identified as segments called satrapies governed by satraps. The Macedonians tried to keep the same structure but the locals did not respond favourably and the satrap of Sind, Peithon, withdrew from here by 315 BC the Greek satrapy system had been disbanded[16]. Chandragupta had imperial designs so a monarchy came into being; extending from Taxila and its dependencies to the limits of the Punjab. It must be noted that rival claims on the Enclave placed it in the status of buffer at times, a periphery at others. This marginalized it from the centre of the state and state systems in either case. Its internal administrative structure in its tribal region combined the elements of Aryan and Harappan norms.

Grand schemes of Darius and Alexander notwithstanding, their urbanization as an imperial enterprise cannot compete with the Kushans. A considerable increase in the number of towns and an enlargement of the older towns is observed during Kushan rule.

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[16] G. M. Bongard-Levin, *Mauryan India*, op. cit, p. 88.

Some cities had all four elements of urbanisms: citadel, city proper and suburbs and religious complex[17] while others lacked citadels and religious monuments. Kushans perhaps understood better than their predecessors the economic function of cities in an empire. The cities in the heartland ceased to need protection and the state generally sponsored religious monuments where they were supported by the local population because of the variety of beliefs within their enormous domain. Urban arts and crafts were patronized when they led to cultural refinement and fine arts such as sculpture, painting and music. The Kushan city bound together its hinterland with its three lifestyles: that of the nomads of the steppes, villagers and prospectors of industrial raw material. Cities exercised a triple control through parallel administrative, religious and economic [commercial] power.

Although the ideal city-plan as outlined by Kautilya is seldom to be seen in the town planning of the Kushans, its general outlines were followed as needed. Perhaps the Scythians, while building Sakala/Sialkot[18] came as close as possible to the layout depicted in the Arthashastra. The figure three is recurrent in instructions (three moats, three roads each north-south and east-west, twelve [3x4] gates) regarding town plans. Parks, pleasances and lakes were to be planned along with bazaars, residential areas, palace, temples and sections for craftsmen. Interestingly, it seems that the

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[17] B. A. Litvinsky, "Cities and Urban Life in the Kushan Kingdom" in J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etamadi, *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. II, p. 299ff.

[18] S. R. Dar, *Historical Routes through Gandhara (Pakisan) 200BC-200Ad*, (Lahore: NCA-Ferozsons, 2006): 29; the capital of king Menander who succeeded Demetrius as leader of Indo-Greeks in the 2nd century BC.

cities were mainly populated by immigrants and non-local[19] people. The primary function of city was administrative; the heart of the administrative mechanism was military apparatus. [20]

SECTION 'B': Socio-economic

Ethnicities

We have accepted the postulate that the people referred to as 'Aryans' in history should be identified properly as 'speakers of Aryan languages' because they seem to display racial and ethnic diversity. It seems logical in the light of data, to emphasize the cultural differences between the Aryans who crossed into Bharat and those who settled in Persia; particularly in the context of the Enclave. In one sense the demographic structure reinforced both topography and geography in the cusp/foyer/Enclave; in another sense it under-wrote the continuous function of cusp bequeathed to the Enclave by geography. The cultural affinity of Iran with Bharat that had existed due to their common Aryan past was to diverge. Initially, due to inherent differences between settlers of the two regions; later, it was enhanced by the subsequent settlers who chose their domicile based on their own temperaments.

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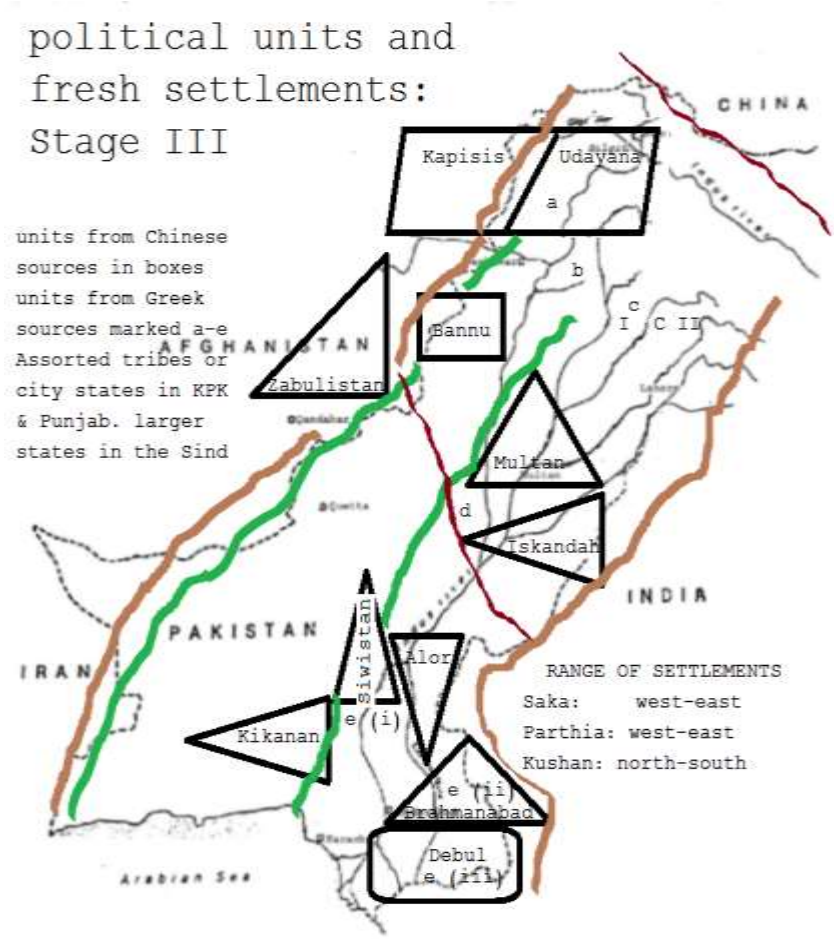
[19] B. A. Litvinsky, "Cities and Urban Life in the Kushan Kingdom" in J. Harmatta, B. N. Puri, and G. F. Etamadi, *History of Civilizations in Central Asia*, Vol. II, p. 302-3

[20] It is difficult enough to reconstruct the political units created by the various ethnic elites; with the data available it is virtually impossible to reconstruct the variations of their administrative machinery.

Gandhara



MAP 12

However, through intervening foyers, they continued a sporadic interaction, reinforcing affinities and highlighting diversities by the various layers, shades and varieties of influences that each of them acquired through history. The Sakas settled in all areas of the Enclave. Parthians confined themselves to the piedmonts in the west generally away from the river and towns. The Kushans preferred the uneven topography of the north and narrow rivers of the Punjab; from Khyber to Gomal and Jammu to Ajodhan.

The Aryans who passed through the Enclave to settle in the north plains of Bharat may have parted ways with their brethren on issues of faith or on the direction of descent from Hindukush Mountains or politics in the two regions, if at all they had ever been a cohort. It seems likely that in fact they were neighbouring people in some other land who had commonalities because of long interaction and association. The groups that went to Bharat preferred the plains and bred cattle; they avoided areas of older settlement, desired a tribal socio-political fabric and formulated a religious construct when sedentary life brought home the need for standardization of beliefs, norms and governance.

Apparently they had to formulate state structures, in a vacuum. Aryans who went towards Mesopotamia, by contrast, found an established state system with rivals competing for supremacy. Their illiterate community had to adjust to monumental remains and literate compositions going back so far as to necessitate restoration of precedent and revival of tradition. They had to contend with rival states, ideologies and norms to establish their

own culture and mores for others to emulate[21]. They preferred mountainous terrain and sought to extend their state to a riverine boundary rather than a piedmont or pass for defence.

This pattern of using rivers as dividers perhaps had its roots in the Mesopotamian experience of natural defences but it was the Achaemenid state whose nomadic background encouraged them to unify populations on both sides of mountains and deserts in a water-bound empire covering all of west Asia.

Faiths

Their successors, Sakas, Parthians, Huns and Kushans followed similar patterns while delineating their empires but occasionally followed the Greek precedent of using highlands or desert barriers. In the last millennium before Christ five interconnected state systems emerged in a belt of latitudes 20-40 north. The last to emerge as a system were Mediterranean states of Phoenicia, Carthage, Rome and Greece. These linked the Fertile Crescent, the oldest of state systems, with Greece and Anatolia, the shared regions, cusps to Asia and Europe. The extended system of West Asia overlapped with the Mediterranean in Phoenicia; Central Asia in Bactria; with South Asia in the Indus Enclave. On the extreme east of the sequence lay China which was linked to Central Asia in the Sinkiang region. The Enclave, placed as it was

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[21] Joseph Wiesehofer, *Ancient Persia*, p. 34ff gives some unique features of Achaemenid kingship that set them apart from Babylonian predecessors and Greco-Macedonian successors. The practices became precedents for the Sassanid Iranians who bequeathed gracious, courteous, benign and magnanimous traditions that became a model for oriental rulers. These values were to become ideals for Muslim sovereigns.

between the three systems of West, Central and South Asia was influenced by developments in all.

In the early part of this phase Buddhism and Jainism emerged east of the Enclave; gradually the former became dominant in the region. Vedic beliefs had undergone constant evolution for over a millennium; however, they took five centuries to respond to challenges from the new faiths. Together the three religions, as arbiters of beliefs homogenous and harmonious with their world view, emerging from Bharat and pushed back Zoroastrian influences. When Asoka cast his lot with Buddhism it became firmly entrenched in the Enclave, which had ever been antithetic and irreverent of Brahmanical cannons.

Half a millennium of patronage by various ethnicities led to a cultural brilliance in art and religion which finally succumbed to the resurgence of Brahmin thought and the rise of what we know as Hinduism today, under the imperial Guptas[22].

The invading armies from east and west brought new beliefs, some of which were incorporated in the existing faiths, having a distinct South Asian flavour. In order to achieve a local ethno-genesis the conquerors adopted a political rhetoric which suited imperial design and a religious posture that suited social mores.

The a-literate culture of the Aryans suited neither the imperial aspiration nor the abstraction of Buddhist thought. Aramaic text,

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[22] Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths and Legends of India*, (Twickenham: Senate, 1998): 119ff, believes that the rise of Shiva and Vishnu, more particularly the latter, may have been the prime vehicle for the defeat of Buddhism.

introduced by Achaemenid rule led to Asoka's edicts and, due to state sponsorship, Buddhist literature. Sanskrit, which emerged in the east to support Hindu beliefs, actually provided a common vehicle for the three contesting faiths. It is probable that Sakas provided the leadership and energy necessary for Hindu revival in Bharat and Malwa. A syncretistic vision that reabsorbed the two schools of Buddhism and Jain faith within a single structure seems to have begun reorientation of religious thought in Ujjain while the Kushans still controlled the Enclave. When Sassanid and Hun attacks weakened the Kushan state and Buddhist faith, Hindu rulers began to gain popular support in the Enclave.

Particularly worthy of note is the fact that Iranians ruled over far more arid and infertile lands than their Bharati Aryan brethren, yet they created a more brilliant material civilization with great socio-political organization. They gave its first epigraphic script to the Enclave, incorporated it in their monetized economy and established the state system of dependencies. When they were superseded by the Greeks, Bactrians, Parthians and Scythians, the Enclave acquired Hellenistic cultural components. Kushans integrated the entire cultural gamut of the age only to surrender it again to Iranians, led by the Sassanid, Ardeshir. Their lower branch, Kidar Kushans, used the Kharoshti script until they fell under the influence of the imperial Guptas and acquired both, the style of their coinage and the Brahmi script. Dani believes that this may be one reason for the rise of the 'heretical' sects[23].

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[23] A. H. Dani, *Peshawar*, (Lahore: Sang-e-meel, 2002): 66f, suggests that the complaint of Hiuen-sang that Taxila was under the influence of heretical sects at his time may be due to Gupta support of Hinduism in the region.

It seems that till the coming of the Kushans Jainism had a fairly strong presence at Taxila but this was lost in the first century AD[24]. The Kushans are not notorious for religious persecution and/or destructive tendencies like the Ephtalites who contributed to their decline. Kushan rulers are known to have subscribed to different faiths like the Mauriyas before them[25]. The persistent pressure of Sassanid and Kashmiri expansion and the wonton destruction by the Ephtalites resulted in the decline of Taxila as a religious centre and university town. Its eclipse is coeval with the end of this stage of urbanization and Buddhist hegemony as a faith in this region. Jainism, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism had been losing ground consistently, now Brahman ascendency was revived; thus patronage of Buddhism passed on to Central Asia.

With genuinely atheistic origins, Buddhists soon felt the need to compete with the many gods of Hindus and their iconography. Gandhara schist and phyllite, stucco, terracotta and unbaked clay provided a variety of mediums with occasional use of ivory paintings and precious metals to give artists a competitive range. From the eastern slopes of the Hindukush to the Margala Pass and from Swat hills to the Mianwali rim, a circle of eminences enclosed the Gandhara heart-land, its main sites were Lauriyan-

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[24] Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p.30, when the city was hit by plague a Jain holy man was invited from Rajasthan to fight it. The city had 500 Jain religious establishments which moved away after the coming of the Kushans, perhaps because they only patronized Buddhist monasteries.

[25] A. H. Dani, *Peshawar*, p. 63f, notes that Kanishka was a Buddhist, he used figures of Buddha on his coins; his successor, Vima Kadphises, probably a Hindu, used the Siva and bull motif on his coins.

Tangi, Jamal-Garhi, Takht-Bhai, Sikri, Bahlol, Shahji ki Dheri, Sabzgarhi, Charsadda, Butkara, Saidu Sharif and Taxila. From the 1st to the 4th century AD, Kushan patronage provided it a secure haven which was finally destroyed by the Hun incursion in the middle of the 5th century with a hiatus between Sassanid and Kidar Kushan rule [250-390 AD]. While the first phase was mainly in stone in the second phase stucco and clay dominated the scene indicating a technological shift.

Rock carving as an alternative medium in Dir, Swat and along Karakorum indicates cultural continuity after the Hun invasion. It is suggested that the idea of iconic representation emerged due to Hellenistic influence; others suggest Roman or Bharati origin. Though this debate is not germane to our study, we may note that Greek and Roman influences are certainly visible in the artistic representation. This Mediterranean influence, however, is not as obvious in the ideas expressed by the artists.

Chinese, Turkic and Aryan spirituality seems to have dominated Buddhist religious issues so that we hardly find any trace of the Greco-Roman religious forms in Gandhara. If the problem of chronology and dating can be resolved, Gandhara art could help in the reconstruction of ethnic influences on the beliefs and art forms. It would then be possible to identify the contributions of the Greek, Iranian, Scythian, Parthian and Kushan rulers to the base provided by Aryans or even Harappans living in Gandhara. In our present study we will not attempt such an analysis.

Economy

With the revival of urban life came a restoration of links in the hinterland. A pastoral-rural balance was needed for Achaemenid

rule. Perhaps state economic management was introduced in the Enclave for the first time; and pastoral domains may have been formally delineated. A local dispensation under the Satrap may have governed villages and towns as envisioned by Kautilya. The Mauriya, Gupta and Sassanid states had a rural-Agricultural economic base which thrived on expansionist-military political agenda. The Bactrian-Greek, Saka-Parthia and Hun-do-Kushan polity had a pastoral economic paradigm outlook which treated with tolerance and patronized the rural community. Trade was more important than industry to them for which they chose routes best suited to their beasts of burden. Their settlements too were concentrated in areas where they could feed the animals they rode, slaughtered, or raised for dairy items.

To a great extent the political units that emerged reflected the economic paradigm and ethnicity of its inhabitants. The tribes that Alexander met appear to have had their own domains, but no state existed per se. These domains whether principalities, oligarchic collectives or satrapies, held sway in a biome of their choice. When an ethno-genesis brought a change in leadership of a newly constructed tribe, the limits of the biome would be redefined or restructured according to the needs of the botanic and/or zoological counterparts of the emergent elite

Occupations

From this stage, security and administration acquire the status of major economic activities. An expanding state, whether in terms of territory or issues of governance, is in need of surplus labour even when it does not support a standing army. Societies needed

to find individuals of strong mind, body and will for military or managerial tasks who were not involved in agriculture, trade or industry[26] as a full-time career. The carrot and stick of security along with the social need for coordinating collective effort gave the push and pull necessary for supporting an enterprise of state. The analysis relies on the Marxian axiom that monetized, barter, or mixed, essentially all economies are based on an exchange of goods and services. In this stage economics in the Enclave was based on military enterprise; socio-ethnic and communal honour. State and clan economies rested on military administration.

The enterprise of constructing houses, monuments, commercial, industrial buildings, urban civil-work and state communication networks such as roads may be the largest economic activity at this stage. Civil engineering would have been as important in Gandhara as it was for Harappans; if not during the entire period at least during the consolidated period of Kushan state, because in times of change, the military enterprise would have acquired the primary status. As the activity included surface decoration in the form of sculpture or painting, civil engineering would have been a multi-stage complex economic activity under Kushans.

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[26] Buddhist texts list 75 occupations or professions which may have had a Shreni or guild structure. See Thapar, op. cit., p. 248. According to the Arthashastra the organizations had to be registered. Their courts had to be obeyed. Some regulations were imposed by the jati on lifestyle, dress and social usage. Naturally its economic frame of reference was dictated by the closed society organizations essentially without external pressure. Perhaps this ethno-genesis is reflected in the Varna-sankara of Manu.

Elephants, horses[27] with chariots and bullock carts dictated the nature of roads for towns and highways.

Among the objects of daily use were fabrics like muslin, flowers and perfumes, jewellery of stone, silver and bronze. Herbs, fruits, vegetables, bakery items, meat and fish provided for the dietary needs of inhabitants who were omnivorous. The entertainment professions included conjurers and actors and restaurants were also in business, perhaps for the many travellers who settled in these clean cities with canals and gardens where people sang and made merry. Gandhara cities are fewer and smaller as are its ceramic remains. It is in the field of stone artefacts, however, that Gandhara art and industry display the extraordinary talent of its people. The major industries of Gandhara people seem to have been civil and military governance and religious education. In the context of the latter we find that art was a major medium of glorifying religion and its education. Gandhara art, far more than that of the Harappans, testifies to their taste in clothing**.** The most important economic change that came to the Enclave at this time was monetization. Achaemenid and Greek victors introduced gold coinage to Central Asia and South Asia giving a fillip to the economic activity and urbanization in both regions.

In the case of the Greeks, it seems that the grand adventure of Alexander did not leave much of an impact except in material

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[27] The Sakas were an equestrian people with a penchant for sophisticated burial chambers. Graves made of timber indicate social stratification. Chiefs had large burial chambers where horses were buried with them.

culture[28]. Neither theories of kingship or state, nor of philosophy religion and art, not even language and literature seem to have registered a significant change. Probably the number of Greek settlers in Alexander's train was small and even the Bactrian fallout did not make an impact. However, crafts or materials that came with the conqueror were learnt, acquired and developed. Features of faces in sculpture, architecture, Armor, jewellery and metal objects are fields in which technology was acquired from the peoples whose cultures had blended in Bactria.

Culture

The Greek sense of political history narrative was distinct from an Achaemenid imperial political statement of achievements and radically different from inarticulate culture of the Enclave and Bharat. A divergence is found in the political culture of the three regions abutting the Enclave as a cusp. A centuries old tradition of state and empire derived from the Babylonian model. On the other side was a nomadic-tribal militant imperialism represented as much by the Scytho-Parthians as by the conquering Greeks. A third model was the Aryan form as developed in Bharat. The Kushans, more than all others, amalgamated the three models in their state which enveloped the Enclave; integrating contiguous segments from all the three regions. The east half of West Asia, the south part of Central Asia, the north and west of South Asia came to be a single state for a time, united in language and art.

If Aryans had become familiar with the thrifty Harappan script, it neither satisfied their religious need nor the imperial one. It is

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[28] A. H. Dani, *Taxila*, p. 64ff.

likely that the Harappan script receded with decline in trade in the Enclave and, as Aryans did not have a viable substitute, oral tradition was used to preserve ethnic memory. The Iranians, by contrast, had inherited literate traditions from Babylon; therefore their script revived writing in the Enclave. The Bharati Aryans had to invent monarchical tradition from scratch and coined the concept of raj from the *mahajanapadas* and the *gana-sanghas*. The Achaemenid Shah on the other hand could look back on a long history and was able to impress an imperial design through coins, Zoroastrian religion and textual edicts. They were thus able to recruit the archers of the Enclave, and perhaps beyond, who used bows of cane and iron tipped arrows. These people wore cotton cloth and high-heeled shoes; the former indicates link with the plains where cotton was grown, the latter is an anomaly for which no precedent comes to mind. Greek records also reiterate the 'consensual economy of trust' mentioned in context with Indus seals in the first stage; noting that oral business agreements 'were invariably honoured'[29].

The social fabric across the Enclave from north to south and east to west appears similar to that of Harappan times. Independent units of localized administration and social organization can be found in all regions based on traditional forms of a time honoured communal experience. Voluntary socio-economic integration of communes of skills revolved around a defence industry to form ecological and topographic collectives based on productivity.

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[29] D. B. Vohra, *A Panoramic History of the Indian People*, p. 44.

Some areas, like Gandhara, Sind and Rachna Doab seem to have been able to form large collectives to form kingdoms.

An important difference between the eastern and north-western influences flowing to and from the Enclave lay in the literacy of these neighbours. While eastern Aryans maintained oral traditions for several millennia and even the Buddhist records generally belong to the post-Greek period; Achaemenid, Greek, Parthian and Sassanid rulers left indelible legacies in stone. The Kushans and Huns inherited the traditions, thus coins, stone inscriptions and other texts are abundant as against the meagre evidence of Asoka's edicts; emulating the Iranian examples. Most of these aspects of material culture relate to Gandhara alone. A spiritual-cultural contest, however, was common to the entire Enclave. While Bharati religious thought dominated the Enclave, its western fringe was tinged by a Zoroastrian spiritual hue.

SECTION 'C': Capacities & constraints

Environmental constraints

Forests and non-flooding rivers had proved to be deterrents to Indus urbanism; distant sources of iron ore also enhanced de-urbanization because intervening communities took charge of industry using this metal. These constraints worked in favour of the northern regions west of those rivers which had provided flood plains for the Harappans. Unlike the two preceding stages, this was a highly militant period in all regions adjacent to the Enclave. An active and rugged polity was needed to meet the challenge of the times; hardy life of the mountains and desert pastoralists suited this need well. Skylax of Caryanda was

commissioned by Darius to travel down the Indus started his journey to the Enclave from Pactyice on the Kabul river.

The deserts on either side of the Indus did not suit the pastoral empire builders nor did the rivers of the plains attract them. Strange to say, even mountains south of the Khyber Pass do not seem to have lured their adventurous spirit to exploring links with Baloch regions and the south of Iran. Only Alexander's somewhat forced passage through the Kech-Mekran regions brings them back into focus. For all intents and purposes, the urbanization of the Enclave lay in a '¥' shaped region where the parallel lines lay at the top of the Y instead of the middle, denoting the passage in the north. Within the Y the production function remained more or less the same as it had been in the late Harappan phase except for the military products in demand.

The second millennium witnessed the rise of horse and camel as additions to domesticated animals because they revolutionized nomadic life. Their enhanced mobility rendered sedentary rural population highly vulnerable to footloose, energetic travellers. Militancy, conquest and warfare originating from a brigandage received a boost and led to empire building. In spite of several advantages the horse has limited tolerance of heights, thus its husbandmen preferred ruling foothills, steppes and plateaus.

Limits of scientific and technological knowledge

Perhaps two technologies that the Harappans refused to acquire were the use of the plough and canal irrigation. Just as they do not seem to have taken to iron as metal, apparently allowing the bronze technology to dwindle, they did not extend agriculture

beyond the flood plain. In lower Sind this seems understandable with the river flowing higher than the surrounding land but the Punjab did not offer such an excuse. The fact that the Harappans did not exploited the Jhelum and Indus for agriculture west of Harappa also suggests that these rivers, perhaps even Chenab were too dry and shallow. It would be worthwhile to investigate the possibility that some of the water lost to the Ghaghara found its way into these western rivers during Vedic times.

The absence of agriculture in highlands induced the Cemetery H people to follow the Mesopotamian practice of drawing water channels from a higher point of terrain to farm in steps. Another possibility is that they brought the knowledge from their earlier habitat in the Central Asian steppes. The valley of Swat and its environs, rich in minerals also had abundant water-rich virgin soil which could be exploited for agriculture, animal husbandry, minerals, ascetic solitude for religious cogitation and spiritual-intellectual training of secular and clerical personnel alike. This would have been the source of Gandhara's rich contribution to Achaemenid coffers and its wealthy cultural heritage.

Resource constraints

Workmen used wood [carpenter], clay [potter], stone [engraver and carver], iron and copper [smiths] and leather as material in common use; gold, silver, ivory and precious stones were costly materials for the elite. The add-on concept of collectives of industry had led to craft and skill specialization and a hereditary apprenticeship method had nurtured the commune of skill as a family venture. Kautilya advocated giving special privileges to the skilled workers. He states that workshops were located in the

south eastern part, weavers, wool-beaters, leather-dressers; arms and Armor manufacturers lived in the west part while jewellers and smiths occupied the north part of town. Shops of a particular commodity or service were located on the same street. In Bharat a strict discipline emerged in the form of casts or state regulated guilds; in the Enclave, without any regular state management, biradris based on the Harappan model became the norm.

Paradigms

Even nomads, must have identified themselves as families or as tribes. This was the primary reference for sharing and division of labour on one side and exclusion from common property on the other. As soon as they began to settle in different locations, a secondary reference, domicile, came into play; recasting tribe or race into ethnicity. When states came into being they absorbed ethnic identities. The more centralized states overrode parochial identities of domicile. This formed a tertiary identity that bound society in a thread of common interest and shared pride or glory. A quaternary identity, which may have been incipient before the formation of states was the identity of faiths and ideologies.

Each succeeding frame of reference took priority over identities preceding it and exercised the right to restructure society to suit its own needs. The primary identity, being the most natural, and virtually unavoidable, was reinforced by each of the succeeding ones in the form of family. The organization and management of states also needed the context of domicile; thus they encouraged stable settlements but tried to rearrange ethnicity as required.

Residents of a types of ecology, also experienced a natural sense of identity because they had to adjust to specific environments. This then influenced demographic movement when a population decided to relocate itself. The next two references of identity [common interest or shared pride and faith/ideology] correspond to the personal or social nature of humans more than to external environment. While organization enforced a social order, beliefs forced individuals to make a choice of their cohort.

The pastoralists who, by dint of militancy based on an ethic, that might is right and security or possession ratifies ownership, set up empires across west Asia. The Mesopotamians had built on the foundation of a rural based organization of collective effort in the Tigris-Euphrates, a state which provided the archetype for the Iranians to follow. Successive rulers built into this a divine sanction, by claiming divinity for themselves or invoking Divine delegation of powers. Most of these empire builders hailed from highlands on the periphery of Iranian plateau and preferred to find similar localities when relocating themselves. The potential of building an empire around food surplus areas with sedentary population along with military strength determined magnitude and direction of expansionism. Topography or climate defined contours of territorial boundaries and defensibility of the state.

The political paradigm was a structure of nesting hierarchies and sovereignties. It is essential to understand the implications of this situation in order to make sense of the confusing plethora of numismatic evidence for the Saka-Parthia and Kushan rulers. Split loyalties, nesting sovereignties and parallel, simultaneous hierarchies bound rajas and satraps to overlords. The Jana-sanga or jana-pada was the basic unit of governance. A person/group

could hold sway over a domain from the size of a village to that of a town. This entity would be sovereign for most of its socio-economic needs. This sovereignty could be nested within that of a satrap or raja whose sovereignty was more administrative than military; the military sovereign was the overlord.

Parallel with political leadership was spiritual leadership. It had a less well defined domain but a stronger hold over its subjects. In fact it exercised the right to levy a cultural tax on the political elite and establish a religious claim on all classes of society, especially cultural and political elites. It was this leadership that maintained the continuity of culture; the hallmark of Gandhara civilization. The questions posed by king Malinda/Manindar to Nagasena became the manual for Buddhist preaching[30].

Since Malinda ruled the Punjab, Hazara and Swat, it is easy to see the connection of culture with its heartland. It is, however, an enigma why the Greeks were drawn to Buddhism when they had the choice of Hindu mythology. Perhaps it was a general aversion to mythology or their leaning to Aristotelian atheism.

On the economic front was a third parallel hierarchy, for which the basic unit was also the same local management that lay at the base of the political and religious pyramids. While the rural unit was held together by the saipi or jajman system [mutual roster of rights in a closed economy of goods and services], and a communal system of adjudication of disputes, the urban one had guilds. The 'Shreni' or collective of skills/industry were

[30] Content of this discourse is controversial and need not be discussed here.

registered locally. The religious and economic elite exercised rights which split the sovereignty of the political elite at the level of each tier in the set of nesting sovereignties. These could be several tiers of lords and overlords, rajas and maharajas.

GENERAL NOTE

The travels of two Chinese Buddhists in search of religious wisdom [5th and 7th centuries] gives a valuable insight to the structure of the Enclave and changes that occurred during the intervening period. Fa Hien seems to have taken the route through Tibet and Laddakh into the Enclave and to Afghanistan before re-crossing the mountains at a southerly point. From here he moved along the riverine plains south of the Salt range to get to Jumna through what had been Sothi-Siswal in Harappan times. Hiuen-sang on the other hand came to Kabul and then to Gandhara; he seems to have followed a zigzag path through the doabs, perhaps in search of pattans or in order to comb the area for its Buddhist heritage which, by this time was in decline[31]. His description does not include Multan and Sind as he went on to Bharat; he was aware of the region all the way down to the Indus delta, however. Both pilgrims found the trip to Bharat advantageous, Hiuen-sang more than his predecessor. We will conclude this chapter with a brief comparison that will serve as prelude to the next stage, less than a century after Hiuen-sang.

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[31] See, Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645 AD*, ed. T.W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell, Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, XIV, (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904): passim.

Fa Hien found the people of Swat using the same language as that of Madhya-desh. Since Fa Hien communicated mainly with religious elite, it is reasonable to infer that this was not broadly true in colloquial speech but that religious and urban elite across the Kushan domain experienced a lingua-genesis or sanctified a lingua franca. Since the clothes and food were also similar, it is possible that large numbers of urban or monastic residents had in fact migrated to this core region of Hinayana beliefs.

Swat, Gandhara Peshawar and Taxila were four distinct regimes, perhaps states, c.400 AD[32]. To the west was Ningarhar, a state with its capital at Hidda[33], which the traveller visited to see some monuments. He re-crossed the mountains to reach the location called Rohi. This is an old name for riverine deserts also called Thal in modern times and could mean the Kurram region or the desert south of Mianwali. In the former case, the next country that Fa Hien visited was Bannu to the east of Kurram, in the latter it could be a place near Khushab. Then he went to Bhera, east of Sargodha and taking a south eastern direction made his way, past

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[32] See for details, Fa Hian, *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yan*, tr. Samuel Beal, London: Trubner and Co, 1869), Harvard College Library Preservation Facsimile, 2002, p.20ff.

[33] Since a separate name is not given for the capital, we may infer that the name of the country shared its name with its capital. In Gandhara, the capital is stated: Kin-to-va: Kintovastu or Gandharovastu, Fa Hian, p.30.

Pakpattan, also called Ajodhan[34], to Bhatnir, Hissar and on to the Jumna river; from where he went to Mathura[35].

Since the crossing of the Indus mentioned by Fa Hien was at a point where the land was flat on both sides of the river, it seems that this must have been south of Mianwali. In Bhera, Fa Hien found people of both denominations; we find that he specifies regions where Hinayana[36] or both faiths were practiced.

While his description of monuments in the Enclave is quite detailed, the terrain does not seem to capture his interest, nor are the stories related to monuments as abundant or colourful as in Bharat. Part of the reason was probably the fact that Buddha's life was in fact led in Bharat but perhaps the competition with Hindu

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[34] By this time, the north-eastern gateway of the Enclave had taken clear form. The northern exit, via Lahore, led to a crossing on the Beas, this was to be the main route during the Ilbari period of the Sultanate of Delhi. The Southern limit of the gateway was Ajodhan, here a crossing of the Sutlej was the last viable option before the deserts blocked the route. The British, wanting to gain access to Sind for the First Afghan War [because they dared not challenge Ranjit Singh] went along the periphery of his state, starting from Firoz pur, the army travelled down the Sutlej and the Indus to enter Sind and then cross the Bolan and Khojak passes to Afghanistan. A few years later, even the lone envoy, Eastwick could not journey directly from Jaisalmer but had to take the sea route to Sind.

[35] While there were segments of Hinayana and Mahayana populations west and north of Bhera it seems that between this and Jumna lay Hindu area where the author neither mentions creed nor describes the monuments.

[36] Pure Mahayana areas are mentioned only as Buddhist regions, this form for degrading opposite sects is common. The Hinayana faith prospered exclusively in the Karakorum and Bannu; in Swat Gandhara, Peshawar and Ningarhar Mahayana beliefs seem to have held sway but at Rohi, Thal and Bhera both faiths existed.

mythology[37] also played a role in invention of Buddhist legends to recapture popular imagination, a ploy that failed.

Hwui Seng and Sung Yun passed from Afghanistan to Dir and Kashmir a century later when the White Huns probably ruled Central Asia. They came to Gandhara in 520 AD where the Kushans had made Peshawar their capital; these Kida Kushans contested control of the region with the senior branch at Kabul, in due course they lost. Since the travellers had first gone to Kashmir and met the Kida ruler there, their route to Charsadda and Peshawar would be more south than west for 22 days; they then went to Ningarhar and on to their native land.

Hiuen-sang's Gandhara was 200 miles east to west by160 miles north to south, from Jhelum – Khyber and Mingora – Mianwali, with its provincial capital at Peshawar which was a large but deserted city ruled from Kabul. It held fertile land which too was depopulated; the remaining population was fond of practical arts, but only few were Buddhists. In Gandhara there were 1000 Buddhist monasteries in a decrepit state and 100 Hindu temples in disorganized condition; this depicts a process of transition. Conditions at Ohind and Peshawar reiterate the rising force of Hinduism; possibly an increase in the importance of goddesses made a contribution to its revival[38]. Swat or Udegram may have been more devastated than other parts of Gandhara. From here Hiuen-sang went to Kashmir and came down to Taxila. Like

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[37] Fa Hian, op. cit., p. 55ff. The revival of Hinduism seems to have begun earlier, with the Kushan decline in Bharat.

[38] See Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths and Legends of India*, p. 119ff.

Peshawar, Taxila had been under Kabul, but was under Kashmir now and had lost its splendour[39]. From here 140 miles southeast lay Sinahpur, perhaps in the Salt range which was a dependency of Kashmir[40] also. Hiuen-sang then went to a place near Taxila and then south before going back to Kashmir and on to Bharat via Poonch, where he found five Buddhist monasteries in ruins.

Pastoral movement had changed drastically by this stage. Aryan aggression against sedentary peoples in the early Vedic age had given way to organized exploitation of rural life as conquerors or as rulers from the same ethnic community as the ruled. There remained nomads who liked to avoid settled regions but many of them kept making the transition to pastoral and rural or directly to urban life through the military cantonments. The new settlers inducted their own beliefs and practices in a pre-existing polity. This continuous process was a two-way street in which both, conquerors and conquered, gained from each other's experience.

It is assumed that conquerors dominated the paradigm but this is not borne out by history; Kushans became Buddhist and Sakas acquired Hinduism, both taking on the Kharoshti and Sanskrit in due course. If we study linguistic structures and changing belief pattern of the Hindu religion, particularly in this period, we may be able to identify the aspects of local belief that found their way into the changing structure of beliefs. At the same time, if detailed

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[39] Taxila had been famous for education in medicine and may have had an income between 9 to 90 million pounds.

[40] Kashmir emerged in the light of history perhaps under the Sakas and was an important region during the Kushan adventurism; it was the venue for Sang's monsoon retreat twice, in 630 and 631, during two separate trips.

chronology can be constructed for the expansion and contraction of states in and around the Enclave on all sides; if their belief systems from their place of origin can be compared to the changing face of Hinduism, we could construct a fairly accurate picture of the three components contributing to the change. These are the local element, the foreign element and the social intelligentsia's innovation to achieve syncretistic harmony necessary for integrating newly formed society. Lingua-genesis would occur in the literary works, the recasting of myths and status of gods would be visible in religion.

The emergence of Kashmir as a geographic identity, which had no place in the Harappan or Vedic period is an important development in this stage and is probably the outcome of a post-Bactrian inclination to seek the Chinese trade route, especially for Buddhism at a time when Zoroastrian beliefs were being put forward in Central Asia. With the Kushan decline Gandhara and Kashmir had different responses. The former went into decline though some kind of monarchical structures emerged on its ashes under Turkic people; the latter flourished as a watershed which maintained its links with China and Tibet via its Laddakh route, which was used by Fa Hien c.400 AD, its contact with Bharat via the Jammu valley and, in the Enclave, its place via Hazara-Swat region, a link across Hindukush to Afghanistan.

Conclusion:

While the conditions of the first and second stage were deduced speculatively, there is a lot more historical data to supplement

archaeology in this stage. The political divisions of Sind in the form of riverine, deltaic, mountain and desert, each with subsections, are testified almost from the start of this stage. The pastoral-tribal ethereal hinterlands surrounding towns also is discernible in the Greek accounts. Settlement of new pastoral groups, ethno-genesis with previously settled groups and indications of a lingua-genesis can be seen in the haze of tantalizing data. What is important is the fact that trade and the linkage provided by rivers and boat traffic emerge as the undeniable unifying force for the Enclave as a whole; while deserts and mountains are clearly responsible for the cohesion of sub-units, parochial identities and ethnic watersheds.

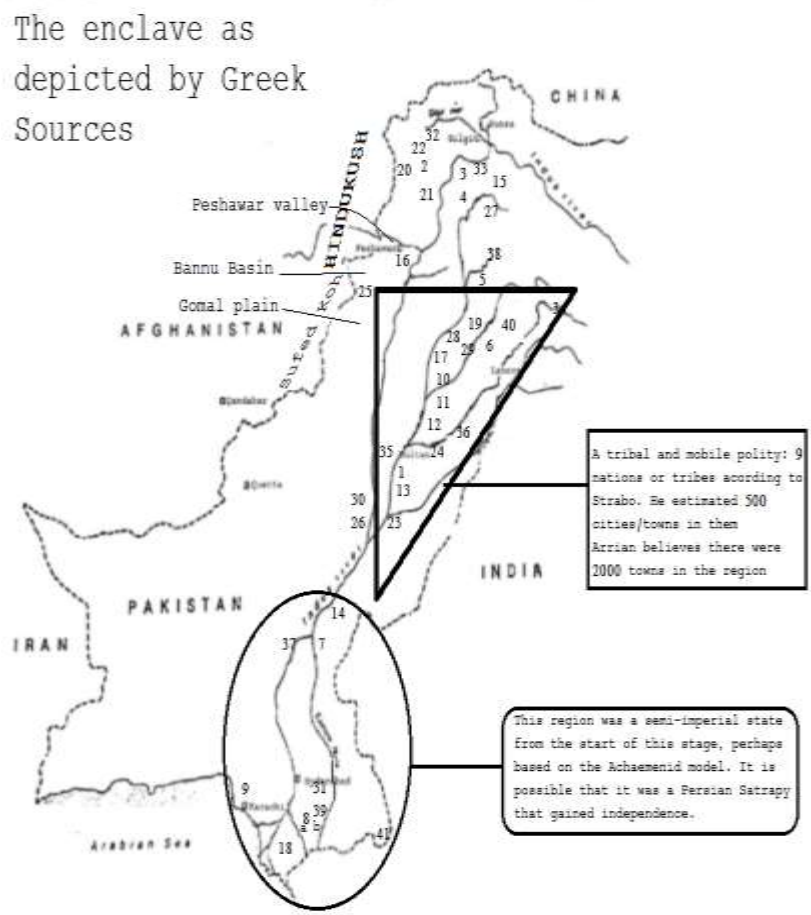
While rural life and trade, in that sequence but not in that order of importance, had been essential to Harappan civilization; pastoralist and monastic life were the sine quo non of Gandhara. Vedic Aryans left a de-urbanized Enclave but bequeathed elitism, state hierarchy and religious ritual to it. Whether they had introduced militancy in the region or not, Achaemenid and Greek imperial designs laid the foundation for the Gandhara paradox! A reclusive and pacifist religion abjuring luxury thrived on the support of militant rulers whose passion was monumentality and urban life. Ethnic plurality and social variety were moulded and hewn into the Harappan-Aryan communal or biradri form of social organization. Self-sufficient communities having an array of skills needed for mutual subsistence were formed into a collective of rural or urban life. These were nested in a series of sovereignties; split in parallel on the spiritual plain and a vertical hierarchically of horizontal administrative and political level in the Achaemenid satrapal model.

Like the Harappans, the common people of the enclave during this stage remained content with a subsistence economy. A large proportion, perhaps a large minority retained the pastoral lifestyle. Probably the majority of population in the Enclave was now dependent on agriculture for its food needs. Trade was probably not as important in the Gandhara economy as it had been during the Harappan civilization. Perhaps the driving forces in economic growth, however, came from royal patronage of monument making artisans, imperial militancy and monastic devotion. This idea of imperial or governmental administration and a spiritual parallel [reclusive but supervening the material life] dominance ruling over but not within the communal socio-legal dispensation was its contribution to cultural heritage.

Note on sources:

The sources for this stage are a complex blend of archaeology, numismatics and documentary material which needs to be collected and collated from the primary and secondary data available in the Enclave itself, its associate foyers of Afghanistan and Kashmir as well as the three regions to which it acts as cusp: West Asia, Central Asia and South Asia. Collaborative studies with the researchers in these regions are likely to be most fruitful. In the absence of facilities for such a collaborative effort, extensive use of existing publications or documents available in neighbouring countries would also provide a clearer picture of developments during this stage.

Gandhara



MAP 13

PLACE NAMES FOR MAPS

1. Meluha
2. Massaga: Assakin, Apasi & Gurai tribes = Buner to Bajaur.
3. Aronos: king Erices
4. Taxila: king Taxiles: a circular area from Kabul to Mankiyala: 25 sites of Gandhara were significant for Alexander's march: Nimogram, Chatpat, Udegram, Butkara, Chakdara, Takht-i-Bhai, Hashtnagar, Udabandapur/Hund, Sheikhan Dheri, Ali Masjid, Jamrud, Shah ji ki Dheri, Ranighat, Barikot or Birkot, Mekhasanda, Shahbazgarhi, Sikri, Kashmir Smat, Sahri Bahlol, Chanaka Dheri, Tareli Nathu
5. Jhelum: ruled by Porus
6. Rachna doab: ruled by another Porus
7. Middle Sind: ruled by Musicanus [also the name of the tribe] based at Alor
8. Patala/Pattana/Thatta: subordinate ruler; 'a' and 'b' near Bhanbore, Rambagh.
9. Area of tribes with long hair and nails
10. Aglasi tribe
11. Sibi tribe
12. Suracae or Sudracae tribe
13. Malli/Maloi tribe
14. Sinlimama or Sindimama tribe

15. Puscilatis/Pushkalavati/Charsadda: Peshawar valley: area of Astaken tribe
16. Akra near Bannu
17. Bhera
18. Scythia Minagar: by a Parthian king after Alexander's time
19. Maira: find-spot of inscription of king Maues ruled from Mansehra/Fatehjang
20. Nysa: between Kabul and Indus
21. Salatura: home of Panini, grammarian
22. Birkot: Alexander's first conquest. Near this are four valleys of Najigram, Kotah, Kandak and Karakar excavated by Italian archaeologists
23. Sui Vihar: from Kanishka's time near Bahawalpur
24. Sauvira: Multan
25. Kingdom of Arsakes
26. Satrapy of Peithon
27. Arigaion city Bajaur
28. Nikaia: location of victory over Porus
29. Boukephala: death of Alexander's horse
30. Alexandria: Uch
31. Demetrias/Datamitri: Brahmanabad
32. Udegram: Swat
33. Takht-i-Bhai
34. Raja Abhisares ruled Poonch & Saubhuti in upper Bari Doab.
35. Possible location of Abastane, Xathri and Ossadii tribes
36. Katha and Adrishta tribes: in Bari Doab.
37. Like the Musicanus, Oxykanos & Sumbus

tribes of Sind had rules known by the name of their tribe.

38. In the north were tribes of Parvatakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Kiratas, Parasikas & Sakas. They may relate to names used by the Achaemenid before Alexander or by Bactrians later.
39. Minagar: Bhanbore Scythia Minagara?
40. Euthedemia/Sialkot: city of Euthydemos.
41. Sorashthra: Runn of Kuch.

In the Chinese accounts

1 Kapisi controlled the governments of 3-6 below

2 Ningarhar had its capital at Hidda: A

3 Swat was under Udegram: E

4 Peshawar existed as a separate state: B

5 Gandhara *(1)* [Kanto-lo or Kanto-wai/Kanto-vastu]: capital Ohind: D [Wu-ta-han-tu or Wu-to-ka-han-tu] or Hashtnagar/Charsadda/Pushkalavati or Sheikhan Dheri: F

6 Taxila was also an independent state: C

7 Thal or desert area between Bannu [Fa-la-na or Po-na] *(10)* and Mianwali; from here to Bharat, the road lay through Sinahpur/Khushab/Shahpur and Bhera to Ajodhan

8 Hazara [Wu-la shih]: G

9 Gilgit

10 Kashmir: probably came into the political geography of south Asia under the Kushans

1 Taxila [See 5 above]

2 Sialkot [Sa-ka-la]

3 Ajodhan/Pakpattan

4 Bhatnir

5 Poonch [Pan-nu-tso]

6 Sinahpur/Khushab/Shahpur

7 Bhera

8 Gujjara Cholistan/Iskandah

9 Between Lamghan and Rajauri were some tribes that belong to 'India proper'. Hiuen Sang used to stop during the monsoons according to Buddhist custom. He was at Kapisi in 631 AD.

11 Multan [Mau-lo-san-pu-lo]

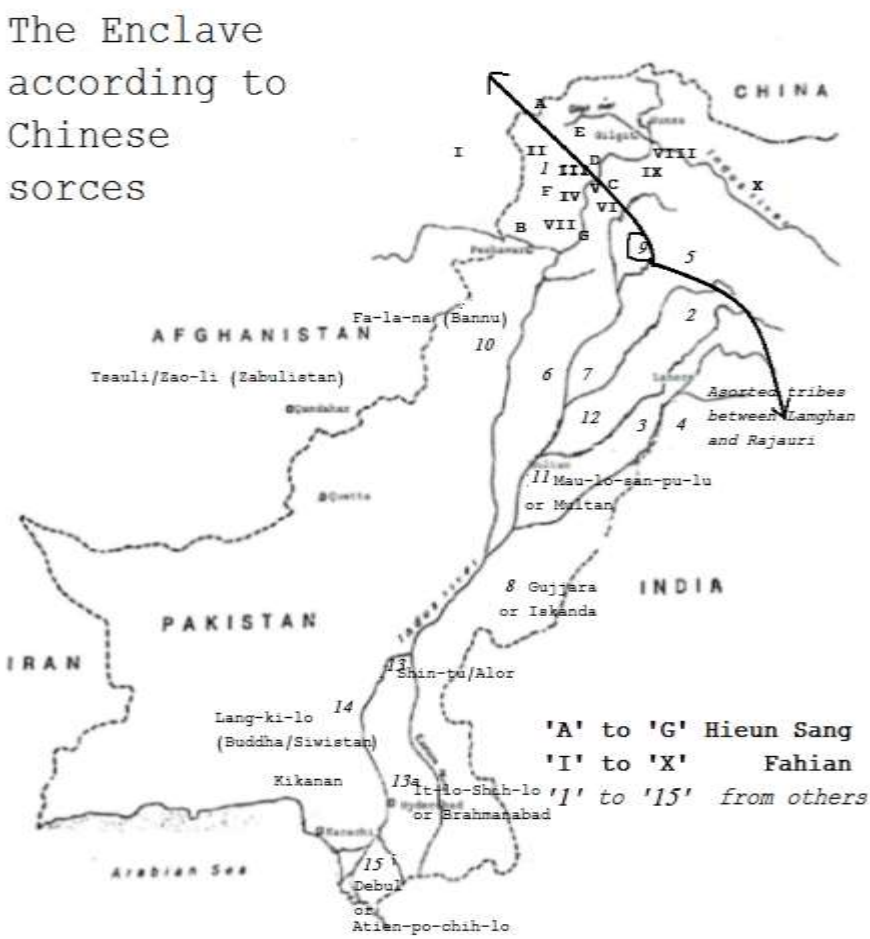
12 Chiniot [Chenabhukti/Chenab Ukti]

13 Sind [Sin-Tu] Riverine Sind to Alor

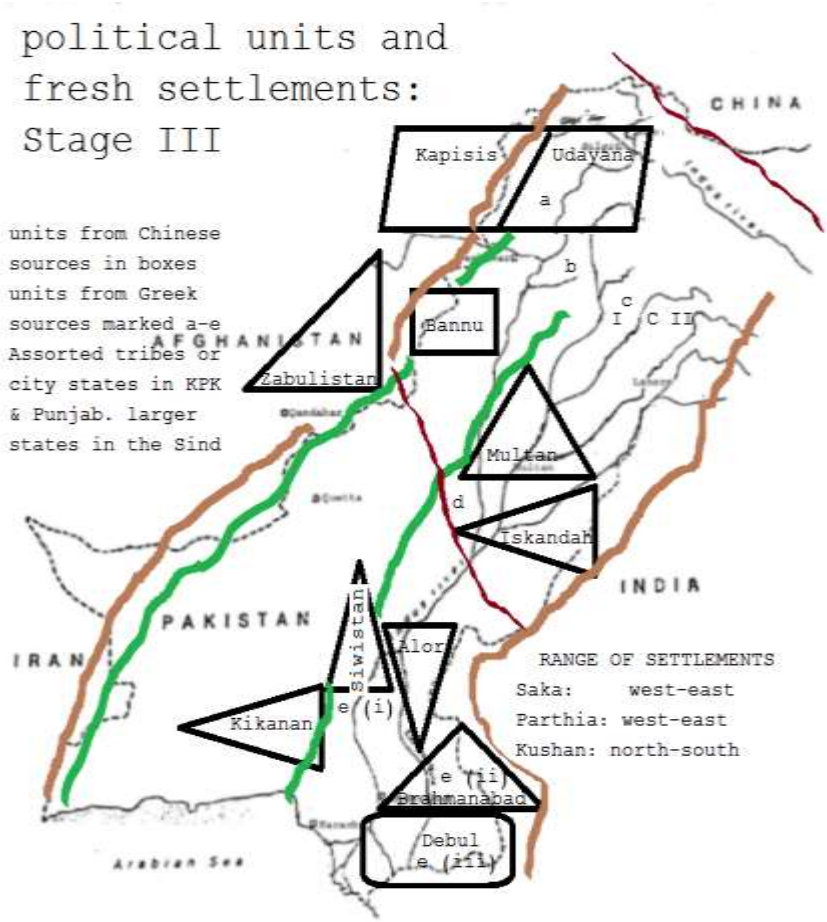
13a Middle Sind [Pi-to-Shi-lo or It-to-Shih-lo] Kot-Diji to Brahmanabad

14 Sind Kohistan [Long-ka-lo/Lang-kei-lo] Amri/Buddha/Sivistan

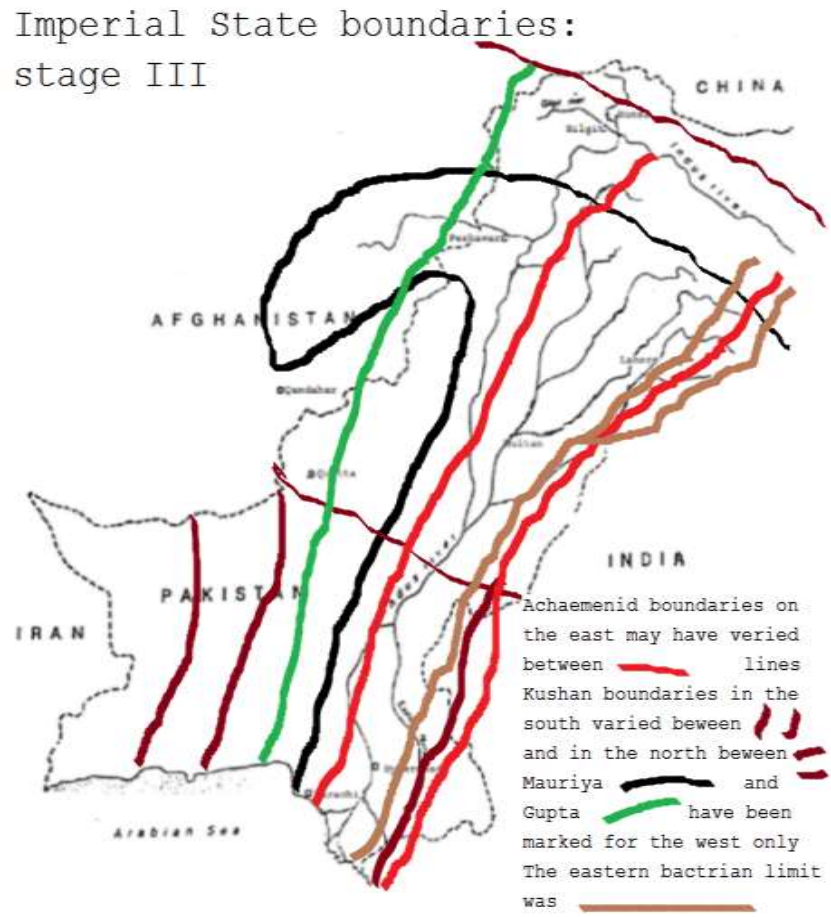
15 Indus Delta [A-Tien-po-Chihlo] Debul.


The Enclave according to Chinese sorces
CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
IRAN
INDIA
Arabian Sea
Fa-la-na (Bannu)
Tsauli/Zao-li (Zabulistan)
Aported tribes between Langhan and Rajauri
Mau-lo-san-pu-lu or Multan
Gujjara or Iskanda
Shin-tu/Alor
Lang-ki-lo (Buddha/Siwistan)
Kikanan
It-lo-Shih-lo or Brahmanabad
Debul or Atien-po-chih-lo
'A' to 'G' Hieun Sang
'I' to 'X' Fahian
'1' to '15' from others

MAP 14


political units and
fresh settlements:
Stage III
units from Chinese
sources in boxes
units from Greek
sources marked a-e
Assorted tribes or
city states in KPK
& Punjab. larger
states in the Sind
CHINA
Kapisis
Udayana
a
b
c
I
C II
Bannu
AFGHANISTAN
Zabulistan
Multan
d
Iskandah
INDIA
PAKISTAN
IRAN
Sivistan
Alor
e (i)
Kikanan
e (ii)
Brahmanabad
Debul
e (iii)
Arabian Sea
RANGE OF SETTLEMENTS
Saka: west-east
Parthia: west-east
Kushan: north-south

MAP 15


Imperial State boundaries:
stage III
CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
INDIA
PAKISTAN
IRAN
Arabian Sea
Achaemenid boundaries on the east may have veried between lines
Kushan boundaries in the south varied beween and in the north beween
Mauriya and
Gupta have been marked for the west only
The eastern bactrian limit was

MAP 16

STAGE – IV: 650-1250 AD

The Second Interlude: Semites and Turks

Like the Aryan and the Saka, Turko-Mongol settlers made Bharat their home; also like their predecessors they aspired to dominate the Deccan and part of the Enclave from a centre near the Jumna. While Greeks had confined their attention to the Enclave, Saka and Kushans spread their government on both sides of it only to subside to the regions of Gandhara and Kamboja in the end.

This stage saw a repetition of this pattern; starting with incursions from and to the south of the Enclave [Rai Chach; Muhammad bin Qasim[1]], via Alexander's exit route. Later a northern incursion, followed from the west. This led to the shift in the Turkish centre of gravity to Bharat. In the next stage Turk settlers defended their dominion against other Mongol conquerors in Bharat, in much the same fashion as the Aryans and Saka had done before them.

From this stage we find that the Rajput territory re-acquired the status of a watershed or island, set as a separate Enclave, the Indus segments outlined its western periphery and Gujrat, Malwa and

[1] We have not included the Chitor led incursion; it probably preceded this stage and did not have any mentionable political impact.

Haryana girdled its fluctuating eastern limits. The hazy picture of the southern part of the Indus Enclave and the dilapidated state of Buddhist power in the region painted by Hiuen-sang was the last image in a highly volatile stage of its history. Early in this phase a layer by layer image of an evolutionary process began to emerge due to the Arab/Muslim obsession of delineating time and space. The Futuh-ul-Buldan's imagery of the conquest of Mekran and Sind was supplemented by the Chachnamah while other sources filled in the details of neighbouring regions.

It seems from the Chachnamah that the southern region, cursorily mentioned by Hiuen-sang had undergone a reunification under an Alor based Hindu Raja after partial fragmentation during the reign of his Buddhist predecessor. Chach probably extended his empire at the expense of the Iranian and Kashmiri rulers and may have subordinated independent principalities of the northwest.

It was probably his investment in empire building that made the Muslim conquest of Mekran up to Kalat an achievable plan. Early reports to the Pious Khilafat had not been encouraging. Not due to the aridity of the region [to which the Arabs would have been inured] but because of mountainous terrain, the ethnic disconnect and lack of knowledge necessary for logistic management. Chach did not suffer from any such problems because versatile Nadas, Jats and Meds, with Harappan heritage were at home in Mekran. Essentially Dahir's domain was the Indus valley region sans the northern route of the Aryans [from Gandhara to Sothi-Siswal: the Shurasena, Matsya, Koru and Panchala tract] thus his kingdom encompassed the dominions through which Alexander passed by boat from the Chaj doab via Trimmu and Panjnad.

Although Hajjaj may have had an eye on Sind, it is fairly certain that the Khalifa did not. While in due course the Arabs could have been lured to its conquest, Dahir's spirited defence of Jat or Med pirates certainly precipitated the incursion. Successors of Chach had already lost the difficult to hold Mekran area perhaps because the Arabs had by then acquired ethnic support of Baloch locals in Kirman which, like the Helmand had historic racial and cultural links with both Turan and Mekran. Ties, cemented by Parthian, Kushan and Sassanid history bound this region with Baghdad; this worked to the advantage of Arabs. As their control declined, two states emerged, surrounded by principalities or tribal groups. This north-south division was similar to conditions of c.300 BC.

Chach had made quite an empire, considering the general size of states in the Enclave, but hardly to be compared with the Iranian, Mauriya, Kushan or Parthian ventures. The resultant flowering of urban units was initially enhanced by the Arab conquest; we see a surge in the urbanization of Baluchistan and Turan. Though the century or so of decline preceding the Ghaznavi conquest led to some recession, the 9th century AD saw a growth linking the route adopted by Maimandi[2]. This is reflected in the description of routes by Arab geographers from Ibn Khurdadba to Idrisi. With the decline of Ghaznavi power and the ascendency of the Ghori rulers, the northern route and its polity again took the lead and the Southern region receded to the conditions seen by Hiuen-sang.

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[2] Maimandi was a vizier of Mahmud Ghaznavi. He used to tour the entire kingdom in a circuit. One year he would go south from Ghaznin to Sind and back by way of Lahore and in the reverse sequence in the next year.

Either nature or unrecorded human activity may have facilitated the increased urbanization under the dynasty of Chach; the latter seems more likely in the Mekran and Turan regions. Since we know of the long experience of Persians in managing an arid ecology with high, state driven communal collective effort, we may consider the possibility that lessons learnt from Sassanid bureaucracy could have contributed to the Sindhi government's success. In any case, once again the riverine core of Sind was able to integrate the mountains and deserts to its west with deserts in its east to form a single polity. While we may doubt the existence of state structures in the Indus Civilization, there is no doubt of a highly effective state in the reign of Rai Chach reign. Boundaries of his domain touched Iran in the west; Kashmir, Rajasthan and Gujrat along its east; probably two other states lay to its north. Muslim geographers mostly use 4 points of the compass which is why Kashmir is placed to the east of the Chach Empire.

The expansion of Buddhism as a faith had started early in the previous stage and continued till its end. By 500 AD, however, it had begun to lose ground in its homeland and although its Chinese gains were considerable, losses in Bharat had become significant by 700 AD. The process of eviction had begun and Hinduism was in hot pursuit, reclaiming ground which the Buddhists vacated. This process came to a halt in the Kabul-Jalalabad region. From there Buddhist influence continued to the north and Zoroastrian influence held its ground to the west until the coming of Islam. While ethnic and political boundaries were fluid under Parthians, Saka, Kushans and Huns the spread of Buddhism had been a constant process. When the last of the Kushan Empire, had begun

to fracture and Hinduism began a process of reclamation, ethno-religious barriers emerged on the western periphery of the Indus Enclave. Since the passing of the Aryans through it two millennia earlier the Enclave had been experiencing an alternating northern and western pull. Thus the Achaemenes, Greek and Sassanid states pulled it into the vortex of West Asia; while the Saka, Parthians, Kushans and Huns exerted a Central Asian influence.

This geographic space was exploited by Chach who probably felt threatened by coreligionists in the east. He established outposts, defensible on the east to pursue a "forward policy" in the west, to the limit of his ability beyond the mountains. By this he opened a path for Arabs also; who may have been deterred from crossing Baluchistan if conditions had not improved since the time of the pious Khilafat. At least four fragments of empire were lost by the successors of Chach; these were Budhia, Mekran, Khuzdar and Qandahar. Two of them fell to the Arabs before Muhammad bin Qasim and one was conquered before the battle with Dahir.

Hiuen-sang says Kapisi started east of Bamian; it included Bannu Peshawar, Lamghan and Ningarhar/Jalalabad along with six other territories spreading along the mountainous spine, and on either side of the Hindukush[3]. The kingdoms of Kabul and Kashmir[4] were expanding and perhaps some areas had recently been added to Kapisi. Once again the mountains proved to be the element

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[3] R. C. Majumdar, *The Arab Invasion of India*, (Lahore: Sheikh Mubarak Ali, 1974), p. 4, hereafter Majumdar.

[4] Majumdar, p.27, notes a resentment against the family of Chach starting with his usurpation. The governor of an area near Kashmir approached its raja for help; a similar incident is noted with reference to Kanauj.

unifying adjacent valleys. Majumdar notes an addition of Udyana [Swat, Panchkora, Bajaur and Buner] to the kingdom of Kapisi. South and east of Bannu/Fa-la-na lay the four provinces of the kingdom of Sind: Atien-po-chih-lo/Debul, Lang-kei-lo/Budhia or Sivistan, Sin-tu/Alor[5] and It-to-shih-lo/Brahmanabad.

Gujjara/Iskandah and Mau-lo-san-pu-lu /Multan were added later to the domain of Chach[6]. Chach probably added Kikanan[7], a tribal area centred at Quetta, perhaps including the east of Karman and western part of Mekran stretching from Mundigak in the Helmand region to the Bugti hills in the east near the middle of his reign. In Zabulistan [tsau-li/Zao-li] some kings rose to power who were able to extend their rule in the Enclave and parts of Khurasan.

We may recall that the Harappan religion and political system are unknown; and that Vedic Aryans were unable to create a notable presence in that region. The rise of Buddhism, however, bridged the spiritual gulf between Bharat and the Enclave. The Gandhara *Mahajanapada* became a religious epicentre for many Aryans or those influenced by Aryan culture across Asia. It became the

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[5] *The Chachnamah,* tr . Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, (Lahore: Vanguard, 1985), p. 24ff, [hereafter *Chachnamah*]. Majumdar, p. 24, infers that the centre was governed from Alor; the provincial headquarters were Brahmanabad, Multan, Sivistan and Iskandah. The Raja of Chitor laid claim to the territory of Sind because he was a brother of Rai Sahasi.

[6] Majumdar, p.24n, the dynasty of Chach was preceded by a Buddhist dynasty for 137 years, ruling approximately the same area according to the *Tohfat-ul-Kiram*. The Buddhist dynasty was thus ruling from 485-622 AD during Hun and Sassanid expansion and Kushan decline.

[7] Majumdar, p.26 infers that Kikanan is Kalat.

religious link between northwest and southeast; culturally aligned with the east, it alternated politically between north and west for a millennium before 700 AD. But by 650 AD, both the history and geography of the Enclave acquired a westward orientation. In a sense, the stage of 600 years, starting with the Arab conquest of Mekran saw the reversal of political and religious orientations as they evolved since the rise of Buddhism. Since then its political axis has been to the east and the religious one to west or north.

Its cultural evolution became divergent from within for about 900 years after 650 AD. The stage under review may be subdivided into three phases, each consisting of two segments. In the first phase the Muslim Arabs ruled the south and a Hindu Turkic group ruled the north of the Enclave both, initially from centres to its west and then from splinter principalities inside it. During the second phase, a Ghaznin based Muslim-Turk rule subsumed the entire area to create an empire encompassing the Enclave and the Hindukush-Helmand region. The first part of this phase lasted for nearly a century before fractures and splinters emerged in the next fifty years. In the third phase of this stage [1150-1250] the capital of Muslim-Turks moved from Ghaznin to Delhi and the political orientation of the Indus Enclave was fixed there till 1947 AD.

In the first phase of this stage political and ethnic geography of the Enclave received considerable attention but westward growth of the Rai Empire has gone unnoticed in modern historiography. Indicators of socio-political bonds between mountains and river plains from Arab accounts also do not receive adequate notice. Colonial historiography is responsible for this in part. The Kabul Shahis set the stage for this interregnum and the Ohind based Jaipal united Lamghan with Pothohar and the Peshawar valley.

Soon after the Khilafat lost its hold over the Arab-Persian elite of Sind, that region began to fade from the memory of the Muslims. A general weakness of Muslim historiography is lack of interest in the pre-Islamic past of regions/peoples whom they conquered. Iran and Byzantium were exceptions because the Arabs had been conscious of their history before they became Muslims. The pre-Islamic past of other nations became a marginal source of interest c. 300 H and did not become important till later. The Chachnamah was translated at a late date and Minhaj did not mention the Hindu past except in passing. Albiruni, an unusual person, went beyond history to highlight religion and cultural anthropology. The few notices we have need to be supplemented with archaeological evidence such as numismatics and epigraphy. Below we have reconstructed a chronology of the hinterland of major urbanisms within the Enclave so that a political map may help conceptualize ethno-linguistic and cultural contours of history.

Urban Configuration [towns/provinces/states]:

Multan – Sikkah, Brahmapur/Brahmaur on river Budhil[8] [capital of Chamba], Karur/Karorpaka, Ishthar/Ashaharal [Asarur or Pasrur?] and Shaklahar [Sakala/Sialkot, this according to Hiuen-sang was the capital of Cheh-ka, just south of Kashmir] = Chaj and Bari doab from Panjnad to Sialkot.

Iskandah/Uch? – Babiah [vicinity of Bahawalpur or Pakpattan?], Sawarah, Jajhor and Dhanod.

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[8] Majumdar, p. 53ff, see geographical note A and compare with the information given in the *Chachnamah*, p. 11f. For the location of these sites see map and key at the end of the chapter. This is the southern affluent of the Ravi.

Alor/Rohri – Kurdan , Kikanan [Kalat to Marri-Bugti hills/Zhob - Loralai region] and Brahmas.

Brahmanabad – Nirun, Debul, Luhanah, Lakhah, Sammah and lands east of the river Indus.

Sivistan/Sehwan – Budhia, Chingan or Jhankan [Jhangar, 13 miles west of Sehwan] skirting the Rojhan hills to the boundaries of Mekran, Kakaraj or Kandabil[9] [Sivis/Sehwan], Armabil [Amri] or Armanbel and Kanbali or Lasbela = Amri - Balakot of regionalization, Jhukar of localization eras.

The map of the Enclave that emerges from this list indicates that the 'Hakra' and 'Ravi' divisions of the 'regionalization' era had re-emerged with centres at Iskandah and Multan. However, Alor [then represented Kot-Diji, but a few miles upstream of it] had a greater affinity with its affiliates of Mehrgarh and Nal-Amri, leaving lands east of the Indus to Brahmanabad. Sivistan held the entire area between Alor and Mekran, up, over and around the Kirthar range. Chach had thus integrated most of the area of Kot-

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[9] Majumdar, p.55 believes that Kandabil is Gandava, south of Sibbi and east of Kalat and that Kandail is Kandhabel or Kandahar both being separate places. It is not clear why he is at variance with the translator of the Chachnamah here? Kanbar is Kannazbar in Mekran. An interesting and fairly viable reconstruction of geography of Baluchistan may be seen in Mir Khuda Bakhsh Bijrani Marri Baloch, *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book Co., 1974), p. 109 ff. Whereas there may be debate on the specific location or identity of any of the towns that are mentioned in this chapter, there is little doubt that Mekran was an active area for Arab seafaring trade, that Kalat and its environs was a hub of land based trade and the Marri-Bugti region drained trade in a north-eastern direction. The Kachi plain facilitated trade down from the Bolan Pass and the Khojak led into Helmand.

Diji Phase. Harappan outposts in Gandhara and Central Asia became part of the Shahi state but that gradually withered to the size of 'Late Kot-Diji'. Mekran, which had been incorporated by Chach, starting with Armabil, through Bakar and Kanbar till he arrived at Kirman [where a stream marked the boundary of the two regions], did not long remain a part of his empire, nor did the Helmand region and Qandahar in Afghanistan.

Sijistan fell to the Muslim arms c. 30 H, we may assess that by this time the Helmand and Zamin Dawar, land of the gates[10], had been acquired by Chach. With the division of his empire c. 48 H i.e. 670 AD, resistance along the Sijistan border and in Mekran may have come to an end. The Arab advance in Mekran c. 40 H had penetrated to the Sivistan border, here it was probably balked as much due to the mountains as to local resistance. Unfortunately the Chachnamah does not give the names of towns founded and developed in Mekran after Chach conquered it. We do, however, learn that forts were repaired and boundaries established attesting to the imperial vision of Chach. The fully developed polity of Mekran is only visible from Arab accounts which portray the conditions three centuries after Chach. As they show a shift in focus toward Tuwaran, the link between Kirman and Mansura. We can only assess the growth of Mekran indirectly.

It is only with passage of time and an assimilation of local people that the Arab state could penetrate mountains of Ghaznin, Kabul and Kalat, three decades later. A configuration of frontiers began to change with the Arab conquest of Mekran where urban

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[10] Majumdar, p. 14, these being passes of Hindukush and Suleiman ranges.

development initiated by Chach continued to escalate due to Arab sea trade. The Umayyad Khilafat seems to have been content with minor gains beyond what had been Sassanid frontiers until Hajjaj's big push against Dahir. Even after this the south-eastern trade took some time to affect the process of urbanization. Decline of the Khilafat influenced local priorities of trade in landlocked Sijistan and Zabulistan, setting the stage for urbanization in Tuwaran, the Suleiman and Baloch mountains. After a gap of two centuries Abbasid geographers present a considerably altered picture of the Enclave.

According to Ibn Khurdadba[300 H/912 AD] the route from Zaranj, capital of Sijistan, to Multan took two months; from Kirman to Mansura 80 farsang would have taken much less. Districts of Sind according to him were: Kinnazbun, al-Kirbun, Kanbali, Mekran, Rasak, Armabil, Kandabil, Kasran, Nukan, [in Mekran and Tuwaran]; Kandahar, Sahban, Sadusan, Karaj, Debul and Alor [along the Indus, in the west?]; Vandan, Multan, Mandal, Salman and Sairab [along the Indus, in the east]; Rumla, Kulli, Kanauj, Baruh and Sindan, 20 farsang from the Meds via Kol [beyond the jurisdiction of Sind].

Jat and Med pastoral robbers occupied part of the region. From Mehran to Bakar towards Hind it took 4 days; here cane was grown in the hills and wheat in the plain. By this description Debul had replaced Brahmanabad as the central town of its district while Alor retained its status. Mekran was a separate entity like Kandahar in Afghanistan. This description highlights the southerly orientation of the Arabs. It testifies to a high degree of urbanization due to the Kirman-Mansura nexus and a growing emphasis on sea trade on one hand and the Sijistan-Tuwaran link

on the other. Both these echo of Kot-Diji connections Balakot-Lothal-Sutkagendor along the sea and Mundigak/Kot-Diji across the mountains. However, this was also a time of de-urbanization where Jat and Med tribes challenged the writ of state.

The Shahi state of the north had also lost ground in its west and south without compatible gains in the east; its urbanism, however, does not seem to have impressed Muslim geographers any more than the rising Muslim state found notice in Chinese travelogues. Masudi, 330 H, is vague in his description of Sind; however, the two Muslim states of Multan and Mansura were governed by Qureshi rulers in his time. He believes that two of the five rivers feeding the Indus came from Kandahar and one from Kabul. The river Kabul is an important tributary but is not of the order of the Punjab Rivers. He claims that Multan had 120,000 towns/villages and was a prosperous city because of contribution to an idol in it. The five rivers join the Indus at 'Dushab' and flow to Alor. Here the Mehran divides, reuniting at the town of Shakira before going to Debul. Mansura, 600 miles from Multan, had 300000 towns and villages but it was constantly at war with the Med tribes[11].

Al-Istakhri's [340H] concept of Sind and Hind is more precise. According to him Budhia/Buddha was a desert and Kandabil a great city; however palm trees did not grow there. Though it was in a desert area in the confines of Buddha, its fields were irrigated, vines and fruit plentiful; and cattle were pastured. Mansura and

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[11] Elliot and Dawson, *The History of Sind*, being a reprint of *History of India as told by its own Historians*, (Karachi: Karimsons, n. d.), [hereafter referred to as E&D, Sind] p. 24.

Multan were major cities, here people spoke Persian and Sindhi[12]. Alor and Nirun were also important. Sind proper was essentially riverine; it also held parts of Hind, Mekran, Turan and Buddha[13].

Al-Istakhri, half a century after Ibn Khurdadba, differentiates between Hind east of the Indus and Sind west of it. He adds the names of Kallari, Ballari, Nahraj, Bania and Manjbari to the Sind side and Amhal, Subara, Saimur, Jandrud, and Basmand on the Hind side. Sites between Tiz and Kasrkand [Kir, Darak, Rasak, Fahalfahra, Asfaka, Band and Bah] lay in a cluster on both sides of the Mekran range forming a series of important halting and trading stations. Kallari, Ballari and Bania were close to the river but Nahraj and Manjbari were highland locations west of the Indus. Basmand was adjacent to the Indus in the east. Jandrud lay next to one of its tributaries, the Ravi. Amhal was a desert site in Tharparkar. Subara, Saimur and Kambaya were in the lands of the Balhara, situated along the coast towards Gujrat and like Mekran flourished due to sea trade. At this time Multan was half the size of Mansura. Kinnazbun was the largest town of Mekran[14] and Kandabil in Sivistan. The surge in importance of Mekran sites and coastal cities is an indication of the growth of sea trade.

Addition of Nahraj and Manjbari are initial signs of development of routes through Tuwaran and the Kallari-Bania urban string

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[12] E&D, Sind, p. 29. The Iranian influence and the distinct local language are both attested in the statement. This aspect was highlighted by Masudi who noticed that language of Sind was different from India, E&D, Sind, p24.

[13] E&D, Sind, p. 27ff.

[14] E&D, Sind, p. 29, the length of Mekran from Tiz in the west to Kasadan in the east was 15 days travel.

shows the revival of riverine trade in products from the northern parts of the Enclave which impacted on the growth of Multan.

Muqaddasi describes the Enclave as al-Sind before the impact of Ghaznavi conquests. He counts 5 districts as part of it; 3 of which: Waihind, Multan and Kanauj, are in what Istakhri called Hind; and 2, al-Sind and Tuwaran[15], lie west of Indus. Muqaddasi says that he added Mekran to this section as it was contiguous and had an affinity[16] with other areas mentioned here; his lists of districts and towns in southern regions [Mekran, Tuwaran and Sind] are:

- In Mekran: Banajbur [Fannazbur] capital, Mushka [Mustah], Kij [Kiz] [17], Sari, Barbur [Zhanzhur], Khwash, Damindan, Jalak, Dazak, Shahr, Dasht, Ail, At-Tiz, Kabartun, Rasak[18], Kasrkand, Asfaka, Fahalfahra, Kanbali and Armabil. This list has 9 names mentioned

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[15] The name of the region called Turan [Tuwaran] is found in Istakhri. This Arab/Persian name in the form of Turan is later used for an entirely different region. We will use the form Tuwaran for it, keeping Turan for the other region and the word Tubaran for the town bordering the Kirman district, called Turan, located in Tuwaran by some sources.

[16] Al-Muqaddasi, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*, tr. Basil Anthony Collins, centre for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, (Reading: Garnet Publication, 1994), p. 417; hereinafter: Muqaddasi.

[17] According to Istakhri: from Kiz to Armabil 6 days [this is a coastal route, via Darak was inland] Kanbali 2 days and on to Debul 4 days, on to Manjbari 2 days; from Buddha to Tiz and from Tiz to Kasran , it takes 15 days each.

[18] Muqaddasi, p.419 mentions this town as 'the town of exit' with reference to the Persian, al-Istakhri; in our list, we have used the English spelling from this translation. Ibn Haukal says that most people of this city were Shias.

earlier and ten others that we have not mentioned so far. Barbur may correspond to a place Idrisi calls Kirusi[19] which, like Kabartun was a large town; perhaps the largest in Mekran[20]. Banajbur, the capital of Mekran, had a fortress built of clay with a moat. One of its gates faced Tuwaran and the other opened on the road to Tiz. The language of the area was Balochi. Tiz, seaport had nothing significant except a mosque, palm trees and caravanserais.

- In Tuwaran: Quzdar [hereafter Khuzdar][21] (capital), Kandabil, Bajathrad, Jathrad, Bakanan, Khuzi, Rustakuhan, Rustak Rud, Murdan, Rustak Masakan and Karakar. According to Istakhri there were also the towns of Mahali, Kikanan and Sura [Shura]. A route, perhaps

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[19] The location of Kirusi corresponds to Kabartun and Firabuz; all three have, been designated as the largest town of Mekran. However, Idrisi mentioned Firabuz separately and likened the towns of Armabil and Kanbali to be of the same size as Firabuz. While the names Kabartun and Firabuz may relate to different times and their variants may be attributed to ethno-linguistics, Idrisi's use of two names suggests that Kirusi is another place.

[20] Muqaddasi says Tiz to Kij 5 stages, on to Fannuzbar 2, on to Dazak 3, on to Rasak 3, on to Fahalfahra3, on to Asfaka 2, on to Band 1, on to Bah 1, to Kasrkand 1, on to Armabil 6 on to Debul 4; Tiz to Khuzdar: the coast 12[?]. Since most other readings suggest that Kusdar is not on the coast, it would seem appropriate to construe this to mean that the coastal length from Tiz to the point where one would move up to Khuzdar [Lasbela?] is 12 stages. Another possibility is that there was a coastal town of Mekran bordering Sind, also called Kusdar or Kasdan, the name used by Istakhri. Names from Kabartun to Armabil are repetitions of Istakhri's list.

[21] Qusdar, also called Khuzdar and Kasdir; from Kasdir to Multan is 20 days.

toward Sijistan, with distances in farsangs: Khuzdar to Mushka, 50, to Jalak 30 more, to Khwash 30 more, to Sari Shahr 1 more, to Jui Suleiman 1 more, to Darhfa 50 more, to Jiruft 50 more. Khuzdar to Kandabil in stages 5, to Balis 4 more, to Multan 10 more. From Kandabil to Mansura 8. From Khuzdar to Mushka in farsangs 50, Jalak 30 more, Khwash 30 more, Sari Shahr 1 more to Jui Suleiman 1 more, to Darhfa 50 more, Jiruft 50 more. Kandabil to Mansura stages 8, Multan 15 more through deserts. It is noteworthy that Khuzdar, the capital, was nowhere in the scheme under Dahir. By 1000 AD it became a dominant town and had overtaken Kandabil in importance.

- In Sind: Mansura or Bamiwan (capital), Debul, Zandarij/Zandarayij, Kadar, Mayil, Tanbali; Istakhri has the names of al-Nirun [Birun], Kallari, Annari, Ballari, al-Maswahi, al-Bahraj, Bania, Manjbari [Manhatari], Sadusan, al-Rur/Arur, Subara, Kinas, Saimur. From Mansura to Debul: 6 days; Mansura to Multan: 20 days [by way of cultivated areas, 40 farsang and via the steppe 100]. Mansura to the border of Budhia, 5 days; from there to Tiz 15 more. Mansura to Qamuhul 8 days[22], to Kanbaya 4 to Subara 4 more; Sindan to Saimur

[22] Muqaddasi, p. 427 has contradictory statements for Qamuhul in sets 3 & 5; we have accepted the first statement.

> 5 days. Mansura to Kallari 1 stage, to Annari 2 more, to Alor 4, to Basmand 3, to Multan 2. Mansura to Khuzdar was 80 farsang, on to Kandaban 80, on to Siwah 80, to Walahstan 80, on to Sagan 60, Ghaznin 1 stage more.

Many new names given as part of Sind were located in areas that were previously not urbanized. Not only do we see dense urban configuration in Muqaddasi's account of the southern part of the Enclave but also a list of sites along the Central Mekran range and in the Turan-Sijistan axis, with a northerly tilt. The focal position continued to rest with Debul from which radiated all routes but Ghaznin had acquired an important position which it had not enjoyed half a century earlier. Riverine trade between Mansura and Multan and its offshoots across the mountains, towards the west, had also increased the number and size of towns. This is particularly obvious in case of the gradual reduction in distances of elite fortification at Jandrud from Multan city.

Muqaddasi's description of routes is particularly enlightening; his prime interstate interest is from Ghaznin to Mansura via Khuzdar, Siva and Walahstan; not to Peshawar or Taxila. The Hindukush had been marginalized, except the Multan route that was neither safe nor consistently usable due to brigands and travelling 80 farsang took two months. Mekran does not figure in this scheme because Tuwaran and its passes acted as the conduit. Mekran and Tuwaran provided the interface with Kirman on land and with Persian Gulf and Oman in the ocean; this accounts for extensive urbanization and prosperity of the region until the 11th century when the political focus of the Enclave reverted to the north. While Mekran comprised of Gwadar, Kech and Lasbela, the

Tuwaran of that time would include modern Awaran, Khuzdar, Kalat, Mastung, Kharan, Sibi and Chaghi. It was mountainous, with fewer towns than in the smaller area of Mekran.

In the northern arch of the Enclave [Muqaddasi] were districts of:

- Waihind, with a capital of the same name, was essentially the heartland of Gandhara with important towns: Widhan, Bitar, Nuj, Lawar, Saman and Kuj.
- Kanauj, this is probably different from the land of the same name east of the Enclave. According to Muqaddasi, coming from Kirman, it came after Waihind but before Multan. Its capital was also called Kanauj and it had the towns of: Qadar[23], Abar, Kahara, Bard, Wujain, Uriah, Zahu, Har and Barhirawa. If this is correct, it is the Sind-Sagar Doab, north of Buddha, northwest of Multan.
- Multan, capital of its own district: Major towns were Barar, Ramadan, Warwin and Barur. To get to Budhia from Multan one could cross the Mehran at the border of the tongue of land known as Biyalas which was 10 days from Multan. One could also cross the desert and

[23] Muqaddasi, p. 419 gives Qadar as a town in Kanauj. In the map we have reconstructed from the distances given in sources translated by E&D, Sind, it may lie near the crossroads of the Bolan-Khojak passes with the Kalat-Zhob route. It is, however, equally possible that Muqaddasi erred in placing Kanauj west of Multan rather than east of it.

arrive at Kandabil in 10 days; this, the only city of Budhia is mentioned by Muqaddasi Istakhri and Ibn Haukal.

Muqaddasi says that it cost 150 dirham from Multan to Ghaznin for one standard load in addition to cost of safe passage. Multan to Mansura via the steppes with little cultivation was 100 farsang; through cultivated areas and villages 40 farsang. Multan to Balis 10 stages, Kandabil 4 to Khuzdar 5. Multan to Basmand 2 stages, to Alor 3, to Annari 4, to Kallari 2, to Mansura 1, to Qamuhul 1. This description is much sketchier than that of territories in the south. He gives no distances except from Multan toward the south to Kandabil, Mansura and Tuwaran.

Of the six states in the Enclave, three in the south were Muslim: Mekran was independent, Sind and Tuwaran owed allegiance to the Abbasi Khilafat. In Multan, Khutba was read in the name of the Fatimids while Waihind and Kanauj were non-Muslim but the Muslims were governed by their own leaders. Mekran, which is sparsely populated today, with very few urban centres, vied with Sind in number of towns then. This is remarkable as its hinterland is severely challenged for food security. In contrast, Multan and Waihind, which are more populous today, had no problem of food security except in parts of their intervening desert. The fact that Taxila and Peshawar do not appeared in these lists indicates that the configuration had changed in Gandhara/Kandahar[24] regions

[24] The names Kandahar, Kanauj and Turan are likely to cause confusion during this period because each of these words has generally been applied in world history to areas outside the Enclave. The entity of Kanauj is suspect but the name may have applied to a part of the Enclave by an ethnic group

where rivers began to take precedence over the high ground as determinants of cohesion. This trend is also visible in Albiruni's description of the northern route of the Enclave[25].

Albiruni treats Jalandhar and Lahore as territories, their capitals being Dahmala and Mandakkur in the vicinity of the present city of Lahore[26] respectively. Moving west, the Chenab was 12 farsang and Jhelum 8 more; Waihind, capital of Gandhara, 20 more and Peshawar 14 more with Dunpur, Kabul and Ghaznin each an additional 15, 12 & 17 farsang respectively. Mandakkur was east of the Ravi and Waihind, which the Mongols call Karajung according to Rashid-ud-din[27], lay west of the Indus. To the west of Kashmir were domains of Takur Shah, Shaknan or Shugnan Shah and Wakhan Shah extending to Badakhshan and on the east were the lands of Turks of China and Tibet. Kashmir he says belongs to Hindus in the south and east but the western part belongs to Bolar-shah; north of it were the Turks of Khotan and Tibet. The river Sind rose in the land of Turks and passed

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which had associations with this word. Many names in the Enclave [like Lahore] are repeated in different places due to similar cultural association.

[25] The route he described lies along Sher Shah's Grand Trunk road. He had to reconstruct this portion of the road as the region had become deurbanized especially due to Mongol raids during the Sultanate of Delhi.

[26] *Albiruni's India*, tr. ed. Edward C. Sachau, volumes I&II, (Delhi: Low price, 2003), hereafter *Albiruni*, p. 317, vol. I, where Albiruni gives his calculation of latitudes of different places, he says Lahore fort is at 34^0 10` [perhaps some other Lahore, the present city is not at this latitude], Mandakkur at $31^0$ 50`, 1 degree below Sialkot, 2 above Multan. Albiruni did not visit India east of the Enclave; his knowledge of that area was from books/hearsay.

[27] E&D, Sind, p. 63.

Gilgit, Astor and Chilas inhabited by the Bhattavaryan Turks under the Bhatta-shah. They spoke Turkish and harassed the Kashmiris who were a pedestrian people. In India's western frontier mountains lived Afghan tribes to the limit of the Indus[28].

According to Albiruni from Bazana to the west was Multan at 50 farsang, Bhati, 15 farsang from Multan. Moving southwest from Bhati, Alor was 15 farsang, Brahmanabad 20 more and Lahri Bandar at the mouth of the river 30 more. Jalandar was at the foot of the mountains, Ludhiana lay to its west. The waters of Jhelum and Chandra [Chenab] combined fifty miles above Jarawar [at Jhang, Jarawar could then mean Shorkot] and flow to the west of Multan. The Bias[29] received waters of the river Kaj which separates from the Kuj in the Bhatal hills [Siwalik] near Nagarkot. The collected waters of these streams joined the Satladar [Sutlej] below Multan. Bhati was 15 farsang west of Multan[30]; Alor was at a distance of 15 farsang, between two arms of the Indus,

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[28] *Albiruni*, p. 205ff, vol. I. the spellings of these names is slightly different from their modern pronunciation.

[29] E&D, Sind, p.48 finds this passage confusing [because Albiruni mentions the river Ravi] expecting that the rivers Kaj and Kuj are coming in successively more from east of Mehran into Ravi. These torrents came from Siwalik east of the Ravi and bifurcate, one fell into the Bias near Kangra the other perhaps went on to join Sutlej. See also Abdur Rahman, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Sahis*, Centre for Central Asia, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 1979, p. 27. *Albiruni,* Chapter 18 , vol. I, op. cit., p.196 ff, illustrates that the cause for confusion was juxtaposition of the names of Ravi and Bias in the table giving sequence of rivers and distances.

[30] *Albiruni*, p. 148, vol. II mentions that pilgrimage of Hindus to Multan had ceased since the temple had been destroyed; p. 116 vol. I, confirms this was done by the Karamati ruler, Jalam ibn Shaiban.

southeast of Bhati. Mansura was 20 farsang from Bhati and 30 farsang from Liyari Bandar. Albiruni's description was reproduced by Rashid-ud-din several centuries later. According to him, India bordered Sind, Kabul, Kashmir and the land of the Turks. Here also lay the Kalarchil [Karachil/Karakorum] which could be seen from Lahawar [Swat][31] and Takas [Taxila].

Socio-political integration began to take shape in Baluchistan while it remained under Baghdad. Places governed from Budhia exchanged their riverine linkage to Sivistan for mountainous links across the web of Baloch highlands. Baluchistan presents a fascinating structure of mountains; five parallel ranges in its west, each one lying west to east. From north to south they are: Chaghi, Raskoh, Siahan, Central Mekran range and Mekran Coastal range. East of these lie four ranges, with a set of three in the south surmounted by one to the north of them, these are: Hala, Pub and Kirthar in the south with the Central Brahui range north of them. North of this is the crossroad marked by the Bolan and Khojak passes, on a southeast to northwest axis; the slope of the Zhob-Loralai regions form a funnel to the northeast, between Kakar and Suleiman ranges. The Quetta region had thus reverted to its pre-Harappan role as a hub of traffic by 900 AD.

The emergence of Tuwaran placed the mountain nomads in the key role as traders with their camel trains. These people brought prosperity to the region all along the mountain slopes. When the Zabulistan and Ghaznin based states or Alor and Brahmanabad

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[31] Waihind, called Kandahar by Rashid-ud-din, meaning Gandhara, was a fort city at this location the Kapisi/Kabul River joins the Indus.

governments obtained their cooperation, they prospered; when no state controlled them, they exploited the political vacuum.

North of Multan was a desert extending to the border of Tuwaran. From Multan and Mansura the intervening region was occupied by the Nada tribes/race. They were like the Berber nomads and pastured between Mekran and Tuwaran as well. They used to take refuge in marshes west of Mehran and had peculiar dwellings. They bred an excellent breed of camel called Karah [resembling male camels of Balkh] with female camels of Samarqand. These were highly valued in Khurasan and Persia for their good temper, they had two humps. Ibn Haukal notes non-Muslims called Budh and Mand[32] [Med] who lived in the area between Mansura, Turan and Multan and cross bred camels with a Bactrian breed.

The main trading post of the Budhia was Kandabil, their lifestyle was that of desert people; their houses were made of reed and grass. The Mand lived on the bank of Mehran, from the boundary of Multan to the sea in deserts between Mekran and Famhal; their cattle were kept in sheds. These people had a large population which exploited wide riverine pasturage. They may represent the same ethnic construct which Alexander encountered during his journey along the Mehran. However, they assimilated a variety of newcomers into their polity over the centuries. Essentially they represent the riverine link which had bound the Indus civilization together so long as collectives of industry and communes of skills produced the apparatus of trade. When industry declined and

[32] E&D, Sind, p. 38.

trade withered, these communities reverted to a tribal, subsistence life that still endures through several intervening civilizations.

The insulation and isolation that had gripped the Enclave with the recession of the Mauriya state was shattered by Muhammad bin Qasim and a vibrant three pronged network of trade created an urban web along mountains, rivers and deserts alike. Nomadic tribal groups that were the bane of empire builders like Alexander emerged as a non-governed trade enterprise.

Chach created an integrated empire of rivers and mountains, his successors lost the mountains. The Arabs improved upon this by integrating deserts through the use of the camel. Routes linking the Enclave with the west gradually emerged, as can be seen from the accounts of Muslim geographers. The routes in the south west were upgraded by the trade links from the river to the sea.[33]

Major neighbouring states outside the Enclave

Nominally, during this stage, the Khilafat and its dependencies dominated the state systems west of the Enclave. Practically, this lasted only a short time before and after the period in which a portion of the Enclave was directly subordinate to the Khilafat. Before the Khilafat conquered Sijistan, it was not an important force and the residuary effect of the Hun and Iranian polity was the active element in the northwest and southwest of the Enclave. Four generations later the Khilafat began to lose its grip over Sind, its dependencies vied for influence, and control. A political

[33] See table and maps at the end of this chapter for the locations mentioned here according to chronology.

error that forced Alptigin to establish a state centred at Ghaznin as sanctuary from his Samani master was a providential accident that precipitated the advent of Muslim Turks in the north of the Enclave. Many similar accidents had brought non-Muslim Turkic peoples of areas between Hindukush and the Caspian to Gandhara before this. Muslim Turks like the Arabs before them, however, instigated a change in the spiritual orientation of the Enclave. This reinforced delinking of the Enclave from Bharat which had begun with the eviction of Buddhism from India and the retreat of the Hun and Kushan ethnicities from the Gangetic region.

Almost throughout this stage the Balhara dominated Bharat, east of the Enclave. Jurz, Tafak and Ruhmi were in close proximity; the Balhara and Tafak had good relations with the Arabs but the Jurz hated Arabs and were at war with Balhara and Ruhmi[34]. In the west Muqaddasi identified sixteen areas, each with its own metropolis, and twenty-seven district capitals[35]. Albiruni has his own list of states in India in which the Enclave may be identified

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[34] E&D, Sind, p. 4ff.

[35] Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr al-Banna al-Bashari al-Maqdisi [al-Muqaddasi], *Ahsanut-Taqasim fi Marifat al-Aqalim, tr. Ranking and Azoo,* (Frankfurt am Main: *Institut fur Geschichte*…, 1989), P.84 has definitions of the term from different perspectives from doctors of law to the common people. The indicators are population, courts of justice and a resident governor being a central authority for the surrounding territory, with its own revenues for public expenses. Muqaddasi himself uses the term for "a city where the supreme ruler of a country resides, where the State Departments have their headquarters, in which the provincial governors receive their investitures". He includes Samarqand, Ahwaz, Hamadan, Mecca, Baghdad, Damishq, Qurtaba, Shiraz and Mansura.

with Multan, Sind and Gandhara[36]. The intellectual climate in which Albiruni wrote borrowed heavily from Greeks and Iranians but put the stamp of an Islamic cosmology on it. Thus he gave a comparison of three traditions; but tried to give a balanced view due to his innate sense of justice. In the Enclave it appears that the Iranian influence was stronger[37] than the Bactrian-Greek one which dominated Afghanistan[38]. Bharat was also influenced by Bactrian Hellenism but was influenced that region in its turn; that is why Albiruni detected some common features in them[39].

In the 10th/4th century Muslim rulers looked to the Khalifa of Baghdad. The Hindu rulers looked to Balhara kings of Gujrat and

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36 *Albiruni*, p. 259 ff, vol. I. Albiruni apparently made a mistake in placing the Bias west of Lahore and the Ravi while he places the Ravi to the east of Lahore. It may not have been too farfetched to assume that the Ravi had moved to the west of the city at a later date if it were not for the error of locating the Bias; this indicates that the names have been juxtaposed and resolves the problem of these rivers; see note 29, supra.

37 *Albiruni*, p. 41, uses the term Buddhodana which is a composite word with the Persian [dana] and the Sanskrit [Buddh]; examples of the emerging lingua-genesis of the Enclave can be found in other medieval texts.

38 I have not come across the term Afghanistan before Barani but the term Afghan was used by Utbi and Albiruni.

39 Albiruni does not discuss a history or sociology that caused these people to have similar beliefs, he only mentions them. Albiruni did not personally go to any region east of the Enclave, nor did he visit Kashmir [see *Albiruni*, p. 318, Vol. I.] but assumes similarity of beliefs in Kashmir and Banaras.

Malwa[40] as overlords or leaders of Hindu states; while Christians looked to Byzantium and Rome.

The culture of Bannu Lamghan, Ningarhar/Na-kie (ka)-lo-ho and Gandhara c.650 AD was in some ways similar to that of Magadha but that of Tsau-ku-ta/Tsau-li was not. Sind and its dependencies also used the same script but the language and culture was slightly different. Affinity with India, as we have seen in the preceding stages, goes back to the pre-Aryan nomads. Settlers from all sides came to the Enclave and formed distinct nodes along its rivers.

A subsequent lingua-ethno-genesis included Aryans and waves of Turkic conquerors over two millennia. The backlash of this was at its height at the beginning of this stage. Buddhist thought was the vehicle that transported the culture of Bharat to Afghanistan and beyond. State systems on either side of the Enclave vied for control over land contiguous to them. The Indus and its tributaries provided a series of natural frontiers that were used as boundaries during conquest or retreat by successive adventurers emerging from anywhere: north-west in Caucasus to south east in Vindiya.

Naturally this configuration does not represent a constant state of affairs. At the start of this stage the Khilafat was very much a viable entity, al-Muqaddasi's list of areas represents the then list of districts of the Arab Empire. Through the rise and fall of the Abbasid Khilafat it gradually changed into a mosaic upon which the kaleidoscope of Muslim states emerged throughout the stage

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[40] E&D, Sind, p. 3, from the account of the merchant Suleiman and Abu Zaid, c. 303 H. or 915 AD, new research has debunked E&D's conclusions.

under review[41]. Some small regions such as Zabulistan, Bamian and Zamin Dawar sometimes became independent principalities or city based states and at others formed part of an empire, based in Afghanistan or Central Asia. The Khilafat claimed dominance over these states by its right to nominate a sultan or amir to rule an area; actually enterprising adventurers dominated the Khilafat and each other in an internecine struggle; creating great empires.

In the East Rajput states became involved in a somewhat similar struggle for supremacy with the vital difference that, unlike Turks and Afghans they were willing to unite against an invader. They had a fluid hierarchy which underwent changes during the period under study as is obvious from political history also. Unlike the western states, however, Rajputs seem to have been uninterested in extending their sway to the Enclave or to interface with western expansion unless it impacted on the Ganga-Jumna doab. Their interface with the Deccan and Bengal [even Bihar, eastern Malwa and Orissa] was also occasional and tenuous.

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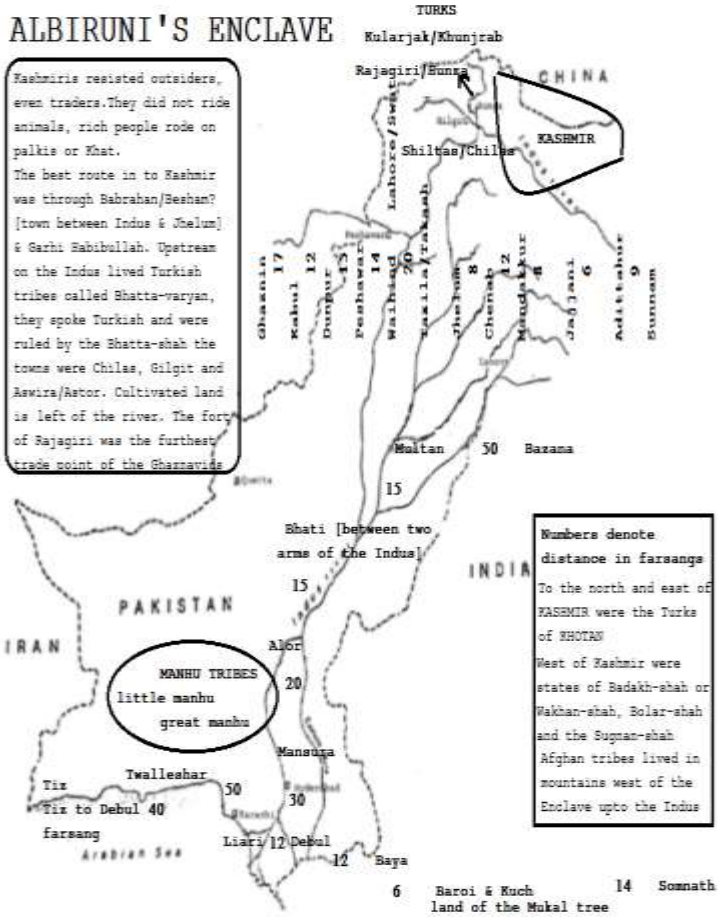
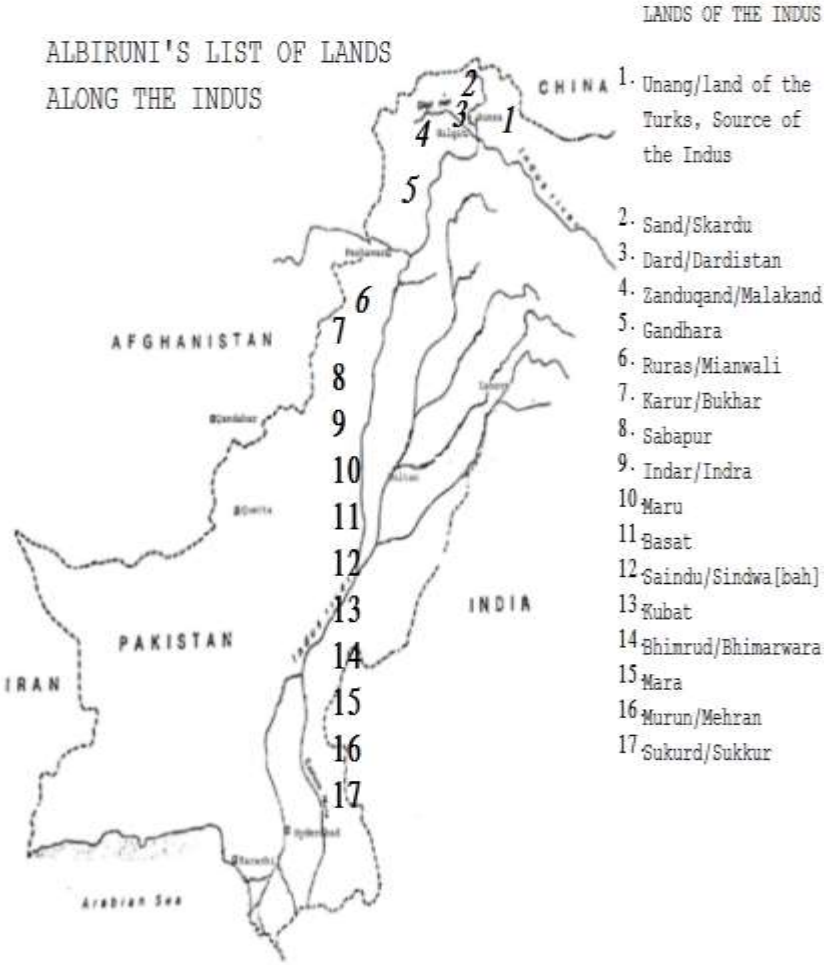
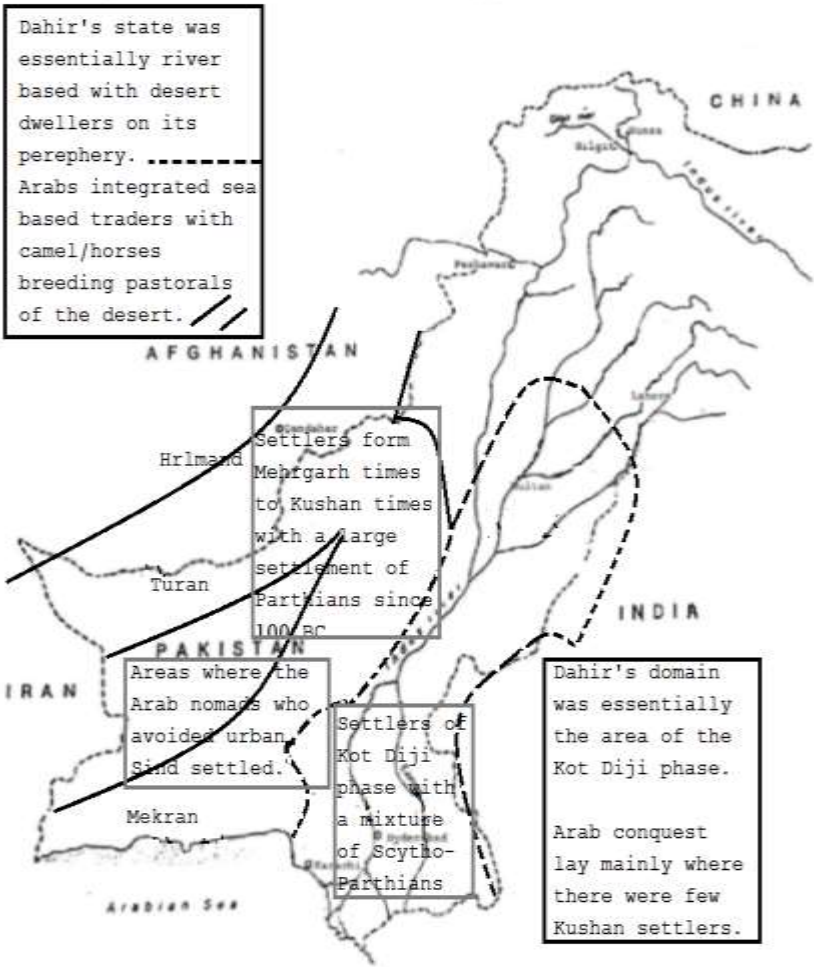
41 Minhaj-us-Siraj Jurjani, *Tabqaat-i-Nasiri*, Vol. I, tr. [Urdu] Ghulam Rasul Mehr, (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1977), p. 341 ff. Tahiri, Saffuri, Dailami, Buwahi, Samani and other dynasties that emerged all along the western arch of the Enclave are briefly described; they provided the ideal counterfoil for a similar pattern within the Enclave.


ALBIRUNI'S ENCLAVE
Kashmiris resisted outsiders, even traders.They did not ride animals, rich people rode on palkis or Khat.
The best route in to Kashmir was through Babrahan/Beshan? [town between Indus & Jhelum] & Garhi Habibullah. Upstream on the Indus lived Turkish tribes called Bhatta-varyan, they spoke Turkish and were ruled by the Bhatta-shah the towns were Chilas, Gilgit and Aswira/Astor. Cultivated land is left of the river. The fort of Rajagiri was the furthest trade point of the Ghaznavids
TURKS
Kularjak/Khunjrab
Rajagiri/Hunza
CHINA
KASHMIR
Shiltas/Chilas
Lahore/Swat
Ghazni 17
Kabul 12
Dunpur 15
Peshawar 14
Walhind 20
Jhelum 8
Chenab 12
Mandakaur 4
Jajjani 6
Adittahur 9
Sunnam
Multan 50 Bazana
15
Bhati [between two arms of the Indus]
INDIA
15
PAKISTAN
IRAN
Alor
20
MANHU TRIBES
little manhu
great manhu
Mansura
Twalleshar
Tix
50
30
Tix to Debul 40
farsang
Arabian Sea
Liari 12 Debul
12
Baya
6 Baroi & Kuch
land of the Mukal tree
14 Somnath
Numbers denote distance in farsangs
To the north and east of KASHMIR were the Turks of KHOTAN
West of Kashmir were states of Badakh-shah or Wakhan-shah, Bolar-shah and the Sugnan-shah
Afghan tribes lived in mountains west of the Enclave upto the Indus

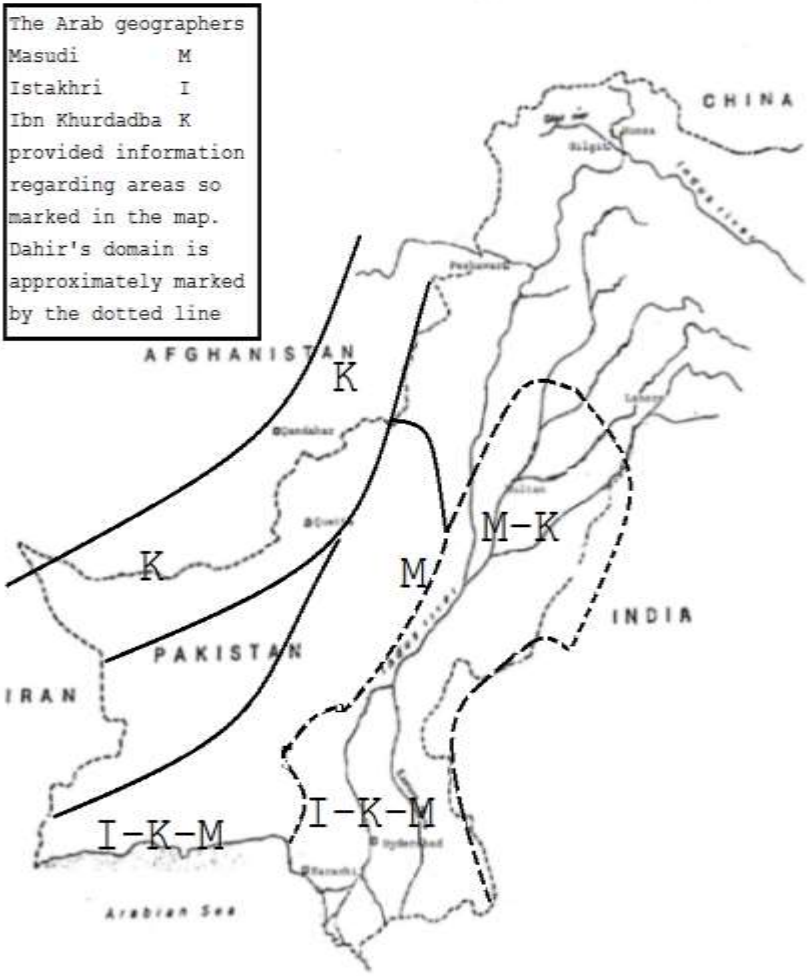
MAP 16


ALBIRUNI'S LIST OF LANDS
ALONG THE INDUS
CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
IRAN
INDIA
Arabian Sea
LANDS OF THE INDUS
1. Unang/land of the Turks, Source of the Indus
2. Sand/Skardu
3. Dard/Dardistan
4. Zanduqand/Malakand
5. Gandhara
6. Ruras/Mianwali
7. Karur/Bukhar
8. Sabapur
9. Indar/Indra
10 Maru
11 Basat
12 Saindu/Sindwa[bah]
13 Kubat
14 Bhimrud/Bhimarwara
15 Mara
16 Murun/Mehran
17 Sukurd/Sukkur

MAP 17


Dahir's state was essentially river based with desert dwellers on its perephery.
Arabs integrated sea based traders with camel/horses breeding pastorals of the desert.
CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
Hrlmand
Settlers form Mehrgarh times to Kushan times with a large settlement of Parthians since 100 BC
Turan
INDIA
PAKISTAN
IRAN
Areas where the Arab nomads who avoided urban Sind settled.
Settlers of Kot Diji phase with a mixture of Scytho-Parthians
Mekran
Arabian Sea
Dahir's domain was essentially the area of the Kot Diji phase.
Arab conquest lay mainly where there were few Kushan settlers.

MAP 18


The Arab geographers
Masudi M
Istakhri I
Ibn Khurdadba K
provided information
regarding areas so
marked in the map.
Dahir's domain is
approximately marked
by the dotted line
CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
K
K
M
M-K
INDIA
PAKISTAN
IRAN
I-K-M
I-K-M
Arabian Sea

MAP 19


CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
IRAN
Arabian Sea
38-40,44,81-83,
and 90-91 in this area

MAP 20

LIST OF PLACE AND TRIBE NAMES GIVEN IN MAP 20

The first column is in alphabetical order; the second is numerical sequence starting with Debul. We have omitted names which are difficult to place but are given in original sources.

ALPHABETICAL LIST	NUMERICAL LIST
Al-Kharvi [C] dist. of Rasak	al-Mand [Med country] (a)
al-Nirun [Hyderabad] Birun ch. Nerun [3] in Brahmanabad	Bayat [river Jhelum] (b)
Al-Baiza [119]	Chandra river [Chenab] (c)
Alor Ruz, [9] Rohri], Dur ar-Rur/Arur/ Aldur, like 24	Ravi river (d)
Annari, Atri, Attari, Abri, Ibri, Alori [11] Ayari	Sandarud river (e)
Armabil [17] Armail Armatil like 24 in Sivistan ch.	Rahun, [A] Rauhan (dependency of Mansura)
Asfiqah /Asfaka [27]	Kalwan dependency of Mekran [B]
Ashar/Ashahar [58]Ch. dist of Mn Ishthar? [Asarur/Pasrur?]	Al-Kharvi [C] a district of Rasak
Astor/Asura [97]	Kirkayan [D]
At-Tiz [16], Tiz	Tafan or Al-Uzaifa {Gandhara?}[E]
Babiah [49] near Bahawalpur in Iskandah ch.	Luhanah tribe [i]
Bagrur [120] Bakanan Bakar near Mihran in Tuwaran	Channa tribe [ii]
Bah, Bih, Nah, Nih, Nahraj [35]	Sammah tribes [iii] around Mansura

Baku, Baroch [70]	Nada tribe [iv]
Balbak [38]	Jat tribe [v]
	Med tribe [vi]
Balzi, Ballari Vallari, Balra, Balwi, Balwa [78]	Kassa tribe [vii]
Band /Nand [28]	Lakhah tribes [near Mansura] [viii]
Bania, Baniya, Bilha [7]	Debul [1]
Banajbur, capital of Mekran Fannazbur/bar Firabuz [14] may be same as Kabartun *[42]*	Thatta [2]
Bannu [108]	al-Nirun [Birun] Nerun Hyderabad [3]
Basmand Bismak Basmat [10] Bani Battan/Pattan, Samand	Mansura local: Mirman also called Bamiwan [4] Brahmanabad
Bayat [river Jhelum]	Labi, Kallari, Falid [5]
Bid [79]	Sadusan Sharusan [6]
Brahmapur [59] Brahmaur on river Budhil affluent of Ravi capital of Chamba: Multan ch	Bania Baniya Bilha [7]
Brahmas [88] in Alor ch.	Famhal/Mamhal/ Amhal [8]
Budhia, Basia, ch. [51] in Sivistan	***Alor*** Ruz, [9] Rohri, Dur ar-Rur/Arur/ Aldur
Channa tribe [ii]	Basmand Bismak Bani Battan/Pattan, Basmat Samand [10]

Changan/Chingan Jhangar, Dalkhran [53] 13 miles west of Sehwan in Siwistan ch.	Annari, Atri, Atari, Abri, Ibri, Alori [11] Ayari
Charsadda [102]	Manjbari, Manhatari Manhabari [12]
Chilas/Salsas [95]	Khur [13]
Chitor [50]	Banajbur Fannazbur/bar Firabuz [14]
Darak Al-Haruj Haruj [19]	Kis Kij/Kabar Kiz Kir, Tir [15]
Debul [1] like 24 in B,bad, ch.	At-Tiz [16]
Dhamod Dhanod [61] part of Iskandah	Armabil [17] Armail Armatil
Fahalfahra [26] Fahal-Fahra	Kambali Kanbali [18] Lasbela, Qabil, Yasli
Fahraj Faraj [31]	Darak Al-Haruj Haruj [19]
Famhal/Mamhal/ Amhal [8]	Rasak (city of Shias) /Rasik [20]
Fardan [32] in Tuwaran	Masakan [21] adjoins Kirman
Firozkoh [115]	Jauran [22]
Ghaznin [112]	Tubaran, Turan [23]
Gilgit [96]	Kasran [24] dependency of Mekran/Tuwaran=Khuzdar
Hadrawar, [64] Jandaruz, Jadrwar Jadrawar/Jandrud	Kirman [25]
Helmand or Hindmand [110]	Fahalfahra [26] Fahal-Fa hra

Ishthar [56] capital of Ashahar in Multan? Ch.	Asfiqah /Asfaka [27]
Iskandah [60] Uch?	Band /Nand [28]
Jajhor Jajhore [63] part of Iskandah ch.	[29]
Jarawar Jhang or Shorkot [93]	Kia [30]
Jat tribe [v]	Fahraj Faraj [31]
Jauran [22]	Fardan [32]
Kabriyun, [42] Kinnazbun like 24 Kinnazbur: largest in Mekran Zhanzhur/Barbur	Mushka Mustah [33]
Kuj and Kaj river	***Multan*** [34]
Kakaraj, Kandabil, Qandabil, ***Sivistan***, ch. Siwis, Siwi, Sehwan [52] like 24	Bah, Bih, Nah, Nih, Nahraj [35]
Kalwan dependency of Mekran [B]	Masli [36]
Kambaya, Kanbaya [69]	Kirusi, Kisur [37] (nearly as large as Multan)
Kambali Kanbali [18], like 24 Lasbela, Qabil, Yasli/Yusli in Sivistan ch.	Balbak [38]
Kanawar [94] Bhutshah	Vandan [83?] Wandan [39]
Kandahar, Ohind, Gandhara, Biturashit, Bitur [101]	Masurjan [40]
Kapisi Kabul [113]	Qadar, Kadira Kadar[41]
Karad [55]	Kabriyun, [42] Kannazbun Kinnazbun Kinnazbur
Karaj [75] like 24	Kasdir [43]

Karur, [48] Karorpakka in Multan ch.	Mahal, Mahali, Majak [44]
Kasadir [43] in Tuwaran see also24 & 84	Kikanan, Kizkanan, Kabakanan, Loralai-Zhob Marri-Bugti hills, Kanikanan [45]
Kashran Kasran [24] [two farsang to Kol] in Tuwaran	Uch [46]
Kassa tribe [vii]	Sikkah [47]
Khur [13]	Karur, [48] Ludhiana
Khur Kakhlia [106]	Babiah [49] near Bahawalpur
Kia [30]	Chitor [50]
Kibrikayan [91?] Kirbun, between 25 & 4	Buddha, Basia, Sivistan, Mianwali [51]
Kih [57]	Kakaraj Siwi[52] Kandabil Qanbala, Qandbil, Sehwan
Kikanan, Kanikanan, ch. [45] Kizkanan, Kabakanan in Alor	Changan/Chingan Jhangar, Dalkhran [53] 13 miles west of Sehwan
Kim [80]	Rojhan [54]
Kirkayan [D] (like al-Kharuj)	Karad [55]
Kirman [25]	Ishthar [56]
Kirusi, Kisur in Mekran [37] (nearly as large as Multan)	Kih [57]
Kis/Kij/Kabar/Kiz/Kir/Tir[15]	Ashar [58]
Kish [116]	Brahmapur [59] Brahmaur r. Budhil capital of Chamba

Kulli [77]	***Iskandah*** [60]
Kumba [86]	Dhamod Dhanod [61]
Kurdan [87] in Alor ch.	Sawarah Sawarak [62]
Kusa [107]	Jajhor Jajhore [63]
Labi, Kallari/Kalwi, Falid Qallari [5]	Hadrawar, [64] Jandaruz, Jadrwar Jadrawar/Jandrud
Lahawar (Swat) [99]	Sandur [65]
Lakhah tribes [near Mansura] [viii] in Brahmanabad, ch.	Subara/Saryara Subarah [66] Surbara Surabaya
Luhanah tribe [i] in B,bad, ch.	Sindan, [67] Asawal?!
Mahal, Mahali, Majak [44]	Saimur, Manawal [68]
Mandal [73] like 24	Kambaya, Kanbaya [69]
Manjbari, Manhatari [12]	Baku, Baroch [70]
Mansura local name Mirman Bamiwan also ***Brahmanabad*** ch. [Brahmanabad] [4]	Qannauj, Kanauj [71]
Marri-Bugti hills or Zhob-Loralai; (see [45] & [117])	Sairab, Sairasb [72]
Mushka Mustah [33] Tuwaran may be same as 21	Mandal [73]
Mashwahi [81] Maswahi	Salman [74]
Masakan [21] adjoins Kirman	Karaj [75]
Masli [36]	Rumla, Ramla [76]
Masurjan [40] in Tuwaran	Kulli [77]
Maswahi [90]	Balzi, Ballari/Vallari, Balra/Balwi, Balwa [78]
Med tribe [vi]	Bid [79]
Mahfuza [122]	Kim [80]
Multan [34] like 24	Mashwahi [81] Maswahi

Nada [105]	Nira [82]
Nada tribe [iv]	Vandan[83?] Wandan[39]
Nira [82]	Quzdar, capital of Turan, [84?] Khuzdar
Nukan [117] like 24	Shatalhar [85]
Peshawar [104]	Kumba [86]
Qadar, Kadira Kadria Kadar[41]	Kurdan [87] in Kanauj
Qandahar [111]	Brahmas [88]
Qannauj, Kanauj [71]	Balwai?[89]/[78]
Quzdar, capital of Turan, [84?] Kusdar, Khuzdar	Maswahi [90]
Rahun, Rauhan (dependency of Mansura) [A]	Kibrikayan [91?]
Rasak (Shias) /Rasik [20] like 24	Sura S[h]ura Surast [92]
Ravi river	Jarawar/Jhang/Shorkot[93]
Rojhan [54]	Kanawar [94] Bhutshah
Rumla, Ramla [76] like 24	Chilas/Salsas [95]
Sadusan Sharusan [6] like 24	Gilgit [96]
Saimur/Saymur/Manawal [68]	Astor/Asura [97]
Sairab, Sairasb [72] like 24	Takas, Taxila [98]
Sandarud river	Lahawar (Swat) [99]
Sammah tribes [iii] around Mansura in B,bad, ch.	Waihind called Karajung [100] Kandahar
Jui Suleiman/Salman [74] like 24	Kandahar, Gandhara [101] Biturashit, Bitur, Ohind
Sandur [65]	Charsadda [102]

Sawarah Sawarak [62] part of Iskandah ch.	Udyana-pura [103]
Shaklahar [??] [Sakala/Sialkot capital of Cheh-ka] in Mn. Ch.	Peshawar [104]
Shatalhar [85]	Nada [105]
Sijistan [109] Zaranj capital 1200 m from Multan	Khur Kakhlia [106]
Sikkah [47] in Multan Ch.	Kusa [107]
Sindan, Asawal? [67] Sandan, 20 farsang to al-Mand, like 24	Bannu [108]
Subara/Saryara Subarah [66] Surbara Surabaya	Sijistan [109]
Sura Surast [92] in Tuwaran	Helmand/Hindmand [110]
Swandari [121]	Qandahar [111]
Tafan or Al-Uzaifa [E]	Ghaznin [112]
Takas, Taxila [98]	Kapisi Kabul [113]
Thatta [2]	Jalalabad [114]
Tubaran, Turan [23]	Firozkoh [115]
Uch [46]	Kish [116]
Udyana-pura [103]	Marri-Bugti hills: Zhob-Loralai=Nukan [117]
Vandan/Wandan [39] like 24	[118], see 84
Waihind/Karajung/Kandhar[100	Al-Baiza [119]
	Bagrur [120]
Sivistan,	Swandari [121]
	Mahfuza [122]

STAGE – IV: 650-1250 AD

Patterns of Life

When Chach set out to round off limits of his empire from Kirman to Kashmir to Rajasthan, his neighbours in a clockwise direction were Sassanid, Turki Shahi, Kashmiri, Chitor and Balhara rulers. The Chitor state leading a collation even claimed the right to rule Sind as the successor of Sahasi Rai's family.

By the time Dahir inherited the empire, it had shrunk. Iskandah had been lost or had shrunk till it became a minor part of Multan; perhaps represented by Babiah and Sikkah. Multan may also have been deprived of a northern portion of territory and Sivistan may have lost Khuzdar, Kalat and other parts of Baluchistan.

A truncated state was conquered by Muhammad bin Qasim. Dahir probably controlled only Sind. In the west, the Arab Khilafat had become the only relevant force outside the Enclave. Towards the east no noteworthy state is recorded in history. Junaid's career of short lived conquest does not seem to have troubled a fragmented mosaic of Rajput polity. Thus we have a state system in the east and an empire in the west from about 650 to 850 AD.

During the next century several independent or semi-independent states along the western flank of the Enclave from Transoxiana to the Persian Gulf emerged with a floating leadership pattern under the Abbasid umbrella. By this time the Fatimid Khilafat emerged, accentuating political dissociation between African and Asian Muslim states by reinforcing it with a dogmatic schism.

This was reflected in Mekran and Multan within the Enclave and various parts of Iran and Central Asia outside the Enclave. Thus another dimension was added to the struggle for dominance among Muslim states with occasional cooperation between rulers belonging to the same sect. Ibn Khurdadba does not mention this but rather focuses on the coastal islands. He does not provide any insight into affiliations of the states within the Enclave, nor does Masudi. Istakhri is the first source to comment on this matter; he says Multan owes allegiance directly to the Khalifa, independent of Mansura. Ibn Haukal reiterates this c. 358 H/968 AD, a few decades later Muqaddasi noted the effects of the Fatimid Khilafat.

SECTION 'A': Political & Administrative

Political evolution of the Enclave *dealt here as southern and northern sub-systems till c.400H/c. 1000AD. First the South:*

In the east, the Guptas had emerged with the decline of Kushan power c.300 AD. They increased their influence as far as northern Rajasthan thereby weakening local militants in that region. This made it possible for marauding Huns who followed in the wake to dominate the Enclave. Romila Thapar[1] makes some important

[1] Romila Thapar, *Early India*, (New Delhi: Penguin, 2002).

observations: first, that a watershed guarded the gates to Bharat; this we refer to as the Bhatinda,-Sirhind- Hansi triangle. Second that the ganasanga polity had endured in Bharat for a millennium; this puts the Mauriya Empire in a different light. This polity was shattered by Gupta conquests, thus caste began to take precedence over clan. Sahasi Rai's kingdom emerged during the decline of the Guptas and may have acquired the eastern half of the Enclave from them. Chach had to contend with its westernmost successors in Rajasthan to secure his eastern front; he then went on to extend his domain in the west due to the recession of the Sassanid state only to lose it to the Muslim Arabs who conquered Iran.

Whatever was the reality of the mythical-legendary passage of the Aryans through the Enclave or their exploits and conquests west of Bharat, there is no doubt that on the heels of the Greek conquest came an east-centred expansionism under the Mauriyas.

The more historically verifiable incursions of Scythian, Parthian and Kushan imperialism from a north-western direction were also followed by invasions from the east in the Enclave. What form the ethno-genesis of Bharat had taken is rather difficult to assess; the pre-Aryan nomads who had traded with the Harappans and their coeval settlers had integrated with the Aryans. Perhaps some Saka tribes had also passed through as suggested by Buddha's title Sakyamuni; of course it can be a later interjection under Saka influence. If the Saka had not entered Bharat before Alexander they certainly did so soon after that; as did Parthians and Kushans but the Bactrians probably did not go beyond the Enclave. Thus Rajputs, Guptas and many other clans and tribes of Bharat were the product of an ethno-lingua-genesis; precipitating a religious

evolution and a socio-political reorganization in the state-systems which aspired to dominate the Enclave. It was in this environment that the fourth stage of urban development began. They brought a new faith and polity to the Enclave and, more importantly, their dedication to the hitherto insignificant literary tradition.

Balazuri or Biladuri [died 840H/1436] wrote his *Futuh-ul-Buldan* sometime after the Chachnamah was translated into Persian. As he was attempting a comprehensive history of Muslim conquests, he starts his section on Sind with the earliest discussions related to the subject in the Arab government. In 15H, during the Khilafat of Hazrat Omar, he mentions that the governor of Oman sent an army westward under intimation to the Khalifa.

In the next Khilafat the governor of Iraq sent an exploratory patrol toward Hind probably by way of Mekran. His report was: "water is scarce, fruits are poor and the robbers are bold; if few troops are sent they will be slain, if many, they will starve"[2]. This shows suggests that Sahasi Rai's Alor based government had no control over the area. Chach was not yet ruling Sind nor had Mekran been subdued. Nada, Jat and Med robbers caused underdevelopment in Mekran. The Khilafat in its early days would not have had enough local support even in Iraq to make such a venture possible. With the Umayyads came access to the Gandhara frontier. Bannu and Lahore [Swat] were conquered and local communities bordering the Enclave were assimilated in their fabric of government.

The mountain ridge between Kabul and Multan had been reached. Now Turkish settlers of Kikanan opposed the Arabs but important

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[2] E&D, Sind, p. 116.

ground had been gained already. Next Mekran, in the south, and Sijistan, facing the middle regions of the Enclave in the Helmand [Hindmand], were subdued[3].This was followed by the conquest of Kish and Qandahar. Muslim arms pressed toward Mekran and Kalat before 42 H, and by 45 H a garrison was set up at Mekran. Next came Kikan [Kikanan/Kalat], Budhia, Khuzdar and Nukan; probably during the reign of Chandar[4]. A quarter of a century later began the series of expeditions culminating with Muhammad bin Qasim's conquests. Moving north c.61 H/680 AD, the Umayyads extended their sway to Budhia. Hajjaj invaded Sind and sent Bazil by sea; he attacked Nirun and Debul. Though defeated at Debul, he gained submission of the Shaman ruler of Nirun as tributary[5]. This gradual expansion of the frontiers of the Khilafat does not show any urgency of conquest or lure of promised wealth; it does however display the trend of relentless expansion. The Khalifa was apparently not very keen on conquering Sind, but Hajjaj was both persistent and persuasive. He seems to be more interested in suppressing Dahir's defiance than in 'great wealth' that he might gain. His economic concern in the venture was that its net profit

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[3] E&D, Sind, p. 117.

[4] R. C. Majumdar, p.26ff. The date of Chandar's accession according to this author is 40 H/662AD; he ruled for 7 years. Next came two joint rulers for one year, then separately for thirty years; for half of this period the Kalat-Khuzdar frontier remained active, then peaceful in the rest.

[5] *Chachnamah*, p.70ff, obviously this did not last long. The narrative of this source, however, illustrates how Hajjaj was the force behind the venture and coerced the Khalifa to sanction it every step of the way.

should cover his net expense. Multan provided unexpected bonus; this may have instigated further expeditions after Hajjaj.

In 92 H, Muhammad bin Qasim came to Debul via Shiraz and Mekran, he first took Armabil[6] and Kannazbur/Kalat, which had beautiful horses. The fortified city of Debul, which included a temple with an eighty foot high dome[7], was conquered but the Samani governor escaped along the river to a place called Karmiti or Kharimitti[8] and went to Nirun/Hyderabad which had a fort atop a nearby hill. Dahir's son left the Samani in charge at Nirun and moved on to Brahmanabad across the Mehran. Muhammad bin Qasim moved against Nirun by boat via Manchar Lake and on towards Sivistan, a fortified town on top of a hill; he arrived at the town of Maoj 30 kos [60 miles?] from Nirun[9]. He attacked Sehwan[10]; and pursued its ruler as far as Sisam in Buddha on the

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[6] *Chachnamah*, p.77, believes Armabil/Armail to be Bela, near Lasbela, I think this was Nal or Amri of Harappan times, also in the same vicinity.

[7] Since the trebeiate style only was known in India, except in the stupa form which would be filled in the inside and have no chamber for worship, the dome would be in the mandanapa form as at Kafir-kot.

[8] *Chachnamah*, p.84 & n; this could also have been called Kali or Kharimitti.

[9] *Chachnamah*, p.84ff, it appears that the residents of Nirun and Budhia, and a party at Sivistan [a fort near Sehwan] were Buddhists led by Shamans.

[10] Majumdar, p.34f, finds the collaboration of Buddhists outrageous since he sees them as ethnically united with Dahir. The assumption is false not only due to the Buddhist antipathy to the usurpation of Chach but also because the Hun-Kushan-Saka-Parthian ethno-genesis had not really taken root yet despite the Kushan integration during the last few centuries. Emerging Hindu dynasties subdued the Buddhists but had not won them over. The Buddhists may have considered rulers who had undermined Buddhism to be outsiders just as Chach had considered the confederacy from Chitor.

bank of the Kanbah; most people were Buddhists and there were Jat and Bhatti tribes in the region also. Budhan was a suburban region of Sisam[11], the town and its suburbs were conquered[12].

Muhammad bin Qasim returned via Sakrah and Jhim, west of the Indus and attacked Dahir. Ishbah/Ishbara, a fort in the bet[13] across one section of the river, was conquered. Muhammad bin Qasim went to Raor and Jitor east of the Indus, conferring the territory of Jortah [in the vicinity of Alor] on Moka bin Basaya a local raja of the 'bet' who helped him cross the river. On the east side was a small river, Kotak, and a lake between Raor and Jitor. Dahir kept his army on one side of the lake while bin Qasim was on the other side. In the west lay the territory of the Channas but east of the Mehran were the Jats near Jhim, Raor and Jitor[14]. One of Dahir's sons contacted his own brother at Alor, his nephew at Bhatia and cousin at Buddha, inviting them to join him in fighting

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[11] *Chachnamah*, p. 97f, it seems that Budhia was a town as well as the name of a territory ruled from Sisam. In Budhan was the ruler of Budhia, Kaka Kotak, and in Sisam was the ruler of Sivistan. Kaka was asked what were symbols of dignity in the region, he mentioned a chair and a silken turban.

[12] Those who fled the town went higher in the mountains to Budhia or to Bhaltor between Saluj and Qandahar.

[13] Bet is a local word in the region which signifies floodplain or the area vacated by the river while changing course.

[14] *Chachnamah*, p. 126f says that between the towns of Jitor and Raor was a lake, the footnote says that it has been called the Gujri lake. P.132 says that Jitor lay near the stream of Doharah.

the Arabs. Muhammad bin Qasim moved to Brahmanabad,[15] via Bahror and Dehelah, two forts between Raor and Brahmanabad.

People from the latter fort crossed the small river called Manjhal to seek refuge in Sorath/Siru. Muhammad bin Qasim approached Brahmanabad from the east across a small channel of the river called Halwai. When the city surrendered to the Arabs, taxes were fixed and its management was entrusted to the locals. The towns of Nirun, Sivistan and Kardail came under the administrative centre of Banbanwah. Meanwhile Dahir's son moved to Janesar which had a concentration of Hindu religious elite[16].

The Chachnamah says Jats were a tribe composed of Luhanah [including Lakhah and Sammah]; they were expected to guard the highways, some of them defied the Muslim state by committing robberies, probably as a local resistance. A check-post was set up at Raor to control traffic of arms by boat from the area of Dehelah and Kurij [in the north]. Muhammad bin Qasim moved against Musthal near Sawandi close to Dhand [lake] where the residents were Buddhist monks, artisans and traders; here the people were Jat tribes. Next he went to Alor meanwhile Jayshia bin Dahir had moved to Kurij to seek help. Being betrayed there, he went to Jalandhar then part of Kashmir. Muhammad bin Qasim went from Alor to Kurij, Bailaman and Surast where peace was negotiated.

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[15] *Chachnamah*, p. 172. also called Banbanwah

[16] *Chachnamah*, p. 168 claims that Brahmans wanted to build 'Budh temples' [this may be a loose term implying Hind temples] and governance of cities was in the hands of Brahmins: a parallel religious government in society?

He then conquered Babiah on the south bank of the Bias, crossed to the Bari Doab and conquered the forts of Golconda and Sikkah on the bank of Bias and the south bank of the Ravi respectively before crossing that river to conquer Multan. A servant of Dahir went to Kashmir via Rawistan[17]a desert region and acquired the town of Shakalbar near the border of Kashmir[18].

The political fabric in the south of the Enclave emerges as three segments of an urban-tribal-rural mosaic. The urban-rural polity provided islands of settlements surrounded by vast regions where several fluid, nomadic, marauding, tribal communities lived as the ungoverned subjects of the urban administration. Luhanahs, Meds, Nadas, Jats, Channas and other minor tribes had their own

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[17] I am inclined to place this as the Thal desert beyond Shorkot, linking it to the Rawalpindi region as a route to Kashmir even though the name Rawim and Rawistan may bring to mind the river Ravi as well. We may recall that the kings of Kashmir were then trying to conquer the region of Taxila.

[18] Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, Pak Kashmir Publication, Jhelum, 1990, p 16-23 in 'ancient notices on Kashmir'. He quotes Ptolemy and Herodotus for locations other than what came to be called Kashmir. An alternative hypothesis could be that the name applied to the Ningarhar or Swat region and, when the Kushan government of Gandhara extended to Kashmir from there, the name was transferred. This is more plausible as the early Chinese use of Ki-Pin is for the same region; the description of the location of Kashmir first appears in Chinese records of 541 AD without giving it that name. The use of the name for the modern location of Kashmir as Ka-shi-mi-lo, may first have come with Hiuen-sang, nearly a century later; he entered it from Vitasta valley to Baramula and on to Srinagar. We must note in passing that this work by Cunningham does for the valley of Kashmir what we here propose to do for Pakistan in its ethno-topographical construct. It is unlikely that we will be able to reproduce as accurate a picture because we do not have Kalhana as our guide.

laws and norms. They cooperated with the state if it suited them. Like an independent village community rural-urban collectives of industry were capable of maintaining subsistence economy when intervening tribal region was hostile or volatile. When, however, the tribal people were cooperative, they were the lifeline for trade, transport and suppliers of all kinds of animals from pack to food, elephants, horses, camels fish and sheep. Another pattern in this mosaic was the Hindu-Buddhist schism both along the river and up the slopes. One group of Buddhists appears to have transferred its allegiance to the Hindu/Brahman rulers, another group that can perhaps be identified as tribal peoples, who apparently resented the change, and consequently cooperated with Arab Muslims. For a few years after the return of Muhammad bin Qasim, there was no new conquest; Omer bin Abd-ul-Aziz invited the rulers of Hind to convert to Islam, which some did. Jayshia, son of Dahir, was among them, perhaps he later apostatized. Junaid next appointee of the Khalifa followed an expansionist policy; he led expeditions to parts of India[19] and even a part of Kashmir, and may have extended his domain as far as Ujjain[20]. We may infer that this was merely extraction of tribute for a short time. The Khilafat probably exercised no direct control beyond the confines of Dahir's domain. Junaid's conquests were lost to the Arabs and many converts apostatized except those of Kassa.

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[19] Majumdar, p.40ff believes Jaisalmer, Mandor, Ujjain, Malwa, Gujrat and Broach were included in his expeditions.

[20] E&D, Sind, p. 125ff, this was the limit of the Arab extension; later this eastern province of the Khilafat was reduced to the south of the Enclave. Sind was re-conquered often till it devolved into two Arab kingdoms.

When the Abbasids came to power they sent their own governor, he had to contest for supremacy against the Umayyad appointee. Naturally control of part Sind was lost, it had to be regained from local/Muslim generals. Kandabil, Gandhara, Multan and Kashmir felt the force of Abbasid arms during the time of Mansur, without any real advance seen in the north. Shortly after 221H [836AD] the Jats of Kikanan were subjugated and the city of al-Baiza was built; next, Med tribes were subdued and a dam called Sakhr ul-Med [Sukkhur?] was made near Alor. Problems continued with Jat and Med tribes at Kallari and Sindan where the Muslims found survival difficult[21]. A semblance of unity lasted till the Abbasid decline, c 900 AD, but the hold of the Khilafat was tenuous.

In due course the northern and southern portion became separated politically, economically and demographically along the line that had been operative in the strong centralized state of Chach. This political divide also manifests itself in the religious schism of the Muslim polity, perhaps reflecting the tribal construct in the south of the Enclave. In the interim, due to the internal strife among the Abbasids, like the Barmaki nominee for Sind, their subordinates in Khurasan, Sijistan and Zabulistan gained independence, vied with each other for supremacy and generally created a situation, c. 900, in which short-lived principalities formed by adventurers lasted for a few generations in a familiar pattern envisioned in the Muqaddama of Ibn Khaldun[22]. The Enclave became independent of the Khilafat, and later from the Saffari of Kirman who inherited

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[21] E&D, Sind, p. 126ff.

[22] See note 28 supra; and *Tabqaat-i-Nasiri*, Vol. I.

it. In the course of time, two independent kingdoms were formed, one centred at Mansura and the other at Multan. In Baluchistan, Turan and Khuzdar were other independent Muslim kingdoms[23].

The Northern part of the Enclave in this stage:

The Turk-Shahi kingdom in the mid. 7th century AD started at the border of Sijistan and ended in the vicinity of Udabandapura or Waihind with its seat of power at Kabul. During the next century it had barely extended itself to Swat and some parts of Ningarhar while Bamian was ruled by an independent ruler entitled ash-Shir. Rukhkhaj/Arachosia was a southwest Shahi province; a district of wool producers and weavers. Essentially the Qandahar region and the area of river Tarnak/Arghandab between Zamin Dawar and Balish. North of Rukhkhaj was Zamin Dawar, from the mountains of Ghor to Qandahar, the valley of Helmand, the Bilad al-Dawar of the Arabs. This region was inhabited by Turks and Khaljis, it is mentioned as fertile by Arab geographers. Wedged in between Zamin Dawar and Rukhkhaj to the east lay Bust; adjacent to Bust was Zabulistan, with its principal town of Ghaznin; Hosikana of Hiuen-sang. To the northeast lay Kabul/Kapisi, Lamghan/Lan-po and Lohgar of Hiuen-sang. These were important places coveted by the rising Muslim state. Further east lay Ningarhar, a transition zone with Swat in the northeast, the Jagdalak pass on the west, the Khyber on the east, Sufed Koh in the south.

Gandhara, the Shahi foothold in the Enclave, deserves more detail not merely as our main concern but also because it became the

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[23] Majumdar, p.51.

focus of activities under the Hindu Shahis.[24] This region appears to have had a large population of elephants at this time. Perhaps the capital of Gandhara had been Purushapura/Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo before the advent of Turki-Shahis. It lost its importance under the Hindu-Shahis. Fa-la-na/Varana [may be Bannu today] and Miran Shah/Mirand were parts of western Gandhara.

The Turki-Shahi dynasty rose to power in Kabul and Gandhara c.666 AD but lost its control over the Kabul region by about 843 AD. This was the time when the Arabs were ascendant after they had become Muslims while those who had been subordinated by earlier dominant Turkic races tried to fill the vacuum left by them. When Arabs defeated Khingala, ruler of Kabul, Bori-Tigin [Turk chieftain from Gandhara] took advantage of the Arab retreat and established himself there. Located between expansionist Arabs and Chinese the Turki-Shahis appeased both through diplomacy[25] and military means. As the history of the dynasty is reconstructed from Chinese and Muslim sources mainly, we cannot assess its political and social history directly; however, the Chachnamah gives evidence that there was hardly any Turki-Shahi expansion in the Enclave. The fact that Rai Chach re-asserted dominance in

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[24] Abdur Rahman, *Last Two Dynasties of the Shahis*, Centre for Central Asia, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 1979, p. 18, [hereafter Rahman].

[25] Rahman, passim, repeatedly mentions the title Tigin for Shahi rulers of this dynasty. This indicates Turkic influence, a subordinate title [of the second order like Ilik] under higher lords designated Arsalan or Bughra. It may be that this title was reserved for Turk chiefs of Afghanistan-Khurasan region.

and around Multan shows that there was little room for expansion in that direction for the Turki-Shahis in their bid for power.

Umayyad conquests had surrounded the Turki-Shahi state from three sides when they conquered Sind, but this seems to have been their natural limit. Arab infighting and Turk tenacity facilitated survival of Shahi rule till the rise of Ghaznin. For the first three centuries of this stage, Gandhara continued to be a part of the Central Asian system and provided a window into the Enclave. With the Ghaznavi conquest of Nandana and Lahore, however, the entire Enclave was drawn into the Gandhara vortex. Probably later Hindu-Shahis had extended their domain east of Gandhara also. Some expansion may even have taken place due to pressure from Ghaznin. Margala, Jhelum, Nandana, Lahore and its capital Mandakkur could represent some such regions. Trilochanpal had moved his court to Nandana c.1000 before conquering Lahore, later he retreated to it. Southwest of Gandhara lived the Qufs and Baloch, Albiruni also mentions the Afghans. The Ghuz, Khaljis, Gakhars and Khokhars are found in and around the Hindukush. Tribal people, like the Jat and Med of Sind, were marauders. They provided a fluid population which nurtured but also threatened the northern urbanisms; alternately, through trade and militancy.

When the Hindu-Shahi came to power, the Khilafat had played out its role in the Enclave and the Abbasid state was making room for the Turks, both within and around the subsiding core region of their empire. The Hindu-Shahi dynasty which followed Turki-Shahis, perhaps so called due to their religious identity, have caste and race identities that are controversial. They ruled till 1026 AD when they were finally conquered, in several steps, by Mahmud of Ghaznin. For the first century they had scope of expansion and

consolidation of breakaway fragments from the Arab state in all three directions from which Arabs had harassed the Turki-Shahis. Rahman believes that Hindu-Shahi expansion took place mainly in the Punjab. Kallar, founder of the dynasty, had been a Brahman minister under the Turki-Shahis, who rose to power like Chach, by undermining the authority of his king[26]. The heartland of the Hindu-Shahis, like that of the Turki-Shahis were the Kabul valley and Gandhara. They were regularly under attack from the Saffari and Ghaznavi states in their southwest and by the Kashmiri Rajas from the northeast. A similar condition was to arise for the later Ghaznavis. The Enclave remained secure despite the pressure from west, north and east [Kanauj]; northern and southern states remained as watersheds until the end of the millennium.

The changing fortunes of Ghaznin as a town had so far not given any sign of its potential to unite under a single administration the Enclave and its sister foyer of Afghanistan. The latter had acted as a traffic directing hub leading one Central Asian group towards Khurasan, one to Persia and one towards the Enclave. Toward the north, West Asians and South Asians were directed: to Khvarizm and Bactria as conquerors; and to China as traders.

The accidental rise of Alptigin, a Samani general, and his retreat to Ghaznin when he fell from grace created an opportunity which bore fruit under Mahmud. The Hindu-Shahi retreat via Kabul, Lamghan, Peshawar, Hund and Nandana to Lahore marks a west

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[26] Rahman, p. 90ff. In the north Hindu rule replaced Buddhist rule two centuries later than the south. In the north it was almost confined to the enclave, perhaps it could not muster religious support south and west of Kabul.

to east urban map of a northern route of the Enclave. This route was to become popular from this time onward though it had not been unknown before. Hindu-Shahi attempts at expansion toward Lahore had been thwarted before the rise of Ghaznin but were precipitated when they were pushed back to Nandana. Unlike the Kushans, Shahi rulers seem to have been at home in undulating terrain, preferring the low hills around the passes and the salt range to a relatively level ground at Taxila and Jhelum but rocky highlands did not appealed to them; this is reminiscent of Huns.

The Archaeological sites of the Shahis in the Enclave are found at Amb, Malot, Katas, Nandana, Kallar Kahar, Kahutanwala-pind or Kutanwala near Kallar Kahar and Bhurari on the right bank of the Jhelum. Birkot, Rajagira, the Talash and Chakdara valleys in Swat are some of the regions in which forts have been found; similar finds are reported near Tarbela and in Malakand. Most of these sites are in hilly areas. They also indicate that the population was either a religious or military elite as the sites are fortified and have temples. Like the Kushan rulers and other conquerors of Gandhara who patronized Buddhism, it appears that the Shahis neither interfered in the economic nor in the religious life of their subjects except to the extent of erecting devotional buildings for their own religious sects. Their political and military competence was limited to exploiting the people of the lower muddy-hills in the vicinity of the Indus between the Kabul and Jhelum Rivers. Excessive fortification may also indicate that they were insecure even in the core area of their own state, either because they did

not enjoy unmitigated loyalty of the subjects or because they were prepared for constant threat to their sovereignty from all sides[27].

Like the Hindu-Shahis, the Muslim Turkic group which arose in Ghaznin started an expansionist policy. Its initial foray towards Bust did not produce lasting effects but around 366H/977AD Bust and Khuzdar were added to Subuktigin's fledgling state. The area between Lamghan and Peshawar came next, along with a Khalji and Afghan population, which joined the tribal hoards who had decided to substitute Islam for Buddhism. Adventurism had been the norm in Central Asia and was to continue to be the way of life for Turko-Mongol peoples for half a millennium yet. Any great empire could collapse within a generation and the chief of some petty tribe could build an empire on the debris of his predecessors. Alptigin's kingdom was among the more tenacious ones; it lasted for 220 years with varying fortunes: at its height under Mahmud.

This Sultan naturally faced north and west, the direction where lay his parent states, [Samani and Abbasi empires] in Khurasan and Transoxiana. He also tried to round off his empire in the east by conquering the Enclave and to probe prospects of including the next tranche. It took Mahmud a quarter of a century to extend his kingdom to the limits of the Hindu-Shahi domain. Karamati rulers of Multan lasted less than a decade against his increasing strength. Beyond the Enclave to the east and north Mahmud's success was limited and ephemeral but the Enclave, conjoined with Afghanistan, became a fairly stable state for a period of three

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[27] Rahman, p. 266ff has a list of locations; information on other sites has been added in the last three decades.

generations. It was gradually reduced to the principality based in Lahore; which had been the last Hindu-Shahi capital also.

To the south, Sijistan, Khuzdar and Mekran formed the Iranian sphere and included the area between Indus and the Hindukush as well; more or less in the same manner as Baluchistan and Sind boundaries exist today. Parts of these areas broke away from the Abbasid Khilafat but became clients of the Buwahi and Ghaznavi states in due course. Subuktigin was a man of modest aspirations. He seems to have pursued the policy of expansion[28] only to the limit of the 'natural' borders that could be held from his base at Ghaznin. In the first stage these lay along the western slopes of the Hindukush with a tendency to spill over to the eastern peaks. Thus a highland state emerged; united Mekran, Baluchistan, Bust, Sijistan, Kabul and Lamghan. His son and successor seems to have had grander aspirations which included Khurasan and the Enclave with possible extensions on either side. His first priority appears to have been Peshawar, the Shahi area[29].

Since our concern is not political history per se, but reconstruction of the increase or decrease in urbanization within the Enclave, the importance of the empire carved out by Chach is enhanced. The revived/restructured provinces of his state enhanced a westward

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[28] Al-Utbi, *Kitab-i-Yamini*, Tr. Rev. James Reynolds, (Lahore: Qausain, 1975), p. 271 gives the conquests, we have inferred a policy from this; one of the reasons for this plan of action could be the desire to eschew expansion in the lands held by erstwhile overlords like the Khalifa and the Samani state; preferring expansion in regions held by non-Muslims or by subordinates of his overlords who like himself were no longer subordinate to them.

[29] Perhaps this was because it was his closest non-Muslim neighbour; perhaps because a pact had been broken.

orientation in the Enclave paving the way for highly urbanized integration under the Khilafat. The subsequent bifurcation of the southern Enclave only resurrected the earlier units of Multan and Sind. Mekran and Tuwaran had also emerged as two units shortly after Chach made the areas a single large province under Sivistan. This does not seem to have altered the westward orientation or political mosaic in the Enclave. Possibly the inert politics of the exhausted eastern state system and apparent vacuum in West Asia lured Chach in that direction. Pastoral tribes continued to trade but defied governance except according to their convenience; and so causing an ebb and tide in the fortunes of towns they visited.[30]

Southern incursions to the Enclave from the Helmand and Kirman have not been documented extensively. In the north, it was rulers of the Enclave in the Gandhara region who made headway into Afghanistan in the Ningarhar and Jalalabad sectors. With the rise of the Ghaznavi state after Alptigin, Khuzdar and Ohind felt the force of Subuktigin's arms. Mahmud, in the next generation made an empire integrating regions of Pakistan, Afghanistan and parts of Iran and Central Asia. Though his successors lost much of their possessions in west Asia, the slope of Hindukush and its associate rivers continued to be governed by Ghaznavi sultans, two of them settled family feuds in the Ningarhar and Taxila regions[31]. Twin

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[30] Urban adventurers too were capable of enhancing or damaging the fortunes of their own towns, or towns that they tried to conquer. They were also able to incite a peaceful tribe to become rebellious or pacify a rebel tribe.

[31] *Tabqaat-i-Nasiri*, Vol I, p.400ff, Masood was overthrown at the Giri fort of Margala and Muhammad was deposed after losing a battle in Ningarhar.

capitals of the empire were Ghaznin and Lahore; so when Seljuks pressed them from the west, the later Ghaznavi sultans retreated to Lahore till the Ghoris finally evicted them from there.

Mahmud of Ghaznin, cuts a larger than life figure in history, his state was rooted in the western part of the Shahi domain. His first inclination was to conquer the rest of Gandhara and his ideal was to control Khurasan, prize possession of generations of heroes in Muslim history. For a few decades the Enclave became integrated with lands that had been its buffers against empires rising on the debris of the Abbasid Khilafat, till the rise of Seljuks. Mahmud's expeditions did not affect Rajputs for long; soon they reverted to the state system that had served them for nearly a millennium against Turkic peoples who had subscribed to an Indian religion. Mahmud, like the Parthians and Kushans before and Ghori after him, established a state spanning from the Caspian to Vindiya.

Bahram Shah like his predecessor, Ibrahim, conducted campaigns east of the Enclave and subdued Muhammad Bahalim, perhaps a Jat leader in the vicinity of Bhera. Bahram appointed him a regent in the area. They again met in battle near Multan where Bahalim was defeated and drowned in quicksand[32]. While Bahram was strengthening his position in the Enclave he was hard pressed by several forces in the west: the Seljuks under Sanjar, the Ghuz from the north and the Ghoris under Jahansoz who were destined to bring his house to an end. Seljuks of Anatolia were now in the path of the crusaders and were soon to experience the rising storm of the Mongols as were the Delhi Sultans in the aftermath of the

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[32] See *Tabqaat-i-Nasiri*, Vol I, p.444f.

conquest of Baghdad. South of Ghor, the principality of Sijistan in the Suleiman range had been a dependency of the Seljuks and Ghoris [between 'Tuwaran' and Kirman: fringe of the Enclave].

The Ghori successor to Ghaznin initially followed a pattern of expansion similar to the Ghaznavi sultans. Incorporating Multan first, as its ruler was of different religious denomination, followed by a failed attempt at conquest of Gujrat, he settled for nominal control over the Enclave; occupying the central location, Multan. Ghori made a bid for Bharat with some success after an initial defeat. The success signalled the collapse of a Rajput confederacy whose internecine strife was interrupted by Turk executors of a new mandate from Ghaznin; crowned by the conquest of Delhi.

As we draw to the close of this phase, with the Mongol incursion, the river Indus begins to act as a divider again. The Ghaznavi and Ghori Sultans had toyed with the idea of unifying Bharat with Caspian regions like Kushans and Parthians but the Khvarizm Shahs did not find this a viable option. When Sultan Muhammad evicted Yalduz from Ghaznin in 612H he brought the area west of Indus under the government of Kabul and Zabulistan. Jalal-ud-din Mangbarni was installed at Ghaznin and given charge of the area, Zamin Dawar and Garamsir/Jarum. Mekran was included in the Kirman government under Mangbarni's brother, subordinate to Khvarizm[33]. When Jalal-ud-din crossed the Indus, he tried to establish himself in the Pothohar and Sind, failed due to lack of support from Delhi, crossed to Mekran and went on to Kirman.

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[33] See *Tabqaat-i-Nasiri*, Vol I, p. 569.

Kirman had earlier been part of Mangbarni's domain as had been Peshawar and Abu-Bakr-pur and other parts of the Enclave ruled by Yalduz[34]. When pressed by Changez, Mangbarni retreated to Peshawar, then via Pothohar to Multan, Uch and Sind. While Iltutmish was able to avoid the Mongol incursion into Bharati and the Sultanate of Delhi, he was unable to defend any region west of the Bias at this stage. Jalal-ud-din Mangbarni, Qarlugh, Qubacha, Kabir Khan, Usbek Pai and other adventurers ruled parts of the Enclave before a stable frontier could be established east of the Chenab and south of its confluence with the Indus; a defensive riverine frontier.

Ever since the rise of pastoral imperialism from Mesopotamia, a collective effort was organized under monarchical regimes a tribe and its leadership acquired dominance in a region and integrated earlier sedentary people to form a state. Soon these states came to be dominated by one of the states within a region and formed a state system. Whenever such a system emerged, one of its regions came to be considered its core and was consequently the prime target of any competitor for supremacy and dominance.[35]

The political paradigm of the Enclave was altered twice during this stage; first from the Kushan to the Gupta [Buddhist to Hindu] usage and second from the Aryan to Arab [Hindu to Muslim] models of governance. As a result, the concepts of monumentality

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[34] See *Tabqaat-i-Nasiri*, Vol I, p. 570.

[35] Thus we find the two concepts intrinsic to the empires that emerged in West Asia, Central Asia and South Asia. In West Asia between Assyria, Media and Persia; in Central Asia the Sogdiana, Bactria and Gandhara triangle; and in South Asia, a triangle between Ajmer, Oudh and Allahabad.

were altered drastically. The major impact in terms of location of towns was the extension of urban settlements to deserts and areas accessible to the sea faring and camel riding Arabs. The horse riding Turks took up cudgels for the Muslim faith, emulating the imperialism of the Kushan predecessors, exploited this advantage initially in Baluchistan but soon fell back to better pastures east of Hindukush. The southern part took the form of Chach's state but the northern one was very different from the Hindu-Shahis.

Administrative system[s] within the Enclave

The model of administrative and political structure in the Muslim state originated from Babylon, evolved under Persians for over a millennium before it was recast in the mould of Muslim ideology. Minor adjustments were made by Assyrians, Parthians, Kushans, Greeks, Sakas and Huns with the aim of promoting social justice, equity, prosperity, law, order and traditional hierarchy in society. On the other side of the scale was the right of might or the right of the competent: an ability to dominate intellectually, physically, emotionally and in matters of management and administration.

The latter rested with the nomads and pastoral leaders of militant tribes as demonstrated by each of the successive ethnicities which emerged, especially in Central and West Asia and the pre-modern world in general. Practically, each state that emerged in the region rose because of competent leadership [except when succeeding states arose due to processes which had the sanction of tradition] and were maintained through traditional rights. The Samani and Tahiri states were sanctioned by competent authority. They were champions of rule of law and traditions of government approved

by Islam. Saffari rulers, by contrast, extorted recognition by force of arms and perhaps even through brigandage.

Albiruni has stated the then current concept of legitimacy which is produced below:

> If a new order of things in political or social life is created by a man naturally ambitious of ruling, who by his character and capacity really deserves to be a ruler, a man of firm convictions and unshakable determination, who even in times of reverses is supported by good luck, in so far as people then side with him in recognition of former merits of his, such an order is likely to become consolidated among those for whom it was created …. It will remain among them as a generally [tradition] recognised rule in all generations …. If, then, this new form of state or society rests in some degree on religion, these twins, state and religion are in perfect harmony, and their union represents the highest development ….
>
> The kings of antiquity, who were industriously devoted to the duties of their office, spent most of their care on the division of their subjects into different classes and orders, which they tried to preserve from intermixture and disorder …. laid upon each class a particular kind of work or art and handicraft.[36]

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[36]*Albiruni*, p. 99f, vol. I. he goes on to list the four classes under Ardashir in Iran: knights [an unsatisfactory English equivalent of umara or Pehalvan] and princes; priests and lawyers; physicians and other scientists; and the husbandmen and artisans; with subdivisions in each. He also notes that the Muslims stand in opposition to it. The Hindu caste system is explained along with non-Varna occupations.

This succinct encapsulation of political culture is premised on the common person's need to give up some individual freedom to collective governance. It also takes for granted commoners' rights to withdraw allegiance to the leader who does not possesses the 'character and capacity' to rule. From such a root emerges the legitimacy of the upstart but it is the 'order of things' that he sets up which provides legitimacy for later generations if this order obtains popular sanction. That is to say that when any ruler tries to change the existing traditions, people have the option to reject the change. Consequently, a change will only take root if it has either explicit or implicit popular support. If a dominant ruler can enforce a new dispensation despite its lack of popular support, it is likely to be reversed as soon as the ruling elite becomes weak.

One specific order of things was an occupational classification of society. This consistently appears to have enjoyed public support among the Aryans till the coming of Islam. Though Muslim rulers could not subscribe to it, they did not feel impelled to upset viable and popular 'best practices' unless they were inimical to Islamic beliefs. The cooperation of subjects was obtained in Muslim rule by minimum interference in the existing socio-political norms. Industrious devotion to duties of governance entailed facilitating members of each occupation to perform their functions diligently and thereby enforcing social justice[37].

The ideals of governance included, foremost, revenue; naturally followed by defence of the faith [that for which the military elite

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[37] *Albiruni*, p.105f, vol. I. the idea of justice is traced back to its Greek roots without giving any Muslim injunction.

were willing to sacrifice], justice [maintenance of law and order]; obviously there were several corollaries such as security of trade and incentives for productivity, commerce and industry. Islam is a religion of limitations which simultaneously commands great commitment to community and a vigil regarding the afterlife. It did not expect its rulers to enforce the individual's performance of religious duties except the tax of Zakat which was distributed to the needy and worthy of help through the state. The individual ruler sometimes felt impelled or was coerced by spiritual leaders to take note of heresies or the heterodox. Generally, however, the option of conversion to Islam was the responsibility of state only at the time of conquest. Once that bridge had been crossed, it was the domain of spiritual leadership to provide logic and incentives of an otherworldly kind. The state contributed by reducing the tax to half [ushr 1/10 instead of khums 1/5 parts] of the agricultural income and Zakat [a standard 2 ½ of any property not used during a year] instead of Jizya [a negotiated tax as a traditional cess from the non-Muslim population of the land]. The state was of course responsible to ensure that injunctions of Islam were not disobeyed publically. This was the domain of the Qazi, Mufti and Mohtasib and above them the Khalifa or Sultan as the highest court.

Governance was a serious business for the Oriental Despot who relied heavily on public support[38]. Institution of state had matured

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[38] This term has been used deliberately despite its derogatory connotations. The history of oriental states is replete with examples of 'usurpation' by adventurers 'waiting in the wings'. Rulers could not take for granted their 'divine' right because it could be challenged as soon as public withdrew its support. The lack of 'constitutions' was made up for by conventions; Albiruni's 'order of things' that had been 'settled' at some earlier time until

to the extent that responsibility to nurture and sustain the growth of social thought and fine arts had become a norm. The Abbasid Khilafat had acquired this tradition along with other norms of governance from the Sassanid state and had passed it on to the emergent Turkic states. Albiruni states that this is a duty of rulers: "they alone could free the minds of" the intelligentsia from cares to release their energy for aggrandizement of intellectuals, their patrons and the state and community to which they belong[39].

The structure of the Abbasid Khilafat during its second century seems to have undergone a subtle change. Turks, surreptitiously seem to have invoked their multi-tiered governance into the body politic. These were pastoral horse riding people who were drawn to urban life; militancy and equestrian prowess were invaluable gifts that they brought to the Abbasids. Tired of bedouin Arabs as a military option; deprived of the support of local militant groups, Abbasids welcomed the Turks, little realizing the consequences.

We need not trace the history of the Turkish military takeover of the Khilafat. Our concern here is that they introduced the Turkic way of governance in the form of the Sultanate, a truncated, lower version of Khilafat. Although not feudal, this did have a hierarchy of allegiances. Over-lords could be overturned with the support,

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replaced by a new order which acquired support within the extant polity. Oriental history is also full of responsible governance, justice and rule of law enforced by public minded, subject friendly legislators and rulers.

It may be worthwhile to consider the origins of the term despot in a value-neutral study to assess why it has led to the term 'despotic' and in what way was a monarch not 'despotic' enough to merit the archetypical despotic status.

[39]*Albiruni*, p. 152, vol. I.

or at the behest, of the Khalifa who retained the right of ratifying such overlords even if he did not possess the ability to institute his commands. The stature of the Khilafat continued to diminish till Helaqu evicted it from Baghdad, but its nominal centrality in the comity of Muslim states was to remain for about two centuries after that. This did not directly impact the Enclave until the end of the stage being discussed in this chapter but its indirect effect on the political paradigm within the Enclave was powerful.

Execution of the writ of state and will of the ruler devolved upon those who were part of the executive. Passive, covert and implicit acceptance and support from its citizens however, was imperative for smooth functioning of state. Thus a tacit approval of principles of governance and recognition of the right of the leadership to conduct affairs of state in the eyes of the subjects was essential. But it was the ruling elite and its executive clique down to the lowest rung [soldier and doorman] which had to constantly and actively reiterate its commitment to the king and court for a state to remain functional. While loyalty to a person or family was the time honoured tradition which had evolved over two millennia or more, the faith in a higher and more altruistic-impersonal cause was durable even when leaders died or fell from grace. Religions, philosophy, concepts and ideals had provided these elements ever since states first came into being; Islam brought to life the fading ideals of equity and a new concept of society.

The Arab were heirs to the Semitic tradition of history as far back as Abraham and a genealogical list via Noah to Adam. Quranic testimony asserted that the followers of Noah and several other prophets were the disempowered. The Muslim polity was thus led to the belief that like the Jews they need not be intimidated by any

ruler who did not fear Allah. Early in their history, as the elite of an Islamic state, they acquired role models from the Greeks and Persians, going back to Alexander and Bahram Gor by the time of the Abbasids. They emerging from their cultural cocoon into a tricolour world of Iranian, Byzantine and Egyptian civilizations.

Arab Muslims were a tribal organic and segmented society. Their ideals came from Semitic, Greco-Roman and Persian heroes alike and included all ethnicities that they conquered within their body politic as dictated by Islam. The Iranian bureaucracy permeated their ranks and dictated the trajectory of their administration. In due course the Turks dominated their military and stamped their style on both, their conquests and the form of successor states.

It seems that land revenue was mainly in the form of animals. Alptigin had personal property that annually yielded one million sheep, a hundred thousand horses, mules and camels. The rulers normally tried to centralize power, the Ghaznavi administration was apparently quite strict in restricting initiative of its umara. The satrapy system of Achaemenid administration which seems to have been used by all its successors gave way to the Muslim practice of Iqtas which also worked in a centralized state.

Bosworth is of the view that the Abbasid Khilafat did not rely on a tribal following like their Turko-Mongols successors. Instead of recruiting free subjects as had been the Umayyad practice, it recruited mercenaries. He believes that it could therefore ‘demand unquestioning obedience … and be sure that there was no bond

between them' and the khalifah's subjects[40]. This is, at best, a half-truth and more likely an inaccurate assessment. Free subjects and tribal groups continued to be part of the establishment, but a paid soldier, by virtue of being an employee of state lost his right to question his employer on any but moral or legal grounds. The ordinary subjects and tribes were disempowered also due to lack of direct access to the governing hierarchy and the diversity of its power base. In practice this diversified power base became a general pattern for rulers who rose from a tribal polity. The rulers who succeeded through due process began with a partially diverse power base depending on local circumstances. The aim was to maintain a system of loyalty on the basis of moral high ground on the idealistic plane and through vested interest in the person and institution of the monarch. Personal charisma and leadership led to tacit approval and explicit compliance of subjects, reiterated in the Friday Khutba, and overt support from ruling classes. Rulers had a paternal attitude; protecting the weak from the strong[41].

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[40] C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran*, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1992), p. 48.

[41] Muslim spirituality brought three concepts to the Persian model: first of all the idea that the ruler was a proxy of divine control, a ruler's primary duty was to ensure that subjects did not exploit each other; second that there were right and wrong ways of enjoying the grace and gifts of Allah and it was the monarch's duty to ensure that people stayed within these limits; third that it was not the privileged of popular will to alter ethical and moral dictates of religion. New Muslim communities had to mould their customs and traditions to the morality of religion. A ruler's majesty was paternal and distant; not unapproachable. Moral conduct of all was under scrutiny. Ulama were its arbiters, but anarchy was to be avoided at all costs.

In the west, the Turko-Muslim polity had its own code of chivalry with a complex system of care [murawwat] and appreciation of initiative or adventurism as criteria for entering the ruling elite. Thus on the one hand, lineage and family tradition provided an 'apprenticeship as birth-right' as a passport to an elite community of power [military, administrative, spiritual, literary or academic] and on the other hand lay an open invitation of eligibility through proven ability in the field. Princes and kings were evicted and sought help from those who owned up to an obligation of honour, with an equal expectation that they would get support or they may be exploited by their host. An adventurer could be praised for his exploits or he could face a collective opposition by legitimists. These rulers aided and opposed one another in the Turko-Iranian system of the land under the Eastern Khilafat. However they did not form a collation against the non-Muslims in the Enclave or further east into Bharat. By contrast, the Hindus formed collations against the Muslims but did not make common cause against each other in the imperial designs of Hindu states against each other.

The Ghaznavi state was to a certain extent very modern in its approach to centralization as it did not allow its functionaries to exercise initiative nor permit deviation from prescribed principles of association between officials and subjects almost in the manner of colonial British officers. This was not the norm of centralized governments in the Muslim world; it did not take root in the Enclave, nor was it followed by Ghori successors to the Ghaznavi domain. In an age of adventure, a Khalifa had the right to approve adventurism and could sanction the directions for expansion and conquest or acquisition without making it mandatory.

The Ghaznavi state is still considered a model Sultanate; but its failure to sink administrative roots in the Enclave or Afghanistan, left a virtually clean slate of institutional memory in regions that it ruled. Even the ethno-genesis under its government retained the Gandhara-Harappa dichotomy. For it, governance was primarily concerned with managing or encouraging economic activity not generating it. Principles of generating, acquiring and spending finances were thus based on a balance between acquiring and exercising power and preferred economic interventions.

The nature of rule and misrule is made clear by the experience in Khurasan during the sultanate of Mahmud. Utbi tells us that when the demands for revenue became excessive the lands of Khurasan became desolated. Surplus agricultural produce was unavailable for maintaining urbanization. This caused trade and industry to suffer resulting in de-urbanization and the weakening of military capacity.[42] The Sultan was unable to control the Vizier's avarice initially but in due course of time good governance was restored[43] and productivity was partially revived but the damage had been done. As a similar example is not quoted for the Enclave we may infer that the experience helped the sultan in reassessing policies. Mahmood set up a system of parallel controls, but this failed at Lahore, possibly because subjects in the doabs remained tied to old-style single product export economy. In Sandalbar and Nilbar farmers, cattle breeders and forest people were not easy to handle.

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[42] If this balance was disturbed, the sovereignty of the ruler was under threat; literature in the form of hikayat and mirrat testifies to its need as do advisory books like Nasihat-ul-Muluk that warn against ignoring this need.

[43] Al-Utbi, *Kitab-i-Yamini*, Op. Cit. , p. 396 ff.

The ambitions of military commanders were not fulfilled. Hence civil and military officers became involved in a power struggle.

Conquests in the Enclave and Bharat yielded large quantities of gold and silver that had been accumulated by Indian rulers from Tibet and Central Asia through mining and trade. Ghaznavi rulers maintained a high quality of coinage as a result of this gold and silver but continued minting currency of mixed silver and copper also; that had previously been the practice at Lahore. In the matter of accounts, the common practice seems to have been that the tax collector deducted pays and costs sanctioned for disbursal in the locality before remitting \surplus to the centre. In case of natural disasters, the government provided tax and famine relief. Court ceremonies were built on the Iranian model; exchange of gifts marked the nauroz and Mehargan festivals of spring and autumn. Gifts were of unequal value; provincial presentations being far greater than those from the centre; the Sultan's gifts were many times the value of presents brought by his subordinate.

During this stage, orientation of the Enclave remained ambivalent and the limits of regions of control kept fluctuating. As a result localities of the areas under study kept changing. However, broad natural outlines of north, middle and south sectors of the Enclave remained unaltered. The location of settlements along the river Indus, the coastal region and mountainous routes was the standard pattern but when trade declined, towns along the routes suffered.

When maritime trade was affected, the coastal region suffered de-urbanization; when it was overland trade, the pastoral, mountain people lost interest in urban centres. Their economy was inward

looking then, towards the desert, riverine or mountainous pastoral sanctuaries respectively. This is highly significant; the ecological units of the Enclave had stamped their mark on the communal structure of its society. Deserts, rivers and mountains provided the links that connected and disconnected urban islands and their hinterlands from each other and with regions outside the Enclave. The tribal community residing in these areas determined the fate of an administrative or political venture. Those who could enforce on them a discipline or obtain from them voluntary cooperation could integrate, through their trade the region that they controlled. These pastoral tribes were not capable of any trans-regional trade. Administrators of the Enclave could use any one or all of the alternatives and thereby promote urbanization in that region.

SECTION 'B': Socio-economic

Ethnicities

The passing of the Kushans and recession of the Ephtalites left in its wake a residue of assorted ethnicities designated variously as Turk, Afghan Khalji etc. These may be a mixture from the intense ethno-genesis in troubled times or sub-clans of the Saka, Parthia, Kushan or Hun people who had lost track of their link with parent groups. These peoples occupied the general area that had been dominated by Bactrians and Turkic races for 1000 years[44]. Turki-Shahi and Hindu-Shahi rulers display the classical nature of the cusp as they integrated Sassanid, Bactrian, Chinese, Bharati and Hun traits; even in the meagre archaeological and textual remains

[44] Perhaps the only new element was the Arabs. The ingredients of the ethnic demographic mixture of the Enclave today remained unchanged since this time; yet sub-groups of earlier denominations kept coming till the present.

that they left behind. Bactrian texts, Chinese title of Tigin, the popular Hun name Khingala, the occupational grouping variants shared by the Enclave with Bharat and a mixture of Sassanid and Hindu symbols on their coins are some of the vital clues to the ethno-genesis that occurred on both sides of Khyber, much akin to the Varna-sankara of Aryans. Communes of skills, originating among the Harappans led to an ironmonger's group, the Lohanas and the silversmiths[45] group, which may have been the foundation for private minting and banking concerns astride the Hindukush. These provided the economic glue of the Shahi states.

The evolution of languages and scripts of the Aramaic family was disturbed by the use of Greek script in Bactria and the Sanskrit-Prakrit tradition from Bharat. While Kushans and Huns allowed Bactrian influence to persist, Parthians patronized Iranian roots in the form of Pehlevi. The Turki-Shahis amalgamated these effects and may have yielded a lingua-genesis, camouflaged by a double transition of scripts, first from Brahmi to the Sarada of the Hindu-Shahis; then from Pehlevi to an Arabic script of the Muslims. A similar double transition took place in religious affiliations with a revived Hinduism asserting itself from the southeast as a Gupta initiative and from the northeast as a Kashmiri variation with a Hindu-Chinese-Buddhist amalgam counterbalanced by Iranian-Muslim pressures in lower reaches of the Hindukush and a Turkic variant[46] from the northeast/upper Hindukush.

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[45] Rahman, p. 170ff. See especially silver coining procedure outlined on p. 173.

[46] A. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, (Jhelum: Pak Kashmir Pub., 1990), p. 42. Muslim Turks were as different from Muslim Arabs as

Till the Turki-Shahi decline not only was Muslim influence kept at bay but Buddhist traditions received regular patronage. The short-lived Hindu-Shahi patronage of Hinduism created a mixed style of architecture that borrowed more from its east than west[47].

The Aryan obverse affinity of Bharat and Iran has the typical reverse alienation of a bifurcated group. A yin-yang relationship persisted at least through three millennia, [from 1500 BC to 1500 AD] and can be seen in the Turki-Shahi titles such as Samanta or Spalapati which have Prakrit-Sanskrit origins and Iranian-Bharati connotations, possibly two sides of the same coin. The text and imagery of coins depicts other influences impregnating Gandhara in the interim. This needs a sensitive, detailed study to reconstruct the component and composite forms that evolved through history.

If the possibility of private minting is considered seriously[48], the interpretation of the coin texts would reflect publically acceptable nomenclature of currency not its monarchical titles, regal decrees

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Christian Italians were from British and Russians. Having noticed that the Turks from cooler climes like Europeans were inclined to stay in Kashmir, Cunningham fails to realize that not only the Arab state but also Arab geographers as persons would have been disinclined to explore Kashmir.

[47] The assertiveness of the Brahmans is attested by the rise of two ministers in the Enclave who founded dynasties of their own in the south and north, one capturing the Harappan territory, the other, the Gandhara region.

[48] The comments of Albiruni regarding metrology of the Hindus suggest not only that such private minting would be consonant with Hindu attitude but also that the inequality of weights of coins could be rationalized by the use of quantity instead of weight for determining value/ equivalence. This kind of substitution is found in units of sale [number or weight] for fruits today

or grandiloquent claims of power and prestige, especially when the coin is a privately issued currency from 'private' mints.

In this event, the titles Samanta, Khudarayaka, Vakka and Bhima may signify a sanctioning authority in geographic or hierarchical terms instead of being the personal issue coins of specific rulers. Bhima is the only name that could have been a personal identity[49].

Faiths

When the splendour of Babylon had not yet declined, there arose a monotheistic faith based on the Prophet Abraham's communion with nature and Allah. This would have served the monarchs well as justification of unity of command on a temporal plane to match the Divine celestial unity. But the need for syncretistic unification of diverse peoples was better served by the multitude of mythical gods. Consequently pastoral militant states continued to oppose monotheism except when the monarchs arrogated the divinity to themselves. The narrative of Holy Quran suggests that teachings of Semitic prophets provided a rallying point against oppression by an elite which had generally been able to oppress the poor and disenfranchised through wealth until the time of Moses.

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[49] Rahman, p. 185. Has identified these titles as virtually equivalent [p.187] and given their comparative geographic locations and metal usage [p.194] Bhima stands out both in terms of its being limited to Afghanistan and to its being found in the third category of metal. The marks such as 77 on the Barhatigin coin may indicate the guild or cartel which minted the coin not date of issue; a cartel may not have been interested in assigning date of issue. In that case, different weights may be connected with signs which indicate value and credibility of weight and metal under different rulers.

Jewish history suggests that the option of migration was denied to them. Moses led a successful, migratory revolt of a sedentary tribe in Egypt whom he relocated in the marginalized periphery between the west Asian and north African state systems and gave them a state of their own. The Israeli monotheistic monarchy was the first of its kind; and though it set a new trend it could not alter the political climate of state systems around it. A millennium or so later, having undergone several revivals of monotheism and reiterations of morality and ethics, the Christian faith claimed the Divine patronage for the oppressed. It could not, however, gain a state or obtain support from the establishment for three centuries and failed to materially alter political policy or social ethics.

This is not to imply that the socio-political structure of pastoral militant empire builders had no moral or ethical foundations. The Iranians in particular and the Central Asian pastorals in general, realized the need to develop a consensual collaboration with their rural source of food and their urban structure of industry and trade. Therefore they, formed an organic communalism with its own ethics and morality. The Roman state formed its own system, borrowing from its neighbours around the Mediterranean, and imposed it on its conquests. One common feature of empires has been that of absorbing subordinate states as sources of economic and military strength; the Romans used this system on a massive scale. When, finally, the Christian faith was able to conquer Rome it suddenly acquired a state and brought about radical changes in its polity. This did not last long and the Roman Empire collapsed shortly after; the moral-ethical structure of Christianity however survived and continued to influence socio-political norms.

The third experiment in creation of monotheistic states came in 622 AD with the Hijrat of the Prophet Muhammad [SAW]. His migration was not as far nor was the demographic restructuring of a magnitude to compare with Moses; but the formation of state was swift and fairly comprehensive. The influence of this act was neither marginalized, like the Israeli state, nor delayed, like the Christian one. Swiftly the Arabs moved into the partial vacuum of power that existed in the Persian Empire[50] and the Christian church, like the proverbial camel of the Bedouin. The impact of this change was felt by the residents of the Enclave at the start of the stage of urbanization being discussed in this chapter even though Hiuen-sang had no clue of this rising faith 50 years earlier. The Iranians who had been expanding their empire to the east and contesting frontiers with the Byzantines scarcely realized the ascent of the Arabs and fell victim to the Muslim state. Part of the Byzantine Empire too was to succumb to the Khilafat of Hazrat Omar. The frontier that had been established by Chach did not last long. Arab champions of the new faith were knocking at the frontiers of Budhia and Mekran probably when Chach's empire was divided. The faith of the Arabs had come to stay; we will see its impact in the section on society and culture.

Economy

The economic activities that continued to interest governments were, obtaining revenue, maintaining security and administration.

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[50] Majumdar, p.20ff, the contest for extension of empire was not confined to the Muslim state. Virtually all states were involved in multi-faced battles on various fronts of their empire. Iranians had two eastern fronts: Sind in the south and Gandhara in the north. Both had fronts against Zabulistan.

The industries of ceramics, metallurgy and ornaments no longer had the same public or private patronage as in previous stages but they remained the staple items in the economy of their relevant communities. Iconography as an industry had been supported by the state till Muslims came to power. Thereafter it was an interest of the non-Muslim elite who patronized it in their houses as well. Construction, transport, agriculture and animal husbandry were the main private economic activities to provide food, clothing and shelter for the urban environment. Naturally each urban centre was a hub for its trade goods and utilized surplus labour and semi-finished products from its hinterland. Relying on the surrounding tribal nomads who provided a fluid environment which cushioned the settlements, most of the towns did not need the state even to provide for their security or currency. Being equally at home in using goods and services for economic exchange as in using coinage, self-sufficient hinterlands provided a closed economy which could be added to another set to create a conglomerate state or be dissociated from one to subsist without external contact.

There is an essential difference between generation of products in material form and the effects of circulation of monies in the form of coins. Manufactures and agricultural or animal products were medium of exchange for barter. In addition, in the Enclave was a closed economy of communal and social exchange. Individuals, families and even guilds could exchange services or goods or a combination of both, for similar facilities from other members of the community[51]. In this non-monetized economy it was assumed

[51] This is termed a *saipi* system or *jajmani nizam.* The former is barter of goods and services in a closed community. The latter is a system in which things

that the routine exchange of goods and services cancelled out at the communal level. Extraordinary demands were written off as *begaar* while a fine for a misdemeanour was called *chutty*. When an affluent person was expected to provide extra to the economy, it was considered a kindness or virtue. This economic truth of the old world seems to have been lost in modern times despite, or due to, the increased knowledge of monetary theory.

The quantity of money is partially increased merely by increasing its circulation but quantities of animate, vegetate or inanimate products remain unchanged despite repeated circulation. Minting money is a specialized function, generally the exclusive preserve of rulers; the growth of animal and vegetable matter or increased human labour [coinage of goods and services in a sense] is the right of all humans limited virtually by nature alone.

As inorganic goods can only be produced from matter that exists in inorganic form, their number may be increased by destruction of some extant good or from untapped sources. Regeneration of organic matter, however, needs both the destruction and creation of new goods. Humans may enhance or retard the rate of creation of organic matter in collaboration with or despite counter effects of nature. Farmers and labourers of the Enclave were influenced by nature rather than governance in pre-modern times. Producers of inorganic manufactures too were by and large independent of governance in the utilization of materials. There were two parallel economies in vogue in the Enclave, one monetized and the other

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needed for a task are supplied by a contractor whose internal settlement with employees is generally a non-monetized arrangement for services.

non-monetized. The monetized economy also did not rely on state patronage but on coinage by guilds which certified the weight of a denomination that had been sanctioned by a particular ruler or specific market. Thus we have the Tatari and Gandhari/Qandhari styles that were employed in Sind and Turan. A variety of weight measures was used for coins by Shahi rulers, like the Kushans[52].

Metrology

The mun weight used in Hind, Sind and Tuwaran was the same as that used in Mecca. A weight called Keji was equal to 40 muns [a weight equal to what is called seer today], thus one keji was equal to what is today called a mun. In Multan a standard measure of wheat was called a matal, Muqaddasi says that it is equal to 12 muns [seers] of wheat. In Sind, the dirham was called a Qandhari which was a fifth of the value of dirham of Baghdad but the same as that of the Fatimid Khilafat. [53] The style called Tatari was also used; it was two thirds more weight than the Baghdad dirham. In Multan the dirham was the same standard as in Fatimid Khilafat[54].

Trade and products

Sea borne trade came to the Enclave mainly from towns along the coast, from Tiz to Debul. East of this, towards Gujrat the coast

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[52] See note 88 supra: Rahman, p. 185ff.

[53] E&D, Sind, p. 35 mentions the Tatari but says that it was a dirham and a third while Muqaddasi had dirham and two thirds. Muqaddasi also mentions the Qandhari but it is as a measure not as the origin or place of minting. Idrisi also mentions the five times heavier dirham and the Tatari coin but does not elaborate. Ibn Haukal said that coinage of Mansura was stamped at Kandahar and one piece was equal to five dirhams.

[54] Muqaddasi, p. 423.

was less convenient for import or export. Debul, being the place with a range of land and river routes, was the most frequented and best option. To the north from here lay the Mehran route which was a preferred choice of traders as it allowed a relatively secure riverine passage with options of branching off on land at regular intervals of three days travel. Obviously there was danger from brigands in all forms of travel but this was at its maximum on the overland routes. The largest and most prosperous trading towns were the river-ports that linked land and seaborne trade while providing the option of trade of local specialties as well.

Idrisi says that at Debul, 6 miles from the mouth of the Mehran, ships came from Oman, China and India. Traders would buy the cargo and keep it till the departure of the ships before selling it; they also used to give money on interest. Sandur[55] three stages south of Multan 'famous for its trade, wealth, sumptuous apparel and the abundance which prevails on the table of the inhabitants'. It was on the bank of a river which fell into the Mehran above Basmand. The fact that Multan does not figure in the equation suggests that it was 'terminus' not 'centre' for trade[56]. Kallari was on the west bank of the Mehran, a well-fortified, pretty and busy trading place. Kadira, Kusa, Kakhlia and Khur were towns in Sind. The first two were about equal in size; they traded with the contumacious, tribal Nadas. Idrisi says Sadusan was famous for abundance of its products and rich commerce. According to Idrisi

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[55] This may possibly be the location of Lodhran or Bahawalpur today.

[56] This is somewhat similar to the position occupied by Harappa during the heyday of the Indus Valley Civilization.

Fahalfahra, Asfaka, Band and Kasri Band are all about the same size. They had similar trade and population. From Tuwaran were exported sweetmeats, from Masakan and Sindan much rice, cloth and a great quantity of coconuts. Mansura exported expensive sandals, elephants, medicaments, ivory and precious things[57]. At Firabuz, a town in Mekran, people who were generous, charitable men of their word and enemies of fraud[58] carried on a good trade.

Muqaddasi says that Sind was a 'region of gold and commerce, medicaments …, sweetmeats …, rice and bananas …. palms and dates'; he adds, the rest of its products are like those of Khurasan and Quhistan. Idrisi says that at Mansura fish was plentiful, meat was cheap and foreign and native fruits were plenty. He mentions that the border district of Rasak [called al-Kharuj] had plenty of sugarcane and a lively trade in a sweetmeat called faniz, made in Rasak and Maskan. In this region were found date trees, camels, cereal and the fruits of cold regions[59]. At Mustah, in the desert, 3 days from Tubaran, camels were bred. Kirkayan [also called Ail], on the way from Fardan to Tubaran, had fertile country where vine and fruit trees were grown. Idrisi said it also produced corn, raisins, fruits, camels, oxen and sheep. At Mansura date palm, lemon and mango grew but no walnut, grape, apple or tamr [ripe date]. Idrisi confirms that sugarcane and dates were produced in abundance but fruits were few. Debul was rich in grain cultivation but not for large trees its economy was commercial and its swords

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[57] Muqaddasi, p. 422.

[58] E&D, Sind, p. 80.

[59] E&D, Sind, p. 81.

were famous. Famhal, Sindan and Saimur produced rice, coconut, mangoes, lemons and plenty of honey.

Based on these reports we can assess that most of the cultivation was along the flood plains and most of the livestock for transport, except for bullock carts, came from the hills. Grazing animals for food was most common in desert areas with nomadic tribes; perhaps again with the exception of cows, which needed larger quantities of green or grain fodder. Thus goats or sheep were grazed in the mountains or deserts while cows and buffalos were pastured in plains or less rugged topography. As in the case of the Aryans incoming nomadic tribes had to choose a suitable ecology for their domesticated animals and so adjust with local pastorals.

Culture & Society

The prime expression of high culture for the Buddhist states had been their iconography and the related religious architecture. For the early Arab it was patronage of knowledge, geography, history, administration, technology and sciences auxiliary for them. Later they also learnt arts of aggrandizement of their courts, castles and mosques, these they passed on to their successors, the Turkish Sultans. Chief among their courtiers, the secretaries needed the literary arts and the most coveted of literary accomplishments was that of the poet. Refinement of mosque, mausoleum, castle and fort architecture continued but the great contribution of Muslims was in the field of literature, its variety and its embellishment in language and calligraphy. The pride of a Sultan's court was the galaxy of learned, cultured courtiers. In architecture, Ghaznavi

sultans took the cue from their Samani masters and innovated on it. Influences from the Enclave came after Khurasan was lost[60].

The cultural evolution of the common people was not materially affected by the elite's interest in the written word but there was a two sided exchange of ideas. Some local norms and values that infiltrated those of their changing masters found expression in the poetry of courtiers. Apart from religion, where locals exercised a choice, partially based on previous division of sects, the cultural interaction of the local common people was with the lower classes of the conquerors. It was a two-way street in which the ecological constraints and extant local social order overrode the norms of small communities from a new ethnic groups. The conqueror was able to exert greater influence on urban life directly and on rural life through changes in location of urban centres. In language and dress changes took generations to filter down to the hinterland.

Muqaddasi praises justice, fairness and administration in the province of Sind. He appreciates its low prices, prosperity and administration, specialties, merchandise and manufactures; good health and trustworthiness of its people[61]. However, he complains that it had few scholars and, based on personal knowledge, the great deal of hardship and mental stress involved in getting to it. The ruler of Tuwaran was unpretentious according to Muqaddasi; his capital though small had much to offer for trade and was a destination of caravans from east and west.

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[60] C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran*, Op. Cit., p. 134f.

[61] Muqaddasi, p. 417.

Istakhri noted that people of Mansura dress like Iraqis [Persians according to Idrisi][62] but rulers followed Indian style of hair and qurta[63]. Ibn Haukal saw no difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in their dress and beards but the common people dressed like Iraqis, rulers wore sarawil and qurataq [shalwar and qurta] like kings of Hind. They wore fine muslin cloth but merchants dressed like Iraqis and Persians. In Sind they wore loincloths and did not wear shoes, except merchants and high officials. People of Multan did not tuck their turbans under the chin. According to Muqaddasi, people of Mekran wore qurtas, kept long hair and pierced their ears like people of Hind[64]. Idrisi said people of Mekran wore a tunic, gown with sleeves, cloak, waistcloth and mantle embroidered with gold like Iraqis[65].

Muqaddasi says that people of Mansura[66] were refined, had good character and were favourably inclined toward Islam; they were

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[62] Both notices in this passage indicate westward orientation of the commons as against the eastward leaning of the ruling classes, perhaps with Central Asian origins as adopted in Bharat. However, the earlier notice uses Iraq as the point of reference for commoners while the later notice associates the commons with Persians, perhaps this is a matter of personal idioms.

[63] E&D, Sind, p. 27, probably error of the copyist [al-Shaur instead of sarawil]; Ibn Haukal has sarawil [shalwar] and Qurta the probable combination here also. On p. 29 he notes that people of Multan wear trousers. Idrisi [E&D, Sind, p. 78] also says that people of Mansura allow their hair to grow long like the princes of India. This may be due to his reliance on Istakhri.

[64] Muqaddasi, p. 423.

[65] E&D, Sind, p. 81.

[66] Muqaddasi, p. 420.

humble and noble of nature like the Iraqis. They were mostly non-Muslims and they had few leaders because their region had been ravaged. There were many learned, intelligent, knowledgeable and kind people in this town and commerce was profitable. There was neither fornication nor drunkenness in Multan these acts are strictly punished. Traders did not lie in selling, nor lessen their measure or diminish weights, most of them were Arabs they were well off and welcomed strangers. Commerce flourished, produce was abundant and rulers were just. Women moved about freely in markets without being accosted. Living was pleasant, elegant and healthy; people had brown or black complexion. This description suggests that a male Arab population provided the lineage but the dominant local female gene pool caused pigmentation to display local skin colour and greater freedom of movement to women.

The shifting pattern of cultural affiliation is particularly obvious in Multan: people of the Enclave and Kanauj used a dating system in which the year started with the month of Margasirsha and they calculated that their era began 108 years before 400 of Yazdajird. The people of Multan also used to follow the same calendar, but a few years before Albiruni's observation[67], they converted to the system followed in Kashmir. This could have a connection with the change of government, perhaps the Karamati ruler who came to power around this time, had roots connecting him to Kashmir.

Muqaddasi did not find any characteristics of the people of Sind worth mentioning except that non-Muslims are idolatrous and the

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[67] *Albiruni*, vol. II, p. 8f. People of Multan acquired the practice of starting their year with the month of Caitra. Albiruni found confirmation of his method of calculation of dates from the notes of a scholar from Multan.

Muslims are mainly Hanafi. People of Multan were Shia but there were no Maliki, Mutazilla or Hambali Muslims here, nor were they fanatical or discordant among themselves[68]. Muqaddasi has focused on a vital clue; Muslim polity was urban and divided into two major sects. Muslim proselytizing was not aggressive under the Arabs even when it was patronized by Omar bin Abdul Aziz. Apparently a greater number of Buddhists converted to Islam. Perhaps their central Asian ethnic link during the preceding stage, or the fact that they were not polytheists, had some bearing on this. The result was a gradual spiritual and cultural delinking of the Enclave from Bharat. The mongrel linguistic-ethnic nature of the Enclave, as a cusp, responded to cultural and social norms emerging within. This led to acquisition of religious and spiritual sensibilities of Vedic Aryans, then of Buddhism and Hinduism. Indus people had eschewed Zoroastrian beliefs preferring an eastward orientation, perhaps because some eastern sensibilities had originated here. Hereafter, its religious orientation turned to the west, a trend that persists till modern times.

Language

Sanskrit and Tukharian languages were used with variations of Brahmi and Bactrian scripts for religion and administration. We learn from Istakhri that the people of Multan and Mansura spoke Persian and Sindhi[69], but Ibn Haukal says that people of Mansura

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[68] Muqaddasi, p. 422.

[69] E&D, Sind, p. 29.

and Multan spoke Arabic and Sindhi[70]; he adds that in Mekran they speak Persian and Mekrani[71]. Muqaddasi says that people of Banajbur spoke Balochi, people of Multan spoke Farsi[72]. Turkish was spoken in Gilgit, Astor and Chilas[73] and in Debul people spoke Arabic and Sindhi. This is very significant because it shows variety in the use of imported languages and script as well as the names of local languages in the south as Sindhi, Balochi and the local dialect of Mekran. This is the first known linguistic map of the Enclave. The speculative mapping of the previous stages only gave the literary structure as deduced from texts, epigraphy and numismatics but did not depict spoken languages; even in the present description we cannot assess dialects of the local nomads.

Whereas the texts, starting from the Indus civilization to 1000 AD are almost exclusively those used by the elite, we may be sure that the earliest nomadic communities which earmarked their pastoral domains had some spoken language. The history of settlements in the Enclave that has been reconstructed so far shows how nomads encircled its urban centres and pervaded their hinterland.

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[70] E&D, Sind, p. 39, this is significant because while Ibn Haukal follows Istakhri in many things he also adds some information. If this change only signifies that people spoke Persian with Persians and Arabic with the Arab, we can infer that people knew all three languages. If it means that within a short time patronage of languages had changed at a state level or that forces of trade had dictated the change, then we need to probe the matter further.

[71] E&D, Sind, p. 81, Idrisi says Persian and a local dialect, no doubt meaning Mekrani which has been identified by that name earlier.

[72] Muqaddasi, p. 421.

[73] E&D, Sind, p. 46f.

It would not be farfetched to assume that a common vocabulary evolved in the Harappan civilization and lingua-genesis occurred. A demographic influx caused ethno-genesis in ecological zones, formed around urban centres. A resultant lingua-genesis followed after the Aryan passage and during the ingress of Persian, Greek, Mauriya, Parthian, Saka, Kushan, Hun and Gupta armies as well as camp-followers. This gave each region its own language, based on the original dialect of its pastoral core. Its vocabulary must have included a great portion of the language of the Harappans and some part of the vocabulary that these people had used when they became pastoral. To this were added words from all the elite contributions through literature and poetry, especially a corpus that pertained to religious education, occupations and skills.

Since the contributions from most of the ethnicities mentioned above did not penetrate the south of the Enclave till the coming of the Arabs; and because the core of religious education was also located in the north, the southern dialects had a greater chance of standardization over a period of time. This is the condition that the Arabs found between 900 and 1100 AD; hence the names of Sindhi and Balochi occur along with Arabic and Persian. Pockets of Persian speaking communities are still found in the Enclave. The reason for the survival of Persian is that it was reinforced by the ingress of more Persian speakers and by state patronage. Traces of other languages could also be found in dialects across Pakistan. Arabic is easier to identify in but Turkish influence can

also be found[74] with a little effort, especially in Punjab, Gilgit and Northern Areas. However as some literary expression, usually[75] in the form of poetry, can be traced in the currently used local languages of the Enclave, at about the end of this stage, we may assume that lingua-genesis in the Enclave had matured to provide a medium for cultural expression to its ethnic mosaic.

Settlement patterns: town plans, materials, architecture

Istakhri says that Multan was half the size of Mansura; according to Muqaddasi it was like Mansura but it was more populous[76]. Idrisi said that some people considered Multan part of Hind, not Sind; it had four gates and was surrounded by a moat, watered by the Ravi. Here provisions were abundant and taxes light. One mile from Multan was Jandur, a collection of forts built on a

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[74] The Arab community [discounting the 'Syeds' who came later] which stayed on in the Enclave has been greatly diluted over time. Perhaps even when they were new arrivals, they had to rely on local language and absorbed its culture; yet they left linguistic residue to be absorbed in local speech. The Turks, however, were nonchalant about their language at this time. Nonetheless Arabic seems to vanish completely from Mansura and Debul as does Turkish from northern areas, Gilgit and Chilas.

[75] Albiruni noted that the people of India have a large number of words for the same thing because of the need to fit into the poetic meter any concept or name. Perhaps true for religious literature, this logic is not satisfactory for place names. The variety of place names in this stage may be rationalized on the basis of ethnic diversity. We may allege that the variety of words connoting the same thing in Vedic literature is a lingua-genesis. This facet is peculiar to South Asian syncretism: it adopts concepts, deities or rituals as additions to a corpus instead of adapting them to a basic belief system.

[76] See Muqaddasi, p. 421, and E&D, Sind, p. 81, Idrisi said Multan was as large as Mansura. *Albiruni's India*, p. 298 gives a set of names for Multan that had been used before it got this name; also a theory why names change.

height with a supply of fresh water. Ibn Haukal had reported that Chandarwar [Jandur of Idrisi] was half a farsang from the city. From here its chiefs, belonging to the Sammah Qureshi tribe, rode to the city on elephants for Friday Namaz[77]. We may infer from comparative statements of its size in successive reports that it had grown considerably by the time of Idrisi, who reports that people were mostly Muslims the civil administration was also Muslim. It had handsome multi-story narrow houses made of teak. The air was hot and dry because the town was located in a dirty salt pan. Albiruni reports that the air and the soil of Multan[78] were rather moist; this is not its traditional image. It had a strong fort but its hinterland was not as fertile as Mansura.

Multan housed an important idol, also called Multan. According to Ibn Haukal[79] it was found between the bazaars of coppersmiths and ivory dealers in the most populous part of the city. This was destroyed by the Karamati ruler of Multan. Ibn Haukal's report is highly significant as it helps us fix the date of the emergence of Karamati rule in Multan between 358 H/968 AD and 387 H/997 AD. Idrisi reports that the idol was in a building with gilded dome and pillars. The dome, pillars and gates were sturdy, the columns

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[77] E&D, Sind, p. 35 & p. 83; Idrisi saw Multan about a century later than Ibn Haukal. Jandur [Jandrud] should mean the current fort area of Qasim Bagh which was surrounded by branches of the Ravi till the British arrived. The city had probably advanced northward from the time of Ibn Haukal and the Karamatis had re-established themselves.

[78] *Albiruni*, p . 117, vol. I.

[79] E&D, Sind, p. 35. Ibn Haukal compiled his work c. 968 AD.

were lofty and the walls were coloured[80]. This must mean that a new building was erected during the later Ghaznavi period and an idol was made by devotees to replace the destroyed one.

The river Sandarud was 3 stages from Multan; it flowed into the Mehran below Multan, above Basmand while the Jandrud flowed into Mehran below Basmand. The inhabitants of Sandur, situated on the bank of Sandarud, wore good clothes and had abundance at the table. This was a small fort city, which lay to the east of the Mehran like Multan, one farsang distance from the river. We may infer that the flood plains of the Sandarud and Ravi did not need the same treatment as those of Mehran. While towns were situated at a farsang from the Indus, which may specify range of the river in flood, they could be located on the banks of its tributaries.

Between Mansura and Multan, some distance from Mehran, were Ibri/Annari and Labi/Kallari. Dahuk and Kalwan districts were situated between Kallari and Armabil, the former a dependency of Mansura, the latter of Mekran. In these districts fruit was scarce but it was possible to grow crops without irrigation and cattle were abundant. Idrisi records that Kallari was on the west bank of Mehran. Although it was away from the main route, it was a well-fortified, pretty and busy trading place[81], here the Mehran split in two streams. The mainstream went west toward Mansura while the branch went northwest, then north and then west meeting the mainstream twelve miles below Mansura. From Sadusan it was 3 days to Kallari and one day's ride of 40 miles to Mansura. Ballari

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[80] E&D, Sind, p. 82.

[81] E&D, Sind, p. 79.

or Maildi was on the western bank near the branch that encircles Mansura. Bilha/Bania was a small city; its inhabitants according to Idrisi were of mixed blood and rich. It was 3 stages from Mansura, 6 from Mamuhal and 2 from Debul. From Mamuhal to Bania and Kambaya there was marine sand with no water. Med tribes lived in this region. They grazed horses and camels as far as Famhal to the east and Alor to the west, and even into Mekran.

Istakhri said that Alor was on the border of Mansura; it probably lost some of its importance after the Arab conquest but had two defensive walls. It was the same size as Multan and lay east of the Mehran. Nirun was located between Debul and Mansur, roughly three days from both but closer to the former. At this point, people normally crossed the river. According to Idrisi this town had no other importance. It was a fortified town where trees were rare but its inhabitants were rich. Manjbari was built in a hollow west of the Mehran opposite Mansura, people travelling from Debul to Mansura crossed the river at this point also. Idrisi says that it was a well built, pleasant town surrounded by fountains and gardens.

From Manjbari to Debul was 2 days journey and to Firabuz 6 more by way of Khur, a small but populous town. Maswahi, Harj and Sadusan were also located west of the Mehran. Idrisi says that Sadusan was remarkable for the number and size of its fountains and canals and for abundance of its products. It seems that along the river, trade centres were two to three stages apart having many gardens and fountains[82].Mansura, west of the Indus main stream, some distance from the river, was surrounded by a branch of the

[82] IThis pattern had emerged by Idrisi's time, E&D, Sind, p. 80.

Mehran that began at Kallari, one day's journey upstream from Mansura. Its local name was Mirman here fish was plenty and meat was cheap, foreign and native fruits were easily available.

According to Muqaddasi, it had buildings made of wood and clay. Its mosque located amid its markets was made of stone and baked brick with teak pillars. A river encircled it. It had four gates: bab Bahr, bab Tuwaran, bab Sindan and bab Multan; indicating four directions of trade. People were refined and, though mostly non-Muslim, favourably inclined towards Islam. Istakhri said that it was one square mile, its inhabitants were Muslims, its products included date, lemon, mango and sugarcane[83].The fact that the two reports are at variance indicates that either the residents had become apostate or that there had been a demographic reshuffle in the intervening period due to political changes. Its climate was mild, rains were plenty and bedbugs were everywhere, it could get quite hot but the people were phlegmatic[84].

The town got drinking water from the Mehran and the region had large buffalos. Idrisi adds its land was fertile; and buildings were made of brick, tiles and plaster. Again this indicates that the construction pattern had also changed since the time of Istakhri. It was a place of recreation and pleasure. Trade flourished and bazaars were filled with people and well stocked with goods[85].

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[83] E&D, Sind, p. 27. Ibn Haukal has a slight variation of the same statement.

[84] Muqaddasi, p. 420.

[85] E&D, Sind, p. 78.The town does not find mention in later geographic notices.

The Arab rulers of Sind also built Mahfuza 'facing Hind' beside the lake but this town soon lost its importance.

Debul, a port town six miles from the mouth of the Mehran also had mountains close to it. Most of its people were merchants; they were elegant and well dressed. Its market was on the sea shore and houses were made of clay and wood. It was surrounded by a hundred villages and most of its people were non-Muslim. Idrisi said the town existed only due to sea trade from China, Oman, and India. The soil was not fertile; its highlands were arid and plains sterile. The banks of the Mehran were infested by boars and buffalos took shelter from them in a creek.

The Arabs built at least one town in Kikanan [called al-Baiza], to control Jats who were a refractory people. Mahmud also had to deal with Jats in riverine Sind; perhaps he tried to control them by economic means. We see that crops, building material and the ethno-lingual demography from Mansura and the sea underwent a change during the eleventh century. Perhaps this was due to the intervention of the Ghaznavi state that integrated the Enclave with Afghanistan; or may be climatic change was its basic cause.

In the river swamps and lakes between Mansura and Mekran lived Jats in reed huts feeding on fish and water fowl. Their fellow nomads, the Med in particular lived in the desert regions or away

from the river fed on milk, cheese and bread made of millet[86]. A group of these people may have been called the Bawarij[87].

Tanbali had a small Muslim population but it was a well-stocked, merchant, maritime fortress[88]. The rather unusual placement of forts south from Drawar to the sea may not be for protection or aggression but for security from the unruly tribes. The difference between reports of Muqaddasi and Idrisi about Sind may reflect political absorption of these people in the state. The coastal route was a series of port towns; in the central overland route, probably horses were used and the Fahraj-Tubaran-Fardan-Mustah-Multan route used camels. In all modes of transport the pastoral people had a key role to play. One style of their settlements along the river was that of reed and grass dwellings with cattle-sheds[89].

Mekran had swamps like those of Iraq, deserts like those of Kurds and the Jats there have reed huts and feed on fish and waterfowl. Muqaddasi records a desert region between Khurasan, Kirman, Faras, Jibal, Sind and Sijistan where brigandage was common.

Dylamites protected their routes by taking some of them hostage otherwise they hid in Karkas Koh or Siyah Koh; he calls these people Qufs. He says there were no rivers in the area but cisterns,

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86 E&D, Sind, p. 40, as reported by Ibn Haukal.

87 *Albiruni*, p. 208, Vol. I, and E&D, Sind, p. 65. This name definitely denotes the brigands who are alleged to have looted the ships from Sri Lanka that ostensibly precipitated the Muslim conquest.

88 Muqaddasi, p. 420.

89 This style was followed by semi-nomadic riverine people; desert dwelling animal breeders had similar houses.

covered with domes were frequent and placed at short distances, as a result this difficult region had several passages. Qufs were brutal people who had swords and arrows but killed their captives with clubs so that their swords do not get blunted. They generally preferred to walk or run but occasionally use swift asses. Because of this community who were like the Med of the highlands, we consider Sijistan to be like a periphery of the Enclave during this period, especially in Ghaznavi times. The similarities of the Jat, the Med, the Bawarij and Qufs could indicate Saka connections.[90]

Mansura to Tubaran took about 15 days according to Idrisi and towns of Khur Kakhlia, Kusa and Kadira belong to Sind; the last two being about the same size. The Kirkayan district, inhabited by Muslims, depended on the Nada who often traded at Kandabil. Istakhri noted that Kandabil was in the desert in Budhia. The palm did not grow there but vines and fruit did[91]; its cultivated fields were irrigated and cattle pastured. According to Idrisi Tubaran was a fortified town on the bank of a river with the same name, near Fahraj in Kirman. Its land was fertile and cultivated. From here to Fardan a populous, commercial town was 4 days of travel. Kirkayan, a district of Rasak was also fertile, fruit trees were diverse but it had no date palm, the land west of Fardan on the road to Tubaran was well populated. From Tubaran to Mustah in the desert where camels were bred, it took 3 days. Fardan, Kasran,

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[90] See comments on Sakas in “Gandhara Patterns of life” above.

[91] E&D, Sind, p. 39. Istakhri had not mentioned the fruits, Ibn Haukal gives the names of pomegranates and grapes.

Mahyak, Sura, Masurjan were dependencies of Tubaran. North-east of Tubaran, towards Sijistan, were difficult, barren regions.

Khuzdar, capital of Tuwaran, was situated in a desert and divided by a dry vadi without bridges. On one side of it were palaces and forts of rulers the other side, called Budin, was cleaner. On that side were houses and merchant depots; caravans from Khurasan Kirman and Faras as well as from the districts of Hind came there. Buildings of the town were made of clay and water was obtained from a Karaiz, however, it made the stomach swell. Two cities in Tuwaran, Kizkanan and Kathrad or Jathrad [which was the only cold town in the area, sometimes it had snow] had streams to feed them, the latter also had wells. The cultivable land in this region had healthy climate. Most towns in the region were hot.

Muqaddasi says that Banajbur was the largest town in Mekran[92], it had a fort built of clay, with a moat. Its source of water was a river and the fort had two gates, the bab Turan and the bab Tiz. The environs of Armail were pleasant; Kanbali, 2 days from it was like it in population, size and wealth; a mile and a half from the sea, they were as large as Firabuz. Darak lay three days from Firabuz, northeast of the salt mountain. Fahalfahra, Asfaka, Band and Kasri Band had similar trade and population; they were all the same size and equidistant. Idrisi says Kirusi[93] was nearly as large as Multan; the land was cultivated and good deal of trade

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[92] The size of the town is from, Muqaddasi, p. 425, Istakhri had given the name of the largest town as Kinnazbun. On p. 423, he says that the people of Mekran had brown complexion, their speech was like the sound of birds.

[93] E&D, Sind, p . 80f.

was carried on. To its west was the wonderful port of Tiz[94] where ships from Faras, Oman and the isle of Kish came. Between Kiz and Armail were two districts next to one another, Rahun and Kalwan dependencies of Mansura and Mekran respectively. They had fertile land but people relied mostly on raising flock, northern boundaries of both abutted Dahuk [supra].

Waihind, according to Muqaddasi was bigger than Mansura, it was situated on level ground and had many superb gardens. It had flowing rivers and abundant rain, superb fruits and many trees of walnuts almonds, date and banana. It was prosperous and had low prices, especially in honey, bread and dairy products. The people were healthy, its air was humid and heat oppressive. Its buildings, made of straw and wood, sometimes caught fire[95]. Peshawar was east [perhaps northeast] of the confluence of rivers coming from Kabul; it was called al-Mabar or the ferry. The river Kabul fell into the Indus at Biturashit below Waihind[96].

Istakhri's evidence indicates that towns like Multan, Mansura and Basmand were located two farsang from the river and water was obtained from wells. The location of cities at a distance of eight or sixteen miles from the river indicates that floodplains were still being optimized. This policy kept city secure from floods and the resultant high water-table of the floodplain ensured availability of

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[94] This had perhaps seen better days in the time of Muqaddasi and Istakhri when costal trade was flourishing.

[95] Muqaddasi, p. 421.

[96] E&D, Sind, p. 48, Albiruni using the name Bitur, says it was below Waihind.

abundant groundwater in urban areas. The towns had a citadel mound for rulers, as at Multan, but Nirun and Budhia had forts on eminences in the vicinity. Mansura was located well within the region encircled by a branch of Indus; Basmand was two farsang from the river also. Ibn Haukal gives the distance from the river as one farsang; this is probably just a difference in estimate. Most cities on the riverine route were probably beyond the range of seasonal floods as were Annari, Ballari and Kallari[97].

Paradigms

The socio-cultural fabric of political economy that the Muslims inherited was the end result of a Mesopotamian evolutionary process consisting of three elements. First was a sense of pride in shared identity and common interest among sedentary people; second a structure for siphoning off and storing surplus produce and labour; and third a socio-economic hierarchy expressed as the politics of power and dominance.[98] Administrators and managers of finance, and spiritual & religious leaders had power to impose pragmatic and ethical limits on use of physical force and thereby control its military elite. By differentiating between the producers of various goods and services, Hindu thought arrived at four varnas and the outcaste people as a fivefold division[99]. Religion supported some political hierarchies but religious leaders often

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[97] E&D, Sind, p. 37.

[98] Actually the military class was the natural arbiter of power but intellectuals could administer the entire society.

[99] Ibn Khurdadba, [E&D Sind, p. 16] and Idrisi, [E&D, Sind, p. 76], list seven castes with one exclusive group for kings and then four varnas in a mixed order followed by two lower castes with no mention of the outcastes.

curtailed, even undermined, military and administrative powers of the governing elite. When religion supported the government and state, heterodox or popular faith provided the common man with mystical sanctions to validate deviant social behaviour.

Despite the conflict of interest between rulers and the ruled which emerged due to socio-political hierarchy, the ruler was aware that he could not exist without the ruled. The subjects also took pride in the grandeur of their ruler/state as a manifestation of collective achievement. Thus, a not always unwilling support was offered by subjects, to a ventures of conquest, in the form of services and goods. Similarly, knowledge that ability of siphoning off surplus was a corollary of availability of such a surplus encouraged wise rulers to ensure higher productivity on the part of their subjects. Religion and the 'feel-good' factor of altruism encouraged ruling elites to provide good governance, the actual motive that justified the maintenance of non-productive military, administrative and other elite communities at the expense of the productive masses.

The relationship of identity and pride was made possible through a social contract by which the economic surplus produced by the productive classes was used by the elites. In exchange[100] various elite classes patronized the elitist, cultured version of arts of the society and maintained social justice among labouring subjects. The elite provided commons with grandeur, morality and culture as the sources of communal and social pride to justify their own

[100] The society bore the cost of maintaining these classes at a level generally higher than that for the common man. In fact this cost rose as the physical productivity and material utility of a person in these classes fell.

existence. By identifying with poetry, music, painting, sculpture and architecture, a common man could feel pride in achievements of the society which depended on his toil. This sense of identity rationalized the process of siphoning surplus and its utilization in a common pool. Converting surplus into a medium of exchange or store of value required sophisticated and complex governance; this was the prime economic function of the state.

A social cycle of exchange of services and goods in a communal tradition, the simplest form of subsistence economy, was perhaps the norm that led to barter trade. Grain, the temporary durability of livestock and some non-perishable agricultural or animal by-products may have been man's first experience of storing value. Certain non-useful non-perishables like shells may have provided the first units of account for trade and assessment of dues or debts for goods and services received. In due course, however, the elite created a system of coinage, assigning greater value to rare metals and marking them for weight and value under state authority.

Monetization of the economy enormously enhanced potential for trade and industry by breaking down storage of value into a small, highly non-perishable form which suited uniform unit of account. Even in economies with high mobility of labour, physically and mentally challenged individuals tend to lower social status; a low self-esteem and a lack of opportunity to develop produce similar results. Given the natural social inertia among people, self-image and chance are the most potent determinants of an individual's social mobility. Placing themselves in one or other of available social classes, individuals relate to society in that capacity, being content to depend on others for what they are to provide.

SECTION 'C': Capacities & constraints

Environmental constraints

In regard to food production, the Enclave could be divided into the two most common zones of agriculture and animal husbandry. The latter could be divided into three sectors, grazing, fodder and fishery. Grazing was possible in deserts and mountains as well as agricultural regions but the fodder animals, especially the buffalo needed the plains. The flood plains were the most versatile as they could support all kinds of animals. Apparently till this time the plough was not a popular tool. A pastoral lifestyle dominated the region even in agricultural floodplains because it was culturally familiar to a majority of incoming migrants. The combined effect of ecology and society continued to support segmentation in the Enclave along topographic watersheds of mountain-desert-river.

Near the bank of the Mehran were deserts with many nomads, most of Mekran was also desert. Muqaddasi notes that this was a hot region of much ecological diversity as seen in his description of Mansura and Waihind. There were crocodiles in the Mehran and farms depend on its flooding. Between Mansura and Mekran, according to Ibn Haukal, waters of the Mehran formed lakes; this was Jat territory. Mekran people generally depended on pasturage and arid fields that could be naturally irrigated. Due to deficiency of water, revenues in the region were small.

The vegetated regions of the Enclave enumerated by Muqaddasi were Mekran, al-Rahuq, Armabil, Debul and Kanbali; they had

the best climate[101]. Grazing area was extensive with large number of cattle that lived in filthy conditions. At Dahuk fruit was scarce; crops were grown without irrigation and cattle were abundant[102]. The Suleiman range and the Gandhara region seem to have been locations for horse breeding but were probably not exploited by rulers of Sind. Perhaps the Sakas, Parthians, Kushans and Huns had left a tradition for the Ghaznavi Turks to follow and exploit. The same applies to camel breeding with Bactrian and Balochi stock in and around Kalat; this breed was called falij[103].

Due to this combination of human and geographic environment, the potential to overcome or exploit **resource constraints** or to develop **technologies** was nominal. The **limits of scientific and technological knowledge** were consequently not much different from the previous stage except, perhaps, in animal husbandry. An inherent unity between the Punjab and Sind[104] as upper and lower riparians of an integrated river system was exploited from Multan to Debul even in pre-Muslim times. However, water scarcity and management of watercourses does not seem to be an issue. The basic constraint to development was human motivation to change in lifestyles and interest in developing exploitative technologies. The Arab advancement in sciences did not start until after the withdrawal of the Khilafat from the Enclave.

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101 Muqaddasi, p . 424f.

102 E&D, Sind, p. 38.

103 Muqaddasi, p. 423. Perhaps only the wealthy/royalty could afford it.

104 See Sir William Patrick Andrew, *Indus and its Provinces, their Political and Commercial importance*, (London: W. H. Allen & co. 1858).

In any event this, the periphery of its control, only benefitted from the developments indirectly, through the Turk successors of the Arabs. Most of these 'second-hand' technologies were pragmatic and utilitarian rather than theoretic, basic or abstract. As declared earlier, the most important change in knowledge was the literary tradition. Another field was technology of war and maintenance of animals for war such as the horse, the camel and the elephant. In building materials, brick was again the most popular medium but stone was still popular for monuments and fortifications.

Ibn Khaldun's famous concept of Asabiya and the three to four generations growth-decay cycle governed urbanization, militant polity and its absorption into the civic community of producers and administrators. Arabs brought to this a new variation of the force of religious zeal, knitting the internecine tribal fabric into a trans-ethnic mosaic based on Arab Bedouin norms. The Persians had contributed three millennia of administrative experience, and a history of the varied structure of parochial units within states linking west and central Asia to the Enclave and Bharat. The Turks infused their own brand of tribal ethics of loyalty and tradition coupled with the right to usurp authority.

With this variety of human resources, development of the Enclave acquired a potential which could not be converted into reality till the next stage. As the Saka, Parthia, Kushan and Hun diaspora had enriched the Enclave a millennium earlier, to set the stage for the Gandhara Civilization, Persian, Arab, Turk and Bharti ethnic components began to acquire a teleological energy that was to flower into the South Asian version of Turko-Mongol Islam.

Conclusions:

Whereas there had been no significant change in energy sources, building materials or physics that governed human industry and ingenuity in the Enclave, transition in lifestyle and demographic mobility was extensive. We see gradual and steady shift toward sedentary existence at almost all levels, even that of the military adventurer. Nomadic travellers through the Enclave are virtually non-existent from this stage onward. Pastoral groups acquired a territorial affinity/parochial identity due to zoological, ecological and ethnic considerations. Rural settlements on the mountainside, floodplains, canal irrigation and other water management systems acquired the knowledge necessary to minimize displacement of agriculture. The more stable villages began to acquire the status of a small towns with a hinterland of its own. Military adventurers like interstate traders began to look upon a region as prefecture.

Animal species tend to gravitate to a specific ecology that is most beneficial to them. Humans are able to adapt to various ecologies but, like more versatile animals patronize different environments. Having said that, we must also bear in mind that humans and their versatile domesticated animals are capable of changing locality and even ecology in case of need. These mobile elements can turn into congealed units giving a parochial character to a topographic watershed with its own urban centre and hinterland. Successive waves of conquerors from east and west during stage three had set up a series of casts and moulds, set within the biomes, ecology and topography of the Enclave. The empire-builders of this stage exploited these, creating a string of them to form a province.

In one sense this was a revival of the Harappan system except that there was a definite assertive state organizing a human collective. Unlike the Harappans however, specific lifestyles did not enjoyed sway over large regions. Neither Semitic, nor Turkic settlers liked broad categorization of areas. A small pastoral pocket provided a relay or conduction form of trade. In another sense this stage was a simultaneous re-enactment of Harappan and Gandhara styles: a militant, multi-ethnic style in the north and a relatively peaceful, quasi-plural one in the south. In the south Chach had revived riverine trade and integrated the Harappan regions. These he lost to the Arabs. At about the same time the Hindu-Shahis resurrected Gandhara. Mahmud of Ghaznin acquired first the one, from the Shahis and then the other from two Arab states.

Curiously, this appears to have been the first time that the entire Enclave was unified under one state, albeit briefly, with its capital within it. Perhaps the Kushans achieved a similar unification in the previous stage but it seems unlikely. Religious unity provided by Buddhism having been superseded by Hinduism, soon gave way to Islam under Ghaznavi. Urban housing probably retained its Harappan form but in non-urban areas nomadic adaptations of single space shelters for humans and animals were in use. In some places only hamlets or even a single family settlement counted as a village. Towns began to acquire fortifications and the standard pattern of gates marking the directions of trade or the locations of suburban industry. Although Arabs were able to enforce political and economic unity through trade just as the Harappans had, their structure devolved into its present socio-ethnic mosaic every time the hold of its centralized state weakened.

Note on sources:

For this stage the geographic and historical notices of Muslims in general and the Arabs in particular are extremely useful. They need to be used in conjunction with local or ethnic histories by modern historians of Pakistan who have prepared works in Urdu and English. Historiography of these sources is sometimes in conformity with modern patterns visible in formal academia.
In some cases, it is radically different, conforming to traditional Muslim historiography or some hybrid form developed at any of the several stages of transition through which history has taken the people of the Enclave since the advent of the British. Local and ethnic histories are extremely valuable since they attempt to decipher the process whereby that locality or ethnicity came to take its present shape. Formal 'mainstream' research in Pakistan, when it deviates from the popular study of the freedom movement or study post-independence Pakistan, generally avoid questions of ethnic origin or local evolution in parochial unit. The centre of historical forces within the Enclave shifted to Afghanistan in the second and third phases of this stage. There is thus a tendency to overlook developments from muted annals of non-Muslim states.

We have tried to use these sources to complement each other but there is too much data for it to be used exhaustively in the survey format that has been adopted here. A phase by phase and area by area study of the processes discussed in this stage is needed. A more useful study may build on the preliminary and broadly outlined developments of this phase. Perhaps even more fruitful would be a venture in which multi-disciplinary and multi-lingual teams were to study the socio-cultural watersheds described as urban hinterlands and lifestyles in this chapter.

STAGE – V: 1200-1850 AD

Turkic-Muslim Civilization

For the most part the political orientation of the Enclave remained Delhi-centric despite western demographic ingress. Its religious orientation, however, was mainly dominated by Khurasan and Central Asia. The main routes through the region lay along the northern passages, Multan being focal to the Delhi Sultanate phase and Lahore being central to the second or Mughal phase. The side routes across the Khojak-Bolan or Kurram/Tochi were less frequented for crossing the Indus or the Enclave, more often being used to enter one of several watersheds in its western half. Thus Baluchistan and even Sind, the Derajat and Suleiman ranges were influenced by a common pool of Chagatai successors and their cohort swarming Khurasan and Transoxiana. Sind remained a quasi-independent state dominated by a ruling elite frequently linked with that of the Helmand. Their loyalties were, however, generally commanded by the state which controlled the Gangetic plains. The two northern centres of Lahore and Multan had the status of independent provinces cutting across the Punjab doabs with districts abutting rivers or ensconced within one doab. The Fifth Stage of urbanization in the Enclave bore the imperial stamp of Muslim Turko-Mongol pastoral people from Central Asia.

It reflected a quasi-pastoral lifestyle adapted to a city-based state of the Persian kind which incorporated defensible hinterlands, based on topography, delimited by ecology, defined by ethnicity. When an imperial design proved successful, its incorporated units were gradually drawn into the governance net. By stages, the number and variety of issues addressed by the government were increased; initially impinging upon economic aspects of society but in due course their impact was felt on political or sociological aspects of these communities. The Rajputs were hard hit by the Sultanate of Delhi as were Marathas of the Deccan; neo-Muslim Mongols and Afghans were also moved to resistance by the fiscal policies of state. The Mughals seem to have integrated all these communities except the Marathas, and assimilated them within a political framework. However, they came in conflict with Pathans and Afghans beyond the Indus and the Sikhs of the Punjab in an attempt to regain hold of Transoxiana. Empires that had earlier incorporated parts of these regions during this stage reconciled themselves to the independence of these ethnic groups, one of which acquired a new religion during this stage.

The ethereal mist of pastoral communities that settled on the Enclave during the Vedic period condensed during Achaemenid, Greek, Mauriya, Scythian, Parthian, Kushan, Hun and Sassanid imperialism to form fluid trading tribes. These pastoral ethnicities gradually congealed forming a number of viscous blobs or streaks within the gradually solidifying polity of agrarian societies. They had been exceptions rather than the rule during the earlier three urban stages that have been discussed. A society, very dependent on agriculture, emerged during the fourth and fifth stages. This marginalized the pastoral, trading and military elites of the past,

either reducing them to a state where they became peripheral to society or were absorbed in subordinate military service with limited powers and reduced prestige. Sikhs, Afghans, Rajputs and Marathas all came under this category and later rose as neo-elites after localized ethno-geneses with lower echelons of incoming Turko-Mongols to create parochial administrative units. This led to a parallel lingua-genesis and a socio-political organization to match; revising forces and relations of production due to changes in the economic dispensation of the Enclave.

Some economic change occurred in government policy regarding trading practices and imports or substitution of manpower in the army. Others were due to diversification of private enterprise in commerce, industry, agriculture and technical skills. A variety of transports and routes was monopolized by trading communities on either side of the Enclave, yet leaving some of its many routes unused. Industries became localized due to concentration of skills and raw materials in certain areas but were diversified with the devaluation of sophisticated products that were reserved for elite.

Demand, pushed up by imperial spending, encouraged enterprise and led to surplus production. Artisans and a disempowered elite provided the market for this surplus. In agriculture an integrated production function evolved with cattle breeding communities that diversified into crop farming, causing absorption of pastoral peoples in the rural workforce. On the other hand several pastoral communities lost a major part of the grazing range. These people established the practice of grazing stock on agricultural land after the harvest, thereby enhancing rural productivity through animal manure, crop rotation and soil recycling.

All these activities created a plethora of new rural and urban occupations and professions. Internally, the various communities spawned by settlement of nomads and fixing of ethnic boundaries initiated a process of ethno-genesis. This created several confused identities of mixed linguistic groupings. An example of confused identities may be found in the 'Abbasi' rajas of Pothohar [local honorific as claim of clan with Arab tribal identity]. Many similar examples can be found with respect to the Joya clan[1].

The mixed linguistic groups yielded a large number of languages in the Punjab in particular with a great variety of dialects outlining the mosaic of ecologies within the province. A similar variety of dialects is to be found in Khyber-Pakhtun-Khwa, Baluchistan and Sind. There are fewer claimants for the classification of distinct language in these provinces but words exclusive to district, tehsil, even a community or village indicate a local ethno-lingua-genesis that an ecological community can lay claim to. This demography reflects the final ethnic structure of the Enclave in 1947 AD; it embodies the original settlers who peopled the Harappan cities with several layers of demographic overlay. The layers consist of a representation of Semitic and Greek people, larger samples of West Asian and Caucasian settlers, great variety of Turkic people, and an assortment of Bharati clans with their own ethno-genesis.

The major difference between Turkic people of the Third Stage and those in the Fifth Stage was their faith. During both stages they crossed the Enclave and created states spanning it from one

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[1] For the range of clans and communities claimed by different Joya ghots may be seen in Aftab Joya, *Kitab Qaum Joya*,(Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2012).

or other side; some states held both sides. During the third stage they were Zoroastrian, Shaman, Hindu or Buddhist with some common beliefs and some conflicting ones. In the Fifth Stage, by contrast, both sides were dominated by Muslims vying with each other for political control. What is amazing is that while Muslim conflicts with the non-Muslims were compounded by the sharp digression of beliefs, the comity of faith between Muslims did not ensure cooperation or even amity between them. The Hindus, on the other hand often made common cause against the Muslims even when the Muslim state had become indigenous to Bharat or the Deccan. We may attribute this difference of temperament to the polity of Scythians, Parthians or Kushans. Else we may seek the inspiration of corporate resistance among Rajputs, Marathas and Mewatis in the ethics and morality emanating from the Jain, Hindu or Buddhist value systems.

Urban Configuration [towns/provinces/states]:

The three pronged net of trade routes along mountains, rivers and deserts discussed in the previous chapter became an infrastructure for administration and politics. These routes can be said to have a wxyz pattern. 'W' was Mekran-Baluchistan: Tuwaran-Waihind link; 'X' was the Tiz-Multan: Tubaran-Mansura connection via Kandabil; 'Y' was the Indus-Ravi 'V' with a Mehran extension; 'Z' was the Gandhara-Lahore: Ravi-Indus: Tiz-Debul-Mamuhal connection. During stage five it seems that parts of the W and X connections were lost while Y and Z were still vibrant. Tubaran-Mansura section became the elite lifeline between Helmand and Sind while the Tuwaran-Waihind link yielded a 'T' like option to access Multan from Ghaznin. Thus the Kabul-Peshawar-Lahore,

Ghaznin-Bannu-Multan and Qandahar-Quetta-Thatta routes gave access from the Enclave to Transoxiana, Khurasan and Kirman while Mekran gave way to the gulf but the Persian markets via Baluchistan were not profitable any longer. Disenfranchisement of camel transport may have played a part in realignment of links.

Urban geography of the Enclave at the end of stage four may be culled from Mangbarni, Jawami-ul-hikayat, Minhaj Marvarudi Taj-ul-Maasir, and the history of the Mongols. Some information relating to the Arab period is noted here from Kalich Beg[2] as the author uses place names relating to the era under review. Towns of Tharrah and Bakar/Bakhar in the Sakorah/Sukkur district, and Bhanbore, which was ruined c. 171H/787AD, are mentioned by him. For the Ilbari and Khalji period this source mentions Multan and Uch frequently. Bakhar, Sehwan and Thatta appear in the context of the Mongol invasion of Siestan which was repulsed in the Alai period. Perhaps the most important single source for this stage is the Ain-i-Akbari but Babur-Nama and travels of Ibn Battuta are also vital for completing the mosaic of settlements. As the present chapter will bring our narrative to the threshold of the colonial civilization, accounts of Afghan and Sikh empires have been used to give a rounded picture of the historic evolution of the urban pattern during the six centuries of this stage.

From the narrative of Minhaj, who spent half his life west of the Enclave and half east of it, the image we get of the Enclave is not vivid. He does not have much to say about Pothohar except that it could not sustain the Delhi army. Lahore figures as the north-

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[2] Mirza Kalich Beg, *A History of Sind*, (Karachi: Scinde Classics, 1902): passim.

western outpost, with some hinterland in the Rachna and Chaj doabs. Sind is less well defined than Lahore in his narrative. It seems that in Nasiri times access to Khurasan was only possible by way of Multan despite unsettled conditions there. The rulers of Multan, sometimes subordinate to Delhi and occasionally independent, were generally expected to deal with the Mongols on their own[3]. Minhaj visited Siestan and Sivistan from Ghaznin, these areas were part of the Helmand and Khurasan regions.

Barani has hardly anything more to contribute before the time of Tughluq when Depalpur became prominent. Under his successor, Muhammad bin Tughluq, The area of Sind again comes into focus but its geography is not as vividly outlined as had been the case in the preceding stage. We learn more about it from Ibn Battuta; but his description does not reflect the riverine urbanization of the preceding stage. In view of the list of mahals[4] in the Ain-i-Akbari we may infer that it was not so much lack of urbanization as lack of knowledge of them that was the cause of sketchy descriptions. Delhi ruled over Sind mostly by proxy/as overlord[5] at this time.

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[3] Normally it was he who conquered and re-conquered Sind whenever that region declared its independence.

[4] A mahal or 'location' was the term for a unit of revenue. Larger denominations such as Pargana, Sarkar and Suba were used by the Mughals. Sultanate of Delhi used the concepts of Iqta, Iqlim, Shiqq and Vilayat. The freedom of tax collection and administrative control in the Sultanate was greater at the start but was gradually curtailed by rulers who tried to centralize power

[5] Perhaps a fuller picture may emerge from the sources consulted by Mir Khuda Bakhsh Bijrani Marri Baloch, *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, (Karachi: Royal Book Co., 1974), for the history of the Baloch in Sind.

Sirhindi mentions Multan, Uch and Thatta as the first conquests by Ghori within the Enclave. This the central region along the Indus spine, was expected to facilitate extension towards Gujrat. Failing in this unusual venture, Ghori reverted to more traditional objectives like Peshawar and Lahore. He seems to have preferred the Gomal-Multan route to Lahore. He thereby avoided crossing both the rivers Jhelum and Chenab. Apparently Turk, Mongol and Afghan troops of the 13th and 14th centuries [between incursions of Changez and Timur] were deterred by the rivers and local chiefs of the northern Punjab. Timur and his son used the Gomal-Multan route; another contingent was however, sent via Kabul along the northern passage[6]. Ghori's objective in holding Lahore was to retain an aggressive launching pad for conquest in Bharat and, as he did not hold territory[7] between Lahore and Peshawar, he secured his western and northern flanks by fortification of Sialkot. Subsequent conquests in Bharat illustrate the importance of Tabarhinda-Bhatinda-Hansi [gateway] triangle for conquests in the Gangetic plains, Rajasthan, Gujrat and beyond.

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[6] Timur: Tuzk-i-Timuri, tr. Elliot, (Lahore: Sind Sagar Academy, 1974): 43.

[7] The Khokhars are nominated by several historians but they were by no means the only tribe to resist conquerors from either side between 1200 and 1400 AD. We may infer, that Khokhars were the most aggressive, numerous or prominent among these tribes because of which they are referred to by name; and that among other tribes, local politics induced some [Taxiles for Alexander] to assist the conquerors, as did the Raja of Jammu; also that occasionally these tribes would have only had the option of choosing which opponent to side with: one coming from the east or from the west. Yahya bin Ahmed Sirhindi, *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, tr. Aftab Asghar, (Lahore: Urdu Science Board, 1986): 66ff, hereafter Sirhindi, shows how Khokhars held sway between the Jhelum and Ravi and harassed Ghori.

We will trace the evolutionary stages of the district and provincial boundaries of the Enclave in SECTION A of this stage but the basic structure that emerged may be assessed from the Ain-i-Akbari[8]. For this purpose the Subhas, Parganas and Mahals listed by Abul-Fazal are described and occasionally compared with the description given in the preceding stage. The province of Lahore formed the northeast corner of the Enclave. It included land from Sutlej to Indus. Kabul held the northern channels of the Indus and its tributaries along with Kashmir. All other areas were under the Suba of Multan which controlled Sind as well and extended to the Sea. Lahore was divided in five sarkars defined by the five doabs; however some mahals held land in adjacent doabs also. Multan comprised of three sarkars: Multan, Depalpur and Sind. Depalpur sarkar was further divided into four doabs and Multan into four doabs apart from Bakhar/Rohri; Sind had five divisions based on topographic features like mountains and deserts.

Before the addition of Sind to the Mughal Empire, the subha of, Multan stretched from Firozpur to Sivistan with Khatpur and Shorkot as its northern limits and Jaisalmer at its south end. The sub-units of Sind were: Thatta, Hajgan, Sivistan, Nasirpur, Hala. The centres for the delta region, Kachi plain, riverine Sind and the desert to the east were Thatta, Sehwan, Hala and Nasirpur[9] respectively. Tuhfatulkiram refers to Nanaknai/Hala, Muhammad

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[8] For a list of the divisions see Annexure I for this chapter.

[9] As given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 35; we have reconstructed the geography of the province from the political history reconstructed by Beg to identify sites given in the Ain and compare them with histories used by Beg.

Tur, Adak fort, Nasirpur and Dahkah castle, where Sumra chiefs lived. The source is unreliable for chronology of Delhi Sultanate but geographic information may be accurate. Darak is mentioned as a pargana[10]. Sehwan, Bakhar and Thatta were three units of the Sindhi domain from the sea to Kajreli/Kandeli/Kandi in Mathelo pargana. Hala and Nasirpur were part of Thatta before the Arghun conquered them. Thatta, perhaps called Tharri in Sumra times[11] was 20 days march from the town of Shal. Fatehpur and Ganjabah were towns on the Sibi-Thatta route; across the Lakki hills lay Baghban and Talti, 7 miles from Sehwan.

Lakki hills were made the border between Timuri Sind, Sehwan; and Sammah Sind, Thatta. Bakhar, Sukkur and Rohri were towns in close proximity in 927/1520 like Khairpur, Sukkur and Rohri are today. Alor had been fortified in Chach's time, in this phase Bakhar was fortified at its expense. Baloch tribes conducted raids in the region[12]. Sixty miles west of Bakhar, Chandki [Larkana] was the capital of its own pargana. This administrative structure was changed from 3 to 4 and then 5 units in Mughal times.

Lakki, about forty miles from Uranpur was the site of a naval and land battle shortly before Akbar conquered Sind. His army had to fight for Sind at Kalankot, Nirunkot, Shahgarh, Fatehbagh and Thatta. The campaign started near Nasirpur and spread to Junpur, Sehwan, Sann[13] Thatta, Lakki, Badin, Shahgarh and Fatehbagh.

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[10] As given by Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 41.

[11] Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 67, today a place of that name is south of Kot-Diji.

[12] As given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 47.

[13] As given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 43

The river Alijan was made the boundary between Thatta and Nasirpur, Katiar may have been the first place on Nasirpur side. The Khanwah flowed 6 miles southwest of Thatta. The boundary between Multan and Bakhar in Langah times was river Gharo[14]. Akbar divided Sind between the Tarkhan ruler and his own deputy as northern and southern Sind. He gave Lohri/Liari, Thatta and Sehwan to the Tarkhans and assigned Bakhar to his nominee.

An army from Kandahar invaded the towns of Agri, Chandukah, Sindichah and Kot Machian; a battle took place at the village of Halukhar; the invaders were forced back by way of Sibi[15]. The Thatta-Bakhar route lay through Tughluqpur, Hala/Halakandi, Sehwan and Baburlo 6 miles from Bakhar. Dahar and Machi tribes inhabited Ubaoro, Bati and Amin and oppressed residents of Mathelo and Mahar towns. Mention is also made of Baloch Jats of Sewrai and Mau, near Uch. Bati and Amin were fixed as boundaries of Sind with Baloch c.1520[16]. Arghun ruler from Sind first secured Sivi, obtained the cooperation of Arghun and Hazara tribes to attack Rind and Magsi clans before conquering Multan.

The Langah army used the Drawar fort. A port near Thatta is called Gudah, perhaps another name for Liari. Darbela and Rafiyan were two locations between Bakhar and Thatta where battles took place. A place named Kakralah near the sea was ruled

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[14] As given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 77f; this should be a branch of the Indus near Uch as the present river known by that name is near Karachi whereas this location appears to be somewhere north of Uch.

[15] As given by Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 50.

[16] Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 73f.

by Jam Halah. Shal lay between Qandahar and Sibi, perhaps near Mastung. When that location was conquered, people moved to Fatehpur in Sind, 100 miles from Sibi. From Omar Kot, moving to the Indus in the direction of Multan was the town of Junpur. In the same vicinity was the fort of Bathora[17]. Darbela, Kakri and Chandiko were parganas in Sind[18].

From the above we can see that though it was the western front that was militarily active; urban concentration there was no less than deltaic or riverine Sind. As the Indus makes an inverse doab at Rohri, the land between the two came to form one unit ruled from Alor or Hala and was well populated. Sehwan and Bakhar, controlling lands between the mountains and the river, despite exposure to western incursions had plenty of towns. Perhaps most prosperous was the deltaic region, it had agriculture and industry as well as trade. This region tended to expand less to its west than to its north or east. It is interesting that rulers of Sind considered the prospect of expansion towards Kuch and Kathiawar but not toward Rajasthan[19]. The least urbanized area, then as today, was naturally the desert to the east of the river Indus.

The doabs of Lahore, with 34 parganas, had 60, 52, 57, 21 and 42 mahals of revenue respectively from east to west. The Suba lay between latitudes 74-76E and 72-74E as a parallelogram:31-34N.

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[17] As given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 86 f.

[18] As given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 110.

[19] Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 70 & passim. The cases of Sammah and Sumra rulers are supplemented by Shahbeg; he looked to Gujrat as he was apprehensive that he would lose Helmand and Sind since Babur had reached Khushab. The Arghun ruler in 1524 also conquered Kuch; p. 79f.

Multan generally lay south of 31N, east of a jagged line between 72 and 74E. Revenue mahals for Multan are far fewer per doab, perhaps because the doabs are narrower in the south. Sind Sagar of Multan itself had only four mahals one of them comprised of assorted mauzas. Maximum urbanization in Multan was west of Panjnad with 17 mahals, this province also had sarkar of Bakhar. Sub-units of Sind too did not comprise of many mahals per unit.

In the chronological profile of this stage of urbanization therefore we can say that during the first phase, it was the southern half that was more extensively settled but during the second phase, the northern part of the Enclave acquired larger and more prosperous urban forms. To a great extent the dynamics were similar to the preceding stage. Sind and Multan were established states when the Arabs arrived while the region from Peshawar to Lahore housed fledgling offshoots of Kabul and Central Asia. By the time of Mahmud, however, tables had begun to turn due to incursions from the west. In the present stage, after the decline of Ghaznin, again, Sind and Multan became established states under Karamati and Sammah rulers. With the Ghori push via Multan across the Enclave, Sind and Multan were disturbed but continued to be viable as satellites. This pattern continued till the rise of Timur and the decline of the Sultanate of Delhi.

The Sultanate of Delhi had continued to claim the Enclave as a vassal region while focusing on Multan. Its efforts had not been successful beyond the Chenab; Sind had asserted independence also as often and as far as possible. Timur's whirlwind nonchalant conquests, like Alexander, did not establish a firm government but provided legitimacy to his successors. These were the people

who established new states in Multan and Sind; they enhanced the agrarian economies initiated by the Iranians, nurtured by Rai Chach, fostered by the Ghaznavi rulers and promoted by Sammah and Sumra rulers. On the west bank of the Indus and in the narrow part of the doabs conflict of interest between agrarian and pastoral life led to increase in social, political and economic activity. Both sides underwent a change in factors and relations of production. These were the conditions in which Babur found the region. He naturally had more freedom of action in the north than the south so he exploited conditions, just as Mahmud Ghaznavi had done before him, by focusing on Lahore. He left Sind to the mercy of other Timuris, only expecting allegiance from them.

Unlike Mahmud, however, Babur was able to create a state based in Bharat; like the Kushans who held territories on both sides of the Enclave. His northern span harkened to the Aryan ganasangas of old but his successors also incorporated the Harappan regions in the south. The link across the Rajput territories remained a less used emergency passage but Gujrat could be approached from Sind via the Runn of Kutch. A more important effect of Mughal conquest was that the old established urban regions of Multan and Sind continued in what had become a traditional form of economy and sociology for them but the Lahore Peshawar passage acquired a vibrant new model of socio-economic and political life.

Many old tribes were disenfranchised; new ethnicities emerged at both ends of the Lahore-Peshawar passage. New towns adorned old and new routes in the region creating a vigorous ethno-genesis which exploited the hinterland. Lahore, Rohtas and Attock forts provided a west looking military geography for offensive sorties and potential expansion into Central Asia.

In the south, by contrast, the battery of forts east of the Indus from Drawar down and a few forts west of the Indus were primarily security forts against hostile pastoral, tribal, local communities. In case of need, the western forts were also used for defence if the mountain passes failed to do so. This naturally provided three east to west divisions of the province with the delta as a fourth option in the south and the possibility of a fifth one in the north. With one leaning towards Delhi and the other to Herat and Khurasan, the Multan subha terminated at the western fringe of the Enclave.

Major neighbouring states outside the Enclave

At the end of the preceding stage the state system of Bharat had been disrupted. Rajput states had been thrown into confusion creating a variety of mawasat [rebels: disempowered militants of the overthrown states]; causing repeated resurgence of rajas some subordinate to the Sultanate others who reasserted independence. The Sultanate of the Ilbari Turks for its own part was soon to find that it could not meaningfully assert its authority west of Chenab, the Sothi-Siswal watershed. Northwest of the Enclave, the Ghori state had broken up into parts during the start of the present stage. It was subsumed by a Central Asian state only to be overrun by the first wave of Mongols to come this far south.

This juggernaut penetrated the mountain passes, paused at the river crossing, sent a small contingent across and kept the Delhi Sultanate on its toes, trying to secure a frontier at some natural frontier between Ravi and Chenab. The west and southwest of the Enclave continued to experience a small volume of trade traffic from Sijistan and Kirman but no noteworthy militant or political activity before Timur. In this situation the Enclave experienced a

formation of transient states by adventurers much like the Saka, Parthia and Kushan phases. Perhaps the difference was only in the documentation of their history and estimate of the geography.

What prompted Alptigin to choose Ghaznin rather than Kabul as a capital is not clear, however, it may have some connection with the geography of Khurasan and Samarqand. For the Samanis, the Turks blocked the north and east, naturally they looked south and west and their natural outlet was Khurasan. But moving from Khurasan, a cul-de-sac for a Muslim adventurer breaking away from the Samanis, the hollows of the Hindukush were the only option. Kabul, due to the presence of the Turki-Shahis there, and its westerly orientation of its defence was not a convenient choice.

It had not been high in the expansion targets of the Samanis, nor did it have much allure for their successor from Khurasan. At the same time, Ghaznin provided both, the opportunity of eastward expansion through Sang-Surakh and Sufed Koh region and the link to variety of Turkic ethnicities settled in the Helmand region. It seems that Turk nomads were more at home in desert plateaus or valleys in comparison with hilly terrain. The Afghan were thus able to hold their ground better in such regions creating the two centres and three nodes of Afghanistan. Ghaznin, opening south and west, and Kabul opening north and east with Qandahar, Herat and Balkh as their nodes, gave the two races a set of watersheds for the control of which they competed. Towards the Enclave, the Khojak-Bolan link provided access to Sind; Zamin Dawar to the Derajat; Gomal-Tochi via Mianwali to Multan; and the Khyber to Peshawar and Lahore. All being linked via Herat to Khurasan.

Alptigin chose Ghaznin; the Ghori rulers generally preferred their own land, Firozkoh; Babur, coming from Fergana decided to base himself at Kabul. From Changez to Timur northern Afghanistan was in a state of flux making the Khyber-Lahore route unstable. This rendered its urbanisms desolate and its society fluid and ripe for the ethno-genesis that followed. The Afghan tribes had begun the process of assimilating Mongol-Chagatai tumans. Like the Qaraunas, these passed off either as Turks or Afghans when they entered the Enclave. This region, which had remained a passage and foyer for several races of Central and West Asia, began to acquire an ethnic identity early in Ghaznavi times. This identity finally formed Afghan and Pakhtun entities under Abdali, forged out of an ethnic amalgam[20] and its lingua-genesis.

British intervention in the region brought free interaction between it and the Enclave to an end nearly a century later. For some time, however, the Afghan king exercised the same authority over the Enclave as the Mughal Badshah: vassalage over Sind and varying degrees of control over the Punjab, Baluchistan and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. In 1162/1748 an agreement was reached between Ahmed Shah Abdali and the Mughal Badshah on the same lines

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[20] Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977): 24. Perhaps the Afghans and Pathans were of Greek or Semitic origin but had integrated with the Sakas and Parthia tribes. Like Ghori and Khalji tribes, though not strictly marginalized, they were militant, partly disempowered, local elite. For about a millennium or more, they served a chain of Turkic or Persian overlords before being forged into a nation under Ahmed Shah. We however, suggest that names, Afghan and Pathan, derive from tribes of a pre-Greek origin which may have spearheaded the ethno-genesis that matured over two millennia under Ahmed Shah Abdali.

as with Nadir Shah. The land west of the Indus was treated as belonging to Abdali's state; he was entitled to revenue of Sialkot, Aurangabad, Gujrat and Pasrur [assessed at 14 lakh a year] but the area was to remain part of the Mughal domain[21]. Later, the Chahar Mahal as these districts were called, included Eminabad in place of Sialkot. Ahmed Shah made his way back via Multan and Derajat; these parts became subordinate to him as did the ruler of Kalat. By 1165/1751 Lahore and Multan had also been annexed to the Abdali domain[22], rounding of his eastern frontier.

The Sultanate of Delhi itself was a conglomerate state consisting of variety of Muqtis, Iqlimdars, Rajas and Valis etc. Some of them owed dual or even multiple allegiances depending on claims made upon them. Subordinate rulers often threw off the yoke or fought for territory with each other. When pressed for resources in trying to retain control over one region, the Sultans would let go of another area, especially in the Enclave and in Rajputana.

A case in point is Lahore, the urban centre which had risen to eminence under Ghaznavi rule. When Kabir Khan showed his resolve to defend Multan, the Mongols turned to Lahore which was then under Qarakash. Minhaj reports that its population was mainly of traders who moved in Mongol dominated regions. They obtained right-of-passage from them and were not willing to side with the Delhi government. Lacking local support in Lahore, the Sultanate could only hold the city if the centre could muster a force. This was not possible in the turbulent last days of Bahram

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[21] Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, p. 77.

[22] Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, p. 100 ff.

Shah[23]. The incident also indicates the nature and form of popular participation in governance and how local administration was necessary to supplement central military ventures of the empire.

Between 1250 and 1800 Delhi, like Magadha before it, tried to re-conquer the Enclave. Like the earlier Turkic peoples, and the Aryans before them, the Delhi Sultans and Mughals had come from the north, made a temporary home in the Enclave under Ghori and Babur, passed on to Bharat to establish a permanent base and found themselves cut off from their places of origin. Their response, also like their predecessors was to push their western frontier across the Enclave to their Central Asian origin. Mughals were more successful in their attempt than the Sultans of Delhi but not by much; they managed to hold all of the Enclave even if parts of it were only nominal tributaries. In contrast, the Delhi Sultanate only held a part of the Enclave in a tenuous grip.

The reason is not far to look, nor is it entirely the failing of the Sultans. No doubt the Sultans had not ruled a local polity that was reconciled to the rule of Muslim Turks but it was also confronted by the full force of Mongol onslaught. Without undervaluing the achievement of Mughals, they had more conducive environment within Bharat and across the Enclave. The Safavis and Shaibani's Uzbeks were mild when compared with the ravaging hoards of the Mongols. The mawasat too had given way to the loyal Rajputs who married with generations of Mughals. Marathas and Afghans tried to dominate the Enclave but lost it to its naturalized locals.

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[23] Minhaj, Vol. 2, p. 203.

STAGE V:

Turkic-Muslims Patterns of Life

The unified political entity of the Enclave was established during Ghaznavi rule. It came to an end with the rise of the Seljuks in the west. Gradually a fragmented polity emerged with the Ghaznavi rulers confined to Lahore, a revived Karamati state in Multan, militant Khokhars in the Rachna and Chaj doabs, and assorted tribal leaders between Ghaznin and these local political entities. South of Multan we find another assortment of units which vied with each other for dominance. This model remained in vogue till Timur's conquest but it was broken for brief intervals by Balban, Ala-ud-din and the Tughluq rulers. During the 15th century Sind remained part of the Timuri state system but north of it there was no material change in the political mosaic till the time of Babur. During the Mughal period, Bharat was part of the Transoxiana-Khurasan state system on one hand and centre of its own system of South Asian states on the other. Whereas it is possible to put together a fairly accurate picture of its political life even though the Enclave was largely peripheral to South Asia during the stage, the cultural and social profile is not as vivid, except in the north.

The linguistic data in folklore or local histories preserved in oral or written form and speculative reconstruction of economic and technological evolution in various ecological-topographic biomes is needed to etch out a picture of the region. Some preliminary concepts given in the relevant sections below may prove useful. Such a study must be based on units of physical structures of the biomes and the social structures of the ethnicities that have been identified within the Enclave, particularly during stage V.

There has been a gradual change in our treatment of the material, especially in the preamble of the first chapter in each stage. This is due partly to the fact that we have constantly been approaching closer to the present. Consequently readers are more familiar with the background information of that stage. Partly this was done in order to bring home to the reader the evolution of institutions, so that the conditions of the previous stage become an automatic set of assumptions of analysis and therefore do not need repetition.

SECTION 'A': Political & Administrative

The first part of the Enclave that seems to have come under the control of Ghori after he had become quasi-independent with his capital at Ghaznin, was Multan where Karamatis had reasserted their dominance. It seems that Ghori tried to repeat the feat of Mahmud Ghaznavi by crossing from Multan to Gujrat; he failed miserably. We find that at this time Uch was not part of Multan, this is a situation similar to the Ravi-Hakra divide and the Multan-Iskandah arrangement under Dahir. The expedition however, also highlighted the fact that there was a geographic delink between Cholistan and Rajasthan, and even between Debul and Gujrat.

Next he marched against Peshawar and then Lahore[1]. We find that Multan was neither a viable launching pad for dominating Lahore without gaining control of Peshawar nor was the Bhatinda route a convenient one. Ghori next targeted Debul and coastal regions and then proceeded to Lahore and Sialkot. Thus he started his campaign in the Enclave from the middle of the 'z' that has been described above and traced that pattern in three stages after a failed attempt at the rather unusual diagonal, known to have been used successfully only in Mahmud's penultimate venture. Typical of his political style Ghori left a quasi-independent deputy.

In the northeast part of the Enclave were three contending forces: the Ghaznavis, the Khokhars and the raja of Kashmir. When the Ghori factor was added to the equation, the Ghaznavi rulers and the Khokhars emerged as natural allies; so the raja supported Ghori. Ultimately it was in this region, perhaps by this tribe that Ghori was murdered. His forays in the south were exploratory, perhaps, certain it is however that his hold in the region was short.

Minhaj had no idea of towns between Multan and Debul nor did he know names of coastal towns which were conquered by Ghori. Ghaznin, Lahore, Multan and Delhi form the trapezium linking the two arms of Ghori domains. In this area lay Damyak/Dina, the location of his death; Kirman [Kurram], the area governed by Yalduz; and Multan, the headquarter which gave way to Uch and its knot of rivers, Panjnad [Punjab of Minhaj], the capital of Qubacha's short lived state. Lahore remained a separate centre with a hinterland stretching more to its east, less to its south and

[1] Minhaj, Vol. 1 , p. 705ff for the conquests of this ruler.

even less to the west and north. The Shahi-Ghaznavi contest had rendered this a strategic location for launching in to or out of the Enclave from or for the control of Bharat as the case may be. In the present instance Lahore [which had been the conduit to the east] remained central till Aram Shah came to the throne. It was bypassed thereafter, especially after Qubacha's downfall.

South of Multan, Qubacha's control over Sind too seems more that of an overlord; as if the role of Multan and Brahmanabad had been exchanged, while relations of subordinate units were as they had been under Dahir. Minhaj mentions Debul and Sindustan perhaps meaning Sivistan[2] not including Alor. Mangbarni and a band of Khaljis challenged Qubacha's hold over Debul and Sehwan respectively; perhaps ruled by a subordinate Malik. A separate division named Bakhar is mentioned, this may not be the one near Rohri but a river island near Uch/Panjnad/Punjab. After the death of Aibuk Qubacha was able to expand his Multan based rule only in the east, reaching as far as Bhatinda or Sarswati; the Sothi-Siswal of Harappan times and Iskandah of the preceding stage. His hold over Lahore was occasional and temporary. Because he was one of several contenders for this difficult to manage strategic location it was often controlled by opponents. The weight of history gave this town an importance which was no longer dependent on strategic value, so it became a traditional administrative centre during Mughal times. Mahmud of Ghaznin had undoubtedly preferred the Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi route.

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[2] Sivistan was known to Minhaj [p. 799] Sindustan may more probably be his term for the larger area of Sind in general.

Ghori seems to have been forced to push through to Tabarhinda but after the arrival of the Mongols, the Delhi Sultans preferred the Multan-Gomal link to Ghaznin. The Helmand-Tuwaran route had also lost its place so that Qarlugh's target in the Nasiri reign was Multan which was central to the sultans' defensive strategy and the Mongol offensive. The Muqti of Multan too was in a position to weigh the prospect of adventurism in the centre or acquisition of an independent posture[3]. It is not clear what dynamics dictated Delhi's preference to delink Peshawar but this caused a shift in fortunes of Sirhind, Bhatinda, Samna, Sunam, Panipat and Tarain east of Lahore[4].

Uch had not been a prominent place either in the notices of the Arab geographers or in Albiruni's discourse unless it is identified with Basmand or Sandur[5]. However, under Qubacha it seems to have been used to control Sind. Relying on the sequence in which Minhaj mentions his journey to Multan we expect him to have taken the Walahstan/Bolan-Khojak route to Sind. The town of Ahrot was the cantonment for Qubacha's troops. This seems to have been a river port;[6] it appears that Qubacha placed great

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[3] Minhaj, Vol. 2, p. 40ff see Balban-i-Kishlu Khan and Kabir Khan Ayaz.

[4] The Mongol offensive on Delhi sometimes bypassed the traditional triangle.

[5] Multan, Uch, Ahrot and Bakhar are along the rivers. The Basmand link to the Beas and Sutlej was bound to augment the integrated water of Chenab and Ravi with the Indus itself. Details of these locations are given in the Qubacha-Iltutmish encounter, see Minhaj, Vol. 1, p. 794 and passim.

[6] Every time we mention Sind during the Sultanate of Delhi it is likely that it was this riverine region that was meant; as in the case of Kabir Khan Ayaz, essentially his domain was the same as Qubacha's.

reliance on riverine transport for military control of his state. Uch provided the necessary links to hold the southern 'v' of the Sind-Sagar doab and the western belt between Indus and the Suleiman range for access to the Gomal and Khojak passes. Perhaps his reliance on this route, which had lost its value, was Qubacha's great strategic error/limitation.

A delegation from Baghdad passed through Nagor to get to Delhi because Iltutmish controlled Rajasthan. This indicates his interest in the southern routes and an attempt at bridging the gap via the desert to avoid the Mongol pressure that had plagued Yalduz and Mangbarni among others. Qubacha, Yalduz and Aram Shah had all tried to use the northern passages but Lahore, Sialkot and Peshawar seem to have been more accessible to the horse riding Mongols. Apparently the Khokhars, like the Jats[7] and Med bred good horses and the Sind government was able to procure them for Delhi[8], thus obviating the need for trade in Mongol territory. It may have been such a need that led to Balban's expedition into the Salt range[9]. The Lahore fort was a defensive and offensive structure for Balban. Consequently its hinterland too had to be settled to support this, the last outpost of the Delhi government.

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[7] Abdul Ghani, *A Brief Political History of Afghanistan*, Vol. I, ed. Abdul Jaleel Najfi, (Lahore: Najaf Publishers, 1989): 78 believes that the Jats were descendants of Great Yue-Chi, perhaps the original tribe of the Kushans.

[8] Barani, p. 112. The trade with Khokhars could have been carried on from the Multan centre rather than Lahore while the Jats would have been trading in the Sind region and raising the stock in Baluchistan/Tuwaran as before.

[9] Barani, p. 122.

Iltutmish had been able to hold a portion of the Enclave including Sivistan, Bakhar, Multan, Nandana, Lahore, Sialkot, Debul and Uch: Rachna and Bari doabs [contiguous to Bhatinda-Sirhind] and riverine Sind. Khyber and Gomal regions were under the influence of Kabul throughout the Sultanate period. Lahore and Multan had an ambivalent relationship as vassals of Delhi or Mughals, occasionally having divided loyalties.

Chach had dissuaded the Rajput confederacy from asserting its claim to Sind and forced them to vacate forts they had occupied; perhaps including some forts south of Drawar and east of the Indus. The early Delhi Sultanate experienced struggle for control along the east fringe of the Enclave south of Tabarhinda. Ghias-ud-din Balban pressed Sher Khan's flank in Sind from Nagor[10]. On the other hand, armies advancing west from Delhi preferred to cross to the Enclave closer to Lahore than to Depalpur at this stage[11]. Minhaj had to send some things to Khurasan[12] for which he took the Multan route even though Kishlu Khan was causing disturbance in the Uch and Multan region. This shows that the Lahore-Khyber link was not viable.

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[10] See Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabqaat-i-Nasiri*, tr. Ghulam Rasool Mehr, (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1975), hereafter Minhaj, Vol. 2: 50. An attempt to gain Multan while based in Nagor had been made by Kishlu Khan before.

[11] Minhaj, Vol. 2, p. 63 for the period of Ala-ud-din Masud to repel the attack of the Mongols, and passim; this had been the case even when Iltutmish attacked Qubacha to conquer Multan and Uch. The reason mentioned in the book is that the banks of the river closer to Multan were not suitable for the crossing of a large force. It, seems that the riding skill of the Delhi army did not match the Mongols who could manage to cross at Sarswati.

[12] Minhaj, Vol. 2, p. 69, a hundred ass-loads of stuff and 40 slaves [prisoners].

We are not told what induced Ghori to prefer the Ghaznin-Multan connection via Banyan over the Ghaznin-Peshawar-Lahore route via the Khyber Pass. Perhaps it was his Kohistan origin or danger of Ghuz in the north or topographic and political considerations but it certainly provided a means of diffusing Mongol pressure via Siestan in later times like the case of Hassan Qarlugh. Qarlugh vacated Kirman, Ghaznin and Banyan and retreated to Multan and Sind when pressed by the Mongols in 636 H[13]. According to Sirhindi, the area governed by Balban's elder son, who died at some place between Lahore and Depalpur, extended from Malam in the north to Janati, 60 kos from Thatta[14].

In Ilbari times, especially after the fall of Qubacha, the Enclave remained partly buffer and partly peripheral to the Sultanate. The successors of Iltutmish had their hands full with internal politics. Simultaneously they were pressed hard by vibrant and aggressive Mongols till Helaqu. The unsettled conditions west of the Indus had been alleviated by Balban's time and he seems to have held the greater part of Sind from his son's headquarters[15] at Multan

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[13] Minhaj, Vol. 2, p. 202 and 212ff. Qarlugh typically exemplifies a mid-level adventurer of this age. He served Mangbarni and Changez and aspired for independence and expansion when possible; conquering Multan many times from Kishlu Khan. Uch and Multan remained two separate centres during the Ilbari period; the former [being under Malik Hindu Khan when Qarlugh controlled Multan, 643 H.] could be approached from Beas.

[14] Sirhindi, p. 110.

[15] Zia-ud-din Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, tr. [Urdu] Moin-ul-Haq, (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, 1969): 131ff, hereafter Barani. Perhaps this area was integrated under the firebrand cousin of Balban, Sher Khan.

which had become a centre of Muslim culture by this time with its khanqahs and its Persian poets. These conditions did not last long; Firoz Khalji was forced to defend the Sultanate, east of Beas in the Bhatinda triangle. Several Mongol groups preferred to settle in the Sultanate[16] or in the Enclave.

Some of these Mongols came into conflict with martial peoples who had settled in the Enclave earlier or with those appointed to administer it by the Sultanate. Ala-ud-din Khalji had to defend his empire at Jalandhar; he also tried to push the Mongols out of the Enclave after he conquered Multan[17]. While his success against the Mongols in the southerly routes via Sivistan and Multan is known, no mention is made of Lahore as a defensive venue under him. Perhaps because it was then a dependency of Depalpur[18] or it had again become peripheral to the Sultanate.

The Mongols attacked along the Tulumba route in 1307-8 AD, indicates that passage across the south of Bari doab had become easier; however Ali Beg took a route along Himalayan foothills[19]

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[16] Barani, p. 333f. The neo-Muslims killed during Kaikubad's reign would have belonged to some of the earliest ones from this category. The first specific mention of such settlers is the one referred here, early in the Khalji period.

[17] Barani, p. 379, gives the attempt at extending the Sultanate to Sivistan again.

[18] Barani, p. 471-4.

[19] Barani, p. 469. Ambroha is located east of Delhi; the move may have been tactical, to approach the capital from the rear or incidental as a suitable place for descent from the high ground. The Mongol failure in conquering Delhi during the 14th century was partly due to strong defence by Sultans, partly because Mongols had lost the unity of command and partly because the alternate route through the foothills did not give them a military edge while traditional routes were unbearable for the Mongols.

to advance to Delhi. Tulumba, Depalpur, Pakpattan, Multan and Uch form a quintet of cities crucial for controlling the Enclave[20]. They nurtured families that furnished Sultans for Delhi, guarded the frontier and regulated traffic to Delhi; perhaps the town of Dalili near Sutlej was its eastern outpost. Tughluq appointed governors at Bakhar and Sehwan but the Sumras held Thatta[21].

Ibn Battuta, who travelled in the Enclave from 734-742 H[22], notes that agriculture depended on floodplain irrigation, like Egypt. The central administration of the region was located at Multan while the local administration of Sind was under a governor at Sivistan-Sehwan[23]. It was a ten days journey from Sehwan to Multan and 50 days from there to Delhi but it took only five days for the post to get there. Along the route there was a village after every $^{1}/_{3}$rd miles; the efficiency of the postal system was such that fresh fruit was sometimes transported from Khurasan to Delhi. The traders of Multan carried on a lucrative business of loaning money and goods to travellers for presenting at court because the loanee was sure to be quite solvent due to the sultan's gifts. Ibn Battuta came to Janani, a large and beautiful town with a beautiful bazaar after two days journey, inhabited by Sumras since long. The location

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[20] Barani, p. 740 indicates that all of them except Tulumba were launching pads for southward riverine assault. Probably the edge that Qubacha enjoyed.

[21] Kalich Beg, op. cit., p.18.

[22] Ibn Battuta, *Ajaib-ul-Asfar*, an Urdu translation of the relevant portions of the travelogue of Battuta, tr. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Muhammad Husain, (Islamabad: NIHCR, 1983): 1; he arrived at the Indus on 1 Muharram 734.

[23] Battuta, p. 1 and p. 164f Ibn Battuta makes a specific statement.

of this town could be in the vicinity of Thatta[24], Wunnar was their leader who rebelled in Sehwan. Next Battuta arrived at Sehwan under Delhi, where a contingent of 1800 horse was stationed[25].

It is obvious that the west bank of Indus was directly subordinate to Delhi at this time and the harbours of Liari[26] and Thatta were in use. Though it is not clear at what point Ibn Battuta landed on the Indus, it seems likely that he came via the Khojak and Bolan passes, perhaps near Rohri[27]. He moved south till he came to Liari, he then turned northward reaching Bakhar/Sukkur and went on to Uch and Multan. He praises Uch for its beautiful bazaars and sturdy architecture. Ten kos short of Multan one had to cross a narrow river by boat. Here the customs inspector assessed the value of baggage, levying 25% duty on goods and 7 dinars per horse. Ibn Battuta next gives the name of a town, Abohar, perhaps west of Pakpattan. This place must be different from the famous of the same name[28]. Since the place is referred to again as two stages from Multan, the likelihood is that it is a place in the Enclave. At that time distance between Sutlej and Beas was 50 kos, Beas-Ravi 17 kos, Ravi-Chenab 20 kos, Chenab-Jhelum 20 kos and Jhelum-Indus 68 kos along GT road.

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[24] Battuta, p. 7, the translator is inclined to locate the town between Uch and Sukkur but that is far from the Sumras.

[25] Battuta, p. 10f.

[26] Battuta, p. 16 for the assignee at Liyari and p. 10 for the assignee of Sehwan.

[27] Thus he was the second prominent historian of the Enclave in this stage to take this route, the first being Minhaj.

[28] Battuta, p. 28 and p. 165.

Thatta does not seem to have been pertinent to events of the Delhi Sultanate before Muhammad bin Tughluq[29]. The route taken by his successor is illuminating for understanding the equation of the Sultanate with the Enclave, especially its southern portion. Taghi and the ruler of Thatta[30] was unwilling to submit to the Sultan but Firoz was insecure after the death of the Sultan. Sivistan was a safe haven to which he turned for immediate security across the river. From here Firoz made his way to Bakhar, Uch, Multan and Depalpur to arrive at Ajodhan. Firoz is supposed to have built a fort on the bank of Sangrah Lake during his tour in Sind. Mongol armies had approached the Delhi Sultanate from various routes: from the Himalayan foothills[31], to the Zamin Dawar-Multan route in the south. Perhaps commanders chose routes most suited to the transportation skills of the various ethnicities in their army. Along the Samna, Depalpur, Multan and Sivistan axis[32] Muqtis were casual about their commitment to Delhi since the centre could not be relied upon to provide assistance against Mongol attacks.

We see reflections of the Multan-Tuwaran trade nexus in this episode as well as the Amri-Sorath link. Depalpur does not seem

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[29] Barani, the first mention of the town is on p. 708. However, the Tarikh-i-Masumi as quoted by Kalich Beg, op. cit. p. 15ff would have us believe that it was prominent even in Ilbari times. He mentions a tribe called Jarejah and gives the name of the village at which M b T first fell ill as Thari and another place called Kandal near it where he rested.

[30] Kalich Beg, p. 20 Taghi's cohort were Sumra, Sammah and Jareja tribes.

[31] Sirhindi, p. 147.

[32] Sirhindi, p. 168f , the umara of the Enclave who were approached by Ghazi Malik to contend with Khusrau Khan.

to have been significant before the Khaljis who may have preferred it over Lahore to enter the Bari Doab perhaps it came to the limelight as Tughluq's headquarters. Whereas Firoz Shah's efforts may have secured Sirhind and Samna to the extent that his son was able to use the latter as an alternate capital, it may have made the defence of Multan less tenable. Kalich Beg is of the view that Sammahs ruled Sind and Langahs ruled Multan at this time[33]. Both were vassals of the Sultan of Delhi vying for control of intervening regions with each other.

Sehwan was a preferred exit from Sind as Mongol control reached across it to Khurasan and Iraq[34]. It provided access to a Baloch watershed around Khuzdar, opening into Helmand and Kirman foyers, less turbulent areas within the Mongol lands. Between these directions was a watershed where no state could establish control [between Mekran, Tuwaran, Khuzdar and Kalat]. In this the wandering Baloch found an ideal ecological and sociological watershed where they could revive their dying pastoral lifestyle. An important consequence of the Mongol state system was the de-urbanization of Baluchistan and re-fragmentation of its polity into its present tribal form; no subsequent administration has been able to revive its urban tradition after the end of Arab rule.

Bhattis and Khokhars of Depalpur became more independent c.1350, so the governor from Delhi had to seek alliance with one of them. To enter the Lahore district from Depalpur one crossed

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[33] As given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 47; with reference to Timur's invasion.

[34] Timur, p. 10, mentions that territories of Kunduz, Bakalan, Kabul, Ghaznin and Kandahar had been bestowed upon his son, Pir Jahangir by him. This route was ideal to bypass a hurdle set up by a ruler in Transoxiana.

the Sutlej at Barhara and Beas near Dohali to reach the town of Bhandoyat. Shaikha Khokhar turned back from Ajodhan to face the Delhi army at Samuthala, 12 miles from Lahore. During the siege of Uch, Timur's army had an encounter at a site on the river Beas named Tarmatma. It is obvious from the above that till 1400 the Beas ran a long course between the Ravi and Sutlej, unlike its present channel which joins the Sutlej considerably further north, in the vicinity of Lahore[35]. Whereas Depalpur is first mentioned in the context of Tughluq, Tulumba first comes into notice during the invasion of Timur. This was not a new town but it seems to have become important enough to defend only a short time before Timur conquered it. Sirhindi says Pakpattan/Ajodhan was located on river Dhanda[36], perhaps a branch of Sutlej. He also mentions Talwandi Kamal Main, which may be the town of Kamalia.

The Sultans did not generally aspire to hold Peshawar or even Jhelum; they often took the route to Lahore or Sodhra[37] to enter the Enclave even when moving towards Multan. Occasionally the Chaj or Sind-Sagar doabs were targeted but generally the political influence of Delhi was limited to the Bari doab. Sialkot is not mentioned in the context of Delhi Sultanate although Khokhars were its main opponents in the region. Minhaj reports that there was dearth of fodder in the Pothohar. We can infer that it was partly due to the Mongol raids but mainly because the region was

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[35] This is endorsed by Ain-i-Akbari: the Mahals of Depalpur and Multan are in doabs separated by the Sutlej and the Beas rivers.

[36] Sirhindi, p. 271.

[37] Minhaj, Vol. 1, p. 841.

no longer as productive as it had been in Jaipal's time. The Mongol inroads may be divided into two periods of one century each, 7th/13th and 8th/14th century, led by non-Muslim and Muslim Mongols respectively with centres in the north-east and west.

Muhammad bin Tughluq conquered almost the entire Enclave but was not able to construct public works due to his preoccupation with the Deccan. Firoz Shah tried to promote agriculture in a peripheral part of the Enclave, digging a canal from the Sutlej to Ghaghara[38]. This may have been an effort to integrate Bharat with Punjab and set up a defensive zone in the Tabarhinda-Bhatinda-Hansi triangle to close the northern passage which was frequented by the Mongols. The Tuzk of Timur, like the memoirs of Jalal-ud-din Mangbarni, gives a glimpse of changes that had occurred since Mahmud Ghaznavi, from a Central Asian perspective. Timur considered the Punjab and Sind rivers as the first defence line of Delhi; the second was its forests [interspersed between its rivers]; the third were rajas and zamindars who obstructed the passages[39]. All three deterrents collectively depict conditions in the Enclave. Perhaps because Central Asian deserts were home to him, Timur did not notice the deserts and forests adjoining river.

Like Mangbarni, Timur crossed Thal [desert/chol], to get to the Indus and move via Tulumba on toward Multan. Though he claims that rajas of the Jud hills had submitted to him, Timur chose the waterless desert rather than fertile, water abundant,

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[38] Sirhindi, p. 213. This was an eastward looking development work near the eastern limit of the Enclave.

[39] Timur, pp. 7-8. Zimidar [holder of land: sometimes a self-sufficient villages] became part of conglomerate states from time to time.

routes through the Pothohar. In the river Jhelum was an island near Khushab with a fort and moat, its ruler escaped by boat toward Uch[40]. At five or six day's journey from the location of this fort Timur arrived at Trimmu where Jhelum met Chenab; he found a fort at the confluence. Crossing the turbulent river he went to Tulumba and a place called Jal on the bank of the Beas opposite Shahpur[41]. Timur moved against Nusrat Khokhar who set himself up near a lake on the Beas. The village of Shahnawaz was a granary and close to it was Janjan, a town eight miles from Multan[42]. At this time the rainy season began which was fatal for Timur's horses. This was the southernmost route used by Timur's forces; a middle route was used by the contingent sent ahead from Kabul. Timur used a northern route, via Jammu and the upper reaches of Chenab and Jhelum to get to Nandana on his way back.

He mentioned the crossing of the Jumna[43] to reach Nagarkot and conquer Jammu. He calls the river passing by the town of Jammu by the name of that town and then the river Chenab; which leaves three rivers of the Punjab unaccounted for. The river Jhelum is called Jhelum at that town and Nandana [five kos from Jhelum town] near that town according to Timur. He says that the Jhelum joins the Chenab above Multan while the Ravi joined them below Multan. The Beas joined them before they reached the Indus near

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[40] Timur, p. 22ff .

[41] Timur, p. 28. It seems that since the river is called Beas, Shahpur is a place other than the one near Khushab.

[42] Timur, p. 32. The place seems to have been located to the west of the Beas.

[43] Timur, p. 78ff.

Uch; his names for the combined waters were Punjab and Sind[44]. Timur exited the Enclave as he had entered it, via the Jud hills to Sambast, fort Baruja, Chol-i-Jalali, Bannu, over the Hindukush[45].

Jasrath Khokhar, an adventurer from the Chaj and Bari Doabs made a bid for Delhi two decades or so after Timur. Forced to retreat to the Enclave, he made a stand west of Sutlej by securing all the fords/pattans. Subsequently he retreated behind the Beas, the Ravi and Chenab successively; stopping at Bohar and Tekhar. Antipathy between the Khokhars and the raja of Jammu continued in the 15th century. The Khokhars were comfortable in foothills and preferred to cross Ravi and Chenab in the hilly region towards Jammu. Effectively the Sultanate ended at the Sutlej or Beas; Bari doab being a buffer zone[46]. The pattan at Buhi it seems was a favourite pattan for crossing the Beas during the adventures of Jasrath Khokhar, Kasur figures as the last outpost of the Enclave.

Multan was the southern limit of this theatre of war with Depalpur and Tulumba were other points forming a 'V' leading to Lahore. Khatpur[47] and Sivar/Shorkot[48] were two river crossings on Ravi and Chenab respectively, north of Multan. These places became the northern limits of Multan province under Akbar. The river had

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[44] Timur, p. 91.

[45] Timur, p.91f.

[46] Barani, p. 151, Balban tried to ensure that Mongols did not cross the Beas.

[47] Sirhindi, p. 324. The course of the Ravi took it beyond Multan at this time and a branch of the river encircled the fort. Lahore was termed Mubarak-abad at the time; perhaps Khutpur/ Khatibpur was a Pattan south of it.

[48] Sirhindi, p. 327.

been relatively dry for some time c.1400. A small town called Khizarabad near Multan also figures in a power struggle between Delhi and Multan. Perhaps Sahiwal is mentioned as Sahniwal in the context of the Khokhar wars[49].

Generally we find in the historiography of Muslim states that in one set, the towns of Central and West Asia [especially in the Khurasan and Transoxiana region] are prominent and many. In the other set, particularly concerned with South Asia, towns of Bharat are similarly well represented. In both sets, however, important towns of the Enclave are few and are mentioned less frequently as they are marginal to both sets. They come into focus more often in periods when the states on either side of the Enclave are involved in a contest for supremacy over foyers of the cusp.

It seems that the Turkic races [even the Kushans and Huns?], and Mongols from Changez to Aurangzeb did not like the Hindukush and the Pothohar region. This was the land of the Afghans and their ilk, perhaps the Parthians or Sakas. Perhaps the so called Aryans came from a region of highlands and lowlands and tended to gravitate toward similar topography. The Helmand basin, the Gangetic plains, even deserts of Iran, Central Asia and Rajasthan seem to have attracted the Turkic settlers on a regular basis. They seem to have avoided settling in the Afghan highland and moved across the Punjab plains with the same urgency that is apparent in Alexander's trek along the Jhelum, Chenab and Indus rivers. This pattern is repeated in the Sultanate of Delhi; the focus of power among the successors of Timur circumvented Afghanistan to get

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[49] Sirhindi, p. 334.

to Sind or made a dash across the Pothohar to access the plains of Bharat often leaving the northern Enclave and Kabul to the mercy of the Pathans, with the hope that they would remain subservient.

It is difficult to identify administrative boundaries and subunits during the later Sultanate period. However it is certain that Lahore and Multan were separate administrative centres and generally Sind was indirectly governed from Multan. In the Mughal period the Ain-i-Akbari makes the demarcation much easier. Here we will map the provinces and districts of the Enclave as described by Ain-i-Akbari. Based on this data we have tried to reconstruct conditions during the Sultanate as reflected in its historiography, especially the text of Ibn Battuta. Next we will present the picture as evident from the narrative in Babur's Tuzk.

Arghuns considered themselves vassals of Timuris and offered Multan as a present to Babur after conquering it; which indicates the orientation and conglomerate nature of Sind in that age. When Babur entered the Enclave via the Khyber and Jamrud he found the Gagiani Afghans in the area of Peshawar. He was encouraged to move south toward Kohat where he gained many cattle and buffalo as well as quantities of grain for his horses but not the riches he was promised by his advisor on local affairs[50].

Next Babur moved against the Bangash and Bannu. He allowed Darya Khan's son to enlist the Yusufzai and Gagiani to cross the Indus in his name and allotted the Dilazak region to him. Babur himself took the Hangu road from Kohat and went on to Thal on his way to Bannu. He took the gosfand-liyar [sheep-road] rather

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[50] *Babur-Nama*, p. 230.

than the more frequented one of travellers and armies. This region was cultivated by the Kurani, Kiwi, Suri, Isa Khel and Niazi tribes of Afghans. Babur made his way back to Kabul via the Gomal but took the southern route through dasht duki to a small town called Bilah in the Suleiman range dependent on Multan[51]. He continued south to Sakhi Sarwar and then to Ghaznin but faced shortage of food, particularly fodder; essentially this foray was along the west bank of the Indus down to Sakhi Sarwar.

Babur's next foray was to Kalat, ruled by a subordinate of Zunnun Arghun, which he subdued but did not appoint his own nominee. In the north, Darya Khan's son was close to the modern town of Hasanabdal and had enlisted the Yusufzai in his service along with some Jats and Gujjars[52]. Perhaps after a gap of eleven years, during which he looked to north and west, Babur again moved towards the Enclave. He entered Bajaur and Malakand trusting the Dilazak[53] Afghans under Darya Khan's son. Next he entered Swat, the land of the Yusufzai, a tax of 4000 ass-loads of rice was levied on them bringing ruin to the land. Rhinos were so common that the area east of Indus was called Kargkhana, home of Rhinos.

Fourteen miles, 7kos, from Bhera are the Koh-i-Jud or the Salt Range, they stretch for 14 miles from here to Din Kot on the Indus. Babur says they are called by this name due to the name of a tribe named Jud inhabiting the region. He says that another tribe

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51 *Babur-Nama*, p. 237.

52 *Babur-Nama*, p. 250, another mention of Gujjars in Swat is found on p. 278.

53 *Babur-Nama*, p. 367f.

of the region are the Janjua. Traditional apportionment of produce had been settled between them, it was upheld. None of their rulers could transgress the pact according to Babur.[54] This included tax on oxen, household and military service per home. The head of a clan was called Rai while subordinate heads were called Malik.

Babur says Khushab, Chenab and Chiniot had belonged to the descendants of Timur. They had since transferred their allegiance to Lodhi Sultans; he therefore felt that he had a legitimate claim to them. The area between the Koh-i-Jud and the river Jhelum would thus be the first of Lodhi's lands that Babur conquered. It seems that Baloch tribes had settled near Bhera and Khushab as well. In this region also[55] were some Yusuf Khail, Kakar, Jat and Gujjar tribes; from here Babur again made his way back to Kabul.

What had been gained in the eleven year interregnum seems to have been temporary control of the Sind-Sagar doab[56]. Later in the same year 925/1519, Babur again crossed over into Gandhara [Peshawar, Swat and Charsadda][57]. The region was inhabited by the Yusufzai, Dilazak, Niazi and Afridi tribes. In the two decades that Babur ruled Kabul, his hold over Swat and Bajaur[58] was not

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[54] *Babur-Nama*, p. 379.

[55] *Babur-Nama*, p. 387.

[56] This control was lost in a few months; see *Babur-Nama*, p. 399.

[57] This is an unusual year, it is entirely within the solar year [ending on 23 Dec.] the case in point occurring in Oct./Shawwal, see *Babur-Nama*, p. 411 ff. He did not get far before he was forced to turn back for Badakhshan.

[58] *Babur –Nama*, p. 427-429.

strong; in the south, his subordinate chief, Shah Shuja Arghun, held Shal, Mastung, Sivistan and part of Sind via Bolan.

Babur may have made his way to Sialkot on an earlier foray but he came to Lahore first in 930 H or 1523 AD. This province, perhaps then terminating at Bhera and the river Jhelum, was under a rogue Lodhi chief; it fell to Babur so went on to Depalpur. It is possible that the area near Multan already housed some Baloch tribes at this time[59]. In the month of Safar 932/Dec.1525, Babur made his decisive move for Delhi. He came to Peshawar via Ali Masjid and hunted rhinos. The Indus was crossed and the Haru at Kacha Kot. From here, he moved along foothills towards Sialkot and found streams covered with ice, which was unusual. Around Hati/Hatya was Gakhar [Kakar] territory; Babur camped below Balnath Jogi's hill which connects with the Jud hills. The river is called Bihat [the name used by Albiruni]; Babur crossed it below Jhelum town[60]. He got to Bahlolpur after crossing the Chenab and told his partisans to join him at Sialkot or Pasrur. In the vicinity of Sialkot were the Jats and Gujjars who took advantage of the disturbed conditions to harass people fleeing there. From here Babur made his way to Kalanaur and Malot[61] on the bank of the Beas and then to Panipat. Thus he passed along the northernmost

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59 *Babur-Nama*, p. 440f. Also *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, op.cit. This is the time of Chakir Rind and the Baluch conquest of Punjab. How these adventurers avoided a clash with each other is a mystery. The likely reason is that the Mughals did not target the area till the time of Akbar.

60 *Babur-Nama*, p. 450-53.

61 *Babur-Nama*, p. 458f, naturally this is a different place from the site of the same name on the Indus.

route across the Enclave to confront the Lodhi Sultan. He did not see Multan, Depalpur or Sind at all.

Babur's imperial design reinstated Lahore as the prima donna of the Enclave and Akbar's domain used it as the lynchpin that bound Kabul to Delhi. Extending way beyond Kabul, Akbar's Empire wove the Khyber, Peshawar, Hasanabdal, Jhelum, Gujrat and Lahore nodes of the Enclave with Jalandhar and Delhi. With the main capital located at Agra, Lahore gained the status of alternate capital when a Badshah or his deputy needed to address matters in the western part of the realm. The Suba of Multan, declined in importance, it consisted of the Sarkar of Depalpur and Patta Sad Gran apart from the Sarkar of the provincial capital, Multan. Depalpur consisted of several towns called Lakki[62] and did not include Tulumba, Pakpattan or any town[63] known before the Mughal era. In the south, the province terminated at Khanpur.

The province of Lahore included Jalandhar, Patti Haibatpur and Batala most of them were outside the Enclave. Jalandhar included Sultanpur, Sheikhupura and Mailsi in the Enclave; and Haibatpur included Kasur; the Swad of Lahore had areas east of Pakistan's modern boundary. Thus the province of Lahore may be identified essentially with Harappan Sothi-Siswal. The lands which were clearly part of the Enclave in this province included the Sarkar of

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[62] The word probably means tail or terminal location. These locations are at the terminus of the Enclave in the Sutlej-Beas doab and often mark terminal regions that an ethnic group occupied, the name signifies exactly that.

[63] *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 751f. We mean the famous towns of the region. This might indicate the fact that administrative divisions for revenue were not always centred at important urban centres of trade, industry or strategic towns.

Pasrur which comprised Pasrur, Mekri Mehsarur, Patti Zafarwal, Patti Barmak[64] and Hamingarh. Sarkar Rohtas included Rohtas, Kari, Karyali, Behni, Andarhal, Losadha, Sarohi, Malot, Rai Kidari and Nandanpur. Sialkot included Sialkot, Mankot, Wan, Sodhra, Narot, Renha, Jamia Catha, Marat and Mankukanar [or perhaps Mandakkur?]. Sarkar of Hazara had more subsections than other western segments of Lahore province but on the whole the eastern sarkars had more urban centres[65].

The boundaries of Lahore from the Sutlej to the Indus were 180 kos and Nehar to Chaukandi [north-south] 86 kos. To its north lay Kashmir and southeast was Multan. The town of Sultanpur lay on the bank of the Beas. Along the Chenab lay Bahlolpur, Sodhra and the Hazara regions. Bhera was located on the river Jhelum. Attock, Banaras and Chopara lay along the Indus that, according to Abul-Fazal, flowed on to Baluchistan[66]. The Mughal name for the Rachna and Bari doabs was the same.

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[64] Like the term Lakki, the word Patti is a remnant of the Afghan-Lodhi polity. Land tenure in the NWFP of the British was based on these divisions. As a system this is called the Pattedari and worked for Pathan/Afghan tribes

[65] Abul Fazal, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Urdu tr., Maulvi Muhammad Fida Ali Talib, (Lahore: Sang-i-meel, n. d.) Vol. I: 744f.

[66] *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 1018f, the fact that the lower reaches of the Indus are associated with Baluchistan in the Ain gives us an idea of the 'Baloch' regions in the Mughal frame of reference. This is particularly enlightening because many modern analysts marvel at the 'Baloch' tribes of the southern Punjab and western Sind due to colonial terminology. However *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, op. cit. p, 226f, gives a well-researched account of the Baloch advance up to Satgarah [Paata sad grah/gran] of Ain-i-Akbari in the province of Multan near Depalpur.

The Central Asian connection was a remarkable feat of Mughals. They, like the Parthians had managed to reach across the Enclave to their land of origin and hold it for a considerable length of time. This connection, however, provided a recurrent source of varied problems; some of a religious nature, others ethnic or political. Safavi and Uzbek border conflicts were compounded by Afghan ethnicity and Shia and Roshanaya religious issues[67]. With the decline of Mughal power, Iranian and Afghan adventurers tended to control the north [Mughal] route of the Enclave and continued the policy of indirect control over Sind. As their control in Bharat was of the same kind as that of Ghaznavi rulers, Multan provided the link between the Punjab and Sind; Lahore fell to the Sikhs. This was a period when small states and local politics dominated the scene and those who held Afghanistan had imperial prospects.

We have noted above that from the time of Timur, the ruling elite of Sind were dominated by his ethnic group. We must recognize also that the eastern Baloch Mountains were part of the domain of Sind. Arghuns and Tarkhans generally looked west or North for leadership but the Mughals after Babur occupied Sind from the east. During the century and a half between Timur and Akbar, Sind kept a western political orientation, mostly independent, as a weak and divided state. From then onwards, however, it was a satellite of Delhi; the British too adopted the practice of absorbing satellite princely states during the colonial period. In the Muslim period, some rulers of Multan, Bakhar and Thatta kept up an

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[67] Abdul Ghani, *A Brief Political History of Afghanistan*, Vol. I, ed. Abdul Jaleel Najfi, Lahore: Najaf Publishers, 1989): 147 ff. People of Swat, particularly the Yusufzai and the Momand were embroiled with the Roshanaya.

internecine struggle for dominance over different locations while others appealed to the Delhi government for patronage. Alor was under the ruler of Bakhar but Karur and Fatehpur near Multan had been assigned by Akbar to another noble. Ubaoro was 80 miles from Bakhar and some distance from it was Mathelo; this region had split loyalties between Multan and Sind. Bakhar and Rohri often remained part of a single administration but Sukkur was often under a separate government or region[68].

Akbar had a strong hold over the Khyber-Lahore route in contrast with the weak presence of Delhi Sultans. This gave his successors the option of linking the Enclave to Afghanistan. Mughal interest in Kabul gave Lahore an edge as the primary urban centre of the Enclave. It came to be used as rear headquarters for operations against the Safavis and Uzbeks. As the Mughals had established their control over Qandahar also the Indus could be accessed from north or south. In appointing Ghazi Beg governor of Qandahar as well Jahangir had revived the Helmand-Sind connection; placing both regions under one command[69]. When the Mughals annexed Thatta its entire revenue was placed at the disposal of its governor with no share for the centre. Under Shahjahan the southern nodes of the Enclave linked with Qandahar included Bakhar, Multan and Sivistan[70]. This nexus became dominant in the Sindhi politics

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68 Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 107-8 in particular, the agents of Akbar used this division but Thatta was not yet subordinate to Delhi; which is why an army was sent against it in 982 H/1572 AD by the Mughal emperor.

69 Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 122.

70 *Shahjahan Nama*, op. cit., p. 223.

of the Kalhora and Talpur periods due to the decline of the Mughal Empire. The Afghans were able to exploit the northern link for a short period but the southern link remained effective even when the Sikhs ruled Punjab.

In Lahore a canal was dug for maintenance of its gardens shortly after the conquest of Qandahar[71]. Because the Mughal frontier in the northwest bordered on Central Asia, they lost interested in the defence of the Khyber or Margala passes. Consequently, Mughal gardens at Wah and the town of Hasanabdal did not resemble Kushan Taxila or Harappan Saraikola. Jalalabad, Ningarhar and Swat were in relation to each other as they may have been in part of Mahmud's reign. An arc from Qandahar to Agra via Lahore held the Enclave in a pincer like hold till Aurangzeb's time. The partial collapse of the Mughal state system before the third battle of Panipat precipitated into a complete reshuffle when the British replaced the Mahratta as custodians of the Badshah.

The *Tarikh-i-Masumi* and the *Tuhfatulkiram* show how the orientation of Sind changed[72] during the 9th/15th century from its southeast axis to a north-western one. In a sense Timur's invasion revived the Mehrgarh-Mundigak link in place of Dholavira-Amri when the Arghuns took over government from the Sammah. The Sumra chief may have remained subservient to Delhi till Taghi's revolt. Despite some anachronisms in Kalich Beg's narrative[73],

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[71] *Shahjahan Nama*, op. cit., p. 257f. Reflecting an enhanced sense of security.

[72] As given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., pp. 35-50.

[73] Particularly with reference to Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq, pp. 42-3. Despite the errors of time, we may assume that there is not much error in terms of space so far as the arena in Sind is concerned. Siestan

the link of Thatta with Gujrat was a reality throughout the 8th/14th century. Equally real was the involvement of Sind in the politics of the Central Asian state system that emerged after Timur. Sibi, southeast of the Bolan Pass and Kandahar northwest of Khojak became the centre-stage and the fort of Fatehpur [100 miles from Sibi toward Sind] a safe haven for armies retreating toward Sind.

One such army, collecting at Fatehpur, drew on contingents from Ganjabah nearby. It crossed the district of Baghbab and moved to Talti near Sehwan, on to Lakki hills to approach Thatta from the south, across the bank of the Khanwah. Arrangements made at the end of this invasion left the area from Lakki to Thatta under the Jam while the area north of the hills was placed under an agent of the conquering army[74]. The important fact to be noted here is that mountains served as boundaries rather than the river which served as an integrating factor for Thatta. Arghun and Langah rulers maintained a vassal like relationship with Mughals and Sher Shah. When Mughal rule in Bharat was revived; the area north of the Lakki hills came under the Tarkhans. At least one party of the Tarkhans seems to have liked the riverine mode of transportation for warfare. Mirza Baki assigned Sehwan, Badin-Chachikan Nasirpur and Nirun Kot to his sons. He retained Thatta for himself, thus dividing lower Sind into five parts.[75]

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and Zamindawar had retained their importance in the post-Changez era; they became more important for Iran after Timur.

[74] As given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 64ff.

[75] Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 101,

In 1095/1683 there was a famine in Sind; many towns became depopulated[76] weakening the Mughal hold. The days of Timuri local rulers, Tarkhan and Arghun, of Sind were coming to a close. An old, settled family, perhaps of Arab stock, called Kalhoras, was coming to power. Arab traders and military men or religious leaders settled in the Enclave during the 1st and 2nd centuries H. An Arab settler in Mekran gained control over Kahrahbela and the Barlas fort from the Gujjar tribe. In due time his descendants spread over parts of Sind and came to be known as Kalhoras[77]. Lasharis of this clan live in hills of Roh Kacha, especially Bhaj; they also occupied Chinah Beli, Rohri, Sangrah and Khambhat.

A canal called Ladkanah[78]/Larkana was dug for the purpose of irrigation near the towns of Habibani, Chandukha and Marandha in the Khari pargana. Fatehpur, Bakhar, Sivi and Sehwan were other centres of power in Sind under the Kalhoras. This part of Sind was aligned toward Baluchistan, particularly the Kalat state; however it also looked to the Mughal Emperor for legitimacy and adjudication of disputes; this sometimes translated into a Sind-Afghanistan connection or governance[79] also. In 1172/1759 Sind was divided into three parts: from Shahpur to Nasirpur and the limits of Thatta went to Mian Ghulam Shah. The remainder was

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76 Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 130.

77 *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, op. cit. p. 191ff has discussed the origins of the Kalhora rulers as well.

78 Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 137.

79 Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 140ff. The Tuzk-i-Jahangiri, p. 162 mentions that Jahangir had appointed a single governor for Thatta and Qandahar.

divided in two parts[80]; one of them was ruled from Naushahro. Many rulers were unable to create a common ethnic identity with non-urban communities in their domain. Consequently a contest for supremacy among them was superficial and limited to military personnel alone. During the Kalhora period we begin to find familiar demographic identities with greater frequency. Names like Barohi and Panhwar are identified with major political roles; their places of concentration are also identified[81]. Place names from this stage are more familiar and also currently in use.

The rise of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali led to a fresh restructuring of the northern part of the Enclave. The neat division into doabs that characterized Akbar's administration may have been changed by his successors to adjust to political interests. At the time of Ahmed Shah's imperial venture we find a fragmented, ill organized polity and several crisscrossed loyalties. Much like Babur before him, Abdali also gained hold of the region west of the Indus first and then conquered the Sialkot-Lahore area. Since Nadir Shah had invaded Sind before him, that region also felt the effect of his expansion before he crossed the Enclave. As he had started expanding his power base from Herat and Qandahar, he was bound to press into Baluchistan from the Bolan-Khojak link.

Around 1758 Abdali was having trouble with the Sikhs in the Lahore region, on the other side he was engaged in retaining his

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[80] Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 158.

[81] Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 142 mentions Shikarpur and Fatehpur as locations of Panhwar concentration.

hold over Kalat. It has been suggested[82] that Baluchistan was a safe asylum for disaffected Afghans. They were controlled from Qandahar, Kabul and occasionally Peshawar. They were able to hold Lahore from time to time but ascendant Sikh power finally gained the Punjab[83]. It seems that Abdali's ambition of direct control, perhaps like Mahmud of Ghaznin, did not go beyond the Enclave[84]. Even after defeating the Marathas at Panipat he settled the Delhi government on the Mughal emperor on condition that his control over Punjab would be unchallenged. However, the Sikhs benefitted from a tripartite weakness arising from Mughal-Maratha issues in the east and Afghan issues in the west leaving them free to rule the northern part of the Enclave/Sothi-Siswal.

A tripartite agreement between the British, the Sikhs and the evicted ruler of Kabul, Shah Shuja, 1838 AD is an excellent index of the pre-colonial conditions in northern part of the Enclave. Shuja was required to disclaim all territories on either side of the Indus to which the Sikhs laid a claim. These included Kashmir, Attock fort, Chach, Hazara, Khebel, Aub and its dependencies on the left bank and Peshawar, Hashtnagar, areas of the Khatak and Yusufzai, Kohat, Hangu and all the areas east of the Khyber Pass.

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82 Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, (Quetta: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977): 212. This point cannot be stressed enough; it has been vital to Afghan contacts and influence in Baluchistan, Sind and even Multan.

83 Abdul Ghani, *A Brief Political History of Afghanistan*, Vol. I, 200-300 for a sketch of the various stages of the struggle, sometimes as petty politics on the Afghan side, at others as interstate affairs between Afghan, Persian and Central Asian powers or the Sikhs.

84 Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, p. 261f, for the fallout of the battle of Panipat. Perhaps a limitation of a Afghanistan based government.

The dependencies of Bannu, Waziristan, Khushalgarh, Kalabagh, Tank, D.G. Khan, Kot Mithan, Omar Kot, Sangar, Harand, Haji-pur Dajal, Rajanpur, the three Kachis, Munkera and the province of Multan on the left bank were all included in the list of Sikh claims. The Maharaja's passport was required by travellers across the Sutlej on one side and the Indus on the other. Matters relating to Sind were to be left to the Sikhs and the British; Shuja's claim was confined to Afghanistan with a possibility of claiming some part of Baluchistan, partly as a tributary to the Sikhs[85].

In 1056H/1646AD the Mughal emperor crossed river Jhelum on a boat bridge. This implies several things: first that military and civil traffic was neither frequent nor voluminous enough for a permanent bridge to be constructed across the river[86]. Second that trade and commercial need was probably met by boat and ferry traffic, signifying efficiency and adequacy of riverine transport; and third that boat bridge management and technology was well enough advanced for the royal caravan to depend on it.

Ordinarily Qandahar was linked with Thatta and Multan but whenever it was lost to the Mughals, they had to take the Kabul route to recapture it. Thus, the small volume of traffic for trade and administration seems to have made more efficient use of the direct routes but these were not enough for military movements,

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85 Abdul Ghani, *A Brief Political History of Afghanistan*, Vol. I, p. 282f. The unequal treaty was acceptable because Shuja did not have control over any of the areas which he had promised to cede.

86 *Shahjahan Nama*, op. cit., p. 426. At p. 600 we learn that the same method was used at the Attock crossing.

especially in emergency situations or delivery of battle-worthy troops. The Mughals were able to maintain a hold over Kabul and their interface with Central Asia but lost Qandahar. This brought first the Iranian interface with Sind again into play and then paved the way for the Kabul based governments of the later Mughal period to influence Sind affairs till the arrival of the British. The Mughal control left room for a resurgence of Afghan hegemony. In the Enclave Lahore, Multan & Bahawalpur, Bakhar & Rohri, Thatta, Kalat and Sivistan vied for dominance in the comity of minor states. A peripheral impact of developments in Siestan and Gujrat also existed within the context of the rise and fall of South Asian and Central Asian empires.

Essentially the zenith of Muslim administration and political economy formulated under the Mughals in the Enclave was to determine demography, politics and economic geography. Before the arrival of the British, people's expectations from the state were limited to governance according to a traditional formula and defence. Thus a change of government had no significance unless the ruler and the ruled were ethnically integrated or a 'new elite' challenged existing socio-cultural norms. In the 20thcentury the British government took measures which altered local production functions. Earlier, states had only maintained a passive attitude towards the qualitative aspect of production except in patronizing those industries or trade which promoted their material culture.

These details of political history may seem out of context but will prove essential for uninitiated readers in deciphering the administrative and economic relations in urban hinterlands.

Administrative system[s] within the Enclave

We have noted during the previous stages that the emergence of states was partly the outcome of marauding nomadic life. Nomads did not have a sense of property regarding vegetable produce; even animals could be poached and plundered. When a nomadic community became habitual in extracting a regular levy of such imposts on agrarian communities, it was obliged to protect them from other marauding groups. Notwithstanding the moral high-ground occupied by the state and its taxation system, its basis was security for its own levy. To serve this interest it had to provide internal peace and external defence. Over the centuries militant mobile groups emerged as distinct brands of nomads, they bred animals for transport, specializing in hunting instead of gathering.

Another specialized group of rovers focused on trade by reliance on pack animals, depending on other food producers. Some had a diversified economy with both pack animals and livestock. Their communities had a different ethic about property compared to the marauding nomad or militant adventurer. They were sympathetic to rural settlers especially when they were consumers of exotic supplies. Naturally, settlers who were artisans of industrial crafts had a greater need for such produce. Such diversified settlements tended to leave agricultural activity to neighbouring communities and developed into urban configurations with a hinterland.

From trade and industry came the second rationale for governance and state. Terms of trade and rules of engagement needed help to evolve between and across communities who cohabited in a given geography. The need to manage or administer led to regulation on

one hand and legislation on the other. Many, perhaps most, artisan communities developed an internal mechanism for the regulation of their activities and the induction of people into secrets of their crafts. Agricultural communities also needed very little regulation except in terms of the tax imposed on them. Pastoralist peoples were difficult to control because they were difficult to confine. The interest of the state thus focused primarily on urban centres and through them their hinterland. Obviously, towns had a multi-occupational and poly-skilled population. Consequently it was not enough to regulate their polity; some level of legislation and a judicial system for equity and peace was essential.

The four stages of urbanization prior to this had different systems for regulation and legislation of their towns. The Harappan model had a ghost administration which did not leave tangible, material evidence behind. It seems, however, that the self-sufficient closed village economy in pre-colonial times was based on a communal regulation of the Late Harappan/Early Vedic period. We believe that this core system remained a basic unit of society till recently. Turk and Mongol sensibilities seem to have associated imperial development with urbanization therefore they founded cities in every area they conquered. The Muslim judicial code gave them a basic set of laws while local norms supplied the work ethic and regulatory principles on which they imposed imperial decree.

No value judgment need be applied to sequence of administrative changes or to the ethics of different communities. Changes in lifestyle and ecology; size and configuration of population or space; and variations in spiritual and intellectual milieu cause socio-cultural objectives, priorities and values to emerge in a community. Management practices and administrative structures

that emerged in the Enclave in each successive stage may not have been superior to the preceding one but were their evolved form in geo-political and cultural imperatives of governing elites.

The administration of the Muslim muqtis supported traders by giving them accommodation and commercial facilities[87]. They also patronized artists, craftsmen, men of letters and soldiers. In a sense the upheaval in adjacent regions provided an opportunity for mobility of people. Fresh blood furnished enterprising leaders for a new environment[88]. Communities that were important to the economy of Turkic rulers included ulama, umara, farmers, traders and destitute people[89]. The ulama and umara provided military and judicial administration; the destitute enjoyed privy and public patronage but farmers and traders were the main source of state revenue and produce. Delhi Sultans actually held only the major cities of the eastern half of the Enclave and extracted taxes on agricultural production from self-sufficient villages held together by landlords under the jajmani and Saipi systems[90].

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[87] Minhaj, see the case of Tughril in particular but this was a general pattern.

[88] Minhaj, Vol. 1, p. 744f.

[89] Minhaj, Vol. 1, p. 783.

[90] This practice was between members of the village community where goods and skills were provided by each according to ability or need and obtained according to an agreed upon set of rights with no favour, charity or actual exchange of money, or barter except in case of excesses over designated rights. It remained the backbone of the rural economy for centuries and may have its root in the millennia when there were no records. In the rural-urban-pastoral equation of the Enclave this was the lynchpin along with pastoral trading which was the lifeline for urban access to the hinterland.

Muqtis received land grants, the assignment neither meant control of the entire output of the demesne nor even over its tax or any portion thereof per se. The internal arrangement of the village jajman [contractor] was first accounted for; of the surplus, a Khut [headman] had his share as did the muqti [state assignee] with an agreed amount set aside for tax and a portion for expenses[91].

When Balban decided to re-urbanize the devastated city of Lahore after it had been acquired from the Mongols who had held it since Bahram Shah's time, he brought qazis, Syeds, artisans and traders and notables to be settled there[92]. This list has three components, judicial, economic and social elite; the essentials of Muslim urban life. There were four aspects to the interface between subjects in the Enclave and the rulers in Delhi: first was security in towns; second came agricultural produce; third was safety of travel on highways and fourth was the administration of justice; perhaps in that order. Principles of state management or governance evolved in other parts of the Muslim world dominated by Turks had found their way to the Enclave and were enforced with minor variations. However, as demonstrated in its political history, several tiers of governance allowed local and parochial rulers a free hand at their level while communal regulation continued alongside.

We have outlined the political administration of the imperial pastoralists as an add-on structure of conglomerate states in the previous chapter. An interesting corollary of this system was a fluid legionary military structure in which adventurous militant

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[91] Barani, p. 125ff.

[92] Sirhindi, p. 106.

bands were free to offer themselves to a warlord as independent regiments[93]. Another testimony from Minhaj is that these states had a basic interest in promoting trade. The author himself was an emissary to Quhistan [south of Nishapur] in 622 H for this purpose[94]. We may infer that administration in conglomerate states was multi-tiered and administrative issues were duplicated between the Badshah and his umara, in the manner of concurrent lists as they existed for central and provincial subjects in Pakistan.

It is difficult to assess a phase by phase increase in urbanization of the Enclave or to evaluate rate of increase in rural population or area during the Mongol incursions; or in their aftermath of two centuries each [13th to 16th centuries AD]. This period coincides with first and second phases of the Delhi Sultanate: its expansion, till 1335; and its fragmentation, till the rise of Mughals. However, as we have seen in the political history, emergence of towns away from rivers and routes suggests that industry and agricultural expansion was a constant process during the entire period. It was most rapid in the 14th century before Timur's conquests initiated a revival of links between Sind and Helmand. This seems to have enhanced administrative interface between local communities and ruling elites west of the Indus.

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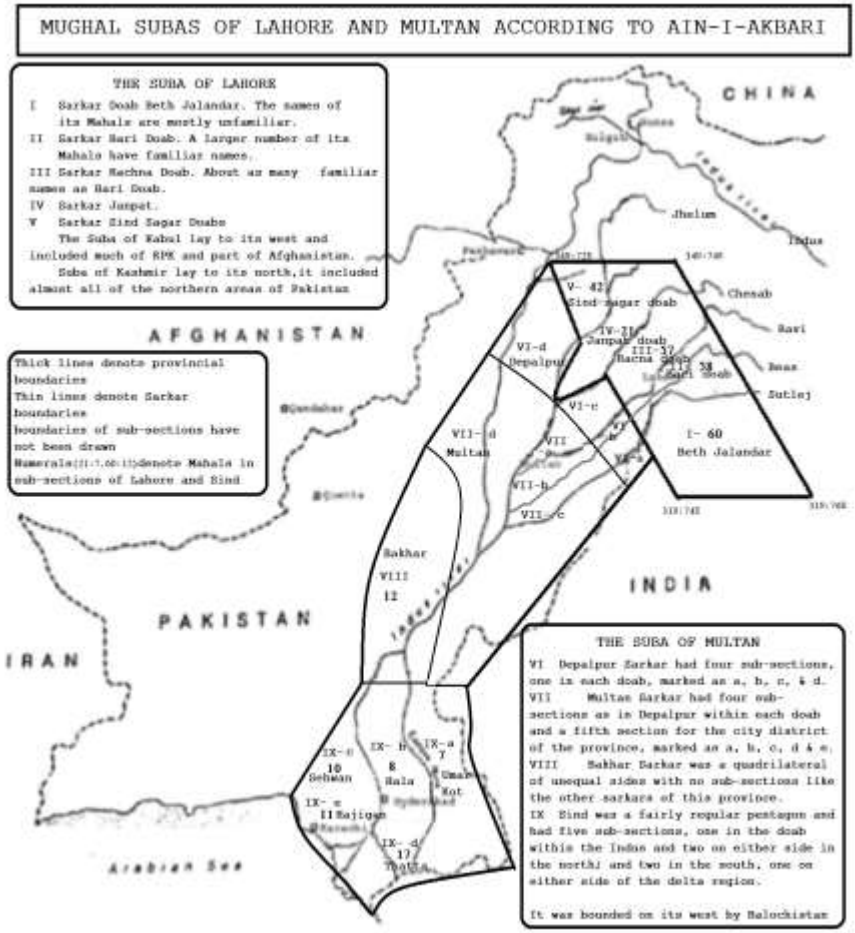
[93] Minhaj, Vol. 2, p. 145, mentions Khar Post as a Ghori leader who was later subordinate by the Khvarizm Shah and instructed to shift his headquarters from Peshawar to Ghaznin. Minhaj states that many militant bands went on to join his standards. In the rise of the Ottoman Empire also, militant bands subordinate to the Seljuks flocked to Osman's banner.

[94] Minhaj, Vol. 2, p. 151.


MUGHAL SUBAS OF LAHORE AND MULTAN ACCORDING TO AIN-I-AKBARI
THE SUBA OF LAHORE
I Sarkar Doab Beth Jalandar. The names of its Mahals are mostly unfamiliar.
II Sarkar Bari Doab. A larger number of its Mahals have familiar names.
III Sarkar Rachna Doab. About as many familiar names as Bari Doab.
IV Sarkar Janpat.
V Sarkar Sind Sagar Doabs
The Suba of Kabul lay to its west and included much of RPK and part of Afghanistan.
Suba of Kashmir lay to its north,it included almost all of the northern areas of Pakistan
Thick lines denote provincial boundaries
Thin lines denote Sarkar boundaries
boundaries of sub-sections have not been drawn
Numerals denote Mahals in sub-sections of Lahore and Sind
CHINA
AFGHANISTAN
PAKISTAN
IRAN
INDIA
Arabian Sea
Jhelum
Indus
Chenab
Ravi
Beas
Sutlej
V- 42
Sind sagar doab
IV-21
Janpat doab
III-37
Rachna
II-38
Bari Doab
I- 60
Beth Jalandar
VI-d
Depalpur
VI-c
VII-d
Multan
VII
VII-b
VII-c
Sakhar
VIII
12
IX-e
10
Sehwan
IX- b
8
Hala
IX-a
7
Umarkot
IX- c
11 Rajigan
IX- d
13
Thatta
THE SUBA OF MULTAN
VI Depalpur Sarkar had four sub-sections, one in each doab, marked as a, b, c, & d.
VII Multan Sarkar had four sub-sections as in Depalpur within each doab and a fifth section for the city district of the province, marked as a, b, c, d & e.
VIII Sakhar Sarkar was a quadrilateral of unequal sides with no sub-sections like the other sarkars of this province.
IX Sind was a fairly regular pentagon and had five sub-sections, one in the doab within the Indus and two on either side in the north; and two in the south, one on either side of the delta region.
It was bounded on its west by Balochistan

MAP 21

MAP 22

The direct and indirect level of administration is easily identified during the Mughal era. In the north, particularly in the Bari doab part of Lahore, the direct administration and the personal interest of the emperor can be seen. The number of revenue units in a relatively small geographic area and their much higher yield of revenue indicates both, enhanced agricultural productivity of the region and fewer intermediate levels of administration. Whereas the Suba of Lahore has a uniformly high number of mahals with high revenues, Depalpur and Multan have a consistently smaller number of mahals with a lower income. These are regions that had been well settled during the Sultanate period compared to the relative political and administrative vacuum in the north; a similar situation, with greater disparity is found in Sind.

The Sultanate had also tried to extend its administration to rural development. An office of Amir-i-kohi had been active from the time of Iltutmish. Ala-ud-din Khalji seemed to be more interested in developing trade and regulating commerce, his agrarian policy is unlikely to have affected the Enclave. Perhaps, during some of his campaigns in the region, Muhammad bin Tughluq may have tried to regulate agriculture in the vicinity of Multan. More likely, however is the possibility that the efforts of his father, Ghias-ud-din, during his period as Muqti at Depalpur had borne fruit.

In any event neither Mughals nor their predecessors altered the grass-root administration of these regions. Babur had noted that the assignment of rights and privileges between the Janjuas and the Jud in the Salt range were immutable. Similar arrangements existed between settled communities around Multan from Kushan

or Arab administrative dispensations. Probably new schedules had been prepared by Balban's son or Ghias-ud-din Tughluq in the Depalpur region. The title, Darya Khan and the place of that name on the east bank of Indus opposite D. I. Khan suggests that such an office was instituted to patrol the Indus and Sind Sagar-doab some time, perhaps by Tughluq, before Timur's invasion.

The Mughal administration was more complex and centralized than the Sultanate. It is important to remember also that during the century between Timur's invasion and Sher Shah's reforms many aspects of governance had been withdrawn by the Syeds and Lodhis. The trend of uniform central control of legal matters and revenue collection that characterized Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq's governments was continued over a smaller area in Firoz Shah's time. Under his successors, this could not be kept up due to of their preoccupation with internal politics and their inability to hold much more than the core area around Delhi. The Syeds were only partly able to revive the practice of centralization and control over parts of the Enclave.

However the Lodhi tribal polity led to the addition of one more administrative tier; a tribal leader not only took over the functions of collector and Muqti but also pre-empted functions that were to be assigned by the Mughals to the subhadar and mansabdar. The kotwal was meant to secure the fortification from within and without and the Subhadar replaced the Muqti as provincial head in Mughal times. A parallel central military administration was placed under mansabdars who also held land grants. Tradition governed village communities with the panchayat and jajmani system, all they owed the state was surplus produce as revenue.

Above these local governments was the revenue collector and within them were custodians of tradition like the Chaudhry, the *mirasi* and *patwari*. Military administration did not concern itself with this tier, it catered for urban defence and expeditions of the centre, it neither patrolled the frontier nor the hinterland.

We have briefly noted above that Ghori tried to cross the Enclave first in the south and gradually moved to the northern routes. He conquered both Lahore and Multan before he was able to cross in to the Bhatinda triangle. Mahmud Ghaznavi alternated between the Peshawar and Multan routes also before venturing to Bharat. However in both cases we do not find them balked by doabs. The Sultanate of Delhi by contrast, found itself inhibited by rivers and confined to eastern doabs. It was able to hold the Beth Jalandhar, most of the Bari and the southern part of the Rachna as two units centred at Multan and Lahore for a hundred and fifty years; with a weak hold over the latter. The Chaj and Sind-Sagar doabs had been the heartland of the Shahi domain. During Ghaznavi decline they were desolated, this led to comprehensive de-urbanization. As a consequence tribal communities like Khokhars, Gakhars, Janjuas and Kiyanis established their own strongholds in these western doabs, coping with invaders from east and west.

Beyond the Sind-Sagar, between the Indus and the Hindukush lay a tract of land administered by Afghanistan based states from time to time; but more often it too was controlled by independent clans. Like the Pothohar, clannish polities that were peripheral to Kabul or Qandahar based states inhabited its watersheds. Thus western parts of the north half of the Enclave was not administered by any state for the greater part of this stage. However, they were under the political and cultural influence of Hindukush and Helmand.

The middle phase of the Sultanate saw the development of a mezzanine administrative scheme in the Punjab doabs. This was probably part of Balban's restructuring; perhaps also the drainage pattern of the eastern doabs had changed making it convenient to use Ajodhan as a primary river crossing. The configuration of the Doabs, particularly Bari and Rachna have seen significant change due to the movement of the channels of the Beas and Ravi. The former shifted its course to the east and now falls into the Sutlej outside the Enclave; the latter shifted west moving across Multan to join the Chenab north of that town instead of a more southern location. Multan, which until Mughal times lay in the Rachna doab now lies in the Bari. Ajodhan/Pakpattan and Depalpur used to be in the Beth Jalandhar[95] [between Sutlej and Beas], now they are part of the Bari doab. The impact of these changes on later Mughal history, the rise and decline of the Afghan state and structure of British administration need detailed scrutiny[96].

On the other side, both conquerors and traders began to avoid crossing Pothohar and the Chaj doab. After Babar, however, the Ghaznavi scheme of trans-doab administration was revived. As even Kabul and Qandahar were not terminals of Mughal control, unified control over each of the four northern routes in use was needed. Consequently the northern route via Kashmir became

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[95] It is not clear why the Ain-i-Akbari calls this area by the name of Beth but it is possible that the word, which means land vacated by the river, implies that the region was then subject to rapid hydrographic changes.

[96] Changes in the topography and ecology of smaller units of space than those being considered here will have to be reconstructed to assess the effect of shifting channels on political and administrative history of the area.

part of the Kabul province; the next, via what is the GT road today, was under Lahore; Pakpattan by way of Tulumba, Darya Khan and Dera Ismail Khan was administered by Depalpur; and the Multan north-south route branching off beyond Bakhar.

On the whole there emerged three ungoverned watersheds during the Sultanate period in Punjab, KPK and Baluchistan. Mughals were able to integrate one of them in the Sind-Sagar and the Chaj doabs which provided the base for the emergent religious-ethnic state of the Sikhs. The rise of the Afghans as an ethnic polity absorbed tribal groups of the Hindukush, receding gradually to the trans-Khyber region. The two states inherited Mughal region of the Enclave and Afghanistan and provided the environment in which the British colonized it in the mid-19th century.

SECTION 'B': Socio-Cultural

Ethnicities

During this period the political history of Bharat is fairly well documented. Despite dark areas in the Enclave from time to time, an outline of its political history may be drawn fairly accurately. Here we will not restate the ebb and tide of changing governments in Delhi nor the changes in the form and fate of Turko-Mongol states in Central or West Asia. Leaving the curious to look for details elsewhere, we will merely point out that matters of faith and sophistication aside, both upstart and established nobilities in this stage belonged to the same ethno-racial stock all around the Enclave. A curious fact given in the Tuzk of Timur is particularly noteworthy in the context of ethnicities. He mentions that Kators and Siyah Posh people live in a location between Indarab and

Kabul. Two of their major cities were called Shokal and Jorkal[97]. They spoke a language which differed from Turkish, Persian, Hindi and Kashmiri and called their leader Adalshu.

An individual or group settling in a territory occupied by other people, has one of three options: either they can replace previous occupants; or they may occupy a nearby locality which is vacant; or they may join and comingle with those settled there before them. In the case of a conquering population, all three of these conditions prevail. Political and economic considerations usually cause continuity of settlements unless new settlers are unable to adjust to local conditions. In such circumstances the settlers will chose an ecology and topography that is closest to their ideal. The different sites of Taxila, Hasanabdal and Wah provide an example of this basis for selection. When previous occupants are killed in the course of battle, the chances of replacing them or forming a mixed population/plural society or an ethno-genesis are greater; otherwise newcomers are more likely to be assigned an adjacent area, reducing chances of integration and ethno-genesis.

Due to the variety of ecology and topography, most settlers were able to find environments they liked in the Enclave but couldn't visualize them as possible centres for launching an imperial plan. From Aryan times it had been evident that the expanse of Bharat was more conducive to imperialism. In the Enclave, therefore, we find that as watersheds, Doabs and topographic variations along the Indus provided the mosaic of lifestyles within which settlers

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[97] Timur, p. 13ff and 96; the description of the difficult passage and crossing of high mountains suggest that it could be in of Hunza, Astor and Skardu.

adjusted themselves along the main routes through many foyers in this land. In these large units, there emerged many smaller ones allowing segregation of ethnic, cultural, economic, political and social communities which broke away from their larger group for various reasons. Some groups lost track of their original identity or acquired a surrogate identity from another community in their locality/vicinity. This resulted in creation of anomalous ethno-geneses as in the case of Abbasi Rajas of Pothohar.

It seems more than likely that during the Sultanate period many of the pastoral tribes of Sind and Baluchistan had begun to settle down, forming an amalgam with the incoming wanderers among the invaders. Thus the wider terms of the Arabs such as Baloch, Jat and Med now become more specific as clans and tribes within the wider grouping. We may find today that one sub clan from a zat or tribe calls itself Jat while another does not. This probably means that the earlier title was for an occupational or lifestyle reason; or the later title had connotations of domicile or another reference of identity. Despite a resultant crossing of identities, ethnicity became more definite in this stage though there is confusion in local connections with invading polities.

Over time, the likelihood is that geographic segregation of many ethnic groups has ended. However, many others are segregated in smaller geo-units such that they form part of some larger ethnicity across the Enclave and sometimes even beyond it while being integrated in a localized larger community; thus forming parallel local ethnicities based on assimilation. This stage thus exhibits an extensive and comprehensive ethno-genesis in different parts of the Enclave. Mostly the fractures occurred along fault-lines of

preceding polities as is evident from Mughal administrative units while the Sultanate had maintained a free racial settlement policy.

In the Enclave buffer states were formed and boundaries shifted continuously. 'Secure' towns generally lay outside this region. Its function of cusp for trading cultural baggage was often conducted by non-local people and sometimes by new settlers while local tribes either imposed a levy in the form of brigandage and facility of safe passage or remained aloof from the socio-economic activity taking place in military and administrative settlements which existed as islands in their midst. The imperial aspirants outside the Enclave or adventurers who created principalities in the Enclave targeted the major urban centre(s) that had emerged over the millennia such as Multan, Lahore, Peshawar and Debul.

Aryan speaking peoples were one of several linguistic groups to pass through the Enclave. They may not have induced a lingua-genesis among pastoral population of the region. Perhaps a larger proportion of other linguistic groups who entered the Enclave settled in it than the Aryans. All such people left cultural baggage, causing a lingua-genesis and ethno-genesis, thus providing the foundation for successive socio-cultural infrastructures. Ghori, Tajik, Mongols, Turks and Afghans passed through the Enclave to Bharat. Some people of each stock settled there never to return, others stayed in the Enclave and cemented their historic links.

There are three vital differences between this stage and the Vedic phase: First, political history of Bharat is very well documented; even that of the Enclave is better known than it is for the Vedic era; second, ethnicity is more clearly defined in the later period

even though the racial identity was more distinguishable in the earlier one; third, though we do not know of attempts on the part of the Aryans to occupy regions west of the Enclave, where they may have come from. Definite mutual contest and integration can be observed in the later period. The Ghaznavi period may not have materially influenced the ethnic construct of the Enclave but the Ghori neither enforced an ethnic segregation nor discouraged settlers. Ghori, Khalji and Turk settlers came to the north part of the Enclave; but most of them chose to move on to Bharat.

Major ethnic divisions mentioned during the Sultanate period include Tajiks, Afghan, Mongols [also called neo-Muslims after conversion], Turks [including the Khaljis] and Khurasani. They formed the ruling classes and were involved in power politics among themselves[98]. By the end of the 7th/13th century the Delhi Sultanate was ready to record the first shift in its ethnic fabric to include Afghans and Sistani[99]. These names probably represent the amalgamation of Turk and Mongol settlers in the pre-existing polity of Afghanistan. Balban also found the Mongol inroads into Khokhar territory a problem. His forays into the Pothohar during Nasiri times and alleged annual attacks of the Mongols alluded to by Barani[100] in that region corroborate this notion.

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98 See Sirhindi, p. 120ff the era of Kaiqubad and the rise of the Khaljis for some examples of the trend. In Minhaj, Rukn-ud-din is a typical example.

99 Barani, p. 78, the Siestan bodyguards; elsewhere Afghans are mentioned. These people had been coming to the Enclave for two centuries but were less prominent in the ruling elite at Delhi. When Balban inducted them, he may have siphoned off some their recent settlers from the Enclave.

100 Minhaj, passim. See also Barani, p. 109 and note.

The first century of the Delhi Sultanate witnessed the Ilbari rule while the second experienced Khalji and Tughluq dominance. In Central Asia, this coincided with Changez, Helaqu and Kublai for the first part and Muslim Mongols like Ghazan, Tarmashirin and Timur for the second century. Uzbeks and Ilkhanis led on to the rise of Shaibani Khan and the eviction of Babur from Fergana establishing the same ethnic group on either side of the Enclave. An assorted ethnicity, the product of ethno-genesis during the preceding millennium led to the emergence of the Afghan and Pakhtun intermediaries who did not get subsumed in the title of Turk like the Qarauna, the Chagatai or the Barlas. Occasionally, therefore these people are also found ruling within or outside the Enclave on either side. The Persian factor infringed upon the culture at all times and politically from time to time; more often via Khurasan than through Kirman. This is more or less the same kind of relationship that must have existed in times of the Sakas, Parthians, Kushans and Huns but was not well documented[101].

Jhelum, the location where Iltutmish earned his manumission was in the region of the Khokhars[102]. Minhaj identifies the Mekrani, Margali and Sivistani. Some domicile[103] names like Chaghi are definitely controversial and admit of other pronunciations as well. These may either be interpreted as new settlers from Afghanistan

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[101] It however seems that the administrative innovations of the pre-Mughal period did not have much impact on the Enclave and it was the Mughal reforms of 16th, 17th & 18th centuries that left a socio-political imprint.

[102] Minhaj, Vol. 1, p. 786f.

[103] Minhaj, Vol. 2, p. 87.

[like Barani in the Gangetic Doab a generation or two later] in the Enclave or as an inclusion/assimilation of residents of the Enclave in the polity of the Ilbari sultans of Delhi. The role of Khokhars after Timur in the vicinity is noticeable even in the time of Babur but then the Gakhars and Janjuas of the Jhelum were also active.

All across the doabs of Lahore we now begin to find the emergent religious/ethnic identity of Sikhs. The Sikhs provide a classical example of ethno-genesis. Sikh religion arose out of an emergent philosophy to create cultural space for racial-political identities which were not comfortable under the Turko-Muslim umbrella of civilization. Among the many attempts to this end we may count the idea of Ala-ud-din Khalji to found a new religion, the attempt of Muhammad bin Tughluq to recruit Sufis to the service of the state and of the Bhagti movement preceding Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi.

It was an offshoot of the Bhagti movement to amalgamate faiths of Hindus and Muslims, which took for itself the name of Sikh. Perhaps norms and values propounded by its founder appealed to an assertive polity, which may have internal racial affiliations. It got popular support in the northern part of the Punjab, the route of Mongols since c.1200, along a string of Mughal Pura towns.

The concentration of this religious denomination in a particular region and their dissociation with the Muslim polity of the Turks may have been the source of mutual friction. We may note that though Babur and his descendants are called Mughal, the Mongol was an unstable neo-Muslim while the Mughals claimed to be Turks. A similar antipathy to the Mughal state was to be found with respect to the militant Muslim community across the Indus and into Afghanistan. Disenfranchisement of these communities

and the Mughal attempt to control them, particularly the Sikhs, proved counterproductive. It was this policy which ultimately led to the conversion of a religious community into an ethnic identity.

The overarching cultural force of religion and a distinct linguistic dialect of Punjabi provided ethnic apparatus for erasing internal identities of race, domicile, dialect and occupation or reducing them to the level of subsidiary references within a Sikh ethnicity in a specific geographic region from the Indus to the Jumna. They like, the Afghans, had served several imperial adventurers as a second grade or subordinate elite and found it galling to be treated as a subject people. It is probable that they comprised largely of Mongol settlers who did not embrace Islam or were half-hearted converts as neo-Muslims. It seems to be an error of Mughal policy that it accommodated Rajputs at the expense of those who had been an important tier in many preceding empires.

Abdali made an express effort to settle Afghans in Lahore to counter the Sikh concentration[104] in the Punjab but the move did not bear fruit. Jats may have been of Aryan or Scythian-Parthian origin; they provided an ethnic base for the Sikh community[105]. Jats are not mentioned in most of the historical notices of the Punjab before the 14th century but in Sind we do find mention of them before the Arabs; this favours the non-Aryan hypothesis, as they would have settled first in the Punjab if they were Aryans. Khushwant considers the Gakhar, Awan and Janjuas to be the

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[104] Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, Gosha-e-Adab, Quetta, 1977, p. 227.

[105] Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, OUP, Delhi, 1963 , p. 14 n.

majority of people in the Sind-Sagar doab. The rest of the Punjab according to him was inhabited by Jats and Rajputs in rural areas and Bania, Mahajan, Sud and Arora[106] in the towns with the 'gypsies wandering across the plains in their donkey caravans, with their hunting dogs and herds of sheep and goats'. This may reflect British census reports but it ignores several ethno-genesis.

The first mention of an Afghan group in Multan may be that of Shahu who revolted in the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq[107]. These people were probably a disempowered militant community formed by the ethno-genesis of Saka, Parthia and Mongol races. The Ghori tribe may have been the first Afghan known to history; Mahmud Ghaznavi found them a difficult to control people. The Mughal experience showed that Sikhs were of the same mettle. These two races had extended their sway on either side of the Enclave and vied for dominance over it, particularly its northern part and Kashmir, during the 18th century. In Sind, however, the history of settled and semi-independent governance produced an ethno-genesis in which tribes which had previously been pastoral became largely sedentary. The aggression of Med and Jat tribes that bothered Ghaznavi expansionism seems to have subsided. An internecine struggle between states in the south perhaps provided an outlet for these communities unlike the Sikhs and Afghans.

The Sammah and Sumra tribes inhabited Sind but the former were forced to move towards Kuch while the latter were able to become vassal rulers under Firoz Shah bin Rajab. The theatre of war was

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[106] Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, OUP, Delhi, 1963, p. 12.

[107] Barani, p. 687.

between Bakhar, Sehwan and Thatta. The descendants of Timur pressed on to the Bolan from Qandahar and in to Sind. Perhaps their first attempt was abortive but Arghun Khan was able to establish himself in Sind. Some Mughals who also settled in Sind along with the Arghuns were from the Daulatshah and Nurghai clans; soon they gained control of the entire province. Rulers on both sides of the river:[108] Mirza Muzaffar, Khusrau Charkahs, Qasim Arghun [ruler of Nasirpur and Omar-Kot], Isa Tarkhan, the Samejhas and Sodhas were of Kabuli origin. People from the Dharejah tribe were stationed at Bakhar but moved to Lohri [Rohri]; they inhabited the Bakhar-Larkana region. In the vicinity of Baghban lived the Machi tribe.[109]

From Tuhfatulkiram[110] we learn that around Alor was the Daluri tribe and near Bhanbore was the Bhanbori tribe. From the same source we learn of the principalities under Qubacha which were 7 in number including: Darbela, Rupah, Maniktara, Dara Sivi, Bhagnai, Himah Kot and Bhanbore. A list of 18 families of Arab descent is also given indicating Semitic additions to the ethnic base. Since names of the Jat and Baloch are also included in this list, it may reflect the ethno-genesis in Sind under the Arabs. Baloch tribes named Jat, Rind, Dodai, Korai and Chandia were part of the Langah army. Near Talti were Sahta and Sodha tribes and Jareja, Sodha and Khinkar clans; Arghuns and Tarkhans were

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[108] Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 115 ff. The event relates to a revolt against Mirza Ghazi Beg.

[109] Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 68.

[110] As reproduced in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p.28.

settled there in 926/1519[111]. A tribe called Samejha in the north of Sind is also mentioned[112] in Tarkhan times. The Dahar and Machi tribes inhabited Ubaoro and its environs; the Lar lived some distance from Uch, today Lar is a place near Multan.

During this phase we find that almost all ethnic identities, which are familiar in Pakistan today, were documented in history. Some of the clans included in the profiles of Sind, Punjab and KPK reproduced above were noticed for the first time in this period but the most important of the new entrants in the Punjab and Sind were the Baloch. It was virtually impossible to specify ethnicity in different parts of the enclave during the first and second stages of its urban history; it was still difficult to do so in the third stage. The Arabs documented racial and clan identities of a portion of the Enclave. They could not, however, assign origins according to identities of the preceding stages. The major change in the pattern of place names in the two phases of stage three indicates the ethno-genesis and linguistic shift that had occurred within five centuries. Two elements, however, remained unchanged, the Jats and the Baloch. During this stage we find the first mention of their clans in the Punjab. The former perhaps migrated en-masse to the region around Lahore the latter settled in numbers near Multan.

Whether Jats followed in the train of the Baloch or were pushed ahead by them is not clear; but it is clear that Baloch settlements were the consequence of an expansionist venture in at least two stages. As the Arghun, Tarkhan and Kalhora rulers tried to subdue

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[111] Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 66.

[112] As given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 95-99.

neighbouring tribes, Chakir Rind took advantage of the decline of Timuri power to carve out a Baloch state. From Mekran, through Kalat to Sibi, Chakir integrated Baloch clans. While the legendary origins of the Baloch may be traced through the Shahnama of Firdausi, their undisputed historic identity is visible from Arabian historiography. We need not dwell on the point since establishing racial origin is not our prime concern here[113]. A contest for ethnic leadership then ensued with the Lasharis but this venture came to a close before the Mughals occupied Bharat.

The second expansion and settlement of the Baloch in the Multan region came during the decline of the Mughals when the Kalat state was drawn into the affairs of Sind, Multan and Qandahar[114]. Thus Baloch tribes provided an ethnic network linking all parts of the Enclave from Lahore to Kej-Mekran. Though not as active imperially as the Afghans and Sikhs who challenged the Mughal Empire, Baloch tribes are represented in topographies, ecologies and lifestyles all across the Enclave and have moulded its cultural fabric. However, these tribes unlike other identities of clans in the Enclave do not occupy a linguistic or cultural watershed.

We have postulated that administrative unity is a catalyst if not a driving force for linguistic and ethnic integration. The experience of the Enclave has validated this as it reflects the formation of

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113 *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, op. cit. places great emphasis on the testimony of the Shahnama but it is not impossible to consider it an anachronism by Firdausi. However, the author of *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, op. cit. p, 137-249 gives details of Baloch imperialism.

114 *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, op. cit. p, 230ff.

ethnic identity through unity driven by cultural, topographic and administrative dynamics. It restructured clans and tribes in small cultural watersheds through lingua-genesis in the smaller units of administration based on biomes and the lifestyle they nurtured. This may be seen in Baloch and Pathan tribes who have adopted the languages of Sind and Punjab[115] during this stage.

Faiths

There had been extensive syncretistic activity in the culture of what came to be known as Afghanistan in the first millennium AD. The impact of this was felt most in the ethnic restructuring which has remained effective since that time. No less significant were the effects of two phases of religious syncretism, the first prior to the introduction of Islam in the region and the second since 7th century AD. Conquering Turko-Mongol communities found themselves forced to adapt their older beliefs to one or other local religion in both phases. In the first phase, a choice had to be made between Zoroastrian, Buddhist and Hindu beliefs. But during the second phase an amalgam of the first set was pitted against the Islamic belief system because the first set belonged to one genre of belief while Islam belonged to another tradition.

At first the Muslims parried syncretistic overtures, the absorption of Turks into the polity, however, made it virtually impossible to do so. Persian culture had been quite invasive and, when the Turk

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[115] This is not because of a weakness in the linguistic loyalty of those who have become naturalized but because they have entered the region in small groups over time, as the Pathans in Multan and Sind. Consequently, the minority was absorbed in the majority every time. However, each wave influenced pronunciation of words: forming dialects.

community added its weight to the Iranian thrust, considerable cultural baggage was imported in to Islam; the Turks imported the Bodhisattva concept into that of the ideal Murshid also.

The nucleus of sufi orders is the Afghanistan-Transoxiana region; they originated in the time of Abbasid decline and flourished[116]. under Turkic imperialism. These people were the most affected by the earlier religious synthesis and they, therefore were keenest to achieve cultural syncretism with Islam. During the time of the Samani, Ghaznavi, Seljuk, Ghori and Khvarizm rulers, cultural exchanges with non-Muslim Turks took place in Transoxiana and northern Afghanistan. Under the Mongols the triangle between Nishapur, Bamian and Samarkand lost its edge over other areas and the syncretism of the Sufis found new homes in far off places.

Afghanistan was a foyer in its own right but it had served as an antechamber to the Enclave as well. It was the hub for directing demographic flow between West Asia, Central Asia and South Asia but it also acted as a buffer between them. In the first phase the towns of Bamian, Gardez, Gilan, Badakhshan, Balkh and Tirmiz had been the trading grounds for inter-faith discourse and centres where syncretistic activity took place. With the Mongol incursion the legendary centres of culture and faith soon became barren, leaving a legacy that carries their names into the present day and age. Sufi orders like that of Rumi did not use the location of founder's birth in the title of the order. However, founders of

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[116] The phenomenon is more powerful in the Asiatic part of the Muslim world with important variations to be seen across it. The various silsilas can be classified by names of urban links: Gardezi, Gialni, Tirmizi and Sabzwari.

all these orders belonged to the Balkh region that nurtured seeds of Sufi syncretism before planting them across the Muslim world

The Muslim challenge to Hindu caste found fertile ground in the Enclave where that social order had been challenged virtually from its inception[117]. Since it had not been forced to do so, Islam did not make major concessions to local beliefs in this region. With the coming of Mongols, however, a class of 'neo-Muslims' emerged which needed an open policy to remain connected with their cohorts who empathized with other local faiths. This 'spirit of accommodation' led to Bhagti movement. Among the several manifestations of this movement were the teachings of Guru Nanak. Though these were primarily concerned with tolerance and integration of the norms of religions competing for popular acceptance, they gradually acquired the status of a religion. Its appeal was strongest in migrating communities internally divided into religious factions. This was probably the case with mixed blood tribes of Jats which assimilated Mongol settlers.

Economy

Closed local economies perhaps emerged from the interaction of the Aryans with the Harappans and developed under the Buddhist Kushans, acquired definite form with the upsurge of Hindu states after the Huns. As mentioned in a previous chapter, rural societies existed in a sea of nomadic and pastoral communities in the form of islands. Some of these islands had been joined by trade to form

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[117] Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, OUP, Delhi, 1963, p. 15, refers anachronistically to the Punjab as an area where the Brahman and his faith did not command due reverence.

dotted lines along rivers and mountain passes as we saw in the preceding stage. These dotted lines now started becoming a solid line with the gradual settlement of pastoral groups and nomadic conversion to a pastoral beat, linking river valleys with the nearest highlands in a summer-winter regime. With settled communities came greater prospects for extension of governance to lower echelons of society. A natural corollary was the addition of new issues of government to the executive scheme and a consequent complexity in communal socio-economic structures.

With the Muslims came the revival of literature as an economic activity. This had been declining since the recession of Buddhism. The simple economic growth that naturally takes place when any occupation is added to the production function is compounded if an activity receives patronage from the state or the elite. The art of the idol maker and stone carver is tangible but the written word is more potent as it is versatile and can be used for state, art, trade, religion, industry or science. Literature pervaded the entire range of socio-political economy during the Muslim rule.

With the rise of the Turks came patronage of the arts, military industry also received a fillip wherever their imperial design led them. Traders, artisans, soldiers, mashaikh and ulama flourished in their towns, and for these a robust agricultural community was essential. The state therefore, promoted prosperity of the self-sufficient villages for sustaining the urban polity. Soldiers, when not required for the battlefield, either lived in rural areas or in forts. In the latter they contributed primarily as consumers but in the former they were part of the productive workforce. Traders, needing protection in travel, gravitated to routes defended by the

army. The state interest in security was thus dominated by two priorities: administrative centres and trade routes; contributing to industry, arts and other manifestations of culture.

We have seen in the political section that the eastern part of the Enclave was the periphery of the Sultanate but the Mughal reach spanned the region. We have also seen that Multan was central to communication for the former and Lahore for the latter. Therefore agriculture and trade got a higher priority in the area governed from these centres in their respective periods. Because of an integrated polity for more than a century, prosperity was greater and growth was more consistent in the Mughal period. However, the extent to which sedentary lifestyle pervaded the south could not be matched by the north till the Sikhs and Afghans themselves began to settle down. Multan and Sind then lost the potential for economic growth to the tribes in northern part of Punjab's doabs.

Organization and management

The form of Oriental Despotism originating in Mesopotamia and Persia gave way to the pastoral imperialism of the Turkic people like the Hun and the Kushan. With the advent of Islam this was transformed into a multi-tiered, multi-system, add-on model that created a conglomerate imperial mosaic. Cultural continuity and ethnic distinction was tolerated sometimes to a degree that could be called secular. The democratic right too was exercised more in an implicit and selective form than in an explicit and general one. Thus instead of voting for a plan of action and assigning it to a ruling elite with a general power of execution, an agreed upon code of conduct was prescribed for any and all rulers along with a set of values. When and if a ruler failed to conform, he faced

the consequences. If a particular community was affected, it raised an objection and negotiated the terms and procedures for compliance or accommodation by the ruling elite.

It was a policy of Muslim states to assign land grant to khanqahs and endowments called madad-i-moash[118]. These grants, like the land grant, usufruct, to Muqtis in the Sultanate, were instrumental in populating uncultivated land through reclamation by building canals and resettling agricultural labour[119].

Food related items produced during this period included grains, vegetables, fruits, sugarcane, poppy and oilseeds. For the textile industry, along with cotton, wool and silk were dyes; henna and turmeric. From the mines came mineral salts, copper, silver and iron; while quarrying yielded stone of various kinds. Limestone, sulphur, saltpetre, Sal ammoniac and precious stones were also accessible from the hinterland during Muslim rule. In the Enclave some of these things were imported from within the empire but for wood and animals the region was generally self-sufficient.

Thatta and Sehwan probably thrived more during the Sultanate period while Liari Bandar got a boost under the Mughals which it

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[118] Hameeda Khatun Naqvi, *Urbanization and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals*, p.11.

[119] For this purpose Ain-i-Akbari, Haft Iqlim and Khatima of Mirat-i-Ahmadi need to be studied along with the Tabqaat-i-Nasiri, Rehla and Kitab-ul-Hind etc. for the earlier Muslim period. For the Mughal period, European sources such as the Portuguese and Dutch are also useful. For the period after the Gandhara civilization perhaps Hiuen Sung and Fa Hian will prove helpful along with other sources.

had not received earlier[120]. It appears that riverine routes were more secure and could handle greater volume of merchandise; but its traffic was slower than the overland trade. Ships weighing 600 tonnes, carrying cargo for Lahore, could go up the Ravi from Liari Bandar and Thatta in Sind[121], smaller ships came up to Delhi from the east. Naturally use of river transport was common in Sind. A kind of boat called Ahura was half covered to create an upper deck; forty sailors rowed the boat. It took five days from Sehwan to Liari; it was also convenient to travel by land along the river. Liari was a beautiful city-harbour along the coast. The Indus fell into the sea next to Liari and ships from Yemen and Persia came to it. Its income was 60 lakh dinars and the governor was entitled to 20% of it. Seven kos [14 miles] from Liari were archaeological remains including human and animal statues in stone and petrified grain. Ibn Battuta described the ruins graphically[122].

Trade

Babur mentions two 'trade marts' in the area of Afghanistan, one was Qandahar, the other was Kabul[123]. At Kabul Central Asian caravans were able to make fourfold profit on their investment; to Qandahar came traders from Khurasan. By Babur's time the area

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120 H. K. Naqvi, *Urbanization and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals*, pp. 81-88, descriptions of Liari and Thatta by that author reflects the change in the fortunes of Thatta in Mughal times.

121 Hameeda Khatun Naqvi, *Mughal Hindustan: Cities and Industries 1556-1803*, Karachi, 1968, p. 23.

122 Battuta, p. 17f, the ruins had foul smelling water and were 1000 years old.

123 *Babur-Nama*, tr. Annette S. Beveridge, Vol. I & II, (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1988): 202.

of Ghaznin was in decline, its productivity was less than Kabul even though the quality of its fruits was better[124]. The unit of account/currency that Babur refers to is a 'shahrukhi', [125] we infer that this standard was used under Timur's successor of that name.

According to Ibn Battuta's translator 10,000 golden Hindi Dinars were equal to 1,00,000 dinars, a Hindi golden dinar being equal to ½ western golden dinars[126]. Erskine is of the opinion that 4 lakh 'shahrukhi' equalled 20,000 pounds. Thus, twenty of them equal one pound. If 40 daam equalled a rupee and 3,00,00,000 daam equalled 75,000 pound, 10 rupees equalled one pound.

The items promised by Shah Shuja as his tribute to the Sikhs under British tutelage, show what kind of goods were in short supply within the Enclave. It depended on Afghanistan for horses, mules, Persian scimitars and poniards, fruits including melons, grapes, pomegranates, apples, almonds, raisins, pistas, coloured satin, fur, kimkhwab and Persian carpets. Naturally some of these items were local Afghan produce while others came from trade[127].

Culture & Society

Branches of knowledge other than religion that occupied Muslims included astrology, astronomy, chemistry, mathematics, biology, botany, geography, zoology and chronology. The *ulum* provided

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[124] *Babur-Nama*, p. 218.

[125] *Babur-Nama*, p. 383

[126] Battuta, p. 10f.

[127] Abdul Ghani, *A Brief Political History of Afghanistan*, Vol. I, p. 283.

technologies and skills to develop agriculture, animal husbandry, industries, medicine, social knowledge and economics.

The Panchayat system of the Punjab was a counterpart of the Jirga of the Pathans. Naturally both systems catered to the needs of communities that were socially different. A Jat village has been described as semi-autonomous 'small republic made up of people of kindred blood'[128] paying a fixed sum of revenue to the state; with a community of service skills to support the landowning farmers. Being a militant and marauding society, these people wielded swords as readily as they did ploughshares. It is possible that the increment in issues of governance first under the Sultans of Delhi and later under the Mughal Emperors was responsible for the ethno-nationalism of both Sikhs and Afghans as they lay on the trade/military passage, particularly of the Mughals.

Settlement patterns, town plans, materials and architecture

The Muslim state started from Mecca and Medina as the ultimate urbanism possible in a nomadic hinterland, soon it acquired urban forms from the Persians and Byzantines town planning. However, the Arabs developed garrison towns away from locations which had previously been centres for promotion of beliefs and norms of their subjects. Thus they provided nuclei to which neo-converts could gravitate without risk of exposure to beliefs and practices that might draw them away from Islamic norms. The towns of Mahfuza and Mansura built by Arab settlers after Muhammad bin Qasim in the Indus Enclave probably conformed to this Umayyad pattern. Naturally the conquering administrators established a

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[128] Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, OUP, Delhi, 1963, p. 15.

capital and gravitated toward towns instead of villages until they became settlers. The ethno-genesis was so comprehensive that by now Arabian influence on Sindhi culture can only be sensed.

Mahmud Ghaznavi, the next Muslim to carve out an empire in the Indus Enclave from his base of operations at Ghaznin, was a Turk. The remnants of Arab urbanization in Sind declined with a shift in the centre of operations from the south to the north much in the same mode as the Gandhara civilization replaced the Indus Valley civilization. Lahore took precedence over Multan and Peshawar over Mansura signifying a change in focus. During the Sultanate the Enclave west of Chenab and hilly tracts west of the Indus could not be subjected to political urbanization. Even economic and religious drivers of urbanization[129] were subdued because of mercurial political conditions caused by the Mongol raids. Naqvi takes for granted the Muslim inclination to found what Divekar termed as the 'political city' wherever possible[130].

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[129] Naqvi, *Urbanization and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals*, Simla, 1972, p.3 says 'Briefly, urbanization envisages a state of development where … a compact conglomeration of inhabitants within a delimited area, a centralized governing organism, and industries as the materially productive unit, exist. This is in contradistinction to the rural society which implies a dispersed population over a relatively large area, a … loose administrative set up, and cultivation as the … productive activity.

[130] In two works published in 1968 and 1972 respectively, entitled *Mughal Hindustan: Cities and Industries 1556-1803* and *Urbanization and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals,* Naqvi has studied the cities of Lahore, Multan and Thatta; for the rest the author was mainly concerned with what was termed as Hindustan during Mughal times, that is essentially the area north of the Vindhiyas and between Bangladesh and Pakistan.

It has been argued that 40 namazis[131] were enough to found a Muslim city, this of course is an over simplification but the point is well taken when the issue was founding a garrison town or a political city. The fortification of a bazar, a caravanserai, some madrisa or maktab/ribat and the required population for a staging post/thana was enough basis for a town. Of course the constant availability of water had to be ensured, for this purpose Muslims added bains, baolis and Hauzes to their settlements. When towns flourished castles and forts, khanqahs and hospitals emerged as well; towers performed the triple functions of look out, call for prayers and monuments for its simple residents[132].

The founding of political or garrison towns naturally presupposed the need/availability of roads or some means of communication. When the political objective was achieved and monuments were being created, industry, trade and commerce were encouraged. A high priority was attached to developing the hinterland for food security of the settlement. We know that in the Nasiri period consolidation of conquests west of the Chenab was not pursued because the hinterland did not have the capacity to sustain an army[133]; a similar line of reasoning was followed by the Arabs when conquest of Baluchistan was assessed.

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131 H. K. Naqvi, *Urbanization and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals*, p.4.

132 If the prospects of consistently being able to muster 40 namazis for Juma were bright, the central or Jami mosque was added to the settlement.

133 See *Tabqaat-i-Nasiri*, p.834 ff. and *Futuh al-Buldan*, op. cit., [referred to in the previous chapter] for the Sultanat and Khilafat perspectives.

Artisans generally formed themselves into corporate bodies in muhallas, possibly affiliated with religious orders[134]. The practice of artisans congregating in one sector of the town may date to the Indus civilization and that of identifying with religious orders can have something to do with deification of the artisan's craft. The need for a variety of craftsmen was an urban imperative just as discovery of food grain and storage capability were prerequisites for human transition from pastoral to rural life. Muslims in India in particular relied on food, clothing and shelter industries; horses were imported on a large scale as were some other luxury items. The khanqah, like the palaces of umara had langars to feed the poor on a regular basis. Cotton cloth and other textiles were major production industries; elite patronized public works extensively and built monuments on any excuse. Mosque, khanqah, madrasa, bain, baoli, hauze, mausoleum, caravanserai and minar were the popular varieties. As a result crafts for mundane and luxury items related to these forms. Calligraphy, arabesque and gardens had a particular lure for the Muslim elite, however.

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134 H. K. Naqvi, *Urbanization and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals*, p.6 f, quotes Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, Vol. I, p.272. New industries are believed to have developed as a result which include paper making, construction work, carpet weaving, tinning and armaments. This argument is a little overrated as is the expectation that the majority of urban artisans converted to Islam. It is certainly possible that some of those keen to attain upward mobility may have abandoned their original castes and trades and acquired the religion of the conquerors but no rural-urban divide existed between Muslims and Hindus in or after the Sultanate period. If anything we may find a limited Muslim population in rural areas and an even mix of the two communities in urban regions initially with a gradual increase in the rural Muslim population over time.

security/administration

Timur mentions that several people would flee from a town when he attacked it. They would take their belongings with them and even prefer to camp outside some other city. He also mentions the presence of an aggressive Jat community in the gateway triangle. The Jat presence near Rajputana depicts an ethnic cusp linking eastern part of the Enclave and western Bharat.

Babur has enumerated four routes from the Enclave to Kabul[135]: Nagar, Khyber, Bangash and Farmul. These may be approached from three ferry points on the Indus: Nil-ab to the Lamghanat; Haru, above its junction with the Kabul; and Din-Kot [Dhan-Kot near modern Kalabagh] through Bangash. One could go on to Ghaznin by taking the Farmul road to cross the river at Chaupara. Those who took the Dasht route after crossing the river could go to Qandahar. Babur conquered Kabul in 910H/1504AD, overran Kohat and Bannu before returning to Ghaznin by way of Duki.[136] The Bolan-Khojak passes were occasionally used as military routes as in case of Nadir's return journey from Omar Kot. He had made his way along the west bank of the Indus [Derajat route via the Kurram valley and Bannu] but returned via Quetta and Pishin to Qandahar[137]. Bannu-Kurram link with Derajat perhaps provided a way of linking Multan to Ghaznin and Herat also. Ahmed Shah Abdali, born at Multan was the son of the governor

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135 *Babur-Nama*, p. 206.

136 *Babur-Nama*, p.218.

137 L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, (Lahore: Al-Irfan, 1976): 161f and map at the end of the volume.

of Herat[138]. He may have been the first invader to take a military expedition over the Bolan to Punjab via the west bank of Indus[139].

Paradigms

Socio-ethnic patterns on either side of the Enclave:

The Sultanate of Delhi conformed to conglomerate form of state. It started with quasi-independent Muqtis, and centralized certain aspects of governance but left others to local arrangements. True to Khaldun's theory [propounded in the middle of this era, based on then contemporary experiences], states that arose west of the Enclave on the debris of Abbasid Khilafat had a life span of about four generations. They originated in an ethnic group on the basis of *asabiya* or created an *asbiyat* and an ethnicity which carried an adventurer to power. East of the Enclave during the 600 years under review in this chapter an upper crust of the ruling elite was formed by an unassimilated group of settlers. The second tier was formed by groups which had settled in the region previously and been assimilated earlier. The third tier consisted of an assorted group of subordinates from the first and second tier cohabiting with ethnic entities which predated historical, legendary and even mythical records. From time to time these elements, that predated

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138 Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, p. 15.

139 Ganda Singh, *Ahmed Shah Durrani*, p. 225. We may expect that Parthians, Sakas and the Kushans would also have taken this route when moving from the Helmand region. Chach probably used this route to return to his capital after conquering the Helmand. Abdali's unique feat was to have taken the west bank to move north, Nadir Shah had used the same route to approach Thatta from Bannu.

the current ruling elite, acquired a refractory posture; threatening the continued federation of the conglomerate state.

Within the Enclave a third form of association was also visible. Whereas an indigenous example of the first [*asbiyat*] form was seldom seen in the Enclave during this stage, western and eastern states continuously tried to acquire land within the Enclave with varying degrees of success. Sometimes an ethnicity from either side acquired control of a part of the Enclave as had been the case with the Qureshi and Barmaki rulers. At others a conqueror held some portion of the Enclave or a naturalized community rose to power as was the case with Ghori, the Gupta rulers and the Hindu Shahis. In all these cases, there remained an ungoverned pastoral group whose settlement record is obscured by a lack of historical knowledge. The settlement pattern of these communities [the nomadic Jat, Med and Baloch of the Indus] was governed by local biomes and ecologies. Here the second tier of governance was always provided by a mixed group constantly undergoing ethnogenesis during the period under study. In a sense, therefore, we may say that we consistently find local ethnicities ruling states formed west of the Enclave. An alternation in the locus of power between Kabul and Delhi remained the norm for a thousand years as we have seen. The raja in the east was naturalized to Bharat but his overlord was invariably imported. In the Enclave often there was no overlord but its petty princes came from outside. Khushab pargana, which was not wealthy at the time of Babur, yielded an income of 30 lakh dam during Jahangir's time[140].

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[140] *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, op. cit., p. 363; given as retirement benefit by Jahangir to the retiring governor of Thatta.

SECTION 'C': Capacities & Constraints

Environmental information

The Lahore-Peshawar route lost its importance after the Ghaznavi retreat; it could not be revived by the Delhi Sultans. The zigzag from Gomal via Multan and Lahore to Delhi[141] now became the common route because of the expansion of Central Asian states. Babur secured the Kabul connection; this reduced the importance of the Multan route but it could not replace the need for Zamin Dawar-Siestan-Sivistan-Thatta links across the Bolan and Khojak passes. The peace and prosperity during Akbar's time paved the way for capitalizing on Sher Shah's highway; Jahangir lined the passage with trees and wells[142]. From this stage the northern route not only regained the status it had enjoyed briefly under Mahmud of Ghaznin, it actually dominated political history of the Enclave. Though not commonly used as a military route, Rajasthan seems to have been a passage in times of peace even when Rajputs were rebellious towards Delhi. It is only with reference to Humayun's flight from Delhi that we hear of this route being used.

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141 Muhammad Saleh Kamboh, *Shahjahan Nama*, tr. Urdu, Nazir Hassan Zaidi, (Lahore: Markazi Urdu Board, vol. II & III, 1974): 217-21 shows up the Qandahar-Multan nexus in the time of Shahjahan. Qandahar had the advantage of linking Khurasan with Sind and Punjab while Kabul linked KPK and upper Punjab with Central Asia. The linchpin had been Ghaznin in the Sultanate period, the Mughals preferred the dual Afghan centres.

142 *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, Urdu tr. Maulvi Ahmed Ali Rampuri, (Lahore: Sang-i-meel, 1972): 363.

Humayun used it as a conduit to reach Sind [Omar Kot[143]], not as a military venture but as a choice for retreat. Perhaps the repeated attempts of centralization by the Delhi Sultans made the Cholistan to Rajasthan nexus seem a viable proposition. Kishlu Khan had tried to hold Nagor and Multan in Nasiri times, later rajas of Jitor tried to dominate Sind via Omar Kot without much success.

Ibn Battuta's evidence indicates that the Indus people continued to prefer floodplain irrigation as did the Egyptians[144]. East of the Indus, Ibn Battuta found a bamboo forest and saw a rhinoceros in it. Ibn Battuta says that Sehwan lay in a desert region where only the Kikar tree grew and along its canal banks only the melon was cultivated. People ate Jaw/barley, Jalbal/Kabuli peas or Koshang grain. There is plenty of fish and cow's milk in this town. People also ate saqankur or raig mahi a kind of lizard which they dug out of the desert. The grains of the Indus[145] included rice, kazroo, cheena, khoodar, sanok/shamakh, mash, moong, lobia, mooth, chana and barley in kharif and in Rabi there is wheat, nakhood, masar and jaw. In the summer people used to go about virtually naked, wrapping a wet cloth around them like a loin cloth.

In 1218/1803 a famine occurred in Kuch and people migrated in large numbers to Sind. Some even sold their children. The ruler of Kuch requested that these sold children be returned to his state,

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[143] In point of fact, Humayun's first route to Sind was via Lahore and Multan, he roamed in Sind searching for support; failing that he crossed the desert to Rajasthan and back via Omar Kot. Gulbadan Begum, *Humayun Nama*, Urdu tr. Rashid Akhtar Nadvi, Sang-i-meel, Lahore, 1995, pp. 74-84.

[144] Battuta, p. 1.

[145] Battuta, p. 32f.

this was done after reimbursing purchasers for their investment. Two unusual climatic events are recorded about this time also: snowfall in Sind between 1217/1802 and 1227/1811]; a terrible inundation of the river Sind soon after this[146].

The Kohat and Bannu regions had both agricultural and grazing land at the time when Babur got there. He notes that groundwater in the dry riverbed could be had at 3-5 feet depth; it was sufficient for his troops during the conquest. He says this was a common feature of rivers in the Enclave and Bharat [probably applicable to the land vacated by the receding rivers. There were Rhinos in the vicinity of Swat and tigers near Peshawar at this time.

Conclusion:

The socio-economic fabric of the Enclave had reached its final pre-modern form under the Sikhs. In the south, Kalat, the Talpur state, and Bahawalpur had begun the transition to modernity with the first Afghan war; perhaps even earlier. The ethnic fabric had a tenacity that became visible with British management. Political culture and political economy had begun to show signs of attrition with the decline of Mughals and rise of local independent states.

Note on sources:

There is an enormous supply of source material of all genres for this stage. Pure historiography is supplemented with documents, political and economic data, travelogues, hikayat and literature, secondary sources, material remains, numismatic and epigraphy.

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[146] Given in Kalich Beg, op. cit., p. 219.

Annexure I

Lahore Jlandhr	Lahore Bari	Lahore Rachna	Lahore Chanpat	Lahore Sind-Sagar
Aslamabad	Anchara	Amra ki Bhati	Indarhal	Akbarabad
Patti Dinyat	Andora	Bagh Rai Bhoj	Akhand	Attock Banaras
Bhung	Abhipur	Aimnabad	Raniaran	Awan
Bijwar	Awdar	Panchngar	Bhera	Pharhala
Behlun	Lahore municipal	Parsarur/Pasrur	Bhalwalpur	Bail Ghazi khan
Barda	Phulwari	Baro Bhandal	Bolit	Balagar
Palkowah	Pholra	Zafarwal patti	Behnir	Paokhar
Bachritu	Panjnagar Abi	Narmali patti	Behru	Baloki dhan
Basai Khata	Bharbi	Bhalot	Bolehti	Nehrchak/ wani
Talun	Bhailwal	Behdran	Sayala	Haveli Rohtas
Tatapur	Haibatpur patti	Balawra	Vaduyal	Khushab
Chrasi	Batala	Bhuail	Shorpur	Dangari
Jiora	Pahan	Ban/Bun	Shakrpur	Dhankot
Jlandhr	Panyal	Taral	Gujrat	Darbandah
Jun/Balakoti	Biah	Talwandi	Karyali	Dohrab

Chandar	Baharpur	Cheema Chatha	Khokhar	Dodot
Hajipur Saryan	Talwara	Chandan-wirk	Kehri	Rishan
Wavirk	Tehndot	Chota Dhar	Lolur non-Khushab	Shamsabad
Wisuha	Chandro	Jio Dhaddi	Mangli	Patala
Dudyal	Char Bagh Barhi	Chiniot	MalotRai Kidari	Fatehpur Kalori
Dadah	Chamari	Jaroya		Kalbhalak
Dar-parah	Jalal-abad	Chori Champa	Haryu	Khaib
Darohi	Jhat	Hafizabad	Hazara	Kahar Darwaza
RNagor	Ambala	Khanpur		Karmiyak
Dehan-gali	Jatgar	Daulatpur		Kachakot
Rahim-abad	Khanpur	Dhawar Bhandal		Kahwan
Rajpur patti	Dabha-wala	Daulat-abad		Kanbat
Sultan-pur	Dhameri Turpur	Roopnagar		Langa Tahar
Sangar Banot	Darwah	Dinha		Kahyala
Sakhet Sindvi	Darwah Deegar			Marabi

Stage V: Turkic-Muslim Civilization

Sopar	Sankha	Rachna		Malot
Soran	Sandhan	Sahu Mali		Nandanpur
Seba	Swad Shehrar	Seedhpur		Nilab
Senchur	Shahpur	Sialkot		Narmi
Sher-garh	Sheerpur	Sehjarau		Tuku Siral Katha
Ainipur	Ghurbat Rawan	Sodhra		Hazara Karik
Garh Dumbla	Kasur	Shanzdah Hanjrau		Hatyar Laig
Kothi	Kalanor	Shor		Hazar Gojran
Kotla	Kanu Dahan	Fatu Bhandal		Hamatkhan Karmu
Kot Lehr	Khokho wal	Fazalabad		Bailot
Kehrak	Gwaliar	Gobindwal		Sehlot
Kewan Kahera	Kangra	Kathula		Kahlor
Gangot	Kotla	Gojran Barhi		
Kahera	Kirkiran	Kala pand		
Khosan	Malik Shah	Karnari		
Loi Dhabri	Mo-damba	Sania		
Lal Sangi	Mehror	Kehrli Tarli		

Miani Nooria	Hushyar Karnala	Lakhnor		
Melsi	Palum	Mangtuwala		
Muhammad pur	Patyar	Muhammad Bari		
San Swal	Bhati	Mehror		
Malot	Jarjiah	Mengari		
Man-dhoth		Manko-Want		
Nakudr		Hamingar		
Tangal		Hantiyal		
Nakudah				
Nongal				
Nandun				
Haryana				
Akbarabad				
Hadiabad				

Multan	Multan/ Bari	Multan/ Rachna	Multan/Sind-Sagar	Multan/trans Panjnad
Adham Wahan	Islampur	Irajpur & Daig	Islam pur	Ubaoro
Jalalabad	Ismailpur	Chukhndi	Rangpur	Uch
Dunyapur	Multan city	Khatpur	Raipur Kanki	Bhorti-wahan

Stage V: Turkic-Muslim Civilization

Rajpur	Tulumba	Wali Bhatti	Misc. Mauzas	Jamsher
Shergarh Bah	Chauk-handi	Kalya		Dodai
Fatehpur	Khatpur			Devar Aval
Kehror	Mauzas			Dod Khan
Khai Boldi	Shah-alampur			Rajpur Mauzas
Gehlu Khara	Khai Boldi			Rapri
	Tela			Sitpur
	Haveli Shehr			Sewarahi
				Fatehpur Mauzas
				Kehror Mauzas
				Majlul Ghazipur
				Muh
				Marot
				Mehnad
Depalpur Jalandhar	Depalpur/ Bari	Depalpur Rachna	Multan/ Bakhar	Depalpur c.Panjnad
Pattan	Behroyal	Khanpur	Bara [12] Mahal	Jalalabad

Depalpur Lakki	Baba Baloj	Dilchi Chandar	Alor	Jangal
Dhanksa	Chani	Shehzada Baloch	Bakhar	Alampur
Deotir	Rhimabad	Abidabad	Jandula	Firoz pur
Rehmat-abad	Sadgrah	Fareed-abad	Jatoi	Qbula Lakki
Qabula	Mandhli	Kharal	Darbela	Mamdot
Qayampur Lakhi		Mahais	Sankar	
Kalyaki Lakhi			Siwi	
Khokhrain Lakhi			Fatehpur	
Loskani Lakhi			Khajana	
			Khrah Kakan	
			Kakhri Manehl	

Sind Thatta	Sind Hajgan	Sind Sivistan	Sind Nasirpur	Sind Hala
Rahri Bandar	Bagh Fateh	Batar	Omar Kot	Arpur
Batora	Pablah	Baghban	Talsirah	Chakar Hala
Behrmpur	Hajgan	Ban	Samadani	Siar
Bori	Jun	Bosikan	Kidal	Ghazi pur

Stage V: Turkic-Muslim Civilization

Jakar	Rahban	Janjah	Kasar	Toari
Jad	Misc	Khat	Mrkandan	Khari Jona
Wirk/ Wirg	Karori	Haveli	Nasirpur	Barka Manoli
Dakri	Lunda	Sewistan		Barhi
Ratna	Mandni	Kahan		
Sankurah	Badvi	Lakhwat		
Sarsi Jam	Nobiar			
Karhar				
Laikan Khera				
Maljah				
Manjar				
Nizampur				

Note on transcription: certain names of places have been spelt in three different ways: as a single word, as a hyphenated composite word and as two words. This is mostly done for suffixes such as Wah and Kot in order to focus the attention of readers to linguistic links and lingua-genesis. It may be noted that the two examples are also pronounced as Bah and Ghot as well.

STAGE – VI: 1850-1950

Modern Civilization: The Germanic Form

The British were the first known, obviously foreign invaders of the Enclave from the east. The Mughals who preceded them, and the Mongols and Sultans of Delhi before that, also came from the east as conquerors or invaders but were known to have entered Bharat from the west before their invasions from eastern bases. All other invaders of the Enclave from the east, whose records are found in history or myth, starting with the legend of Mahabharata, through the Mauriyas, Scythians, Parthians and Kushans may have provided a foreign leadership to local aspirations. Some invasions may have had leaders of local origin, but we cannot say for certain. Not only were the British foreign but they were also definitely colonial; that is to say that their priorities in conquest and governance were dictated by dynamics of a distant homeland. As the remote international environment acted on historical dynamics in the Enclave, social stimuli transformed its politics and economic life in a way that continues to bear fruit till today.

Naturally, coming at the end of six millennia of history the British found long standing structures of administration, ethnicity and politics. Having ruled part of South Asia for a century before the conquest of the Enclave, they also brought some baggage of their previous experience. From the sea, they followed the Portuguese

and the Dutch into Talpur Sind and in the north they followed the lead of Mughals and Marathas into the Sikh dominated Punjab. A quarter of a century later, impelled by Hunter's visionary project they emulated the Ain-i-Akbari under state sponsorship to collect data systematically regarding their 'Indian' domain. On one side this information affords us an opportunity to sieve out a tailor-made profile for our study; on the other it makes us acutely aware of the fact that dynamics of governance were greatly influenced by events in Britain or Europe. The Gazetteers, as the profiles of administrative units of British India were called, were prepared from the District level, the basic administrative unit introduced by the British, from the records of Tehsils, the basic collectorate of their predecessors. These were then compiled into a form for the province and the entire dominion of British India: an Imperial version representing all the governorships and independent states.

In what follows, we have taken the provincial versions of the Gazetteers starting with the Punjab[1] and following it up with other provinces. Part of the reason is to develop the profile as the British saw it and part of it is the fact that Punjab included a part of India that had most often played at ducks and drakes in the Enclave and, therefore, needed special treatment. In addition, because it was the most frequently recast region in the British administration of

[1] The *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Punjab*, Vol. I, Aziz Publishers, Lahore, reprint dated 1976, the original complied text was prepared on census data up to 1911. Since the gazetteers have been used extensively, we will use running page numbers. All district data in the Punjab is from volume II, therefore no additional sign follows page numbers For data of other provinces, page numbers pertain to respective provincial gazetteers.

the Enclave, it was also the most problematic of these units. We will occasionally supplement Gazetteers with other sources of British history of the Enclave to provide a dynamic portrayal of urbanization in the last century before emergence of Pakistan. Since there is a wealth of material on the details of state and governance that the British preserved, despite the comprehensive provincial and urban profiles given here, there is much more that may be culled from their records. A slightly different scheme of presentation has been followed here compared to previous chapters because we have taken the information of the Gazetteers from the Provincial series format with few additions from other sources. As far as possible we have cast this information within the original framework but with a descriptive appendix for provincial political geography separate from the main essay.

SECTION 'A': Political & Administrative

A portion of the Enclave passed from Mughals to the Afghans to the Sikhs, then to the British between 1750 and 1850. Except the Sikhs, therefore, all three of the others had been neighbours to it before they ruled it. Ranjit Singh acquired Lahore as grant from the Afghans in 1799 and soon extended his sway as far south as Multan. Naturally his relationship with his erstwhile masters was belligerent; with the British however, an agreement not to pursue expansion at each other's expense lasted throughout his life. The British decided to discontinue this policy after him and conquered his domain within the next decade [31]. At the start of this stage most regions in the Enclave had been acquired by the British. In the west Afghanistan and Iran were in decline, the foreign policies being dictated by European aspirations of global domination.

When the British came to the Enclave, they had been eyeing it for nearly fifty years; since they had been in power at Delhi. Their indirect impact was first felt in Sind, then in Baluchistan and, finally in the Punjab and NWFP/KPK[2]. Details of administrative divisions and some relevant data have been given in the appendix to this chapter that shows the sequence of British involvement in the region. Here we will be concerned with it only in so far as it impacted those indicators of civilization which we have been able to address in the course of the present study. Initially content with manipulating local politics through residents, the company served national aspirations of Britain along with its own trade interests. At this time it left local governance alone entirely to concentrate on foreign policy. The primary/exclusive motivation was to reach across the Enclave in order to maintain Britain as dominant global colonial power. The first Afghan war forced the recognition that this could not be managed without a hold over Sind, when even that seemed insufficient, over the Punjab and NWFP. A portion of the NWFP, including the Tochi valley was acquired as agency in 1895. Perhaps it was only after this acquisition that was it considered plausible to separate the province from Punjab.

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[2] The British seem to have been keen to use a descriptive term for frontier units. Thus they first used the name North-Western Province for the extremity of their domain, then assigned the name Sind Northern Frontier District to the border region of Sind with Punjab and finally gave the newly created province the name of North West Frontier Province. Accurately defined by its name [ism ba musamma], it retained the title after creation of Pakistan. Here each of the other provinces could also have been named in a similar manner as each occupied a position where it had at least one inter-state boundary. Now NWFP carries the name Khyber Pakhtun Khwa [KPK]. We have given both acronyms here but will normally use the Colonial one.

An important question regarding the extent to which the Crown had been involved in the policies attributed to the company before 1857 may be raised in the light of the Afghan and Sikh wars. The Company's administration in Punjab and Sind, its treaties, restructuring by the Crown and subsequent issues may be studied for this purpose but the debate is not germane here. On the other side, the Afghan state was forced to realize that it would have to choose sides and to relinquish claims to parts of the Enclave. As the pressure mounted, factionalism emerged within the Afghan elite which forced an alternating submission and resistance to the British will. Persia was no longer in a position to join the struggle for leadership, being itself beleaguered by the rising European tide of competitive colonial expansion. Though this is a well-known and extensively studied phenomenon, a succinct outline is needed to highlight dynamics in the context of India and British management of the Enclave.

With piracy on the Spanish Main, the British inherited colonies in sparsely inhabited areas. When, nearly two centuries later, they learnt to play politics in areas that had long been civilized, they realized the full potential of their imperial, political and economic power. Now they were ready to rule the world. After Napoleon, France lost the contest since Britain had learnt the art of spiking the guns of its opponents before they were trained against it.

The nineteenth century was the century of British containment of Russia, from Poland to Central Asia. It was also the century of the steady dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire in the classic European mode. Like the partition of Poland and Austria before it and the formation of splinter states from Austria-Hungary along with it, East Europe provided the ideal geography. Balkanization

became proverbial for its archetypical division from the Ottoman experience. The first imperial venture to unite Europe under a single state befittingly came from the Carolingian heart, France. While the Company had been busy in subjugating the nominal Mughal Emperor, Britain was occupied in defeating Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. From the Concert of Europe to the World War of 1939-45, Britain's main European policy was to minimize the colonial growth of other powers such as France and to keep other actors like Germany from entering the fray.

Europe's political culture had developed a system of redrawing the map of states starting from the reformation and formalized at the Congress of Vienna. In a regional context this exercise was accomplished as often as on a continental level. At the regional level it was generally conducted by the states which intended to dismember a political entity. At the continental level it often included the state[s] which were declared the villain or threatened by cannibalism. In case of the Ottoman Empire, however, several negotiations about the 'balance of power' resulted in an extensive web and mesh-mash of interests/commitments. Naturally this is beyond the scope of our study but the example is germane as both contenders treated their protégées in more or less the same way in all the theatres of contest from East Europe to Central Asia.

The British seem to have lost interest in their border with Iran when, in apportionment of areas of interest, the French acquired primacy in the region. Arab regions had a different significance before the discovery of oil which added an economic dimension to the partition of the Ottoman state. Abdali's Afghan imperialism had conveniently receded before Delhi fell to the Company and

Sikh consolidation of power in Punjab was coeval with British ascendency in Bharat. The atmosphere was not very conducive for acquisition of control in the Enclave so long as Ranjit lived. It is possible that Ranjit Singh outmanoeuvred the British in the planning of the Afghan war, shortly before his death[3]. He was able to induce them to take a circuitous route to cross the Enclave and so securing the integrity of his sovereignty and domain.

For its own part, Russia, the easternmost of the Europeans and the westernmost of the Christian Asians, was unable to compete with West European states in Industry and trade because of a lack of colonies and access to warm waters. This is a standard refrain in all histories of Europe written in English. What is consequently unstressed is that it was only the reverse of a coin, the obverse of which brought out in relief the desire of colonial powers to limit the club, just as the nuclear club today is united in its attempt not to allow access to others. Had it succeeded in dominating the Afghan state then, it would still have needed to pass through the Enclave or Iran. In the Kushan period Parthian dominance on their western flank had dictated a similar policy.

Since the czarist state did not even hold Central Asia effectively when the British entered the Enclave, it was in fact a non-contest. The first Afghan war convinced the British of the need to control the Enclave as a whole. The Soviets were to face the same dilemma as Czarist Russia, a century and a half later, against Britain's prodigal son, America, with similar consequences.

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[3] William Dalrymple, *Return of a King*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2013): xxx.

Politics and Administration:

It is difficult to say, given the current state of research and the limitation of the present study what was the initial or first political experience of any part of the Enclave. The first interface with the apparatus of state in some areas was with the Achaemenid system of Satrapy. Greeks, Sakas and Kushans followed in the Persian wake to build on its foundation; variations of which lasted till the British arrived. Of course there were many innovations in this structure which had some basic ingredients of the vassal-overlord feudal system in Medieval Europe. However its concept remained consistent, leadership, often hereditary was assigned to a unit of community. In each locality, society established intra-communal governance structures with a charter of rights and privileges, not always ideal but generally equitable. Occupations, services and skills were assessed in terms of their value to the community and remuneration was more in the form of social status than in cash or kind. This system allowed for little innovation or development. It had hardly any room for qualitative diversity; affluence was generally expressed in quantitative abundance and the elite used the same items in more expensive materials.

Thus politics was practiced within a cohort not across the classes or occupations of society. The question of social mobility and administrative manipulation did not arise in small settlements and even in cities it was stratified vertically rather than horizontally. Administrative structuring was inherent in societal norms which assigned a set of rights and privileges of each occupation or class that was guaranteed by communal consensus. A kind of assembly or senate of the elite from various communities involved in every

restructuring was invoked to make an equitable award. This system may have been alien to many of conquerors of the Enclave but they utilized its internal mechanism while influencing the outer shell marginally through relations between the overlord and his client community. Ala-ud-din's *wafa-i-biswah* and Akbar's *pargana, sarkar* and *mahal* structure were such adjustments.

In the same vein, revenue collection siphoned the surplus from the community not the individual, thus leaving ownership out of the equation. Although a form of personal ownership of movable and immovable property is known to have existed in all the states from Kautilya's time to that of the British, the state and society had a system of resuming lapsed title. These non-linier societal equations did not suit the British whose analytical epistemology found them disturbing. However, they were constrained to retain local practices to some extent. Initially it was because of lack of knowledge and later because local socio-political structures did not respond to the colonial management.

In a few instances the negative impact of imported administrative systems was strong enough to necessitate culturally structured legislation. This was particularly true in the matter of land tax or rent. When the British insisted on cash taxation of landlords rather than taxation of farmers to be paid in cash or kind as had been the practice for two and a half millennia, problems were bound to occur. The barter of goods and services broke down and lack of liquidity forced the landlord to take loans from money lenders. In a non-monetized economy the terms were horrendous. The result was extensive confiscation of the collateral, first perhaps in the form of anticipated crops but in due course of time the landlord's ultimate capital, his land. A measure to check alienation of the

agricultural land led to legislation limiting its sale to members of the agrarian community.

We have postulated that four elements dictate the urban patterns in the Enclave. First of course, the immutable factor of geography with slight variations in topography but potentially enormous changes in hydrographic forms. Second is the ethnic construct of demography which may be as immutable as geography within a watershed or as variable as the flow in a rain torrent. Third is the ever changing technological base of society with a general trend toward development in case administrative and political stability prevail. The fourth is the entrepreneurial part of social existence, the governance which integrates geographic technological and ethnic traits in a unified management. Within the technological base of society we have included social and physical structure of knowledge a derivative of which is transport and communication. Before the British, this was heavily dependent on the animal husbandry of different communities and routes were dictated or ethnicities rose to power due to their choice of animal transport.

Here again the British found the attitudes and norms of their newfound subjects unable to satisfy imperial, colonial aspiration. Thus the Colonizers instituted major changes in three areas: rail & road, revenue and district administration. Brief district profiles given in the appendix to the present chapter depict the geography and some of the salient features of districts and urban units in various provinces. It is manifestly clear that the British had to make unique arrangements in each province due to its distinct recent or remote history. It is also obvious that some aspects of administration which had been standardized in Bengal and the

Deccan were interwoven with the experiences of England and its European cohorts to make what was meant to be a uniform fabric of colonial rule. Since our prime concern is with aspects which influenced the mosaic of colonial urban growth, we will only discuss some of those features of British administration which had an impact on urbanization, such as land revenue and irrigation management mechanisms.

The priorities and worldview of small states and local political entities are different from empires or multi-ethnic political units. In the Enclave both perspectives were simultaneously at work through most of its history. Its local administration was constantly in the hands of small political powers often confined to one town and its hinterland. These units [commonly the size of a tehsil or a mahal] were generally subordinate to an overlord who frequently promoted urban growth of certain areas for imperial objectives. Some of these tended to become traditional urban centres while others faded away as soon as imperial patronage was withdrawn. In the second half of the last millennium the Mughal sequence of urbanization was recast twice before colonial imperialism which marginally reoriented the structure to suit communication needs. Once in the hope of extending their hold to Afghanistan and once with the rise of minor quasi-independent local sates.

The British linked and delinked areas to organize districts mainly for ethnic management and revenue collection. Canal commands and railway lines or roads do not seem to have played a significant role in delimitation of settlement areas. They, however affected the location of towns like Montgomery. Industrial management, cultural priorities and social change, except in education, were incidentals and complementary objectives for them.

Education, health and sanitation were imperatives derived from the European historic evolution. The local postal network was augmented with the innovation of telegraph and the legal and legislative mechanisms were also partially structured on pre-existing infrastructure. We will discuss the land revenue here and deal with canals and communication in section B.

Land Revenue Administration [Punjab]

Under the Sikhs, land revenue was taken from the cultivator in kind but the British preferred to tax the owner in cash. The owner could charge the cultivator two to three times the assessed value in cash or kind [69]. According to the gazetteer this allowed for rent on the land. Thus there was indirect incidence of two levies on the cultivator creating a middle class of non-productive owner who earned a rent in effect for cash transmission of tax to the state in lieu of kind received from the cultivator. Because there was a large community of self-cultivating owners in Punjab, the tenant class was 'neither so large nor so' distinct as in parts of Bharat. Nearly one fifth of the tenants as a class have been 'marked off by the legislature on certain historical grounds as entitled to rights of occupancy'. The rent of these people could not be enhanced to more than 75% above the assessed land revenue [69]. Three kinds of tenure were in vogue when the British annexed the Punjab; zamindari, was single control, pattadari and bhaichara were joint control of land. In due course, the British were able to reduce all to the zamindari system. Individual right of ownership led to alienation of land and a rise in its acquisition by the money-lenders. This forced the government to introduce fresh legislation to restrict land alienation in 1900.

The land revenue in1904 was almost the same as in Akbar's time three centuries earlier excluding cesses and canal rates [113]. Certain tribes in each district were designated as agricultural tribes, their land was to be sold only to others of the same class. Three types of village communities were found in the province: joint villages [of Jats], landlord villages [in the Salt range] with a subordinate community of cultivators, ryotwari villages where a group of isolated homes near a well was called a village.

Land Revenue Administration [Sind]

The land revenue under the Talpurs 'was generally taken in kind' according to an agreed upon batai but they varied a lot since 'local usage' was given importance [401]. Initially the British did not change the system materially except that money rates were fixed for irrigation. A seven year arrangement was made in 1847 where land was leased to zamindars on lump-rents. However, after ten years the colonial administration had 'exceedingly imperfect' revenue records. Consequently a 'rough survey and Settlement' was maintained till 1862 when a modified form was instituted, this was amended considerably based on surveys and assessments in the interim. An irrigation criterion was applied in classification and assessment of land [mok/flow, charkhi/lift or sailabi/flood]. The 'Bombay system' of assessment which served as a model could not be fully implemented partly because the Sind soil needed to be left fallow between cultivations.

Land Revenue Administration [KPK]

In pre-colonial times state siphoned off non-subsistence produce where possible. In far off places revenues had been collected by military expeditions if needed. However revenue farming through

local chiefs was a common practice. When the British enforced assessment based on the ownership of land, a structure of rent assessment emerged through which the owner could charge 'an amount which ordinarily runs to at least three times the value of the assessment' [46]. The colonial masters realized rent in cash while the land owner continued the traditional policy of charging in kind; 48% of the land was cultivated by the owners themselves.

While land tenure in settled districts was similar to that of Punjab 'tribal tenure' was common in Pathan communities. Subdivisions of the tribe held units of land referred to as tappas, a smaller tribal unit called Khel held a portion of the tappa which was divided as kandi/taraf. When a kandi or taraf was divided, its share generally belonged to a single family or individual proprietor and was called a bakhra. This bakhra was commonly a divided portion having parts of the same kandi under a system of division or vand. An organized communal consensus of periodic redistribution was called vesh. The British changed this practice in a manner similar to land tenure and revenue administration of the Punjab [63].

Land Revenue Administration [Baluchistan]

British converted the old system of land tenure to five categories: cash assessment or jamabast; temporary assessment or ijara; division of produce or batai; levy in kind on the basis of standing crops or tashkhis/danabandi; and share in cash estimated on measure of part of crop or tashkhis-i-naqdi [69]. A grazing tax was also levied in most areas of the province [71].

Other offices of provincial governments were:

Inspector General [IG] of Police, Director Public Instruction, IG Prisons, IG of Hospitals, Conservator of Forests, Accountant General, a Sanitary Commissioner and Postmaster General. The last two represented Imperial departments like: Irrigation, Roads, Public Works Department, Education and Police. The Financial Commissioner was also in charge of the Settlement Commission, Excise, Agriculture and Land Records directorates; he was also the provincial Court of Wards.

Justice and Revenue are known to have been dominant concerns for all preceding governments as well but the British additions to these tasks are illustrated above. Settlements, police, prisons and sanitation were particularly invasive and alien to local styles of socio-political management. The first item may have been the cause[4] of extensive litigation [104] and five structural changes in administrative machinery between 1853 and 1887. Where there was no interference in communal norms, the case was different. Communal laws and customs regarding families belonged to this category 'provided that the custom be not contrary to justice, equity or good conscience'[5]. Itis in this last phrase that the cultural dissonance of the British was most obvious. Predecessors of the British also passed certain acts as monarchs or as their vassals. However, the colonial form of legislation and the issues addressed by it were both alien and invasive, even if applicable to

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[4] Issues of land ownership had not been central to pre-colonial administrations which generally taxed produce. When the British imposed the demand for ownership by taxing the owner in place of the tiller of land, they caused a lot of litigation [103] which changed sharply (26 to 42 % in extreme cases).

[5] The 'offences relating to marriage' [104] fall in this category.

urban communities. Local practices were replaced by imperial regimes at central, provincial and district levels [102]. Of the three functions of revenue officials 'determination' of rights on land; assessment; and the collection of revenues, the first was the most unfamiliar for the newly subjugated people. Initially the British had an irregular system of municipal administration[6]. Later, perhaps generalizing from the earlier pattern, three classes of committees were instituted, some with elected members. In 1904 there were 187 committees of various classes. The British realized soon that in the presence of District boards, it would be difficult to delegate powers to local boards, thus they began to be abolished in the 20th century. Less than $^{1}/_{3}$ were ex-officio, more than $^{1}/_{3}$ were nominated and about $^{1}/_{3}$ were elected [125].

In this chapter we have included irrigation and transport under administration as they became governance issues for the British; traditionally they had been driven by socio-economic forces.

Irrigation

'Native rulers were not blind to the possibilities of irrigation in the Punjab; but at annexation the' canals in the Punjab were Hasli [merged in Bari doab], and 'inundation canals in south-western districts'. The British instituted permanent canals as well with head-works, and inundation canals along the Sutlej, Chenab and Indus. Near Muzaffargarh Indus and Chenab were joined to irrigate the south Sind-Sagar doab and Shahpur. Numerous small inundation canals owned by private individuals or district boards

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[6] Octroi was the principal source of municipal income.

were also in operation in 1912. The efficiency of the canal system depended on the functioning of telegraph communication [66f]. Most locals used wells for irrigation; in some areas embankment of torrents were also used. Hilly areas with greater water supply allowed for the use of kuhl, a canal running along the hill-side until needed for terraces to be farmed [68]. All the traditional means of irrigation that were in use before colonization continued to be practiced later as well. However, more land was brought under the plough due to canal colonies in deserted regions of the doabs. These had not been cultivated when inundation agriculture was used or land had become deserts during troubled times.

The oldest canal in the British Punjab referred to by the gazetteer dates to the time of Firoz Shah in the Delhi Sultanate. Other projects of Mughal times are also mentioned but they had all fallen into disuse by the time the crown took over India. The natural tendency in state enterprise to take the long view led to schemes of reviving these facilities. By the end of the 19th century some new canals were functioning east of the Enclave [202f].

In part the canals were politically motivated to keep the local population occupied in agriculture thereby minimizing resistance to the colonial rule [207]. The Bari doab canal was particularly useful in irrigating the driest part of the doab at Sahiwal [208]. The lower Chenab canal irrigated that part of Rachna which had been populated by pastoral nomads, called jungli, up to the time of the digging of this canal. Khanki head-works, 8 miles below Wazirabad was used to expand a small inundation canal and a system was set up to control 5255 sq. miles in Gujranwala, Lahore, Jhang and Montgomery districts by 1904 [209]. Rail link from Wazirabad to Khanewal, the entire length of the doab, was

meant to facilitate its newly colonized population of about 8 lakh which inhabited nearly 1400 villages in 1901 [210].

The Jhelum canal was still in the planning stage in 1910, proposed to promote horse breeding in the Chaj doab. Sixteen inundation canals in the Shahpur district were privately owned, six were owned by the government; most of them were to be subsumed in the lower Jhelum canal. Similar set of inundation canals irrigated the west side of the Sutlej during Mughal times; these too were added to the British water management in the Enclave.

The Sutlej canals existed as an upper and a lower system, the former being part of the Mughal sarkar of Depalpur and the latter being used in the Multan sarkar while Ghaghara supplied Bikaner and areas of Rajputana. Inundation canals were in existence under private, local and imperial management during the Mughal period in the lower reaches of the Ravi, Chenab and Indus. These were reorganized by the British; parts which had fallen into disuse were revived to create the world's largest contiguous water system [210ff]. The colonial restructuring of canals in the Punjab had a far reaching impact on its socio-political evolution from this point in time. This was partly due to the communication network which was able to exploit a highly mobile demography in its doabs.

"Sind had been irrigated by means of artificial canals from time immemorial"; more specifically, probably from the era of Chach. Perhaps acquired from Iran, they 'resemble natural watercourses much more than canals', an adaptation to the inundation method of irrigation. This however, was their greatest failing in British eyes. Local institutions of self-help and communal life were tied

to these canals. Begari, for example, the name of one important canal, which formed an irrigation district of the British, implies unpaid communal obligatory labour. It appears from statements in the gazetteer that the Kalhora administration had been regular in its maintenance of the public canals but the Talpurs left it more in the hands of zamindars[7], a local and private matter. Sindhi communities annually cleared the canals to the beat of drums, a method that was peculiar to Sind. Conditions deteriorated further after the British acquisition but Frere and Jacob initiated various schemes for the revival and centralization of irrigation in Sind[8].

As the irrigation system in Sind was based on a revival of old practices with methodological or technological variations started by the Colonial masters, its structure needs closer scrutiny than in the case of Punjab canals. The developments in the Punjab were more localized and influenced the trajectory of change in the long run. In Sind, as the changes had an immediate impact on the forces and factors of production, they influenced urbanization of the region more in the short run than in the long term. We will note here the vital statistics of each canal district that affected it in the context of urbanization in Sind during the colonial period.

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[7] Gazetteer, p. 258, the information of Burnes, who negotiated the western Nara in 1830, is that the eastern bank was less favoured than the west but most towns and villages were on the bank of canals. The Mirs levied tax for the canals they developed as did the British after them but Postans noted that large tracts of fertile land had become waste.

[8] Perhaps it would be worthwhile to explore innovative procedures for irrigation of Sind in particular where the older techniques could be integrated with the colonial heritage of technology to develop ecology friendly practices.

The Begari canal district had three important canals, all running from east to west: the Shahi Wah or the desert canal, Unhar Wah and the Begari Wah itself. This canal district had its headquarters in Jacobabad. The Shahi flowed from a Dhand 6 miles east of Kashmore and 5 miles south of Punjab for 69 miles, with its tail near Kachi. It contributed to annual cultivation of about 119,000 acres. Unhar Wah started in the Wadhu Dhand south of Kashmore taluka, in the Kandhkot taluka and had a course of 86 miles. It commanded an area of 214,000 acres of which about 77,000 was annually cultivated. The Begari canal left the Indus '33 miles north of Sukkur' [268] it formed the border of that administrative district with the Frontier district of Sind; in all running a length of 76 miles. It commanded an area of 950sq. miles and an average cultivation of 431sq. miles or 276,310 acres, most of which were in the Upper Sind Frontier District. This system placed many settlements at risk [80 towns/villages having been swept away in 1874], protective embankments were initiated during the winter of 1874 to control flooding from this artificial canal.

Shikarpur canal district included Seharwah, Daharwah, Mahiwah and Maharowah on the left bank of the Indus and Sind canal system on the right bank. Nara Supply Channel was included in this district along with the Arorwah; the HQ of this canal district was at Sukkur. The Seharwah was entirely in the Ubaoro taluka with a length of 28 miles; this was an old canal taken over by the government in 1884, it irrigated 5426 acres. The Daharwah named after the Dahar tribe was in the Ubaoro and Mirpur talukas of the Sukkur administrative district with a length of 59 miles. The Mahiwah had a length of 28 miles, all in the same talukas as

Daharwah. Masuwah starting at the Khariri Dhand in Ubaoro had a course of 34 miles. Maharowah originated in the same Dhand with a course of 45 miles. The Arorwah was a 13 mile long canal; it was the largest of the small canals in the district. The Sind Canal system was 43 miles long irrigating up to 92,000 acres.

Gharo canal district had two important canals, the Sukkur canal and Gharo canal and their branches, among which the Nasratwah had, itself, become a distinct canal. These canals watered Sukkur and Naushahro Abro talukas, the Sukkur administrative district, Ratodero, and parts of Larkana and Upper Sind Frontier district; HQ of the system was Larkana. Sukkur canal started at a point before the Indus reached the island of Bakker and had a total length of 72 miles. This canal consisted of linked and enlarged portions of previous canals; it commanded an area over 2 lakh acres. The Gharo canal may have been an old channel of Indus; its branch canals were constructed by land holders in pre-colonial times but they were taken over by the British [283]. It originated in Naushahro Abro taluka 30 miles south of Sukkur. Nasratwah took off from the Indus just above the mouth of the Gharo, it had a length of 10 and a tail called Kadowah with 12¾ miles length. The Gharo was more than 39 miles long, it commanded over 500,000 acres and it had about 46 miles of bunds or embankment.

The Western Nara Canal District included the Western Nara canal, river Aral and Manchar Lake. This was also in fact a branch of the Indus which led to Manchar and back to the main river near Sehwan. It began 8 miles east of Larkana and travelled 153 miles to cover the 83 miles distance as the crow flies to Manchar. Its earlier mouth had been about 20 miles up-stream; this was changed in 1902 by British excavation because the river had

eroded the previous location. The total length of the system was 266 miles and it irrigated about 200,000 acres. Aral River linked the Nara to the main-stream after Manchar but was not consistent in the direction of its flow. It could act as discharge or feeder channel between Manchar and the Indus.

The Northern Hyderabad Canal district included 5 major and 5 minor canals extracted from the Indus in Kandiaro and Naushahro talukas. Total length of the main channels was 301 miles and of the branches was 531 miles. All these were old channels, perhaps some being adaptations of the river's courses. In all they irrigated 225,404 acres with the HQ in Hyderabad. The system included Mehrab canal [originating in Khairpur state till 1884]; the Nasrat canal [constructed by Nasrat Chandio in Kalhora times; Naulakhi canal [constructed before Kalhora rule]; Dambhro canal; and Dad canal. Minor canals were Bhur, Bhorti, Mirwah, Jio and Gharo.

Central Hyderabad Canal district contained 7 major and 4 minor canals issuing from the Sakrand and Hala talukas. The main channels were 267 miles and the branches had a length of 652 miles. 'All these channels were in existence before the annexation of the province by the British'. They irrigated an average of 234,037 acres annually and the system HQ was also in Hyderabad [307]. Perhaps this concentration of administration was due to the fact the Indus bank was stable only at Bakhar and Kotri. Major canals in this district were Renwah, Alibahar Kacheri, Marakh, Gharo Mahmudo, Ghalu, Nasiwah and Sarfaraz, with one embankment, the Gharo Alibahar band.

Fuleli Canal District also had its HQ in Hyderabad and comprised of 3 major and 7 minor river canals. The major canals were Fuleli, Hassanali and Mulchandwah, total length of canals in the district was 1253 miles commanding 332,100 acres. Fuleli had become a river channel by 1836, it was revived as a canal by the British in 1857 and it was mostly navigable. The Hassanali canal was extended in 1903 having a length of 35 miles; two smaller canals were Dhadhko Wah and Khairwah. Mulchandwah was excavated in Talpur times in the Hyderabad-Karachi region.

Karachi Canals District covered the delta region; its canals were essentially old beds of the Indus that were organized to facilitate agriculture through dams, embankments and drains. In 1817 the Bhagar was the main channel of the Indus; it began to be deserted by the river c.1828; its course could not be managed by colonial engineers before 1898. Next there were Pinyari, Kalri, Sattah and Khanto canals with 4 protective embankments in this district.

Jamrao Canal District belonged to the Eastern Nara and Jamrao canal began near the boundary of Thar-Parkar with Hyderabad and Khairpur state. After several delays, this canal project was finalized in 1899. The length of the main channel was 117 miles but its branches were 469 miles long and the canal commanded 870,850 acres or 1361 sq. miles. A portion of this was 'surveyed according to the square system adopted from the Punjab'. [321]

The Eastern Nara Canal district comprised Eastern Nara, Mithrao, Heranwah, Khipro, Thar and Hiral Wah canals. They had an aggregate length of 370 miles with branches adding another 132 miles; in all cultivating 275,873 acres. The British made canals

on the old river channel; smaller canals included Mithrao, Khipro, Thar and Hiral with several protective embankments.

The canal network of Sind received its first mention in Arab sources as an extant resource on the basis of which revenue was assessed. It is, therefore almost certain that Chach and the Rai family had patronized this technology. A study of the *Kitab-ul-Qunay* of Pre-Muslim Iranian monarchs may yield valuable information regarding Persian or Sassanid practices which were similar to the procedures used in Sind. A technologically trained mind may even be able to deduce what part of any such similarity originated in the multi-channel, high-discharge waters of the Indus and what part may have been brought from the water-scarce ecology of the Iranian plateau. Perhaps some of the original scientific deductions were of even older times derived by Mauriya or Achaemenid imperial engineers while trying to harness the resources in this part of their respective domains. In any case, the river-management of the pre-colonial engineers was as different from that of the British as the Chinese road construction in the mountains is from the colonial model[9].

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[9] The pre-colonial canals were meandering structures following a path similar to that of the river while the British tried to maintain channels as straight as possible to cover the shortest distance from origin to end. By contrast, the roads they built in mountains meandered to take the most manageable gradient and path of least resistance to the top or pass in an eminence. In this, the Chinese take the shortest possible route from point to point and even the gradient in between to make it easy to travel.. A classic example of the Chinese method is the Karakorum highway from Karimabad to Sust. Even when forced to take a series of bends between Sust and Khunjrab, the gradient is kept low and length of a lap before a bend is maximized.

The British critique of the local system runs as follows:

> None of them have their head where the river bank is permanent, and none of them are deep enough to draw off the water from the river except during the inundation; the river has to rise many feet before the water will run into them. The general direction of the canals is often good, but they have so many intermediate awkward bends, that a great part of the fall is thrown away. They are irregular in shape, and irregular in slope or fall. They generally very nearly follow the slope of the country, so that in some places they have a fall of one foot per mile, in others only two or three inches. In fact, they resemble natural watercourses more than canals. [259]

It is possible that all the 'grand defects' were not due to ignorance but had been designed to cater to needs of ecological balance and local communal management. Such a study of the continued use of these practices through a millennium or two is beyond the scope of the present study but it may be worthwhile to assess the potential of appropriate technologies for future use. In any case the overall impact of British canals in Sind was not as fruitful as in Punjab. In the first instance it was built on a pre-existing structure and on the other it failed to initiate fresh enterprise[10].

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[10] Since the canals cut across traditional ethnic and tribal affiliations without providing either, social, political or the economic incentives for ethno-genesis, the system was disadvantaged from the outset. As the duration of colonial rule too was not long, it was unable to reap the benefits of generations of usage for the new traditions it brought.

In the NWFP, the scope for extensive canal irrigation was limited by topography. The variety of mountains and geological forms allowed for small and narrow canals to exploit hilly areas. Dams were constructed for channelling surface water from the hills for irrigation while 72% area depended on rain water and 25% was irrigated by canals. Canal network developed under the Mughals and Durranis were taken over by the British [44]. Distribution of available water-supply was 'governed by ancient customs, often of great intricacy when the supply' was scanty [45].

Traditional irrigation methods in Baluchistan included 1,803 springs, 496 karez, 132 streams and 76 wells at the time of British occupation. In addition, building of embankments along hills and slopes to harness seasonal torrents or Dam Rivers to inundate adjacent areas were common practices. British policy promoted irrigation works in the highlands of Pishin to harvest more political gain than economic benefit from them. In so doing, however, they once again disturbed the traditional mechanism which integrated rural and pastoral communities of the province. A socio-economic structure based on ancient technologies may have been developed as early as the Harappan civilization. It was certainly in vogue for a millennium before advent of the British in the most consistently agricultural part of the province:

> … the most interesting system of indigenous irrigation is that prevailing in Kachhi, where the cultivators, under an organized method of co-operation, construct annually immense earthen dams in the Nari river for raising the water …. A specially expert cultivator, known as the *raza*, is selected to superintend the work, and the

> cultivators living for many miles along the banks of the river are called in with their bullocks to construct the dam. The instrument used is the wooden plank-harrow (*kenr*). Some of these dams are as much as 750 feet long, 180 feet broad at the foot, and 50 or 60 feet in height. Every village has to supply its quota … or, should it fail to do so, has to pay a proportionate amount in cash. [42]

On the whole we may deduce that the British developed a separate irrigation network in each of the provinces. Although each 'canal system' should really be seen as an independent structure, it was also linked with the provincial development plan. This system was most effective in Punjab although the largest set of systems was created in Sind. The systems in NWFP and Baluchistan were of nominal importance as is evident from the information given in the gazetteers. In Punjab it led to a growth of virgin agricultural settlements and their concomitant urban centres in desert areas of the doabs. In Sind this was only able to facilitate a sustenance agriculture of already existing urban centres it may have stemmed the decline that had set in under Talpur rule. The British interest in NWFP and Baluchistan was more political and strategic. They could not visualize economic structures necessary for promoting development in these provinces not could they think of a political interface which would draw tribal communities of these areas into the mainstream of colonial administrative machinery. The canal system as a whole was geared to the growth of agriculture alone. Only when it was counterproductive to remove riverine transport did the canals serve as a means of communication under British management. In all other cases, especially after the introduction of railways, the communities living on river and canal trade were

disempowered; thereby delinking communities which occupied both banks of rivers and canals.

Transport & Means of communication:

The arrhythmic and non-directional movement of the nomad had given way to the rhythmic flow of pastoral peoples. Their wave like cycle was partly derived from the birds but their routes and frequency of revisiting pastures and water holes was probably dictated by their animal company. The animals, which may have been pro-active in initiating the partnership, enforced an ecologic regime which, in due course led from pastoralist life to animal husbandry. The wavelength of the group was gradually shortened as knowledge of ecology/environmental management increased. No longer were agriculturists the only sedentary community. They, in their own way, caused the hunter to turn husbandman by furnishing fodder. While hunters may not have had the inclination to protect their kill or to share it, these skills came naturally to a husbandman who took for granted also the protector's right to 'contributions' from the protected. This led to 'settled' protectors who abandoned the cycle of pastoral movement to some extent. We will refer to them as the 'pastoral-sedentary nomads' because they retained the nomadic ability to live a wild, rootless life but alternated between pastoral and sedentary life.

A new community of pastoral-sedentary nomads also emerged which occasionally furnished adventurers who created empires. They were versatile enough to maintain an arrhythmic movement in one age, sedentary life in another and pastoral rhythms in a

third[11]. On the one hand, these phenomena caused a decline in the nomadic and pastoral way of life; consistently reducing pastoral range till the community became clients to agriculturalists of an area but retained the ability to impose upon their hosts. On the other hand, it increased pastoral range, again as clients, but in this case clients to an urban community or a rural elite that wanted luxury items from a distant community. This furnished the 'trade' arm of society; a mutation from pastoral-sedentary nomads.

Chinese and Arab traders belonged to this type of 'evolved' pastoralists. When Europe discovered the high seas in the 15th century, they acquired a lead in this lifestyle. Till the 18th century, animal power or ecology/climate management was the means of excelling in this field. With the introduction of steam, fossil fuel in the form of coal and then petroleum, great progress was made in speed and volume of transport for these communities. Before the British arrived in the Enclave they had already harnessed steam and coal. By the time they left, technological innovation had introduced electricity and petroleum into the equation.

Early in their acquisition of the Indus Enclave the British realized that traditional modes of river traffic would require a larger army than rail traffic. As a consequence, within two decades they had set up rail tracks across rivers as well as along them. This policy impacted urban settlement patterns during the colonial period. The priority of populating riverine tracts with 'loyal' subjects was achieved through canal colonies; securing them through district headquarters along railway lines and setting up railway lines for

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[11] The community to which Ertughril, ancestor of the Ottomans, belonged furnishes a classical example of this type.

swift troop movement led to the emergence of new forms in the hinterland and the growth of towns where there had been hamlets. Montgomery and Lyallpur are typical examples of new towns of this type. Sargodha, in the vicinity of Shahpur and Bhera, two historic towns, rose to the level of district headquarter for similar reasons. The small village of Sahiwal in a deserted and arid part of the river plain close to Harappa was chosen over the old centre, Pakpattan, due to the railway line though far from a canal colony.

British developed a web of railway lines, primarily along riverine flow but also cutting across at strategic locations to link the routes mentioned in previous stages of urbanization. Certainly new links were also explored where railway allowed transportation through inhospitable areas because it had well linked units of a caravan and enough speed to minimize brigandage. In spite of it road links continued to be an important means of communication inside the spaces of the railway web. River traffic and riverine communities were hard hit by colonial irrigation and communication policies, in the two areas that they commanded, by 1912 the effect of ethnic mixing was noticeable to the keen observer.

Its oldest railway line was between Lahore and Amritsar [1862], next Lahore-Multan [1865] linked Lahore to Indus Flotilla [1883] Peshawar was linked to Lahore [89]. Indus and lower reaches of Jhelum, Chenab and Sutlej were navigable even in British times though the steam flotilla ceased to exist in the 1890s. Boat bridges were in common use; ferries were available at regular intervals on the river. By the 20th century, Punjab had district and imperial post structures. The former were substitutes for arrangements that had been binding for landlords before British settlement. It was

instituted in districts under their control. Organized as a cess till 1906, it was later merged into the imperial postal system.

By 1907, Sind was connected by rail to Afghanistan; to Punjab at Multan, and thence to Calcutta; to Bombay and to Quetta. Sea traffic to Bombay, the Persian Gulf and England supplemented the river traffic which had subsided since the rise of the railway in the region. In 1851 Frere had not found 'a mile of bridged or of metalled road, not a masonry bridge of any kind, in fact, not five miles of any cleared road'. The gazetteer suggests that roads were 'not a Sindhi institution' since the camel may traverse the deserts without a clear road [341] and the river could be traversed by boat whenever there was an inundation [342]. However, routes of the province were well known and were converted into roads some of the important ones remained 'merely tracks' even in 1907 'for nothing more is required' but bridges over canals were 'built by the hundreds'. Here we will not discuss the road network which was essentially a colonial form of the earlier road or riverine transport structure but the communications by rail were an innovation that deserves notice. Boats of low quality wood used by Mohanas plied on the Indus when the British annexed the province. The first steamers were put on the Indus in 1835 and the system was 'amalgamated with railways in 1870' after having been used for 27 years. It was abolished in 1862 [354][12].

The first railway project was during the last days of the East India Company's government, in 1855. The project took a few years to

[12] Form of local boat manufactures and their utilization by the Sindhi fishermen and traders as described by the gazetteer may be used to assess time-immemorial practices in the region that remained unchanged previously.

mature and actually came into existence after the Crown acquired control. This line first operated from Karachi till Kotri in 1861and to Khanpur in 1878, making the Indus Steam Flotilla redundant. A branch was later created for Sibi between 1880 and 1888. Since the track on the right bank was often breached by the river a new link was established along the left bank. In 1892 a track was started which connected Hyderabad with Rohri by the end of 1896 and another from Hyderabad to Badin in 1904. The growth of the railways network was naturally the product of strategic and administrative interests but effects on trade and commerce were also considerable. The railway administration in Sind was in the form of two districts with their HQs in Karachi and Sukkur respectively. As in the Punjab, the railway line elevated the status of several settlements and downgraded others[13].

In 1904 there were 188 miles of railway line in NWFP the oldest being Attock-Peshawar section which had been in commission in 1891. Punjab sections of railway lines were connected at three points: Attock Bridge; 53 miles to its south, Khushalgarh on the Indus; and Darya Khan. This was supplemented by the road network: 234 miles west of the Indus from Peshawar to Dera Ismail Khan; a similar road from Khushalgarh to Kohat and Thal, 96 miles; minor roads up the Kurram and Tochi valley, Tank, Wana, Garhi Habibullah and Abbottabad. Total metalled surface in 1904 was 524 miles. Mail tongas plied between Hasanabdal

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[13] The *Gazetteer*, pp. 346ff gives lists of stations on the railway lines; these may be studied in the light of other data presented regarding towns in Sind as and when possible.

and Abbottabad, Peshawar and Kohat; Kohat and Bannu; Bannu to Datta Khel and Dera Ismail Khan and some other places. A little trade was carried on along the river Indus with boat bridges for river crossings by road [54ff]. Indus lay between rail tracks to its east and a road to its west from Attock to Sind. The road started at Bannu and ran parallel to the Indus bank [111]. From Attock to Mahmud Kot a set of railway lines took the place of traditional land routes in the region to facilitate colonial hold.

It is evident from the above that the first objective of the railway line was to provide a substitute for the riverine transport in the Enclave. The tracks followed the rivers quite closely except when an east-west orientation was required as in the case of the Lahore-Peshawar section. This was the second priority, to link the east and west banks of the rivers to the main passes. The more viable and important was the link to the Khyber but close on its tracks followed the links to Bolan for Qandahar and to Koh-i-Taftan for Iran. The access to the Gomal and other options on the west as well as a link toward the east via Bhatinda provided substitutes for old established routes. Due to its greater speed and carrying capacity, the railways also eroded the cohesion of many traditional communities which had carried on trade with pack animals. In other parts a transport revolution was brought about by roads and motorized traffic even though continued reliance was placed on boat bridges for many river crossings.

Thus a dual disempowerment of pastoral traders came into force; that of disenfranchising animal transport through a more efficient system and depriving the boatmen of the ability to exploit the river systems. The latter cause partial de-urbanization or dis-urbanization but the former created a new, colonial urban fabric.

An exclusively colonial aspect of urbanization that emerged from this network of communication was the cantonment while the hill-station was not easily accessible a century ago despite the fact that it provided the summer HQ of government in virtually all localities. Thus cantonments were more often than not within close range of a railway station and hill-stations were generally to be accessed by local, traditional transport like tongas and horses.

The post and telegraph completed the communication network. They were essential to Britain's remotely controlled government of India. Especially after the Crown took over the dominion of the East India Company. In the cascading levels of control and the limited devolution of initiative along the chain of command, the post and telegraph played a vital role in managerial efficiency of the state. The telegraph also had a primary role to play in the management of canals just as railway was essential for efficiency of the military and the administration of army cantonments. In the 20th century development of transport machinery of the Crown grew at a steady pace and the network of roads was extended to many parts of the Enclave inaccessible for motor vehicles before then; consequently it now outstripped development of railways.

SECTION 'B' :Socio-Cultural

Ethnicities

Demographic movement across a given border or an entre-pot has been discouraged by most states in history. However people had a greater mobility, especially in troubled times, than was to be exercised in the 'settled' areas of British India. The demographic watersheds of the Enclave as described in the preceding stages

were relatively porous. The British found it convenient to identify their subjects on the basis of communal and ethnic distinctions.

They maintained the status quo in the provinces of the Enclave. In 'the rural areas of the Western Punjab society is organized on a tribal basis, and caste hardly exists' [48]. The Jats, a landed class were held in high esteem; about 40% of them being Muslim, the rest were Sikh and Hindu. Next were Rajputs, a majority of them in the Punjab were Muslims few of whom were landowners; a large number joined the army. Muslim Arains, Sikh Sainis and Kambohs who 'live by *petite culture*' were a lower level. To the west were the tribes of Gakhars, Khokhar, Awan, Pathan and Baloch. Gujjar and Gadi clans were cowherds and shepherds.

In Sind, the Sammah and Baloch accounted for half the Muslim population; Arabs, Mohanas and Jats were together half as many as the Baloch, a few persons were ethnically Brahui and Pathan. Half the Hindus were Vani while Rajputs, Dheds and Kolis were mostly in Thar and Parkar. The gazetteer provides a long list of Hindu and Muslim tribes and castes with speculations regarding their origin and their common locations at that time.

The Pathans formed the dominant community of agriculturalists in Peshawar, Bannu, Kohat and all the Agency regions. In Hazara, the Gujjars were important, while in Dera Ismail Khan, Jats were a majority. According to the gazetteer the term Pathan implied a shareholder in tribal land; consequently one who has a voice in village and tribal councils. Awans were mainly resident in Hazara and Peshawar valley; about 90% of Gujjars also lived in Hazara [33]. Other tribes of the province included Tanoli, Maliar, Dhund, Baloch, Rajput, Sheikh, Mughal, Qureshi, Paracha, Kassab,

Kharal, Baghban, Surera and Gakhars; some Brahmans, Aroras and Khatris also. Muslims were 92% of population but.

About 94% of the population of Baluchistan was Muslim and nearly 5% were Hindus; the remaining number was made up of Sikhs and Christians [most of whom were foreigners]. There were several tribal entities in each of the districts of Baluchistan. As it is beyond the scope of the present study to establish the lifestyle of large non-urban communities, the ethnic profile of the province has not been presented here but mention is made of some of the tribes in the appendix to this chapter. The de-urbanization of Baluchistan began towards the beginning of the preceding stage when its southern and western areas became no-man's land since the horse-riding Turks were unable to exploit it as well as camel riding, sea-fearing Arabs had done. A process of de-urbanization set in as pastoralists turned away from local trade since interstate commerce had ceased across the mountains. Towards the end of stage IV, between Kalat, Iran and the Afghan imperial enterprise the region was denuded of settlements. There were hardly any permanent villages in its vast and arid expanse. A highly cohesive tribal structure re-asserted itself, with an autocratic hierarchy and a paradoxical autonomy of the homestead within the tribe.

Not only is the ethnic profile presented in the gazetteers outdated, it is also misleading. On one hand it does not provide comparative analysis of ethnic composition in different parts of a district or province but it also does not provide ethnological data for smaller units of population and space. In order to fill this gap a wealth of data is available from other sources. We have used two sources here to illustrate the point. Detailed anthropological, historical,

statistical and sociological studies need to be conducted for us to get a comprehensive picture. Since such a study is far beyond the capabilities of this scribe and lie outside the scope of this survey, these have been left for subsequent research. We have, however, chosen to illustrate the kind of data and the nature of information that may be made available from sources dealing with the Jats and Baloch, two multi-ethnic entities found across the Enclave today.

The Baloch, whose origin may be traced back to Achaemenid times[14], are one of the most widespread ethnic denominations of the Enclave today. They share this distinction with the Jats who are linked with them, sometimes as a subordinate denomination. While the history of this race may be vague prior to 700 AD and though it may be scanty before 1500 AD, its expansion across the Enclave is fairly clear since then. As the Colonial British insisted on identifying its residents on the basis of ethnicity, many people who were not clear about their connections were registered under one of the major denominations. Perhaps a number of small tribes were listed under the dominant communities of their regions. While this may have happened in Baloch areas also, a majority of the Baloch across the Enclave had been absorbed in that ethnicity before it began its conquests in Punjab and Sind. These people are as vital for identifying our ethno-genesis as for studying the process of transition from nomadic to urban life and back[15].

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[14] *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, op. cit., p.39ff. All the data regarding the Baloch that has been included here comes from the same source. Other similar studies also provide additional valuable information.

[15] We have seen that their region became urbanized under Rai Chach and considerably developed under the Arabs. We have noted de-urbanization in Baluchistan under the Turks and, as a community of clans, we can see

These mobile, tribal people depict the versatility of their social system and the nature of their ethical system based on communal corporate existence. From sparsely populated mountains, deserts and saline coasts to rivers and floodplains, their social interaction varied from a close knit community to self-contained household. This versatility is obvious in the scheme of forty-four tribes and their socio-political organization, see Mir Khuda Bakhsh[16].

The *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, an extensive study of the Baloch may need addition of information and updating to make it comprehensive now. The *Jat of Pakistan* is an in depth study of only a small segment of the Jats. On the other hand, being an ethnological study, it is more lucid. We will extensively quote from this study to elucidate the nature of ethnic formations in the Enclave. Though not all the aspects discussed here need apply to all ethnicities that have been mentioned in this stage or in stage five, the Jats may serve as an archetypical ethnic formation in the historical context that we have studied in all the preceding stages as well as the current stage. Almost all tribes and clans, whether belonging to a single race or to several ethnicities were absorbed in preceding ethnicities like the Jats or subsumed in the emerging ethnicities such as Baloch by this stage. The tribes, clans or ethnic entities came to be divided in terms of lifestyle by the location in

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the re-urbanization of the Baloch in the Derajat and Sind under Mir Chakir Rind. See *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, op. cit. p. 147ff.

[16] *Searchlight on Baloches and Balochistan*, op. cit. p. 252. A chart of Baloch identity formation is given at the end of the book; the oral tradition of sharing news makes it essential for a Baloch to know this organizational structure.

which they chose to settle. Sometimes the old identities continued to be references for a clan even when it was absorbed into a larger ethnic or tribal entity. Thus a clan or sub-tribe is found in different mega identities like Jat, Baloch, Pathan, Punjabi and Sindhi.

The leader of Jats in Sind was classified as a 'first class *jagirdar*' [meaning 'large land owner exempt from taxes'][17] by the British. One of the classifications of the Jats is as Jat-Baloch, while they are not called Jat-Pathan in the KPK where some Jats claim to be Pathan and some claim to be Rajput as well[18]. It appears that since colonial times some new dispensations have emerged in the Jat community;[19] the designation of the Malik as *jagirdar* is one of them. However, as the entire structure of the community depends on loyalty Maliks must take care to keep in touch with all sections of the tribe. Tradition allowed him to levy taxes and adjudicate within his tribe. In some sense we may suggest that he exercised a status 'in loco parentis' to his clansmen[20].

The right to adjudicate at a lower level is exercised from head of the family through 'family council, lineage council' and *Wadero* to Malik. The British deprived the Malik of the right of capital

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[17] Sigrid Westphal-Hellbusch and Heinz Westphal, *The Jat of Pakistan*, (Islamabad: Lok Virsa, n. d.): 17.

[18] *The Jat of Pakistan*, op.cit, p.18.

[19] *The Jat of Pakistan*, p. 21.

[20] *The Jat of Pakistan*, p.22 has ascribed to him a status of 'spiritual leader'. It is a reasonable designation to identify the status he occupies when one is not acquainted with some of the nuances of local tradition. In the Enclave, as in other parts of South Asia, it is fairly common to designate a mentor as a parent; we have therefore chosen that term.

punishment but he still exercised the right to fines and corporal punishment; this practice continued even after independence[21].

Various clans of the Jat in various ecologies rear various animals. Lakhani herd buffalo/goat; and trace their line to a contemporary of Muhammad bin Qasim. They are a scattered tribe extending from Sind to Kutch, with a divided leadership. Consequently their *wadero* has the task of keeping clans in touch with him and each other[22]. The Fakirani, a large tribe of camel breeding Jat have a peculiar style of roofing their dwellings. The structure resembles an upturned boat; perhaps they were a riverine community which has undergone a transition to desert life. This seems likely also because they use a wooden boat to distribute sweets at fairs. The Jats are found living in all the variety of lifestyles of the Enclave from 'purely sedentary life to that of full nomadism'[23]. Houses of 'camel-nomads, typically erected from reed mats over a wooden frame are called Pakho-houses'; permanent houses are: Manahun.

The buffalo breeding Jats in Sind and Punjab lived in a belt along the river in order to provide their cattle with enough water to soak them in the summer heat. This belt/zone could be narrow or wide depending on the supply of water. However, due to the floodplain, they needed to retreat to the adjacent jungles during flood season. The forest and/or desert zones, slightly removed from the river,

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[21] *The Jat of Pakistan*, p.23. On p. 25, the authors point out that government left 'things as they were with the tribes i.e., to acknowledge and support tribal leaders, with one limitation of their rights….'

[22] *The Jat of Pakistan*, p.31.

[23] *The Jat of Pakistan*, p.35.

were generally populated by camel breeding nomads. Naturally camels need less water and can survive in a desert area or jungle. However, as the buffalo breeding communities receded, so did camel breeders: a naturally enforced ethnic adjustment ensured a non-confrontational occupation of ecological watersheds. The buffalo needed water and the camel enjoyed the shade of the dry heat. With the monsoons and the rise of the river, buffalos found the shady marshes of the jungles convenient; camels found the damp of the jungle inconvenient and receded to more convenient semi-arid or arid ecology of the desert. These parallel migrations were one of the reasons why the two groups 'only rarely came into conflict' up to the time of the British government[24].

This brief profile of the Jats is indicative of the various cross-cutting identities which integrate and segregate communities in the Enclave. This is both a strength and weakness of society in Pakistan today. Future policy makers must find a way of utilizing its strengths and overcoming its weaknesses in a manner that does not come into conflict with the modernization that has taken place as a consequence of British policy as delineated in this chapter.

Provincial Economic profiles:

PUNJAB

Agriculture was the occupation of 56% of the population of British Punjab, 19.8% were artisans; they included weavers, leather workers, potters, carpenters, iron workers. Tool makers, builders, goldsmiths and tailors comprised of considerable communities in the workforce. Commerce, 2.8; professions, 2.2;

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[24] *The Jat of Pakistan*, p. 59.

and public services had 2% respective shares in occupation apart from domestic servants and labourers being almost as numerous as artisans. The division of labour was not too strict in the Punjab as many people had more than one skill or alternate occupation. The most interesting additional occupation is trade with agriculture [53] suggesting transition from pastoral to sedentary life without surrendering some aspects of the previous lifestyle.

Sugarcane and cotton, although sown earlier, were kharif/sawan crops. Some agriculturalists got three crops by planting tobacco or melons after the spring or rabi crop. The British encouraged intensive rabi cultivation in place of extensive kharif farming. Other crops included wheat, maize, barley, vegetable, grams, rice, great millet/jowar, spiked millet/bajra, cheena oilseed, spices and hemp. Crops were frequently harvested by hand; usually village menials were employed for the purpose [58ff]. The indigo crop for which the Rachna was famous, suffered a decline under the British because of increase in its chemical production. Another change in local practices was the increase of agriculture in canal districts of the Punjab, particularly the Sandal and Nil bars where the British developed irrigation channels.

Gypsum and rock-salt were the main minerals extracted by the British in the Punjab province: at Khewra and Nurpur in Jhelum; Kalabagh in Mianwali; and Warcha in Shahpur. British extraction of salt rose from eighty to a hundred tons between 1880 and 1904. Several minor minerals were also to be found but they apparently did not contribute materially to the economy. ‘Prior to annexation the Punjab had practically no trade with the rest of India. It had no surplus agricultural produce to export’ especially after the

decline of Mughals. Ranjit Singh discouraged British trade in his domain while the latter were only interested in opening the Indus waterways. Since 1849, wheat was developed as the main export of Punjab, next came cotton [85f]. The major imports of the province were finished cotton products, iron, steel, sugar, wool, and dyes. In the Chenab colony trade centres were established at Gojra, Lyallpur, Sangla, Chiniot and Toba Tek Singh. The bulk of trade in the Punjab was with Karachi.

Cloth and furniture were both at low premium for people in the Enclave. With shelter fashioned from mud and unstitched cotton sufficing for clothing, the furniture of the ordinary house was of string beds, stools made of shoots, boxes and utensils made of metal and mud. As is obvious from the list of occupations [see annexure] we see that artisans and other semi-skilled labour were non-diversified and there was little variety in manufactures. Basic manufactures of domestic use were woven cloth, leather products, iron products, jewellery, oil, earthen ware, carpentry work and reed matting. Some of these products, such as cloth, wood and jewellery were luxury goods. The service industry was dominated by janitors of various descriptions while a small number of barbers, washer-men, butchers and water carriers supplied needs of each local community, village and urban complex as needed.

SIND

When Karachi became a commercial port, probably in the middle of the 18th century, Shikarpur was the ‘greatest commercial city in Sind’. Perhaps a lot of trade began to take the land route as the caravans from Central Asia took the Bolan Pass to Shikarpur where they branched for their northern and southern destinations.

Karachi had been under the Khan of Kalat till 1795, at which time it was acquired by the Talpur Mirs of Sind. They built a fort at Minora to protect the mouth of its harbour and favoured the Hindu merchants who brought trade to the port[25]. There seems to have been a fabulous, even revolutionary increase in trade from the port of Karachi under the British due to the use of the railways, especially the connection between Punjab and Sind[26].

The major items of trade of the province were cotton, oilseed, wool, rice, indigo, hides and skins and animal bones for export; 'cotton piece-goods' sugar, steel and iron machinery as imports. Sind had no major industries even after 60 years of British rule and artisans, as a class, were few and mostly 'foreign' [meaning non-Sindhi]. Only 39 factories were using steam in the province, employing an average daily work force of 8400; the majority of which was in Karachi. Provincial 'crafts' included shoemaking, tanning, cotton weaving, woollen textiles, carpets, silk weaving, rugs, dyeing, boat-building, embroidery, enamelled metal, glazed pottery, ivory carving stucco work, brass work, and lacquer-ware. Naturally, menial duties of barber and washer-man were taken care of as were trades like fishing, agriculture and masonry etc.

In Sind, 'large sections of the population, especially in the Delta, live under movable shelters of reed mats', others even being satisfied with the shade of trees [191]. Villagers however, use low mud or wattle huts with a thatched roof and a hedge enclosing the

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[25] Gazetteer, p. 368 mentions that a detailed report of trade of Karachi in 1838 was prepared by a navy commander.

[26] For figures and tables see the Gazetteer pp. 368-381.

cattle-shed also served as a reception room. Furniture consisted of a few cots, a mat, pots and pans and a hookah. A zamindar would build his house with sun-dried bricks with a suffo [living room] and one or two side rooms with a kot wall to enclose the angan. An otak or baithak, room for entertaining guests was very important for the zamindar. Great zamindars or pirs had walls like castles and included several buildings within the enclosure. Most houses were single storey and had no windows for sake of pardah but wind-sails in roofs were common. Burnt brick houses were un-common; the Baloch avoided them due to fear of their falling, perhaps due to experiences in their seismically active area. Urban accommodation was quite different, it was often multi-storeyed.

About 40% of the people depended on agriculture and 10% on the rent or revenue from land. No exact estimate of people of pastoral life is given but perhaps 30% relied on animal husbandry and 10% were petty traders, unskilled or skilled labourers. Contrary to the figures given in the Punjab, in Sind no figures are given for many occupations on the plea that the census was unreliable. We see that there was a marked difference between administrations that the British inherited in the Punjab compared to Sind but that their own efforts in Sind were less painstaking and concerted compared to the strategically more important province in the great game.

The major industries of Sind during this stage seen to have been construction and textile, its use of ceramics, metals and ornaments appears to have suffered a decline under Talpurs. Agriculture and animal husbandry became its main economic activity, catering to necessities of clothing, food and shelter rather than commerce, trade and industry denoting economic decline.

NWFP

Guarding one side of several passes and defiles the province provided continuous trade passage to generations of commercial nomads. At the most common pattan of the north Indus near Attock was Naushera, at the mouth of the Khyber was Peshawar. Along the Indus, east of the Suleiman Range, were several nomadic routes on a north-south axis to access various east-west passages as it suited the politics of the time and the nature of merchandise being transported. The popularity of these routes among the pastoral traders had been affected by the option of railway commerce. Trade on camels was carried on east of the Kalat-i-Ghilzai and Ghaznin to part of the Enclave but British attempt to use Peshawar as entre-pot for Central Asian trade to Bombay or Calcutta did not bear fruit; a volume of trade, reduced from the past, exited to the sea in the south.

A considerable number of migrants are recorded in the gazetteer as nothing 'more than sojourners who spend the winter … trading, pasturing' and in other occupations. The autumn crop was sown between May and August and reaped from September onward. Rabi [spring] harvest was reaped in April or May; extra-spring crops like tobacco and melons were to be harvested in June. In the highlands Kharif was the main crop, in the plains it was rabi.

The clothing of the region was the shalwar with some unstitched chadars or shawls and a tunic [often embroidered in Waziristan] and waistcoat for men. Those who carried arms often wore a leather belt to sling them. The Jats in the southern districts used the loincloth with a sheet thrown over the shoulder. Women wore

a one piece upper garment integrating a bodice and a skirt, with a shalwar and shawl. Sandals of grass or leather or shoes of the same type as worn in the Punjab were common to both sexes. Men wore turbans and shaved their heads while women had braided hair. Posteen was a sheepskin coat with wool inside, popular for winter wear. Hand woven cloth was a common local industry and the Afridis made a fabric decorated with a wax like oil. Good quality wool was found in Peshawar and DI Khan while low quality wool was used for making a felt product called namda and for carpets, blankets, daris, nakhais and camel bags.

Houses generally consisted of one room 12x25 feet made from material ready at hand, stone and slate in Kohat and straw mixed with mud for walls with rafters to support a similar roof in other places. The grain-safe being the principal piece of furniture with a few beds, low stools, spindles and some baskets for wool and clothes. Every village had its own guest house, maintained by the headman with an unlimited supply of bedding. The influence of a headman 'to a great extent … depends on his extravagance' [36]. The guesthouse was a village club where bachelors were expected to sleep as they had to leave their home after attaining manhood. Traditionally, villages in the NWFP were large and fortified; with the British settlement this led to homesteads that formed hamlets. The change was most pronounced in Kohat and Hazara.

In metal, gold and silver jewellery, iron, brass or copper products of fair quality were common in the province. Apart from the simple pottery of everyday use, fiancé or glazed earthenware was manufactured everywhere. Boat making and carpentry were of good quality in the province with a lattice-work called pinjara being a specialty in walnut. Lacquer work, ivory and leather

produce are also common arts in the province but large scale industry had barely begun under the British. Interestingly in none of the gazetteers is there a record of labour for public works[27].

People living west of the Indus generally ate the first meal of the day around 10 am, unlike those living to the east of it who had an early breakfast. Wheat, barley and rice were important cereals but millet was the cheaper grain. Meat was a preferred and prestigious food item. Cattle of the province were not noteworthy but sheep and goats were bred in all districts; seasonal immigration of cattle for grazing was common. Camels were only bred in Kohat.

BALUCHISTAN

Agriculture to flock owning ratio in the province was 1:3 but occasionally both activities were combined. Some of the people who were exclusively cultivators were called Langav, Dehwar or Dehkan. Many Brahuis and the Suleiman Khel, Marri and Bugti clans were entirely pastoral. Cultivators used different methods for aabi/irrigated, khusk-aabi/arid and sailabi/flooded lands.

Bullocks of small size and thick build often of black or brown colour was found in the hills. Those bred at the Bala Nari in Kachi

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[27] The British must have used a considerable workforce for building roads, rails, canals, cantonments and buildings of municipal offices. Apart from this, a fairly large military establishment employed civil and military personnel. It would have been worth including their composition in the list of occupations. Indirectly the last category has been mentioned in clans which contributed soldiers. We may assume that the labour force used for other activities came from the 'seasonal' migrants more than from permanent residents whose occupations have been listed extensively.

area were suitable for agriculture, siege train, and army transport and in high demand in the Punjab [38]. The Pishin traders took Balochi horses for sale as far as Mysore in pre-colonial times. The Hirzai breed of Shoran and the Barkhan variety were popular even in British times. Camels took heavy loads, the average being 400lb; they were 'bred chiefly in the Quetta-Pishin and Zhob districts, the Marri-Bugti country, Kachi, Kharan and Lasbela.' Donkeys were also used by the nomads, being able to carry over 300lb and requiring little fodder on the way. The Buzdar breed in Loralai district was considered best [40]. Goat and sheep breeding for food was common to all areas; they were shorn twice a year.

Mekran coastal regions were lucrative for fishing. States lying in the region charged 10% [ushr] duty from fishermen who were generally from Med or Kora clans. Cat fish or gallo and kirr were found toward the end of the cold season; air bladders were shipped to England by the British. Forest areas were few, mainly in the hills around Zhob, Fort Sandeman and Ziarat.

Meals were generally taken twice a day; at midday and the evening. Meat, milk and cheese with wheat or jowar bread were the main items of food. On the coast, rice and fish and dates formed the diet in Mekran and along the coast.

Mat huts and black blanket tents stretched on poles were the dwellings of the region. The larger ones being 50 feet by 10 feet, about four foot high. The walls could be of:

> matting, home spun blankets, or stone laid in mud. The dwelling is partitioned in the centre by a hurdle, on one side of which live the family and on the other the flocks and herds. At the back of the human dwelling are piled

> the felts and quilts used for bedding. The remainder of the furniture consisted of a wooden bowl or two, an earthen pot, a flat stone griddle for baking, and a few skins for water and grain. Permanent dwellings are numerous only … where there is much cultivation. The house of a well-to-do person generally consists of a courtyard with three rooms in a line. They always face east or south, and consist of a storehouse, a winter room, and a summer room. Outside, in the courtyard, are a kitchen and a stable for cattle. … In Las Bela a peculiarity of the houses is the wooden framework, generally of tamarisk; there are no windows, but light and air are admitted through a windsail in the roof. [32]

We see that there was a more robust economic link between towns and their hinterland till shortly before the advent of the British. Throughout the preceding stage its agrarian hinterland was being delinked from the pastoral one. A limited hold that Bharat based Muslim governments exercised over the east part of the Enclave and shared hold with Iran and Central Asia which they maintained over its western fringe led to weak buffer states in the region. Nonetheless, so long as there was strong central government in the Gangetic plains, the rural-urban bond continued to support the localized pastoral trade of the Baloch and the Pawinda people. Trade and commerce continued to rely on ceramics, metallurgy, ornaments and the animal based system of transport. Arts such as iconography were transformed by the construction industry into aesthetics of architecture but the localization of elite brought down both, the scale and the quality of artistry.

By and large its population is tribal or clannish. The Afghan tribes are more likely to be blood relatives while Baloch and Brahui are a 'political entity composed of units of separate origin, clustering round a head group known as a *Sardar Khel*' [29]. The Baloch system has innate, teleological factors enforcing ethno-genesis; wherein tribal culture is automatically preserved. The Afghan and Baloch generally prefer agriculture while Brahui are pastoral.

Culture & Society

Language: As a whole, the linguistic profile of Punjab given in the Gazetteer is not satisfactory and has therefore not been used here. Perhaps the district Gazetteers will be more useful otherwise one will have to conduct a critical analysis of Grierson's data.

The Gazetteers, however, provide a large number of local words in their proper usage at the start of the 20th century. Together with gazettes and other official colonial documents, a corpus should be developed which would provide data for assessing the lingua-genesis of different languages or dialects in the Punjab. A few examples of possible interpretation are as follows: Porus may be a generic name for the ruler of a Pur/town or it may originate in the purusha concept as applicable in Buddhist thought. Place names ending in abad or shahr are likely to have been urbanized by an Arabic community; pur, nagar and wara, like ka and wals indicate Hindi/Sanskrit origin, the latter alluding to tribal or clan association. Kot and garh suggest that the place was fortified [57]. Perhaps Sukkur like Bakhar and Mandakkur have something to do with towns on river banks. Shorkot may be the Atari of Arab geographers [18] and the Brahmapur of other sources [21].

In the NWFP the language of the majority was Pashto; a northern, hard, dialect being spoken in Swat, Bajaur and Buner. In the south was the softer language of the Wazirs and Marwats [31]. Minor variations have not been listed. Hindki and Gujari were the minor provincial languages; two varieties of Punjabi were also spoken.

Indigenous languages spoken in Baluchistan were Pashtu, Brahui, Balochi, Jadgali or Sindhi, Jatki/Seraiki, Khetrani, Lasi. Dehwari, a kind of Persian [spoken by Dehwars in Mastung and Kalat] and Mokaki [jargon of blacksmiths minstrels/Lori] were also among its languages. Persian was its 'language of correspondence'. Female names generally had a suffix like Bibi, Naz, Bano, Bakht, Gul and Khatun. Clan towns were by suffixed by khel, zai and ani; settlements by names of their founders: kili, kot, goth, kalat and shahar while encampments were called halk or khalk.

In Sind, Sindhi, Saraiki and Thareli were the main languages of the province but Balochi was also spoken. Dialects and languages of immigrant groups like the Pathans were patronized by them amongst themselves. Urdu, Persian and English were also used by elites old and new as the case may be. Naturally Sindhi is the native language of 90% people including immigrant families who have been resident in the province for a long time.

Dress

Afghans in Baluchistan wore 'a loose tunic, baggy drawers, a sheet of blanket, sandals and a felt overcoat with the sleeves hanging loose'. Their women wore 'a loose scarlet or dark blue shift, with or without wide drawers, and a wrapper over the head'. The Baloch on the other hand wore 'a smock reaching to his heels

and pleated at the waist, loose drawers, and a long cotton scarf'. Baloch headdress was of white cloth, 'wound in rolls around' their heads 'generally over a small skull-cap'. Baloch women wore the same kind of apparel as the Afghan women but the color had to be red or white [31]. Brahuis wore a smock down to the knees, fastened at the right shoulder; 'wide trousers often dyed black or brown, and a felt cap or turban'. They wore sandals or heavy embroidered shoes, preferred to wear a waistcoat and black shal. Their women wore a long shift, profusely embroidered in front; if married they wore a kind of corset.

The Sindhi suthan [trouser] and peheran [shirt] with an ornate, even bejewelled azarband were more common but banyas used dhotis. Shirts had wide cuff-less sleeves and could be either short or long and were generally made of white muslin. Lungis, bochans or dopattas were scarfs which had multiple uses from cummerbund to spread sheet. Sindhi shoes were ornamented for the rich and plain for the poor and there was considerable variety in headgear. From simple white topi to embroidered cap with a cleft and from the simple patko to various turbans of different colours and shapes, headgear denoted religious and social types or even ceremonial occasions. For women the chadar, rawa and peshgir [petticoat] added to the burka as elements of modesty while the Hindu women were frugal in their use of clothes [195].

SECTION 'C': Capacities and Constraints

Environmental constraints

Flooding in the Punjab was confined to the narrow belts of land bordering rivers except in the 'extreme south-west', where parts of' DG Khan, Muzaffargarh, bordering on Chenab and Indus are

subject to frequent inundations [16]. This region was able to sustain agriculture even when canal irrigation had not been used to augment rural productivity. Perhaps the rulers who made Sialkot their capital were able to exploit small rivulets for irrigation between the Indus and Beas. In the mountains, agriculture can often be sustained by rainfall but in the plains, it needs canal or river irrigation. The sub-montane and hilly ravines of the Pothohar did not have secure agriculture in British times [57f]. Some time during the three centuries before 1800, the Beas abandoned its link with the Ravi/Chenab near Shujabad[28] [189] to join the Sutlej some distance southeast of Lahore. The Chenab flowed east of Multan till 1245 after which the Beas occupied its bed in that region [192]. Ravi then joined the Chenab instead of the Beas which it had fed till the time of Chach [191]. The Chenab moved west of Multan, removing it from the Sind-Sagar doab. The moat of Multan in Mughal times was fed by the Ravi[29].

Chenab entered the British Punjab near Sialkot and Wazirabad was the first important town on its bank. 'Throughout its course in the plains, the river flows in a wide and shifting bed of sand'. The British extracted water at Khanki, in a canal, after which it was joined by the Jhelum at Trimmu, Ravi at Sidhu and the Sutlej at Madwala, it finally fell into the Indus at Mithankot. The Chenab could be perennially navigated by small boats but traffic was light above Chiniot. Last of the Punjab proper is the Jhelum called Wihat or Bihat; this river was important for internal trade

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[28] Between the writing of Ain-i-Akbari and the compilation of the Gazetteers.

[29] This implies the Ravi joined Chenab later, perhaps a misconception.

in Kashmir. It was used as a boundary between the Kashmir state and British districts of Hazara and Rawalpindi. Here its bed is rocky and rapids make navigation impossible before Dungali, 40 miles east of Rawalpindi. ‘Below Jhelum inundation of the lowlands is possible, and low sandy islands stud the wide bed of the stream.’ It serves as boundary of Jhelum district with Shahpur and Gujrat, finally flowing through the former to join the Chenab at Trimmu. Its principal towns were Jhelum, Pind Dadan Khan, Miani, Bhera and Khushab [191-194].

The Ravi flowed in an alluvial plain with high outer banks and, in its flow near Sialkot may vary from a minimum of one foot to a maximum of 20 between March and September. Flowing about a mile from the walled city, it branched off into several streams which soon re-joined each other. It was met by the Degh in the Montgomery/Sahiwal district before it joined the Chenab. Through its course in the plains, the Ravi flows ‘in a comparatively narrow valley, often only a couple of miles in width, with generally a very tortuous channel’. The exception to this rule is the section between Kuchlumba and Sarai Sidhu a few miles north of Multan, for a twelve mile stretch with ‘high wooded banks, forming a beautiful reach’ [190]. A few islands are formed and the channel is known to shift at different places. ‘The floods of the Ravi fertilize only a fragile’ mile or two on either side and was not extensively used for direct irrigation even in British times. Navigation was difficult but grain was shipped by it and timber could be brought down it from Chamba.

The Indus banks are permanent at only Sukkur, Jerruk and Kotri [200]. Bet Basira is a village in the Thal near Muzaffargarh. Its drainage basin ‘estimated at 372,700 square miles, and its total

length at a little over 1800 miles.' South to north, its important towns during British times were Karachi, Kotri, Hyderabad, Sehwan, Sukkur, Rohri, Mithankot, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Mianwali, Kalabagh, Khushalgarh and Attock. This last town is the last navigable point in the north and is also the location of its junction with river Kabul which is navigable for 40 miles above this. From Attock, about 2000 ft. above sea level, the river travels about 940 miles to the sea [195]; its shifting channels, rate of discharge and other statistics are discussed in the gazetteer [196-200]. Greater detail is to be found in other works like Pithawala's *Historical Geography of Sind* discussed in an earlier chapter. Peasants use artificial channels from the Indus, 30-40 miles from the river bank, to inundate their fields. The British made embankments to protect their rail links from the flooding of the Indus. Their preference for rail traffic because of its speed led to dismantling of riverine means of communication even to the detriment of British investment.

SIND: Until 1902 cyclones were virtually unheard of in Karachi but two cyclones occurred within one month of each other in that year. Since then the phenomenon is not as infrequent as before. A tidal wave however, had occurred earlier in 1883.

The river Indus travels through nearly 600 miles in Sind and portions of its route are 30 to 70% longer than the distance as the crow flies. In only two places is the location of the river a constant through time, at Bakhar and Kotri. Before reaching the 'village of Hilaya' near Karachi, Indus passed through a limestone portion; but south of this point one came across neither the 'bark … of the fisherman or of the merchant' because the merchants of Thatta

'abandoned' use of the Indus and preferred to use camels to transport their wares [15].

NWFP/KPK 'The only mineral product of commercial importance in the Province' known to the British was rock-salt with unimportant by-products: gypsum & alum. Marble and limestone were obtained from Naushera and used locally; sulphur and petroleum resources were insignificant, as were gold, coal and some other minerals according to the gazetteer.

The Indus had of course changed its channels in the south but in the north, its course between the domel with river Kabul at Attock and its rapids at Kalabagh, there has hardly been any change. It had flowed through the Thal/desert between this point and Muzaffargarh but in 1800 the course started to change, forming the two streams of Baghiar and Sita; and at Basira there was no longer a beth to justify the name Beth Basira. By 1837 the Thal channel had been totally deserted and the Khedewari passage [which had been a highway of riverine traffic to Shahbandar] was lost in an earthquake in 1819. On the other hand Kakaiwari increased from a shallow creek to a river only to be lost in 1867.

BALUCHISTAN: The routes for trade by caravan lay via Gomal to Multan; through Harnai, Bolan and Mula passes 'to Shikarpur and via Kalat and Bela to Sonmiani. Trade was greatly hampered by the raiding proclivities of the adjacent tribes and the system of levying transit-dues' [51]. The maritime trade of the province was through Pasni and Gwadar while inland marts included Quetta, Gandava, Sibi, Noshki, Kila Abdullah and Bhag. 'All the railways and the best of the roads have had their origin in strategic needs. The necessity of the railway was forcibly demonstrated … during

the second Afghan war … and the Sind-Pishin Railway owed its inception to this period.' Pishin and DG Khan were linked by road 'to control the country between Pishin and the Punjab and to form an alternative line of communication' with the Indus. British only knew of large deposits of coal as a mineral product of Baluchistan but learnt of other substances like chromite and petroleum. Earth salt and saltpetre from Kachi and lime from Lasbela and Quetta. Miners included Mekrani, Afghans and Hazara people.

In the context of the Thal desert region of the Sind Sagar doab, the gazetteer notes [p.246] that its climate was 'healthy for Europeans, but the natives suffer from malarial fever in the autumn, and from diseases of the eyes and skin in the hot season'. This remark is immensely significant as it points out the relationship of ecology and physical anthropology of ethnicities and races. These factors would have played a role in the ecological preference of earlier immigrants also, whether peaceful or militant. Naturally, except in extreme cases they wouldn't have been lone or decisive factors but they may have determined specific locations within a range. It would be interesting to consider Mughal health problems and sojourn of their court at Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur and Lahore at different times. Another line of enquiry could compare concentrations of Turkic tribes dating from different waves of ingress and contrast them with the ecology from which they came.

Conclusion:

The mainsprings of British governance were revenue and defence/expansionism. Naturally they desired to perpetuate their

rule. Being an economy-minded people they were content to minimize the expense of expansion and defence. Thus their first line of defence or offense was managerial or diplomatic. This did not provide any incentive for urbanization except at the administrative level. However, motivated by increase in revenue based on agriculture and trade colonial rulers encouraged urban growth which facilitated communication. Consequently British urbanization revived hinterlands that had been de-urbanized in the past. Montgomery, Lyallpur, Jacobabad and Abbottabad are some prominent examples. Most of the regions that were 'developed' by the British marginalized pastoral communities which provided a buffer to riverine rural clans.

As we will describe in the next chapter, the communal infrastructure that constituted a hinterland had been constructed time and again using the three lifestyles mentioned in Stage One. In each stage the urban mosaic expressed the mutual, parallel, non-conflicting co-existence of these three lifestyles in a different permutation. Most states had absorbed some segment of pastoral people who occupied spaces that were neither rural nor urban. This absorption, however, was voluntary and the state often provided an incentive for them to settle. Their settlement generally occurred in communities where there was employment suited to the skills that the nomads/pastorals were able to provide. Normally they did not displace an existing community unless it was the elite; the colonial urban enterprise, ironically, was mainly at the expense of the pastoral community.

STAGE – VI: 1850-1950 [descriptive]

This descriptive appendix to the preceding chapter is a summary of the geographic and administrative information regarding the territories that comprise Pakistan today. It has been included in the study to illustrate the general form and conditions of the urban scatter which was inherited by the state of Pakistan and depict its similarities and dissimilarities with patterns of preceding stages.

We have first described the provincial organization and followed it with the conditions of Divisions and Districts as they existed about a century ago.

PROVINCIAL

Punjab *[Introductory: Boundaries & History]*

The British province in 1912 lay between 27.39 to 34.2 N & 69.23 to 79.2 E; it included several native states with an area of 36,532 sq. miles out of its total of 133,741 sq. miles. Parts of Mughal districts on either side of their Subhas of Lahore and Multan were cast into one unit by the British. To its west was a newly created separate province called the NWFP while some parts of its eastern tracts had recently been included in its domain. The British had used it as the base for defending the western front, like the buffer Sikh state before its conquest, but in the 20th century they

probably decided that the trans-Indus region was sufficient for this defence.

The British annexed the region in 1849 and governed it through a Board of Administration, then a Chief Commissioner [34] and later by a Lieutenant Governor on January 1, 1859 [97]. Just one year before this Delhi and Hissar were added to the province and in this year the Railway line from Amritsar to Multan and the Bari doab canal were commissioned [36]. In October 1901, the North West Frontier Province [NWFP] was formed as a separate unit west of the Indus, except for Isa Khel, Mianwali, DG Khan and 'protected tribes' in the 'Baloch Trans-frontier'. This is a highly significant example of the binding forces of culture illustrating where a river was a barrier and where it integrated communities on either side. The Hazara areas east of the Indus are also part of the NWFP. Thus, as far as the British administration was concerned, the Punjab consisted of ten rivers: east to west they were Jumna, Chautang, Saraswati, Ghaggar, Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chenab, Jhelum and Indus. Whereas two out of the first four may have been associated with the enclave in history, we cannot justify the inclusion of the others in the Punjab but the British found it convenient to do so in order to divide the traditional unity of the Ganga-Jumna doab.

The major towns of the Punjab that is now part of Pakistan were Lahore, over a lakh, Rawalpindi [87,688], Multan [87,394] and Sialkot [57,956]; several smaller settlements, having 5 to10,000 people were also classified as towns. The Imperial Gazetteer has an index of places designated as towns at that time. The British found people in the Punjab quite willing to migrate [with as many as 5 lakh emigrants to the rest of India c. 1910] but they were not

averse to settling down. A lack of commitment to the sedentary life remained a feature of the region from Harappan times.

Administrative

Despite a general trend for extension of governance and an invasive style of administration, the British were unable to radically change the social configuration of the Enclave. Management of the lower levels of administration also retained the forms that had been in vogue in pre-colonial times. The Tehsildar, like the Qanongo and Patwari were old titles as was the administrative unit of the Tehsil. The British imposed on it the District in place of the Sarkar, just as the Sarkar was imposed on the Shiqq, that over the Iqta, that over the Thakur and so on. The Patwari managed a group of villages; 20-30 Patwaris were placed under a Qanungo and 2-5 of these were under the Tehsildar. A group of villages was formed into a zail with a zaildar or local influential who gave general assistance to government officials; similarly most villages had a Chaudhry.

When, in 1853, a Chief Commissioner was appointed, he was assisted by Judicial and Financial Commissioners. The former was replaced by a Chief Court in 1866, a Settlement Commissioner was later appointed to supervise land revenue settlements. In 1884 the latter office was abolished and the office of a second Financial Commissioner was created only to be abolished in 1887 and the Settlement Commissioner's office was revived. The Financial Commissioner was in charge of the Settlement Commissioner, Excise, Agriculture and Land Records directorates; he was also Court of Wards for the Province. Of the Native States, Bahawalpur and Khairpur lay within the enclave, the former in Punjab province and the latter in Sind.

Regarding the internal management of the ryotwari village or the fiscal unit called a village in the hills where a similar set of hamlets is designated a village the gazetteer says:

> In these latter cases, village self-government had naturally never existed, but the true village community has from time immemorial administered its own affairs with little outside help or interference. The landowners of the village, connected by common descent, real or fictitious, form among themselves a democracy, which rules its dependent priests, artisans, and menials with oligarchic authority. The informal assembly … comprising every adult male of the proprietary body, is presided over by a headman …. appointed by the Deputy-Commissioner … [123].

Sind *[Introductory: Boundaries & History]*

The Sind Gazetteer is slightly different in its organization than that of the other three provinces of the enclave. It does not contain a district by district organization to supplement provincial data but 'districts' are designated differently for different purposes. For administrative purposes it had six districts at the time of the compilation of the gazetteer. For irrigation administration however, it was constituted into 10 districts. The first gazetteer of the province was prepared at some time prior to 1878, in which year a second edition of the same was produced. The version being used here is the one prepared in 1907 by Atkin who was an employee of the Bombay Salt Department. The index of subjects is essentially the same as in other gazetteers. However in other

gazetteers a provincial profile precedes the district structure. Perhaps due to the mixed form of administration employed here, this policy was not followed in the case of Sind.

The province was bounded by mountains of Kalat state in the west [along the ridge of the Kirthar Range and the Hubb river]; the Arabian Sea and Rann of Cutch in the south; Marawar, Jaisalmir and Bahawalpur in the east and, on the short northern frontier, excluding Khairpur state, Punjab and the Kachi of Bolan, belonging to the Khan of Kalat. Locally viewed as three segments from north to south as Sir, Vicho and Lar [head, middle and lower]: to below Larkana, from there to Hyderabad, and thence down to the sea, respectively. The province was mostly flat and fertile; it did, however, have large barren tracts with dry or salty soil called 'pat'. Its few hills were stony but provided pasture to large herds while the desert to the east also 'sustained a variety of camel and cattle fodder which belies its designation' [2]. It also had a number of dhands [marshes] with varieties of water fowl; the most famous of these lakes/marshes was Manchar. The impact of the hills and streams of the province, other than the Indus will better be understood in the context of boundaries of smaller states and units of hinterland that supported urbanization when histories of towns/vassal units in the province is reconstructed, here only a general survey is germane[30].

At the end of the preceding stage we had noted the transition from Timuri to Arab leadership in Sind. Kalhora rulers allowed the East India Company to establish factories at Auranga Bandar and

[30] Perhaps some mention will be made while describing the districts into which the British organized this province.

Thatta in 1758 but his son closed down the venture in 1775. By 1800 the company was back to revive trade links but by this time the Talpurs were ruling Sind more or less like a confederacy of independent Mirs. They ruled from the three centres of Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpur but their treaties with the British became severer by stages till 1839[31]. On the other side, Ranjit Singh, conquered Kashmir and Multan, he now threatened Shikarpur. The Mirs were forced to accept mediation through the British agent at Hyderabad for negotiation with the Sikhs.

Political structure[s] within the enclave: *limits of the regions, localities or areas under study*: in Sind this section is meant to cover subjects dealt with in Districts profiles for other provinces. Although the entire province had been under Talpur rule when the British acquired it, only the Khairpur state was allowed to exist after annexation. Other areas were first constituted into three and later into six districts with minor variations in political dispensation. On the whole, however, the province, like Punjab was a unified political structure. The fact that its political construct and culture were different from the Punjab was a natural corollary of their separate political histories throughout the preceding stage of urbanization. Multan acted as a lynchpin whenever most areas of the enclave were integrated from Ghaznavi to Mughal times. However in the Afghan and Sikh periods politics dictated variations of administrative slant in

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[31] The *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, compiled by E. H. Aitken in 1907, reprinted by Indus Publications, Karachi, 1986, is candid enough to note that the "suspicions and alarm of the Mirs would be as incredible as they are amusing were they not abundantly confirmed by the experiences of subsequent missions." P. 120

Punjab and Sind. The British were unable to reconcile ethnic distinctions west of the Indus and delinked Sind from Baluchistan and NWFP from Punjab; thereby generating four administrative dispensations for four political units.

Administrative

Talpur rulers had assigned land as jagir to Baloch chiefs who were bound to furnish a number of troops when required. This had made them entirely dependent on their subordinates for military strength apart from their personal bodyguards. Similarly, revenue of the Mirs depended on land that had not been assigned as jagir or inam and non-agricultural taxes. Land revenue was based on the zamindari system where land was assigned for tenure at standard shares of produce.

Revenue of grain was generally in kind while that of other crops was commonly in cash; most revenues were collected through tax farming. In both, revenue and law and order, an immediate decline was noted under British rule. Thar and Parkar constituted a no-man's land during Talpur times. Sodha Rajputs, who had aided Akbar, were its dominant community.

Napier, the first governor of the province made Hyderabad his capital but moved to Karachi soon after. He formed the province into three districts [Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur], each with its own collector. Like the Talpur system, these collectors also performed judicial functions and the kardars of the previous regime were placed under them. All the jagirdars of the previous regime, some 2000 in number, 'were confirmed in possession of their estates' [141]. Apart from them, Napier's policy was to deal directly with occupants of land to the exclusion of zamindars. When Napier's replacement, Mr. Frere was appointed in 1851the

province had neither roads nor bridges nor other public works worth the name and people did not want to take up service there. It was during his time that the port and a railway line were initiated though it did not function till 1861, after the departure of Frere. The lands of the Mirs had been confiscated after a battle with Napier but Ali Murad was recognized as Mir of Khairpur. Frere was succeeded by Inverarity in 1859 and from then 'normal development of a regular administration' commenced [151].

Half of the land of the province [14,958,235/29,919,289 acres] was non-cultivable, being hilly or desert or built up. The agricultural land of the province was constituted into 6 districts: Karachi, Hyderabad, Larkana, Sukkur, Upper Sind frontier and Thar-Parkar. The forests in the frontier portion were cleared. Some desert portions were irrigated by the British and added to cultivable land in the last two districts. However, of the available land only 23% was under crop in 1904-5. For purposes of irrigation the province was divided into 10 districts: the Begari, Shikarpur, Ghar, Western Nara, Karachi, Northern Hyderabad, Central Hyderabad, Fuleli, Jamrao, and the Eastern Nara. The first five were under the Superintending Engineer Right Bank Division, the rest being under his counterpart of the Left Bank Division irrespective of administrative districts [263].

In 1907 Sind was a 'non-regulation Sub-Province under a Commissioner' with more powers than those of the Commissioner of a Division. In Thar and Parkar the gazetteer complains of the wild tribes of the region and bemoans 'irruptions of marauders from Jaisalmer, Marwar, Gujrat and Cutch'. It also notes immigrations from those areas to Sind via Mithrau Canal region [407]. We are not informed of the reason for the transfer

and re-transfer of the hilly areas of the Punjab adjacent to Kashmore but the reason for obtaining some territory from Khairpur was to transfer control of the head-works and canal portions of the Jamshoro canal from that state [408].
The province had 15 subdivisions in 6 districts having an aggregate of 54 talukas and 4 mahals, a mahal being like a subdivision of a taluka. Subdivisions of districts, talukas and mahals were:
Karachi: Shahbandar, 4 talukas; Thatta, 4 talukas & 1 mahal; Kotri, 1 taluka and 2 mahal.
Hyderabad: Hala, 4 talukas; Tando, 4 talukas & 1 mahal; Naushahro, 5 talukas.
Sukkur: Shikarpur, 3 talukas; Rohi, 3 talukas; Mirpur, 3 talukas.
Larkana: Larkana, 4 talukas; Sehwan, 3 talukas; Mehar, 3 talukas.
Thar & Parkar: Nara valley, 7 talukas; Desert, 4 talukas.
Upper Sind Frontier: Upper Sind Frontier, 3 talukas.
KPK *[Introductory: Boundaries & History]*

The districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan and the Khyber, Kurram, Tochi & Wana agencies were included in it. They were removed from the Punjab administration while the Dir, Chitral and Swat states, controlled by a political agent independent of the Punjab, were added to it. Its population density, averaging 152, varied from 42 in Kurram agency to 330 in Peshawar. It contained one city and four towns as its district

HQs[32] of DI Khan, Bannu, Kohat and Charsadda. It also had 15 small towns and 3,348 villages. Being a somewhat artificial border in violation of convention, population movement from Afghanistan was not abnormal.

Touching the DG Khan district of the Punjab and the northeast of Baluchistan, the province lay next to Afghanistan, Kashmir and Punjab which form a northern arch around it. East of the Indus was its Hazara district; west of the Indus and east of the hills were Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan; beyond this, the hills bordering Afghanistan formed its third topographic part. At the apex of the Hazara district was Kaghan. Peshawar district comprised of Peshawar valley, a 'basin encircled by hills' [2]. Kohat was a low plateau 'broken by low ranges of hills' separated from Peshawar by Jowaki range. Bannu was formed from the basin of the river Kurram and hills that surrounded it. South of it the barren plain east of the Suleiman Range was DI Khan. Chitral, Dir and Bajaur, Panjkora and Swat, form three sets of valleys north of Peshawar and the Khyber Pass. South of the pass, the British created agencies in Kurram, North and South Waziristan. The rivers that drain each valley find their way into the Indus before it enters the Punjab. From 1893 to 1895 part of the border with Afghanistan was demarcated; the rest was not determined. Being the link between the Indus enclave and the Hindukush watershed a series of political units constituted the British NWFP. Its remarkable feature was the linguistic integrity of the region in stark contrast with its tribal diversity testifying an almost

[32] HQ and DHQ are used as abbreviations for Head Quarters and District Head Quarters respectively. DI Khan and DG Khan denote Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan respectively.

perpetual process of ethno-genesis. As a classic example of interaction between the grinding forces of statecraft and the solvent powers of socialization, through most of its history the province experienced a large variety of both.

The ancient Gandhara of Vedic times and the western half of Jaipal's domain having been part of the Mughal domain fell successively to the Durrani-Sadozais of Afghanistan and the Sikhs of the Punjab. It was from the latter that the British acquired the NWFP; first making it pat of Punjab as they had found it under the Sikhs and later converting it into a new province when their hopes of adding Afghanistan to their domain faded. They could neither repel the Russians nor recreate the Turki-shahi area as a unit nor revive the Mughal province of Kabul, so they created NWFP/KPK as it is today. The Mughal hold of the region had not been a bed of roses but, being sensitive to the dynamics of a tribal society, they were able to maintain a decentralized hold. This policy was responsible for transition to Sadozai rule and thence to the Sikh dominion. Ranjit Sigh's steady progress in dominating the area did not survive a decade after him; it was acquired by the British along with the rest of his domain, so came to be part of Punjab, a colonial administrative identity. Like, other acquisitions, it took the British half a century to formulate a political identity that was suited to colonial interests and administrative requirements to match imperial policy.

While Punjab had five divisions with several districts each, NWFP only had five districts. Dera Ismail Khan had the largest area while Bannu had the smallest. Within the districts, revenue was collected by the Deputy Commissioner and within the tehsils of the districts administration was similar to that of the Punjab.

The states or Khanates within the province were not treated like the states of the Punjab but rather like the agencies of Baluchistan. The 'tribal' areas of the province were also organized in the form of agencies as mentioned above.

The state apparatus for its part underwent several convolutions between imperial centralization and centrifugal forces leading to secession. It is in the norms accepted for these processes that the Gandhara period differed from that of the Muslim Turks of the last millennium. The British, of course differed radically from both, seeking to dismantle what they inherited piecemeal. This is where they came into conflict with social forces that had several millennia of experience in the art of local organization unbridled by administrative dominance of state. Innocuous social factors have the ability to impose a regimen on an alien society either from the elite or from a non-elite which provides the binding force of society. Although history has discovered some regimes that were imposed from on top and became social norms in NWFP, it has not been able to unravel the mysterious rise of Afghan and Pathan non-elite two millennia after its suppression by Greeks.

Administrative

Having remained part of the Punjab for more than half a century, the NWFP was formed in order to secure 'closer and more immediate control and supervision of the frontier by the Supreme Government, and of making such alterations in the *personnel* and duties of frontier officials as would tend to the establishment of improved relations between the local British representatives and the independent tribesmen' [26]. The provincial HQ was located at Peshawar in 1901under a Chief Commissioner and Agent of the Governor General; nor was there an intermediary between the

Chief Commissioner [who was 'in direct contact with the Government of India in the Foreign Department'] and the local officers. Before 1901, the area was administered as described in the section on the Punjab with minor variations to suit local social conditions. The legal framework was similar to the Punjab even after segregation but the legislative structure was dismantled.

Baluchistan *[Introductory: Boundaries & History]*

Situated between 24^0 54' and 32^0 4' N and 60^0 56' and 70^0 15' E, it comprised of three divisions. Land acquired under treaty in 1879 by the British [9476 sq. miles]; Agency territories [44,345 sq. miles] comprising land acquired by lease 'or otherwise brought under control and been placed directly under British officers' [p. 1] and the native states: Kalat and Lasbela [78034 sq. miles]. The province was bounded by the Arabian Sea in the south, Afghanistan and NWFP/KPK in the north; Sind, Punjab and a part of KPK in the east; and Iran in the west. It is scantily watered and almost entirely mountainous and desert ecology. Ethnically it is comprised of Baloch, Brahui and Afghan clans. Its upper highlands were known as Khurasan, they occupy central and east central parts of the province. Its lower highlands occupy its eastern fringe from the Suleiman range to the Kirthar and Pub; to the west its lower highlands include Chaghi, Kharan and Mekran. Plains of Baluchistan are located in valleys like Lasbela, Kachi and Dasht. Deserts, located in northern parts, more to west than east, complete the ecological fabric for a pastoral lifestyle.

In 1903 there were only six towns in Baluchistan of which four were garrisoned; Sibi and Pishin were the exceptions. A majority of the inhabitants of the towns were servants of the British from other parts of their empire. Ethnically, Afghans have a greater

range of movement than Brahuis who were less interested in commerce and often provided agricultural labour in Sind.

The region; first mentioned in Iranian sources and then by Strabo, is now known to have initiated the Indus valley civilization. The British first entered the region to wage the first Afghan war and followed it up with an intervention into the affairs of Kalat in 1839. In 1877 the British appointed Robert Sandeman as Agent to the governor General and Quetta was permanently occupied. From then till the compilation of the gazetteer in 1906, British administration was primarily concerned with controlling the Khan of Kalat and the line of communication through the Kachi plain. First the treaty concluded by John Jacob established the British political presence then Sandeman's policy of 'conciliatory intervention, tempered with lucrative employment and light taxation' [19] provided them with a strong hold over the province. Sandeman was Deputy Commissioner of DG Khan in 1867 when he came in contact with the Marri and Bugti tribes who were subjects of the Khan of Kalat. The line of communication opened as a consequence served the British well in the second Afghan war in 1878; next the British opened up the Pishin-DG Khan area. Inhabitants of highlands depicted a seasonal migration pattern.

British Baluchistan included tehsils of Shahrig, Sibi, Duki, Pishin with Shorarud and the Chaman subdivision. Agency areas included tehsils of Quetta, Noshki, Nasir abad and Bolan Pass district, all leased from the Khan of Kalat. Other areas were 'lands occupied by the railway from Jhatpat to Mithri, Nari to Spintangi, and Spezand to Sorosham; the Chaghi and Western Sinjrani country; and the whole of the Zhob and Loralai Agencies, except the Duki tehsil in the latter.' The part of Baluchistan under direct

administration was about the same size as Sind, containing six districts: Quetta-Pishin, Sibi, Loralai, Zhob, Chaghi, and Bolan Pass [60]. Kalat and Lasbela were two States in the province; latter being a feudatory of the former. Kalat was 'a confederacy of tribal groups headed by the Khan of Kalat'. Originally they consisted of the Khan's Ulus, the Sarawan tribesmen under the Raisani sardar in the north and the Jhalwan tribes south of Kalat under the Zahri sardar. The Khan was supreme in foreign affairs including choice of overlord; tribes in the north and south had 'fullest rights of self-government' [61].

The District and their subdivisions in the Enclave .1900 were:

PUNJAB[33]

Rawalpindi Division:

We will start with the westernmost district, Attock, of the western Division, Rawalpindi. Bound in a clockwise sequence by Kohat and Peshawar, west of the Indus, and Hazara to its east [from NWFP/KPK]; Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Shahpur and Mianwali in the

[33] Punjab was organized into five Divisions and those into 28 Districts with 43 native states. Here we have discussed each district of three out of five division of British Punjab c.1910 to present a profile of the province in subsequent sections. Its Divisions within the enclave included Rawalpindi, Lahore and Multan. Rawalpindi comprised of Gujrat, Shahpur, Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Attock districts with a description of its towns. Lahore comprised of Montgomery, Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Gujranwala and Sialkot districts. Multan comprised of Mianwali, Jhang, Lyallpur, Multan, Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan Districts; this too had a list of tehsils and towns in each district. Thus 17 of the 28 districts lay within the enclave with only one native state [Bahawalpur].

Punjab. Its northern part was fertile and comprised Attock tehsil; Fatehjang comprised its eastern tehsil, to its west was Pindi Gheb tehsil and south of Soan was Talagang. The district was constituted[34] in 1904 by allocating to it the tehsils of Attock, Pindi Gheb and Fatehjang from Rawalpindi district and Talagang from Jhelum. Awans, Pathans, Arains and Rajputs were the major communities, comprising more than half of the population; the rest was an assortment of occupational groups. Predominantly Muslim [90%], the majority of people [65%] were agriculturalist; there were no important manufactures. Though the cattle were small and few, its area was good for horse breeding, especially Fatehjang and Pindi Gheb, but stock was sold while young because of scarcity of fodder and water.

East of Attock district lay Rawalpindi[35]; again proceeding clockwise, starting with Attock, were district of Hazara, territory

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[34] Since it is not germane here, we have not traced the objectives of the British in restructuring tehsils from time to time. Such a study would need to be undertaken when an exercise, similar to the present study is undertaken for each of the urban centres that emerged in the enclave from time to time to assess the relationship of a specific hinterland and the town that it supported during a specific period. Such a study would take into account the natural and human imperatives and other factors of an area in various phases of history that we have considered for the entire enclave.

[35] The information given here is mainly from the Provincial version of the imperial gazetteer where most of the detail of the district gazetteer is missing. An example of such information in case of the Rawalpindi district is the chapter on the people where it is explained how the district comprises of a western barren area and an eastern area with dhok or hamlet formations having anywhere between one and fifty houses. In its west 'there is not the same advantage to be gained from separation … [of] easily obtaining a supply of manure for the fields …. [because] there is not the same supply of cattle to provide it.' See *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi*

of Kashmir and Jhelum district, with the Murree hills in its northeast. Hills in Kahuta tehsil adjoin Murree in the south; the gradual slope in the west is offset by deep gorges to the east along river Jhelum which render it useless for irrigation. Other tehsils included Rawalpindi, Gujjar Khan and Murree. The bulk of this district lay in the form of a plateau which was heavily cultivated through embankment of fields. Rain from about 30-40 inches per annum was experienced in different tehsils according to British records. Gakhars claimed to have come to the region in Ghaznavi times; some Turanian people may have inhabited the region before the Greek invasion. The former had made their capital at Paralah when Babur invaded the region. A subordinate of Babur, Sarang Khan's rule led to virtual hereditary supremacy of his family in the region between Chenab and the Indus. A Sikh leader at Gujrat conquered his domain; another was later able to establish a considerable domain c. 1800, he made Rawalpindi, then only a small village, his headquarters. This was made part of the Lahore domain of Ranjit in 1814 while Murree region passed to the control of the Kashmiri raja till the arrival of the British.

Like Attock but with a slightly smaller percentage, Rawalpindi was predominantly Muslim, 83% followed by 11% Hindus and about 5% Sikhs. Rajputs, more than twice the number of Awan and Jat clans were the largest group, while the Gujjar and Dhund people put together were half of the Rajput population. Satti, Maliar, Gakhar, Mughal, Janjua and Pathans were agriculturists but Khatris and Aroras were commercial people. Other groups

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District, 1893-94, reprint, Sang-i-meel, Lahore, 2001, p.61. There were no dhoks in Pindi Gheb or Attock, few in Fatehjang.

were Brahmins, Qureshis, Syeds and Sheikhs followed by assorted artisans and other occupational communities. Agriculture occupied 64% of the population as in Attock but it depended almost entirely upon rainfall because sinking wells was not feasible. Cattle were small and not very productive but camels as pack animals were bred successfully as were horses and mules; its sheep and goats were of inferior breed. The manufactures of the district were also not noteworthy c. 1910. Apart from railway and military equipment manufactures employing about 2000 persons, gas-works, breweries, tent manufacture and iron foundries etc. [9 industrial units in all] collectively employed about 1000 persons. This district exhibited a mobility pattern that was more pastoral than nomadic[36].

Whereas there was no noteworthy information regarding towns in the Attock district, where the Mughal period does not seem to have contributed much more than the fort at Attock and the Wah gardens near Hasanabdal and Taxila, the towns of Rawalpindi district need be noted here. The towns of Rawalpindi and Murree became prominent during the colonial period. The former had come into being earlier and increased in importance under the British but the latter was entirely a British creation. Its site was selected in 1850, headquarter for a Lieutenant General [the Northern Command], essentially a colonial residence for the winter. Rawalpindi was similarly patronized immediately after the Sikh army laid down arms on March 14, 1849. Cunningham believed that the site had been a Bhatti capital in Bactrian times.

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36 See *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District, 1893-94*, reprint, Sang-i-meel, Lahore, 2001, p. 62 ff.

The gazetteer identifies it as the 13th century Fatehpur Baori which declined during Mongol invasions. A Gakhar chief gave it the name that it bears today and Milkha Singh made it his capital in 1765 where Shah Shuja of Afghanistan sought refuge in the early 19th century before it was focal to British administration.[37] Jhelum district occupied an area south of Rawalpindi; Attock and Shahpur districts lie to its west, while the river Jhelum forms an arc from its northeast to southeast. Beyond the river, to the north was Kashmir, to the southeast was Gujrat and to the south was Shahpur again. This district could be naturally segmented into three portions; Chakwal and Jhelum tehsils formed a fertile plateau, most of which drained into Soan, the Salt ranges running parallel, occasionally converging, divide the Jhelum tehsil; and finally the riverine tract, about 8 miles wide from Jhelum town also takes in part of the Jhelum tehsil and Pind Dadan Khan tehsil. Thus the tehsils do not conform to ecological zones nor ethnic concentrations; perhaps they indicate Sikh divisions of command. The district was home to Jats, Janjuas, Awans, and Gakhars; the last named were dominant at the time of the Ghaznavi conquest and remained in power subordinate to the Mughals as well. Here, as in other districts of Rawalpindi division mentioned above, the Muslims were a majority, 89%, with Hindus at about 8% and Sikhs at 3% or so. Under Sikh rule, the Jats became the dominant race, followed by Rajput and Awan clans. Agricultural peoples included Maliar, Mughal, Gujjar, Gakhar and Kahuta clans and

[37] As the headquarters of a Division, a District and a Tehsil, its importance was indisputable but with the function of military hub and headquarter for the northern rail system, its importance became unassailable.

the commercial castes were Khatris and Aroras. There is the usual assortment of artisans; a comparative table of districts is given in the list of occupations below. The district had 61% population dependent on agriculture but many clans preferred military service. Most of the area is rain fed or uses torrents and streams for irrigation while in certain areas land for spring and autumn crops is separate. Although the British increased the area under crops by a half, increase in produce was not comparable. This district is not only good for horse breeding but also for the Dhanni breed of small cattle, it also has a poor breed of camels.

Gujrat district, lying in the Chaj doab 'marks the northern limit of the true Punjab plains'. Jhelum district bounds its northwest and Kashmir was on its northeast; Sialkot and Gujranwala occupied its southeast while Shahpur was its southwest. 'The surface of the doab thus descends in a series of steps towards the south and west' and the GT road rose 111 feet in the 34 mile strip between the towns of Gujrat and Jhelum. The numerous torrents in doab are unmanageable during the monsoon but were insignificant at other times. The district had scanty vegetation, only surpassed by Sialkot within the province. Despite fairly frequent rains ranging between 20 and 28 inches at Phalia and Kharian respectively, it was not agriculturally prosperous in 1849.

Gujrat would have been a part of the Kushan Empire which fell to the Gujjars before it was conquered by a raja of Kashmir c. 900. Bahlolpur, 23 miles northeast of Gujrat was founded in the Lodhi period and Khwaspur, near Gujrat, in the Suri era. Akbar was responsible for making the roving and plundering Gujjars acquire sedentary life in this doab. This district had 2592 villages and a revenue of 16 lakhs in Akbar's time. The Gakhars acquired

a dominant position in the area c. 1740 but soon lost it to Sikhs. The supervision of the district passed to the British in 1846 under a provisional settlement of revenues but the Sikhs reverted to the old arrangement and Gujrat saw of some important engagements. Initially the entire doab was constituted into one district but within few months Shahpur became separate; other changes were effected from time to time. The gazetteer does not give the thinking behind the decision but probably the company records will shed some light on the matter. There were no Hindu monuments in the district according to the gazetteer. It contained 4 towns and 1336 villages c.1910 and the three tehsils of Gujrat, Kharian and Phalia. Muslims were about 87% in the district with 10% Hindus; the rest being Sikhs. Jats were about 25% of the population followed by Gujjars, Rajputs, Arains and Awans. Labana, a trading community began to settle in to agricultural life and army service while Aroras and Khatris continued as traders. Agriculture supported 63% of the population and cattle and horses were reared in the area. The district was a centre for furniture manufacture, the quality of which was 'unsurpassed in India'. Other artisans produced metal decoration pieces, cotton cloth, pashm shawls, hemp sacking and soap.

Shahpur has Mianwali, Attock, Jhelum, Gujrat, Gujranwala and Jhang in a clockwise sequence around it. The district is divided in two parts by river Jhelum which widened to about 15 miles in its course here; travelling almost due west for 60 miles, it left a rich soil for cultivation. Because of this the valley, which comprised one fourth of the land of the district, held half its population and all its towns. East of the river lay the bar or uncultivated land covered with brushwood but it was being changed by canal

irrigation projects c. 1910. West of the Jhelum lay the Thal or desert region extending to Mianwali. The district was divided into three tehsils: Shahpur, Khushab and Bhera. It had 84% Muslims and about 13% Hindus, the rest were Sikhs. It comprised of Rajput, Jat, Awan, Khokhar and Baloch clans. Unlike other districts of Rawalpindi division, there is no mention of agrarian clans in the gazetteer. This may imply that the Rajputs etc. were occupied in this activity while Aroras and Khatris were the commercial clans as in other parts of the division. However, only 48% of the population was involved in agriculture in this district. Horses, camels and cattle were bred in the district. Jhelum colony has been created like the Chenab colony.

The Punjab was the only area that had been constituted along the standard of Divisions, Districts and Tehsils derived from the Mughal Sarkar, Pargana and Mahal structure without its distinction according to Doabs, although the rivers were generally used for the demarcation of division and district limits. The NWFP, as we shall see in the relevant section was about the size of a division in the Punjab and its internal organization in districts was similar to that of the Punjab of which it had been a part in the first half century of colonial rule. Nominally district structures were part of the administrative setup of Sind and Baluchistan as well but in fact they had their own regional variations which were needed in accordance with their administrative history.

Lahore Division:

Lahore Division comprises of 6 districts occurring clockwise from the west: Gujranwala, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, Amritsar Lahore, and Montgomery. Mainly it occupied the region between Chenab and Sutlej which is flat. It contained about 10,000 villages and 41

towns of which important ones in the Enclave included Lahore, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Kasur. We will discuss the six districts in a scheme similar to the one used for Rawalpindi division.

Along its west Gujranwala is bounded by Gujrat and Shahpur districts of Rawalpindi division as delineated by the Chenab but stops short of the Ravi because Lahore district lay west of the river. Jhang is also west of Gujranwala and Sialkot is east of it. Its fertility decreased towards its south but canal irrigation had reclaimed some of the desert in the Bar region. The gazetteer notes that the district had been prosperous in Mughal times due to well irrigation which supplemented its 18 inches of annual rainfall but it was 'mysteriously depopulated'. Originally constituted to form a large district under Wazirabad, in 1852, Gujranwala and Sialkot emerged as two districts upon the division of the earlier territory to make it more manageable. In 1853 a section of 303 villages which lay west of the Ravi was transferred to Lahore; an additional 324 villages were later given to the same district in 1856. It had 8 towns and 1331 villages c.1910 with four tehsils: Hafizabad, Wazirabad, Khangah Dogran and Gujranwala. It had a Muslim population of 67%, Hindus were 23% and Sikhs were about 8%. Jat clans accounted for 27% of population followed by Arains and Rajputs in a total of 49% agriculturists in the district. Arora and Khatris were a majority of the trading class with a small number of Muslim Khoja Sheikhs.

Sialkot is located south of the Kashmir mountains with Jammu in its northeast and Gurdaspur to the east. The Ravi near Lahore bounds its south and Gujranwala was situated in the west in 1910. The Degh stream flowed in the centre of the district; it had left sand deposits along its varying courses in the Zafarwal tehsil.

Some parts of the district were fertile but others only bore shrubs. Its average rainfall varies between 22 and 35 inches. During the time of Shahjahan, Ali Mardan Khan dug a canal through the district, then a sarkar in the subha of Lahore, to feed that city.

The district included 7 towns and 2348 villages in five tehsils: Sialkot, Daska, Pasrur, Raya and Zafarwal. Muslims were 66% of the population, Hindus 28% while Sikhs were only about 5%. The most populous clan was that of Jats followed by Arains, Rajputs, Awans and Gujjars. Aroara and Khatri commercial clans were of equal strength followed by Mahajans.

Gurdaspur district lay in the northeast corner of British Punjab with Kashmir to its north and Sialkot to its west. It was the key to controlling Kashmir as it occupied a position beyond Beas and Sutlej, leaving only the Ravi as its border with the state of Jammu. In the scheme presented here, this area is at the northern mouth of the Bhatinda triangle [the entre-port to Bharat]. It may be designated a foyer along the northernmost passage of conquerors passing through the enclave. As the link between Amritsar, Kashmir and Lahore, its importance was enhanced when Beas left its course bifurcating the 'V' between Ravi and Sutlej early in the decline of Mughal power. This district was divided into four tehsils: Gurdaspur, Batala, Shakargarh and Pathankot. It had about 50% Muslims, 40% Hindus and 10% Sikhs; Jats and Rajputs were the most populous clans, next came Arains and Gujjars. The commercial castes were Khatris and Mahajans.

Lahore district lay east of Gujranwala, south of Sialkot and Amritsar, and north of Montgomery; it did not share a border with Gurdaspur. The alluvial tract of the Ravi stretched for 300 miles on the south side 'a low-lying country, bare and desolate, and

constantly subject to diluvium'. This was in sharp contrast to the 'Lahore MANJHA' a plateau between the Ravi and the old bed of the Beas. The manjha had been made fertile by canal irrigation under the British, having suffered at the hands of nature with the shift in the channel of Bias in the later Mughal period. The district was created in 1849 and a greater part of tehsil Sharakpur was added to it in 1855. It had 7 towns and 1533 villages with four tehsils: Lahore, Chunian, Kasur and Sharakpur. It had 62% Muslims, 24% Hindus and 14% Sikhs. Jats were most important tribe followed by Arains on both sides of Ravi and then Rajputs. Dogars and Kambohs were agriculturalist and pastoral tribes while Mahtams were 'a wild tribe proclaimed under the Criminal Tribes Act'. Commercial tribes included Khatris and Aroras who were mostly Hindus and Khojas who were Muslims. Only 40% of people were dependent on agriculture; rainfall varied between 8 and 20 inches. Amritsar district was outside the enclave proper but lay in the Sothi-Siswal area of the Harappan era[38].

Montgomery district was bounded on the east by the Sutlej while the Ravi ran through it close to its northwest border. Jhang, Lahore, Firozpur, Bahawalpur and Multan encircled the district

[38] This district has not been dealt with here but it has affinity with the enclave because it lies in the Punjab region being bound by the Beas in its east and Ravi in its northwest. Some important aspects of its colonial phase are: It had 16-24 inches of annual rain and its climate was more temperate than Lahore. Though its largest religious community was the Muslims, it was the Sikh heartland; it had about 25% Sikh population c. 1910. Jats, Rajputs and Arains comprise the major clans but the Khatris were more numerous than Aroras in the trading communities, followed by sheikhs, some of whom were agriculturalists which employed 39% people.

that was 'waste of sand' except 'along the river banks and where watered by canals'. It had very little rain [8-10 inches]. The ethnic construct of the district was quite different from those beyond the Chenab with Kharal, Sial, Wattoo and Han clans and a noteworthy presence of Sikhs. Depalpur tehsil alone lay outside Sawan Mal's control in 1830. A British officer under Lahore Residency had managed to encroach in the area by 1847. In 1849 the Bari doab was made a district under Pakpattan. In 1852 a strip of land beyond the Ravi was added; the river was used as a unifying force, perhaps for administrative facility in water management as in case of Shahpur. The district headquarter was shifted to Gugera and in 1865, with the coming of the railway[39] to a village, thenceforth named Montgomery after a one time Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.

Montgomery had 3 towns and 1371 villages c. 1910 in four tehsils: Depalpur, Gugera, Pakpattan and Montgomery. Muslims were 72% of the population, Hindus were 23% and Sikhs numbered about 4% but population density was low compared to other parts of Punjab. The Punjab average being 209 persons per sq. mile, this district varied between 52 persons for Montgomery to 184 in Depalpur. As in most areas of the enclave the gazetteer notes that tribe supersedes caste as social unit. Jats included all 'pastoral or agricultural tribes' and did not claim Rajput rank; the pastoral tribes as a whole were referred to as the 'Great Ravi'

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[39] The only importance of this village apparently lay in the fact that it was conveniently placed with reference to the railway line. The Gazetteer of the Punjab, p. 16, says it is 'situated in the most arid and dreary part of the uplands between the Ravi and Sutlej' and 'is almost unequalled for dust, heat and general dreariness but is not unhealthy.'

tribes and the agriculturalists were named the 'Little Ravi' tribes. The clans were named Kathia, Fatiana, Wattoo, Baghela, Joya, Vainwal, Murdana and Kharal, the last being the most turbulent and courageous of them. The Great Ravi clans occupied the high ground, claimed Rajput descent and looked down on agriculturalists. The Jats marginally outnumbered the Rajputs with Arain, Kamboh and Mahtam farmers following in that order. Kharals, Baloch and Khokhars were pastoralist; here commercial classes included Muslim Khojas, a large Arora population and Khatris were few. Only 50% of the people were agriculturalist, 20% were industrial and 5% commercial.

Multan Division:

The Multan division was divided from the lone state in the Punjab [Bahawalpur] by the former river and transgressed the latter at Dera Ghazi Khan. For some reason the division was abolished in 1884 only to be reconstituted in 1901. Its area was larger than all other division of the Punjab but its population was lower. It had 79% Muslims, about 17% Hindus 4% Sikhs, a few Christians and some Jains; 23 towns and 5085 villages. Apart from a part of the Salt range in Mianwali and Suleiman Range in DG Khan, the area is flat with large zones of desert. The Chenab canal made it possible to cultivate some of the desert region near Jhang.

Mianwali was the north western district of Multan. Its own tehsil along with Bakhar and Leiah covered $^{3}/_{4}{}^{th}$ of it which lay east of Indus abutting DG Khan and DI Khan. West of the Indus lies part of the district in the form of Isa Khel tehsil the only area with a Pathan population in Punjab. The district has a riverine area with cultivated land and tamarisk shrubs around which is the Thal desert area. The narrow channel of the Indus at Kalabagh widens

into a 13 mile spread above Isa Khel. Gakhars, Awans and Baloch held ascendency in the region, probably acknowledging some overlord at all times during the 4th and 5th stages discussed in the preceding chapters. The district as it stood c. 1910 was constituted as such after several changes in 1901. It had 5 towns and 426 villages in four tehsils enumerated above with 87% Muslims, 10% Hindus and a few Sikhs. Jats were 32% of the population followed by Pathan, Baloch, Awan and Rajputs. Most of the traders were Aroras but a few were Khatris also; no Muslim traders are mentioned. Agriculture claimed 57% of its population; the Thal mainly had pastoralists who breeding sheep and camels. Second from the northwest, after Mianwali in Sind Sagar doab, was Jhang district; with Shahpur and Gujranwala in its north. Montgomery, Multan and Muzaffargarh completed the circuit on its south side. 'It consists of an irregular triangle, artificially constituted for administrative purposes from portions of three separate tracts' [205]. A strip of the Rachna doab was adjoined to part of the Chaj and a portion of the Sind Sagar below the conjunction of the Chaj; to its south it stopped short of the junction of the Rachna. The Bar [upland plain?] had been a desert when the British took over. It had been inhabited 'only by nomad tribes', but they, along with some immigrants were settled in the Chenab canal colony to utilize this fertile region. The eastern and south eastern parts of Jhang district were constituted into the Lyallpur district 'on December 1, 1904' [219]. It contained the Kirana and Chiniot hills but for the rest the pre 1904 Jhang district was flat. Along with Montgomery, Multan and DG Khan, this district had 'the highest mean temperature in India between June and August' with an average rainfall of 8-11 inches.

Agricultural clans in the district included Jats [23%] followed by Rajputs, Arains, Baloch, Khokhars and Kambohs. Aroras were the major commercial community followed by Khatris. In the Mughal period Sials were the dominant race in the region, like others they were conquered by the Sikhs. Sials were Rajputs probably converted to Islam by Baba Farid of Pakpattan. Before the creation of Lyallpur district that region was one of six tehsils in Jhang, others being Jhang itself, Chiniot, Shorkot, Samundri and Toba Tek Singh. The district had a Muslim population of 68% followed by Hindu and Sikh minorities of 24% and 7% respectively. Its population density c.1910 was 150.7 with a local dialect called Jangli; settlers spoke various dialects of Punjabi.

Lyallpur district was constituted from part of Jhang and some areas of Montgomery; bounded on the north by the Jhang branch of the lower Chenab canal. It stops short of the Chenab because a strip of land adjacent to it is left with Jhang. It is mainly land reclaimed by British which had very little rain and was organized as three tehsils: Lyallpur, Samundri and Toba Tek Singh; data for which has been given with Jhang [now having three districts].

Multan lies in the lower Bari doab; anomalously this means the area between Sutlej and Chenab. A portion of the district also lay across the Ravi, in the Rachna doab as it then was. To its north was Jhang and to its east was Montgomery; the state of Bahawalpur bonded it in the south across the Sutlej. In the past Beas, Ravi and Chenab flowed in separate channels through the district. By 1910 it had 6 towns and 1351 villages with 5 tehsils: Multan, Shujabad, Lodhran, Mailsi and Khanewal. Its Muslim population was 80 % while Hindus were 20 %; a nominal presence of Sikhs was also recorded [less than 5000]. As a tribe,

Jat clans were 20 % of the population followed by Rajputs, Arains, Baloch, Khokhar and Pathan. The Aroras were more numerous in Multan than anywhere else in the province followed by a small presence of Khatris and some Bhatias. Khoja clans were a Muslim commercial community; they were almost as numerous in Multan as Khatris. Mahtam, Odh, Jhabel, and Marth clans of wanderers roam this district, some of whom are only found here; perhaps remnants of more numerous pastoral peoples of the past. About 40% of the people were supported by agriculture and 28% by industries/crafts.

Located at the southern apex of the Sind Sagar doab was Muzaffargarh district terminating some 130 miles north of the junction of the five rivers of Punjab with the Indus; at this point it is about 55 miles wide. To its south was the state of Bahawalpur; east, across the Chenab, was Multan; to the north Jhang and Mianwali shared the Sind Sagar doab with it; and DG Khan lay beyond the Indus as the westernmost district of Multan. The district formed a unique combination of riverine and desert ecology. The upper part of the desert needed great industry to cultivate the few plots of cultivable land. The southern part where the space between the rivers was less than 20 miles was inundated near the banks and irrigated in the middle regions, it was easily cultivable. Near the banks however, floods caused people to seek safety on wooden platforms attached to every house. The flooded areas are capable of yielding good crops or ‘luxuriant pasturage for cattle’. In this district ‘towns stand on high sites’ but villages were often inundated [245]. The Indus used to flow through the Thal at some time, probably before stage II or III discussed above.

Sitpur is believed to belong to the period of Lodhi rule, cantered at Delhi. Other towns [Muzaffargarh, Ghazanfargarh, Mahmud Kot, Khangarh] possibly emerged late in the 18th century[40]. First the British chose Khangarh, 11 miles south of Muzaffargarh as headquarter for the district but by 1861 it was shifted to the latter town and land was added to it from Leiah and Jhang to increase the size of the district. Apart from its capital area it had the two tehsils: Alipur and Sanawan. It will be interesting to explore the reasons that led to the decline in the fortunes of Khangarh which did not even attain the status of tehsil in the revised setup. The district had 86% Muslims and about 17% Hindus. Jat clans were its largest single group followed by Baloch, Rajput and Arains. Commerce was mainly in the hand of Aroras and a few Khatris.
The southwestern district of the Punjab was Dera Ghazi Khan and was the only one exclusively west of Indus. Clockwise starting from its north it was bounded by Dera Ismail Khan, Mianwali, Muzaffargarh, Bahawalpur, Sukkur and Baluchistan. Irrigated largely by the torrents of Suleiman Range, it has hardly any rain in the plains. Founded 'before the end' of the 15th century [259], the capital town of this district was susceptible to floods, consequently it was given an embankment in 1889. During the British period the northern border of Rajanpur tehsil was the boundary between them. The Miranis remained essentially independent despite owing loyalty to the Mughals; c.1700 they came under the control of the Kalhoras. In due course of time a

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[40] Perhaps some ecological or racial factors were involved as these are the periods of Afghan ascendency in place of the preceding Turkic leadership under the early Sultans of Delhi and the Timurid family of Babur.

lack of governance ensued and the desolate area fell to Sikh rule in 1819. The British formed 4 tehsils out of it: DG Khan, Sangar, Rajanpur and Jampur. Muslims comprised 87% of its population, Hindus were 11% while there were only about 1000 Sikhs. The largest ethnic group was Baloch followed by Jats, Rajputs and Pathans; the majority of traders in the district were Aroras. Odh, a wandering clan of field labour; mallah [boatmen]; Bahna, domestic labour, a clan confined to this district alone; and Kehal a vagrant fishing tribe, were unusual members of its labour force. About 49% of the population was supported by agriculture.

Div.	Rawalpindi					Lahore Division						Multan Division					
Occupation : District	Attock	Rawalpindi	Jhelum	Gujrat	Shahpur	Gujranwala	Sialkot	Gurdaspur	Amritsar	Lahore	Montgomery	Mianwali	Jhang	Lyallpur	Multan	Muzaffargarh	D.G. Khan
Julaha	1	1	1	4	2	3	5	2	3	2	2	1	2	Data for this is included in	2	3	4
Mochi	2	4	2	1	3	4	9	9	6	6	5	2	4		3	2	2
Lohar	3	6	7	9	x	8	8	x	8	9	x	X	10		x	x	x
Tarkhan	5	2	4	3	5	2	2	4	4	3	6	2	5		5	4	3
Kum-har	5	5	5	5	4	2	4	7	5	3	3	4	3		4	7	x

Teli	6	6	8	10	x	8	11	8	7	4	x	X	x		x	X	x
Musalli	4	3	3	Elsewhere under Churah [called Kutahna in Mn.]											x	X	x
Nai	5	7	6	8	7	7	7	10	9	9	8	4	9		9	X	x
Dhobi	7	X	10	x	x	9	9	11	9	8	x	3	10		6	6	x
Machchi	x	X	9	7	5	6	10	x	x	5	4	3	7		7	5	1
Churah	x	X	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	1		1	1	1
Kashmiri Shawl maker	x	X	x	2	x	5	4	x	8	9	x	X	x		x	x	x
Mi-rasi	x	X	x	x	6	8	12	5	11	10	7	X	8		8	x	x
Kasai	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	9	X	x		x	x	x
Sonar	x	X	x	x	x	X	13	x	12	x	10	X	x		x	x	x
Jhinwar	Water carrier					11	6	3	2	7	x	X	x		x	x	x
Barwala	Watchmen and messengers					10	3	12	10	x	x	X	x		x	x	x
Chamar	Also leather workers like Mochis							6	x	x	x	X	6	x	x	x	x

Megh	Also weavers but distinct	3	x	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x
Kanera	Plaiting mats from grass & reed only in two other districts						5	x	x	x	x	x

NWFP/KPK

Consisting of five districts, this area was created as a province in 1901from a portion designated as part of Punjab heretofore. Its western side abutted Afghanistan, southern and eastern boarders lay along the Punjab and to its north were the hills and valleys that led to the Karakorum.

Dera Ismail Khan, the southernmost district of the province was like a cone pointing south. It was rather flat to the north along the Marwat and Bhittanni ranges. On its east was the river and on its west were the Suleiman hills while Dera Ghazi Khan was in its south. Its topography had a number of remarkable features with the Indus kachi and the Daman plain towards the mountains. The latter had hard soil in places which did not absorb water but became ‘pat’, ‘a soft, tenacious mud’ which made the area ‘impassable’ [195]. This land was irrigated by storing rainwater in the embankments made around fields for cultivation to produce a considerable harvest. Its climate was a hot summer and a bracing winter with an average rainfall of 10 inches. Local tradition was that the area was uninhabited when it was occupied by a Baloch group in the 15th century. One of the sons of their leader gave his name to the DHQ town and consequently its district. The district originally included Bannu but that was later detached while Leiah and Bakhar were added to it in 1861 only to be re-detached in 1901 after which it contained 3 towns in 3

tehsils and 409 villages. Its tehsils were Kulachi, Tank and DI Khan with a Muslim population of 87%, Hindus were about 10% and 2% Sikhs. Pathans were less than 30%; thus Pashto and Jatki [Saraiki] were equally common. Jats and Baloch together were as numerous as the Pathans followed by Syeds, Awans, Khokhars, Rajputs and Arains. Aroras were the largest trading clan followed by Sheikhs and Khatris. Artisans included churah, mochi, tarkhan, machi, dhobi, mallah, kumhar and kanera [a fishing tribe] in that order; 50% of population was occupied in agriculture. Its five qualities of land were cultivated differently but tenure was almost exclusively pattadari and bhaichara.

Hazara, the easternmost district of the NWFP, lay east of the Indus but naturally fell in the ethnic ambit of that province. Starting from the Kaghan valley, with barely 15 miles width, it broadened out to 56 miles at its base on the district of Attock. The low lying hills of Margala and rather higher ones at Murree served as a watershed while the river facilitated ethnic integration down to Mianwali and even beyond, to the changing limits of the Thal. However, the plateau enforced a temperamental segregation with Attock as did a Baloch dominated corridor at DG Khan. Hazara was a terminus of British power in the northwest with Kashmir on one side and independent hill states on the other. It has a variety of scenery and climate with 30-50 inches of rainfall.

The district contained 4 towns and 914 villages, the towns being Abbottabad, Baffa, Haripur and Nawashahr. It had three tehsils: Abbottabad, Mansehra and Haripur, with a few hill stations in its east, towards Murree. The Gujjars and Awans were each about twice as numerous as the Pathans in the district; its languages included Hinko and Pashto. ‘Tanaolis (59,000), though not

Pathans, are closely allied to them by custom and tradition.' Other tribes included Dhunds, Swatis and Kharals, its trading castes were Khatris and Aroras. Kashmiri wool-makers and Julaha weavers of cotton were almost equal in number followed by tarkhans, mochis, lohars, Nais and Musallis in that order; while 72% of the people were supported by agriculture. The district was held mostly by the pattadari and bhaichara tenures with a little over 10% held by zamindars.

Kohat district was bounded by Peshawar district and hills occupied by Jowaki and Afridi tribes in the north. Its western flank faced Orakzai and Wazir tribes; its east resting on the Indus and its south bordering Bannu and Mianwali districts. It had a short oppressive summer and severe cold winter with an average rainfall of 18 inches. A portion of the district was made a hereditary jagir of Khawaja Muhammad. At annexation the western boundary of the district was left undefined; but in 1851the upper Miranzai area was formally annexed. In 1858, the river Kurram was made the western boundary 'thus excluding the Biland Khel on the opposite bank' [171]. The district contained one town, its DHQ, and 298 villages in the three tehsils of Hangu, Teri and Kohat with two military outposts at Thal and Fort Lockhart. Neither the tehsil HQs nor the forts had attained urban status till the compilation of the Gazetteer. It had 91% Muslims and about 7% Hindus and its most common language was Pashto because it had 61% Pathans in its population. Hindko was spoken by the Awans and the Hindus. The trading community consisted of Arora, Khatri, Sheikh and Paracha clans. The artisan and menial professions were tarkhan, lohar, mochi, nai, kumhar,

julaha and chuhra or kutahna while 68% people depended on agriculture for livelihood.

The district of Bannu was a circular basin drained by the rivers Tochi and Kurram which united at Lakki before flowing into the Indus at Kalabagh. Surrounded by mountains, in clockwise order from the west these were: Waziristan hills, the Maidani pahar or Khatak-Niazi range, Marwat and Bhittanni ranges. Topographic features affected the climate in different parts of the district despite its fairly uniform elevation and rain, averaging about 12 inches annually. The district had 362 villages and 2 towns as its tehsil HQs: Lakki for Marwat tehsil and Bannu for its own tehsil. Its Muslim population was 89% while Hindus were almost 10%; like Kohat, Pashto was the main language followed by Hindko. The Pathans were its most common ethnic group, almost half of whom were Marwat, generally resident in the Tehsil of that name. Other races included the Jat, Awan, Rajput, Baghban and Syed clans. The Gazetteer makes a point of the indigenous origin of the Bannuchis which may be debatable. Aroras dominated the trading clans followed by a few bhatias and khatris. Artisans and menials included tarkhan, lohar, rangrez, kumhar, sonhar, mochi and kutahna clans while 75% people were dependent on agriculture.

Peshawar district was 'the most north-western of the regularly administered' districts of British India. It was bounded by the Indus on the east, separating it from Attock and Hazara districts and on the west by the hills at the foot of which its administrative border ended, except its southeast. The district was in the form of a basin, tribal Pathans inhabiting its surrounding hills. The climate was cold in winter and oppressive during the monsoons with rainfall between 11 and 18 inches. The district contained 5

tehsils [Peshawar, Charsadda, Mardan, Swabi and Naushera] having 7 towns and 793 villages. It was the most urbanized district in the NWFP, partly due to history and partly due to geography. It had 92% Muslims about 6% Hindus and less than 2% Sikhs with 51% Pathans in its ethnic construct; all others being designated at Hindki. Of the latter, a large number were Awans who were petty traders and agriculturists while the Pathans were almost exclusively farmers. A small agricultural community consisted of Gujjars and Baghbans; another small set of clans were Aroras and Khatris traders and Paracha peddlers. Artisans and menials were julahas, tarkhans, lohars, kumhars, nais, dhobis, chura/musallis, mochis and mirasis in that order.

BALOCHISTAN

The province was organized between 1882 and 1892 with expeditions to control Mekran and the Zhob region. 'In 1886 Bori was taken over and the cantonment of Loralai founded'. In place of an Agent a Chief Commissioner was appointed and the location for Fort Sandeman was selected. Noshki was permanently leased in 1899. Nasir abad tehsil, belonging to Khan of Kalat, irrigated by the Sind canal was perpetually leased. Lasbela was placed under Political Agent of Kalat. Loralai was made a district and Thal-Chotiali district was under Sibi [21].

Kalat state was an established entity when the British arrived in what they termed Baluchistan. It was located west of the Bolan Pass and east of Iran; to its south was Lasbela and to the north was Quetta. Much of the area controlled by the British had been acquired from this state in one way or another. Governed by the Ahmedzais from the 15th century, it remained subject to the Mughal or Iranian sovereigns as overlords. Prior to that also, it

had been subjugated by imperialists from Sind, Afghanistan or Iran among its immediate neighbours. And perhaps others further afield. In most times, however, it seems to have retained [or soon regained] a modicum of independence. It had one village for every 53 sq. miles; its towns were Gwadar, Pasni, Mastung, Gandava[41] and Bhag. It possessed five divisions: Kachi, Sarawan, Jhalavan, Mekran and Kharan. Its population was mainly Brahui and Baloch with some Jat cultivators. In Mekran the cultivators were Darzada and Nakib; Loris artisans; Med and Kora fishermen; trader clans were Khoja and Hindu.

Quetta-Pishin district was bounded by Afghanistan in the north and west, by Zhob and Sibi in the east; to its south lay the Bolan Pass and Mastung. It was enclosed by the Toba Kakar and Central Brahui ranges. Its valleys were not very wide with elevations between 4500 and 5500 feet but the hills were mostly bare even though the valleys had orchards of apricot, peach, pomegranate etc. Its climate was dry with little rainfall. Like other areas of Baluchistan, this district was also under Qandahar from Timuri times and passed from Mughal to Safavi rule with that centre. It became a bone of contention between the Brahui and the Afghans c. 1740; Quetta then came under Kalat while the Afghans retained Pishin till the British acquired it in 1879. It had three towns, 329 villages and four tehsils: Chaman, Pishin, Quetta and Shorarud. It had 84 % Muslim, 10 % Hindu and 3% Christian population; Pashto was the common language. Ethnically 78 % were Afghan, Kakar and Tarins. Brahui were 8 % and Syeds were 9 %.

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41 Perhaps Kandabil, according to *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Baluchistan,* Oriental Publishers, Lahore, 1908, reprint, 1976, p . 165.

Agriculture and stock breeding are the major occupations but trade, especially of animals, is also a lucrative activity. The bulk of the land, 68 % was aabi [irrigated] the rest was either khushkabi or sailabi. Kachi cattle were imported for ploughing but transport camels were also used for this purpose in Chaman and Pishin. Horse breeding and sheep rearing were also popular occupations. Karez water supplied 66 % of the irrigation needs; it was supplemented by 18 streams and 854 springs. Chaman town, HQ of a tehsil named after it, where pastures were the principal means of livelihood, lay in the north of the district. Pishin, formerly known as Fushanj [120b], mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, gave its name to a tehsil under the British. Quetta, known as Shal in the Ain-i-Akbari, was the only town in its own tehsil; it had been occupied by the British in 1876.

Chaghi was located south of Afghanistan and west of Kalat with Kharan to its south and Iran to its west. It forms a plain sloping slightly westward from Noshki to Dalbandin with sandy hills on its sides. Its climate was dry with dust-storms in the summer; there is only 2-3 inches of rain in a year. After about a decade of manoeuvring the British gained the area on lease from Kalat state and a tehsil was established there. Later the area was apportioned into three tehsils: Noshki, Chaghi and Western Sinjrani. Its languages were Brahui, Balochi and Pashto; inhabitants were almost all Muslim and Barohi. There were only 32 permanent villages including Noshki the DHQ; there being hardly any agriculture but considerable animal-husbandry.

The Bolan Pass, located between Kalat and Sibi, rises from 750 to 5900 feet; it was constituted as a district in 1888. It had been used by the British during both Afghan wars and was occupied in

1877. It had only two permanent villages where Rind cultivators owned land irrigated by river Bolan; one third of its 3,300 agricultural acres were cropped annually.

The Sibi district included Marri-Bugti country [about two-thirds of its area] and the Lahri niabat of Kalat. Starting from the north it was surrounded by Loralai, DG Khan, Sind, Kachi, Bolan Pass and Quetta-Pishin. It had the most 'strongly marked variations, both physical and climatic, between its various parts' [138]. At the apex and base of Kachi lay the level plains of Sibi and Nasir abad, the rest was mountain territory was in a series of terraces. Having generally been subject to the Multan administration till the 15th century, it passed to Qandahar at that time. Since then it had been dependent on Multan, Qandahar and Sind at different times before the British occupied it in 1879. It acquired the name of Sibi, its only town, in 1903. It had 304 villages and population density of 18 to the square mile, 90% of who were Muslim and 9% Hindu.

The Baloch were two-thirds of the population, the Afghans constituting ¼th of it; the Marri-Bugti and Dumars were flock owners while others were agriculturists. It had 4 tehsils: Sibi, Nasir abad, Kohlu and Shahrig. The cattle of the plains and the horses of the Marri-Bugti region were good; camels were bred in the southern part of the district. Sind canal used to irrigate Nasir abad tehsil by moki [gravitation] or charkhi [lift], other tehsils were irrigated by rivers, springs and streams. Sibi and Shahrig were British areas; the others were agencies in 1906. Marri-Bugti were divided into takkar [clans], phalli [sections] and para or firka. The tribal head was a tumandar, under him were the Muqaddam, wadera and motabar, possibly as political formations

not ethnic ones. In the Sibi district was Gwashki [renamed Ziarat in1885], the provincial summer HQ, 'first visited and selected as a sanitarium in 1883. The residency was built in 1890-91' [151].
To the south of Kalat was the small state of Lasbela; bounded on the north by Jhalavan division of the Kalat state, on the south by the sea, with Kirthar on its east and Hala-Pub on its west. All of its eastern part was hilly and some of its central/western part was plain. It had a varied ethnic construct with Arabs ruling in 1908, who had succeeded Gujjar, Ranjha, Gunga and Burfat tribes which continued to occupy their own areas under the then Aliani rulers. The rulers of Lasbela had been vassals of the Khan of Kalat. After the advent of the British, colonial will was imposed on them. The state was divided into seven niabats: Welpat, Uthal, Miani, Hab, Ormara, Kanrach and Sheh-Liari. Bela was its capital and it had 139 permanent villages; its language was Jadgali, closely related to Sindhi [189]. The Numria clans were considered its original inhabitants but no tribe from its fishing or husbanding population seems to have had a dominant position.
Zhob district was situated in the northeast of the province, abutting Afghanistan and NWFP/KPK in the northwest and north respectively. The Suleiman range marked its eastern boundary and its southern fringe was along the Loralai and Quetta-Pishin districts. In its north was a small valley, Kundar, and in the south was the Zhob valley but the bulk of the district was hilly [the Suleiman and Kakar ranges]. Many of the inhabitants occupy the Kakar range as it is good grazing ground in the summer. The Zhob valley forms an alluvial crescent linked to the river Gomal; the Kundar formed the boundary with Afghanistan in some areas.

The region had scanty rain, some parts of it were hot in the summer while others were cool. This could be the original region of Afghan tribes. Bori, Sanjawi and Barkhan tehsils were transferred to this district in 1889 from Thal-Chotiali, Sanjawi being returned to it in 1891 and Barkhan a year later. They were then handed over to Loralai district in 1903; the reasons for these transfers have not been identified here. The district had 245 villages and one town: Fort Sandeman. Its population density was 7 persons to a square mile. It had three tehsils: Qila Saifullah, Hindubagh and Fort Sandeman [103]. The entire population was 'Afghan' with Kakars forming 2/3 followed by Ghilzai, Pawinda, Nasirs, Suleiman Khel, Mando Khel and Shirani. Of the last named Bargha [upper] are subject to the Zhob authorities while the Largha [lower] lived in NWFP. People were all Muslim, speaking a dialect of Pashto. Most of them were cultivators who supplemented their earnings from seasonal labour or transport of goods. There were several domesticated animals in the region including horses, small bullocks, camels and sheep. Several small streams which were dammed to irrigate cultivable lands, springs and karez were also used. The settlement of Apozai was renamed Fort Sandeman, 168 miles from Harnai the closest railway station in Baluchistan. It was closer to the Punjab railway station of Bakhar, only 122 miles away [109].

The district south of Zhob and its main stream bear the name Loralai. On its east was DG Khan, on its south was Marri country and in the west was Sibi district. It comprised of a series of long narrow valleys; the many streams feeding the Anambar in the upper reaches and the Indus in the lower/east section. Three ranges in the middle went to meet the Suleiman Range; these were

the Damangarh, Kru & Gabar, and the Dabbar. The district had a dry climate; temperatures varying with elevation. It had in the past remained the easternmost district of Qandahar with its capital at Duki; being transferred from Mughal to Safavi hands along with that province. It stood on the route from Sakhi Sarwar to Pishin and on to Qandahar. Duki tehsil was acquired in 1879 under a treaty; Sanjawi was brought under British protection in 1881, Barkhan in 1887, Bori valley 1886, Zhob was occupied in 1889 and Musa Khel in 1892. As given in the gazetteer it was constituted in 1903 to include Musa Khel and Bori from Zhob and Duki, Barkhan and Sanjawi from Thal.

The district had 400 villages and population density of 8 persons per sq. mile; 95% of them were Muslims the remainder generally being Hindus. Kakar, Khetran, Musa Khel, Dumar, Tarin, Luni and Pechi Syeds were found in that order. The Khetran could be Baloch, Afghan or Jat; others were Afghans. The wealth of the District consisted in 'its herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, which find ample grazing in the plains of Sahara in Musa Khel, of Ranrkan in Barkhan, of Thal and Chamalang in Duki, and round the base of Akhbarg in the Dumar country.' [113][42]

The district comprised of five tehsils: Musa Khel, Barkhan, Duki, Bori and Sanjawi sub-tehsil. It was irrigated by streams, springs and karez, while Persian wheels were used in Barkhan; 173 of its 475 villages had permanent irrigation, 111 were partially irrigated while 191 depended on rain and flood waters. The British levied uniform tax at one sixth of the gross produce, a small tehsil was under fixed assignment; a grazing tax was imposed, which in

[42] The area was particularly suitable for breeding of horses.

Musa Khel was the maximum. In the Leghari-Barkhan circle one-third revenue was paid to the Leghari chief who held revenue-free grant till 1907. Loralai in Bori tehsil, the DHQ, was made a cantonment in 1903. The British had not instituted any laws in the area [133] till the compilation of the gazetteer in 1906.

SIND

The districts of Sind were not defined quite in the same manner as those of the other provinces. On the one hand, they retained more of their pre-colonial administrative features; yet on the other they were avant-garde in that they had different administrative structures for different managerial functions. Like other provinces, the post and telegraph departments, legislature and judiciary had their own organizational centres that lay outside the province with local components. What was unique and remarkable was the canal management where almost all canal districts spanned more than one revenue district and revenue districts had various agricultural regions under command of various canal systems which also ran into each other. This complexity may have in some way contributed to the limited and low quality of urban development in this province.[43]

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[43] We have not dealt with the Sind districts here because their data has not been provided in the provincial gazetteer and that from the district gazetteers will not bring the information at par with the data of other provinces. However, the data provided for Sind in general is compatible for our purposes and this structure illustrates regional differences with greater clarity.

URBAN PROFILE OF DISTRICTS

Naturally the provincial, divisional and district headquarters were important towns. Some, like Rawalpindi had attained prominence shortly before the arrival of the British. Others like Lyallpur and Montgomery were almost exclusively British creations; while one or two, like Murree were entirely colonial. In this section we will enumerate, in addition to above mentioned headquarters, the towns listed in each district that did not fall in this category.

Names of tehsil headquarters have been given in italics, other towns in the normal font.

Attock district had four tehsil HQs: the DHQ itself, *Fatehjang*, *Talagang* and *Pindi Gheb*; Hazro, Hasanabdal and Cambellpore were other urban centres apart from the tehsil HQs. Attock, at a distance of 16 miles from Ohind, Jaipal's capital; it was essentially occupied by a community for maintaining its fort. In fact the town was Cambellpore [Kamilpur], where the British cantonment and railway station were situated. Pindi Gheb was founded in the 13th century by the Gheba Jats from whom it derived its name [186]. Talagang, founded by an Awan in 1625 exported khussas [a kind of shoe] to different parts of Punjab and beyond. Hasanabdal may have had a shrine in the 7th century when Hiuen Sang visited it [184]; it was certainly in existence in the 16th century. Hazro town is mentioned in the gazetteer but no date of origin or salient history is noticed.

The four tehsil HQ towns in *Rawalpindi* included its DHQ, *Murree*, *Kahuta* and *Gujjar Khan*. A small town when the British came, *Rawalpindi* occupied the north bank of Leh. Its cantonment was located across the rivulet as well as the railway line set up by the British. It may have been a Bhatti town called 'Gajnipur' or

the 'Fatehpur Baori' destroyed by the Mongols. It may be said with greater certainty that it was set up by a Gakhar chief and gained importance under the Sikhs. The site for *Murree* was selected in 1850 first as the HQ for the British Northern Command and later as the summer resort for the District and tehsil officials. The other tehsil HQs did not get attention in the gazetteer, perhaps they became important only under the British. *Jhelum* town, like all other DHQs, also heads a tehsil along with *Chakwal* and *Pind Dadan Khan* in its district. This district has a number of historic sites that were non-urban like Jalalpur, where Alexander may have crossed the river Jhelum, Chuha Saidan Shah, Katas, Shivganga, Nandana and Rohtas. Its tehsil HQs do not seem to have had any historic importance; like Montgomery, it seems that their chief merit was their proximity to the colonial lines of communication.

Apart from the DHQ town, towns of *Gujrat* district included *Kharian*, *Phalia*, Jalalpur, Kunjah and Lala Musa. The last named being merely the choice of junction for the railway line to Sind-Sagar doab. Gujrat itself was 5 miles from the course of the Chenab. It may have been founded before Alexander but it probably derives its name from Rani Gujran in Kushan times. It seems to have been destroyed and resurrected more than once; lastly in Akbar's reign. *Kharian* and *Phalia* seem to have acquired importance only because of British patronage. Jalalpur was located on a crossroads between Jhelum, Sialkot, Jammu and Gujrat; as such it was a market town when the British acquired it. Kunjah does not stand out in the gazetteer but could be the place mentioned by Minhaj in the *Tabqaat-i-Nasiri* along with Nandana as targets in the Jhelum region.

In district *Shahpur*, *Sargodha*, *Bhera*, *Khushab*, Miani and Sahiwal were the towns. No historic importance is attached to Shahpur, Sargodha, Khushab, Miani or Sahiwal [not Montgomery, its current namesake] but they were important for trade connections. Only Bhera is known to have a historic past that includes ventures of the armies of Alexander, Mahmud Ghaznavi and Changez. This region lay along one of the routes that could be taken by those using the Gomal pass. As the town of Khushab lies on the west bank of the Jhelum opposite Shahpur they probably played an important role as pattan towns whenever it was difficult to approach Bhera directly[44].

The towns in *Sialkot* district include that city, *Zafarwal*, *Pasrur*, *Raya*, *Daska*, Narowal and Kila Sobha Singh. *Sialkot* claims legendary origin but probably came into being under the Kushans. It was certainly important again c. 1200; it commanded the northernmost route across the enclave. *Zafarwal*, like Narowal, was probably founded c.1500. The gazetteer does not take much notice of this town nor does it describe other tehsil HQs like *Pasrur* and *Raya* even though the former is known in history. Perhaps they had declined under Sikh rule. *Daska* being a settlement adjoined by a fort was a tehsil HQ of the British; it was equidistant [10 kos = das ka] from *Sialkot*, *Pasrur*, Gujranwala and Wazirabad. Narowal town lay in *Raya* tehsil was earlier the tehsil HQ. It was founded c.1500 and became industrial but not

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[44] Khushab is located in a highly significant geography since it has all varieties of ecology within a day's march from it; the Rohi desert, the Sakesar mountain, the Jhelum river and its adjacent forest are as varied a set as one is likely to find anywhere; and then are the rapids near Kalabagh.

prominent. Kila Sobha Singh in *Pasrur* tehsil was founded during Sikh rule and produced shawls and silver vessels.

The towns of *Lahore* district included that city, *Chunian*, *Kasur*, *Sharakpur*, Khudian, Raiwind, Patti and Khem Karan. *Chunian*, situated on the old bed of the Beas was a trade centre which the British chose as tehsil HQ. Its sister town Khudian was 12 miles from *Kasur*. Like Khem Karan and *Sharakpur*, both towns do not seem to have any historic importance; perhaps all of them had been intermediate centres for trade during Sikh times. *Kasur*, 34 miles from *Lahore*, by contrast claimed legendary fame from Kasa son of Rama. However, its historic references date to the Mughal era as a Pathan settlement. Raiwind was actually a village in the vicinity of *Lahore*, with two ginning factories to give it industrial pretensions. Patti could be the Chinapati mentioned by Sang but its condition c. 1900 only reflected a Mughal population and Sikh occupation. *Lahore* city, like *Kasur*, claims a legendary origin but its urban existence is first noticed c. 1000.

Urbanization in the upper portion of the Punjab plains had increased considerably during the Mughal period, particularly along what is known as the Grand Trunk Road of Sher Shah Suri which extended up to Bengal. Lahore and its dependencies benefitted greatly from administrative centrality assigned to that city before the British who retained it as a provincial capital.

The towns of *Montgomery* district included that city, *Gugera*, *Depalpur*, *Pakpattan* and Kamalia. The last named, not commanding a tehsil of its own as it lay in the tehsil of the district HQ was located 27 miles west of *Montgomery*. Cunningham believed it to date to Alexander's time but it was founded or re-founded in the 14th century, west of Ravi, which has since

deserted it. *Gugera* had enjoyed the status of DHQ 1852-65; it lay close to the junction of the Deg with the Ravi. Its environs would have been irrigated by the Beas till the Sikh period so that it could command the Bari doab leaving *Pakpattan* and *Depalpur* to dominate the lower Sutlej area. Of them *Pakpattan* still qualified as a town but *Depalpur* had become a village. It may be the Diadala of Ptolemy but it was certainly a town by 1300 AD commanding a portion of Biast doab. Another town that had been the DHQ of this district was *Pakpattan* 'the principal ferry across the Sutlej and the meeting place of the great western roads' from DG Khan and DI Khan. It was a fort before the arrival of Subuktigin, this the British used as HQ 1849-52; it became a municipality in 1867. *Montgomery* town was a colonial enterprise of elevating a small village to facilitate communications.

The towns of *Gujranwala* district included *Wazirabad*, *Khangah Dogran*, *Hafizabad*, Eminabad, Ramnagar, Sheikhupura, Sodhra and the DHQ itself which was probably founded when Gujjars ruled here. Founded in Shahjahan's time, *Wazirabad* may have remained unimportant before the Sikhs acquired it. The only importance of *Khangah Dogran* before British rule may have been its status as a religious centre. *Hafizabad*, a newly founded town in Akbar's time was the HQ for a mahal according to the Ain-i-Akbari. Eminabad claims a legendary past, it is surely pre-Mughal as it was destroyed by Sher Shah, rebuilt and named Shergarh only to be given its present name in Akbar's time and made a mahal HQ. Ramnagar, on the left bank of the Chenab was founded in the 18th century. Sheikhupura and Sodhra were also old towns, the former being from Akbar's age but the latter probably dated from the period of Ghaznavi rule.

Mianwali district had four tehsil HQ towns: the district HQ, *Isa Khel*, *Bakhar* and *Leiah*. Other towns in the district were Karur Lal Isa and Kalabagh. Like many other DHQs, the British chose *Mianwali* a place of local importance which had not been prominent in the past. Its founding date has not been mentioned but its local significance was its connection with a sufi saint. *Isa Khel* on the other hand is known to have been founded c. 1830 by the family of the Khans of that region. *Bakhar* was situated on the bank of the Indus at the edge of the Thal/desert. Probably founded by people, having a Baloch leader and coming from DI Khan in the 15th century; it was to remain under them till Durrani times. *Leiah* was also located in the Sind-Sagar doab and founded by the Miranis c.1550 coming from DG Khan. Later it came under the Jaskani Baloch; in Durrani times it fell in the demesne of Mankera. This town was initially made a tehsil HQ by the British but it did not remain so for long and had since declined to the status of a village. Under Sikh rule *Leiah* had again superseded Munkera; the British used it as DHQ till 1861. The town was transferred to DG Khan before being assigned to *Mianwali* in 1901. Kalabagh town was famed for its wonders in salt early in the 19th century and perhaps rose to prominence when this resource was exploited. Karur Lal Isa was founded in the 15th century by a descendent of Hazrat Baha-ud-din Zakariya. It is first mentioned under the government of Multan in 1469.

Multan had five tehsils: the DHQ, *Kabirwala*, *Mailsi*, *Lodhran* and *Shujabad*. In addition to the tehsil HQs, it had towns of Dunyapur, Jalalpur, Tulumba and Karur while Atari had deurbanized into a village. *Multan* is known to have been a town under the Chach dynasty and is a contender as being the town of

Alexander's fatal battle. Initially it probably lay in the Sind-Sagar doab but the rivers moved westward bringing it first into the Rachna and then the Bari doabs. Its present core, the citadel, was fortified during stage 5; it was the elite cantonment of stage 4, de-fortified by the British. *Kabirwala*, *Mailsi* and *Lodhran* do not get any mention as historic entities in the gazetteer. Lying as they do, north, east and south of the DHQ they replaced Tulumba, Karur and Dunyapur for the convenience of colonial administration. Jalalpur in *Shujabad* was passed over also but *Shujabad* had its own claim as an administrative centre. Dunyapur, mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari remained important till it was de-notified as a municipality in 1893. Jalalpur, a sufi centre from the 17th century lost much of its trade 'since the opening of the railway' [239]. A similar fate overtook Karur [founded in the 14th century?] but its location near the Sutlej was a saving factor. Tulumba, though unlikely, is also considered a town conquered by Alexander.

Jhang had an unusually large number of tehsils, six in number: the DHQ itself, *Chiniot*, *Shorkot*, *Lyallpur*, *Toba Tek Singh* and *Samundri*. It was later divided in two parts and the last three were placed under *Lyallpur* district in 1904; the town having been upgraded to a municipality in 1898. The last two towns did not get any notice in the gazetteer but *Samundri* tehsil was noted for canal irrigation. The other town was perhaps selected as grain mart along the railway line. Jhang, first founded in the 15th century, declined as commercial centre under the British. *Chiniot* may have been the capital of the White Huns; if so, it remained obscure for some time in between but had revived due to the trade of Khoja Sheikhs. In Mughal times it had a prosperous existence, having been famous for wood carving and brass work. *Shorkot*

mound has all the prerequisites for being considered an ancient site, perhaps dating to Alexander's time or a Harappan past.

Muzaffargarh, west of the Chenab had two other tehsils: *Sanawan* and *Alipur*. This district also had two other towns [Khairpur and Khangarh] and three 'villages' of historic significance [Daira Din Panah, Jatoi and Sitpur]. As in the case of Multan, two tehsil HQs superseded the old towns of Daira Din Panah and Sitpur. Sitpur had been the capital of the Nahar state on the west bank of the Indus; Alipur had been one of its towns in the 15th century. Later the Indus changed its course so that the town came to be on the east bank. Daira Din Panah came into prominence c. 1600 but could not compete with Sanawan in colonial priorities. Khairpur town also lay in Alipur tehsil at the junction of the doab and like Din Panah owed its origin to Bukhari Syeds of Uch. The DHQ town was founded by Nawab Muzaffar Khan, governor of Multan between 1794-6. In the same tehsil was the town of Khangarh, founded at the same time as the DHQ. It too had the privilege of being DHQ for a decade before being replaced by Muzaffargarh.

Dera Ghazi Khan contained four tehsils including the DHQ; other tehsils were *Jampur*, *Sangarh* and *Rajanpur*. Its municipalities, Dajal and Mithankot, lay in *Jampur* and *Rajanpur* respectively; the first dating to Nahar rule while the latter, a trade centre patronized as tehsil HQ by the British lost its status due to devastation by the Indus in 1862. *Rajanpur*, founded in 1732-3 by Makhdum Sheikh Ranjhan became an important trade town under the British. It benefitted from the decline of Mithankot in the colonial period and became a link with Sukkur. No date of origin of *Jampur* is given in the gazetteer but it also probably dates to the later Mughal period. *Taunsa*, the HQ of the *Sangarh*

tehsil was little more than a village but the narrow strips of cultivable area provided by the torrents, desert and Suleiman range do not allow much urbanization even today. Vahova boasts of a mound suggesting that it may have been well settled earlier.
Abbottabad had three tehsils including the DHQ; its tehsils were *Haripur* and *Mansehra*, other towns included Baffa, Nawashahar and several minor hill-stations. *Abbottabad* was made a DHQ in 1853; it was named after first Deputy Commissioner of Hazara district and was made a municipality in 1867. Baffa, a town in *Mansehra* tehsil was made a municipality in 1873. Nawashehr, in Abbottabad tehsil, became a municipality in 1867.
Peshawar, *Charsadda*, *Mardan*, *Swabi* and *Naushera* were tehsil HQ towns, the first also being a DHQ. Charsadda tehsil had two other towns, Prang and Tangi to complete the list of seven for the entire district. This tehsil HQ was a large and prosperous town of Hindu traders and Muslim agriculturists; Swabi was almost a village while the other tehsil HQs had cantonments.
Kohat district had the additional tehsils of *Hangu* and *Teri*; there being only one town, the DHQ itself. The main importance of the town, like Montgomery in the Punjab was its proximity to the railway line; it gained prominence as an administrative centre during the colonial period.
Bannu, the district and tehsil HQ was the main town with *Lakki* being the tehsil HQ for Marwat. *Bannu*, situated in the northwest of the district was 79 miles from Kohat in the north and 89 from DI Khan in the south. Founded in 1848 by lieutenant Edwards and developed at the expense of Bazaar Ahmed Khan which had been the commercial hub of the region before this town [earlier called Dhulipnagar to please the maharaja at Lahore] was created, it was

constituted municipality in 1867. *Lakki* also replaced an older town of the Sikh period called Ihsanpur by its founder[45] in 1844, the latter remained HQ of the area till 1864, British declared *Lakki* a municipality in 1874.

Dera Ismail Khan had two other tehsils of *Kulachi* and *Tank* each with one town which served as the tehsil HQ. The last had been a semi-independent state whose nawab died in 1882; perhaps his grandfather had led the conversion of this his tribe from pastoral to agricultural life [208]. *Dera Ismail Khan* town lay 4½ miles west of the Indus and 120 miles west of *Multan*. Founded toward the end of the 15th century, the 'original town was swept away by a flood in 1823'; it's Hindu and Muslim populations living in separate sections with separate bazaars. It had a thin mud wall with 9 gates and covered 500 acres; the British built a cantonment with an area of 4¾ miles. It gained municipal status in 1867 like *Kulachi*, in fact 'an aggregation' of 16 hamlets, while *Tank* became a notified area in 1893. *Tank* stood on the left bank of a ravine and was founded by Katal Khan, the first nawab of the region; it was surrounded by a mud wall and a brick faced citadel.

The 'towns', so certified by the British administration, in Baluchistan have not been dealt with in this section since their 'urban' status during this stage is highly questionable. On the other hand, there were some settlements in that province which may have been urban until shortly before the British acquisition of the region but underwent rapid deterioration in the transition from Iranian or Afghan overlord-ship to British domination.

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[45] The Sikh governor of the region was named Fateh Khan Tiwana, see the NWFP gazetteer p. 194.

Some comments in this regard may be found in the narrative of provinces and their subdivisions in the section that follows.
Similarly the towns of Sind have not been listed in the above format because the Sind Gazetteer does not describe the districts in the form which is used in other Gazetteers. The probable cause is the entirely different colonizing strategy followed in different areas. For our purpose, however, the relevant question is not the cause but the effect. Urban growth in Punjab was rapid and steady but in the other provinces it was skewed, sporadic and slow. There was hardly any urbanization in Baluchistan. In the NWFP/KPK there was more growth around the provincial capital or along the arteries of communication than elsewhere. In Sind, a run-down kind of growth was registered in some of the traditional urban centres. Here the grandeur of ages gone by could be sensed while a 'shabby-genteel' socio-cultural environment was promoted. The non-settled, non-urban clans of the region were not allowed to infuse vigour that nomads might bring to a waning community; but they were allowed to sap the innovative energies of potential urban enterprise. For their own part, the colonial masters were only interested in directly promoting urbanisms which supported railways, canal systems, military enterprises or summer resorts.

Note on sources

As the district gazetteers have not been used in preparing this profile, some interesting data may have been overlooked. It is, however, unlikely that any significant data relevant to the pattern of colonial urbanization has been ignored. The nature of additional information available in district gazetteers is quite valuable for a study of the smaller units within the Enclave. They should be a useful starting point for using the model presented

here at the district and provincial levels. It is interesting to note that there is not much research or secondary source material on the Enclave in the British period. Despite the plethora of official records, it seems that the British were neither interested in a non-official version of the conditions in their empire at the state level; nor were they as a people curious to document their progress during the century of their rule.

CONCLUDING

HISTORIC PATTERNS OF URBANIZATION

In this chapter we have summarized our conclusions about urban patterns and provided additional information in the four sections: a) location of towns, b) layout of towns, c) architecture/layout of buildings and d) building materials. In the first we see the gradual process which defined urban hinterlands from stage to stage. In the second we identify the urban socio-economic ethos of the civilizations of the Enclave. It is in this section that we will be able to see the continuity of tradition side by side with elements of change. In the third also we will be able to identify continuity and change in urban domestic architecture. In the fourth will be seen changes in technology and aspects of its production function.

LOCATION OF TOWNS

The most common and consistent references for location of a town is its communication network or convenience of access. The context of accessibility, however, may vary from local [reference to hinterland] to intra-regional [between states or state systems]. Consequently some towns were important for trade between Central Asia, South Asia and West Asia while others were linked by industrial needs of labour and raw material. A number of routes have been identified by various researchers from time to

time[1]. Rivers, being natural highways, especially in the context of the Enclave, formed a grid with land routes initiating in mountain passes in the west and in river or desert crossings in the east. Trade and industry naturally tended to gravitate to the crossroads of communication as did other human activities. In extraordinary cases administrative priorities did influence the location of towns away from these major highways.

Pre-Harappan urban growth is an excellent example of how communication routes changed rural communities into towns. The six locations of the regionalization era are found in areas where the river flow is easier to manage. These were lucrative rural areas for small populations having low technological expertise. They were also areas where overland or riverine trade would gravitate. Balakot faced west and Amri sites faced east along the seaboard but SKT faced north in the west. The eastern scatter, which is wider near the smaller rivers of the north and small near the larger river in the south, controlled river traffic and Kot-Diji, which gave its distinctive style to the next phase, was the smallest of the distribution areas as it linked the three main traditions and four directions of trade that were to form the Harappan matrix. The traditions were seaborne, riverine and overland trade, the directions being the internal Northeast to South-west axis, an East to West bi-faced axis in the south and the western and eastern exits in the north. Perhaps three of the

[1] One of the first that made me conscious of the importance of such studies for the understanding of history was H. C. Verma, *Medieval Routes to India*, (Lahore: Book traders, n. d.). probably published in 1978.

directions led to import areas and only the southwestern one was the direction for exports from local industry[2].

Hakra import of Rajasthan stone caused the spread of Kot-Diji model to that region but it was an adaptation to local conditions. This was probably due to ethnic or racial dichotomy between the residents of the two areas. The first places where trade links were established were Birrana and Rakhelgarhi; but Rupar, Sothi, Mitha-thal and Kalibangan overtook them in importance.

Harappa and Kot-Diji became the northern and southern hubs of the Late Regionalization. One linked the Bolan-Khojak land route via Naushahro, the western seaboard via Nal; east to Dholavira and Nagvada via Amri and Phang. The other linked the loop from Manda via Rupar and Siswal to Kalibangan in the east with an arc from Manda to Haithal, Lewan, Perano Ghundai and Rahman Dheri in the west draining imports, raw material and labour.

The Mature Harappan phase integrated the civilization in a virtually uniform pattern, filling out gaps that had been, and extending the periphery. Lothal and Alamgirpur in the east, Sutkagendor and Shortughai in the west became the new outposts to the south and north respectively. New towns replaced earlier locations in order of importance. Places like Chandgarh, Saraikola, Maru, Musakhel, Dabar Kot and Allahdino now provided additional dots along the periphery. While two new metropolitan locations emerged to absorb the economic boom at Ganveriwala and Mohenjo-Daro. When the decline set in, the last of the trade links to dry up were at the extremities: Swat in lieu of

[2] This seems likely when we compare the studies of Ratnagar and Law.

Late Kot-Diji in the northwest, the link to Central Asia; Jhukar and Amri in the southwest, based on Kulli, the link of the Khojak-Bolan with the western seaboard; Sorath/Lothal replaced by Rangpur on the eastern side, more south and less east than the former. However, this seems to have been a more vibrant tradition like the Cemetery H in the north.

Although it is possible that settlements which did not produce food themselves probably existed during stage two, it is not currently possible to identify them. Such settlements may have been large and numerous in the vicinity of Gandhara and Koru-Panchala in the north of the Enclave but smaller settlements of this kind must have existed all along the river as well. Tribal towns may have served as base-camps of the leadership or as secure retreats in tribal wars. Possible sites may be speculatively deduced from more detailed analysis of data available. This could be used as a guide for archaeological support through excavations and research. We have, however, refrained from reconstruct such a speculative map for Stage II.

We have tried to make up for this by providing three maps for Stage Three, two of them give the data from Greek and Chinese sources respectively while the third gives the likely boundaries of states during this stage. Some tribal heartlands have also been identified. Perhaps some clues of ethno-genesis between Stages One to Three may be found with a meticulous comparative study of political history of states which ruled the Enclave with the tribal lore [generated from modern anthropological studies] and tribal descriptions in historical sources or ancient literature.

In Stage III, unlike Stage I, there is no scatter but a concentration of sites. The Gandhara civilization did not command vast hinterlands from centres of trade and Industry. Achaemenid invaders probably found a huddle of quasi-urban tribal centres of the Gandhara and Kamboja people. Perhaps the rich revenue that the satrapy yielded depended on panning of gold and gems. As many as 25 important sites are marked in a small area encircled between Bajaur and Hazara[3]. Alexander's travels took him across a northern strip of the Enclave where he found two rulers called Porus. These were rulers of a pur or fortified towns, puru [poru] was probably a title for the chief or leader or administrator in charge of a pur, who was also a tribal leader.

The tribal-pastoral lifestyle seems to have become dominant in the de-urbanized period along the river going down the Ravi onto the Indus. Greek historians become less precise; the impression of the tribes that is presented is that they are less civilized and more mobile in their aggressive encounters. As we approach Sind, an urban polity is revived, especially in the deltaic region. We can see the effects of trade and a modicum of politics and governance. A comparison of the map for Stage I with the Greek description of the Enclave reveals that areas of tribal concentration are the ones where the evidence of Harappan settlements is minimal.

Conditions do not seem to have changed much despite the several states that came to govern the Enclave during Stage Three and the Chinese accounts do not depict a material increase in urban centres or a significant decrease in tribal distribution. There is

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[3] See Michael Jensen, p. 28.

however, a slight increase in urban scatter in the north as the Turki-Shahi state and Kashmir began to expand. Perhaps, because of the religious objective of the Chinese, they were also able to note the existence of some towns of that nature which either came into being after Alexander or were not noticed by his historians. All in all there is little proof of significant urban development away from the rivers. Even along the rivers, it seems that Swat, the Chaj Doab and deltaic Sind were more urbanized.

Despite the fact that most of the imperial states which conquered the Enclave from either side controlled its northern half, there does not seem to be a concentration of towns beyond Jhelum. Even the towns ‘established; by Alexander appear to have dwindled after his departure. Only the concentrations in Gandhara and Sind, areas that had been urbanized by the time Alexander came, appear to have retained the tradition till the arrival of the Chinese. The glory of Gandhara seems to have been a thing of the past even then. In Sind also, the conquerors after the Achaemenid do not seem to have added much to the urban tradition as is evident from a comparison of maps. A few new towns do appear in the Gomal-Multan-Bhatinda belt below the Khyber-Sirhind corridor and in the lower portions adjacent to Kashmir. These indicate variations between the pastoral empire builders from the west as compared to the Bharat based states of the Gangetic plains like the Mauriyas and Gupta kings. One group was more comfortable in the plains [buffalo breeders] and the other in highlands husbanding goats and cows at an elevation.

Rai Chach may have been a regicide and a usurper but he was also an empire builder and a man of vision. He could visualize a

state spanning the entire Enclave and he appears to have created an agrarian revolution which revived the Harappan urban arrangement almost exactly. Balked in the north by the Turki-Shahis, he went as far as he could towards Kirman and Qandahar. When the Arabs took over his state, Kot-Diji had been replaced by Alor and Mohenjo-Daro by Nirun or Brahmanabad or Thatta. In any case, the link of the river with the sea became more vibrant than it had been since the Parthians as seen from the deltaic urban sprawl of his state. With the arrival of the Arabs, however, we see a consistent and remarkable growth of sites along the seafront. What is even more remarkable is the general increase of urban locations in the north of Baluchistan and along the Koh-Suleiman. The phenomenon is visible in a comparative analysis of maps and geographic descriptions from Stage I to Stage IV.

There is a fairly well balanced scatter of towns along the Indus south of Panjnad until they begin to spread out along the branches in the Delta. In the north, up the rivers of the Punjab also we can see the relationship of water, the hinterland and its urbanism as a natural equation of demography and ecology. However, when we look at the concentration near the coast, it seems illogical to ascribe it to any factor other than trade. Facing west away from the Indus, the string of sites north of the Central Mekran range, the scatter in the Suleiman range and near the Khojak pass, the number of towns is perplexing. However, when we take into account the camel-driving Arabs, their natural alliance with the Baloch and other local it seems reasonable. This administrative and trade related movement produced an unusual but short lived urbanization in Baluchistan.

Towns in the north were located close to the rivers, even the Indus; along the Ravi and Beas too there was no need to avoid the river. In Sind, however, we find that a distance of a Farsang or more was maintained, probably due to the ravages in the floodplain. Sometimes, as in the case of Multan, a small garrison town or cantonment of the military elite was made near the older town. In due course of time this gap was reduced and the city adjoined a new citadel.

The location of towns during Stage Five and Stage Six was dictated by too large a variety of factors to be encapsulated here. The increase in areas to which government was extended and the range of issues subsumed under governance made it possible for a town to come into being for all conceivable reasons. Military needs, revenue priorities, economic advantage, trade, commerce and industry, sciences, art and cultural or religious motives, all had a part to play. The proportion of population that was not employed in food-production rose considerably. This was naturally more in less arid areas where rural surplus was greater. Older settled areas also tended to be less willing to change their cultural tenor. Thus, Baluchistan gradually became de-urbanized; there were only minor variations in the location of towns in Sind; the Gandhara region experienced a slight increase in urban size due to the added importance of the Khyber Pass; but the Suba, later Division of Lahore displayed the entire range of additional motives for urbanization.

An important change, however, that occurred during Stage Five in particular, was the increase in small and medium towns and townships away from the rivers, the main highways and centres

of administration. These towns represented the intermediate and mezzanine levels of government at the local or district level. They performed the function of linking closely located semi-urban or quasi-industrial settlements producing semi-finished products with their rural/pastoral hinterland. The difference between mahals of the Subhas of Kabul and Lahore illustrate the nature and forms of this development. Urbanism as a phenomenon had not penetrated to its optimum up to Stage Five. From that stage to the present, there has been a steady increase in the mutual dependence between urban centres and their hinterland. The potential for this change came from the increase in agriculture while its actualization derives from industry.

LAYOUT OF TOWNS:

The urban socio-economic ethos of different civilizations

During the mature Harappan phase, it seems that citadels were 'built adjacent to, but separate from, towns'[4]. The ground-plan of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa consisted to two sectors: one, the town of the common people, and the other, the citadel mostly in the western part. The citadel and city blocks of common sector were all about 400x200 yards with 10 yard wide streets. Formed in an irregular grid along the cardinal directions [N-S/E-W], the 'lower city' spread eastward in the form of a square. There is not much to indicate hierarchy but it seems that communities were assigned quarters or areas, like the Muhalla of medieval times.

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[4] Saiyid Ali Naqvi, *Indus Waters and Social Change*, (Karachi: OUP, 2013): 36. The author has provided periodic lists to identify the urban signature of different phases that are interesting but some aspects are contentious.

We have characterized these towns as communes of skills and collectives of industry. The basic concept of socio-economic units of society occupying different quarters of a town continued in the Enclave throughout its history. However, units of societal watersheds did not always remain linked with skills and occupations; other criteria were added by other cultural traditions.

At Bhir, like in Sirkap and Harappa, the side streets were higher than the main street. Within its sectors was a Muhalla-vehra-ahata pattern in which outer limit of a locality was marked but inside it could vary according to convenience, with common open spaces. The main street ran north to south, perhaps lined by a market place. At Sirkap an irregular fort encompassing a grid pattern settlement. The north gate of the town is not in line with the main street; instead it is aligned a little to the east as in the Harappan houses. The absence of wells in the town is a feature common with Bhir. In the street, houses were interspersed with Buddhist stupas and shrines. Sirsukh was a parallelogram in the form of a grid. Gandhara town planning was obsessed with quadrilaterals though some towns were circular, semi-circular or polygonal.

The high plinth form of architecture allowed for easy drainage from houses; originating in the floodplains of the Indus, it remained viable in the torrential monsoons of Gandhara highlands. The versatility needed for various ethnic communities and occupational groups, however, was a new element under the variety of imperial ventures from the Achaemenid to the Sassanid

rulers. For this the Muhalla-vehra-ahata[5] scheme was eminently suitable; it strengthened communal unity and facilitated coexistence of cultural diversity. In a planned town, where historical imperatives did not impinge over time, the assigned localities remained stable and the grid pattern was fairly uniform. In the case of towns that became settlements of assorted groups before they achieved an urban administration, the urban sprawl was skewed and its irregularity tended to increase.

The location of Taxila offers a variety of topographic options for setting up a town. Bhir, lay to the west of a stream water course with its east defended by the Margala Pass. Sirkap used the Haithal spur to guard its citadel and two streams to provide a natural moat outside the rampart which surrounded the grid with a rampart. Unlike the Harappans, however, the citadel portion of the city of Sirsukh lay to its south like many other Kushan cities. The placement of higher and lower cities was not so standardized, although it was a common pattern like decoration of monumental structures and erection of shrines and monasteries.

The format of citadel and main city continued to be used during Stage Four and Stage Five. In the latter stage, however, a pattern of suburban growth became common. Trading caravans and fresh immigrants were stationed outside the town. From time to time, perhaps the fortified area was expanded also. We do not have direct proof of this in the case of Lahore, perhaps because it had to be refortified after having been de-fortified by invaders. In the

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[5] See Abdul Rehman, *Historic Towns of the Punjab*, (Lahore: Firozsons, 1997): 276. He identifies sub-units of kucha, gali, katra, haveli and chajja within the Muhalla; these facilitated family life in a joint family situation.

case of Multan as well we do not have sufficient evidence to state whether the Mughal town had shrunk or expanded from the times of the Delhi Sultanate. Since there is ample and repeated evidence of this pattern in the case of Delhi, it seems reasonable to assume that it may have occurred elsewhere if needed.

Naturally the citadel was the elevated part of the town across the board. However, the location of monuments is a key cultural indicator. While Harappan 'monuments' were part of the town, Gandhara monuments were often outside the town as they were by and large religious buildings. The stupa, a standard Buddhist form with a high-walled monastery needed a secluded location neither too far from habitation nor too near. Taxila, like Birkot was ideally located as a spiritual cosmopolitan capital. While the Buddhist temples were in close proximity of the town to suit the needs of the Bhikshu, the stupa could be located within the city. Inheriting Buddhist concepts, the Hindu-Shahi temples were also built away from towns. They retained high-ground but innovated on the architecture associating with rivers rather than streams[6].

The Arabs do not seem to have left monumental remains as such except the towns themselves or mosques. The Turks who followed them, however, borrowed from and followed all the traditions in one form or other, always adding an Islamic slant to them. Mosques[7] were generally inside the town, close to

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[6] See Abdul Rehman, *Historic Towns of the Punjab*, p. 43 and p. 55ff.

[7] The mosque is the most versatile and frequently constructed of Muslim monuments. It would be an adjunct to all other monuments and could itself be the core to which the madrassa or ribat was added. The Kullia style of

residential areas, but khanqahs and mausoleums could be in any locality. Caravan serais, bains[8], baolis, gardens and other public service monuments were located within towns and along trade routes in particular. They could also be near a town or village, but outside it. Some of the towns of the Muslim period also display segments based on religious or Sufi denominations. We also find quarters formed on the basis of domicile from which people have migrated or their racial/ethnic identity; this is particularly obvious from the Mughalpuras existing today.

We will see in the building style of the Harappans, a simple expedient integrating openness with privacy. The same concept is applied in the plan of the Muhalla and vehra. Blind corners were developed within the Muhalla leading into the vehra or public square within a kucha or a gali. A person who might be considered an alien would indicate his or her presence before entering the alcove or recess thus created. This tradition remained in vogue through the Buddhist and Hindu periods even before the arrival of the Muslims. Internal or family/community decorum allowed a degree of gender mixing and informality which was safeguarded by this means. Access to public buildings was provided from thoroughfares and 'permeable' but residential

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Turks in Egypt did not gain currency in the Enclave. The mosque could be the most humble of monuments, merely marking a square for prayer, or it could be the grandest devotional enterprise of a monarch. Perhaps difference in temperament may account for the fact that in Multan, more khanqahs and mazars are living monuments than historical mosques.

[8] The bain and baoli are varieties of wells constructed in a form which gives travellers a comfortable resting place. The expectation of hammams in towns and a ready supply of drinking water make them unnecessary.

areas did not have public access and tended to form enclosures. This provided 'a neat division between privacy and public life. Thematically we may say that throughout the period and in all parts of the Enclave, towns were formed as 'dense cellular' settlements whose sub-units were integrated within larger settlements[9]. This unity within diversity provided essential space for a continuous ethno-genesis in the Indus Enclave [foyer and cusp] where additions to the genetic pool were normal.

ARCHITECTURE/LAYOUT OF BUILDINGS

In this section we will be able to identify continuity and change under three heads: monuments, domestic architecture and commercial construction. In the first category, three different forms can be identified. The most consistent variety is the religious, which is particularly useful to see how the force of culture transcends ethnicity and defines one facet of civilization. Defining state priorities on the other hand are forts, castles, palaces and some public utility as well as religious monuments. The third are public service monuments that can be privately sponsored by wealthy individuals or high dignitaries of the government in an official or personal capacity.

We will not discuss individual buildings like the 'great bath' or the 'granary' of the Harappan era as we can have little to add to the learned discourse on the subject. Nor will it be germane here to discuss individual tombs or mosques of the Muslim period for the same reason. Since the aspiration is to provide comparisons

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[9] Abdul Rehman, *Historic Towns of the Punjab*, op. cit. p. 279.

and contrasts across stages, the general plan of monuments showing continuity or change will be discussed in this section.

In the Indus Valley Civilization, it is difficult to identify the nature of monuments; even to the extent of the defensive parameter. Was the defence-wall a state or government venture or did it represent a communal will? However, the monumentality of the size, the obvious public utility format and the finer aspects of civil-engineering all testify to their status in this category. We can more easily identify the monuments of Gandhara and the Hindu-Shahis. In Sind and Baluchistan, however, there is a need to locate and highlight monuments of the Buddhist and Hindu periods. We must therefore start the discourse on monumental continuity from Gandhara.

Apart from stupas, we do not find many buildings which display structural characteristics in their monumentality. The monasteries are simple collections of cells befitting the Spartan life of the Bhikshu. Fortifications of towns also do not appear to have needed that sturdy structure which came into vogue with siege engines and the mining techniques of later ages. Palaces also do not seem to have acquired the imposing proportions of imperial high culture in the Enclave. Thus in the pre-Muslim periods, the most imposing monuments were stupas and Hindu-Shahi temples. If seen together they may remind the observer of the dome and the minaret. Continuity of tradition at this stage has been highlighted in the study of Koh Jud temples[10]. Whether these buildings had any public service utility other than religion is

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[10] Kamil Khan Mumtaz and Siddiq-a-Akbar, *Temples of the Koh Jud and Thar*, (Lahore: Anjuman Mimaran, 1989).

difficult to say. It is also not possible to ascribe any other buildings with public utility before the Muslim period. Part of the reason for this may be a lower level of government involvement in such matters but a more important reason is that utilities such as roads and inns seldom survive the overlay outside towns.

Muslim forts between Khyber and Sirhind or Gomal and Bhatinda, and pre-Muslim ones in Sind provide a considerable variety of shapes, sizes, locations and building materials. It does not seem possible to generalize across the board or even in different eras in a given area. One reason for this limitation is the repair, or even fresh construction of forts. The Lahore fort for example is a Mughal structure and bears the stamp but it was preceded by an Ilbari fort, built by Balban[11].

The Muslims have not left many palaces or castles to assess that form of architecture but they have left a wealth of religious and public service architecture. Naturally they enjoyed advantages of being the last before the British and the fact that people continued to cherish many of them as living monuments. In this context the ribat and caravan-sarai were the first to become obsolete or grow into urban centres in their own right. Like Buddhist monasteries, these consisted of single cell rooms, however the former was fortified. The bain and baoli were next to lose their raison de eta, only a few remain as archaeological remnants of a bygone style of construction and decoration.

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[11] This in its own turn had been built after the Ghaznavi fort had been dismantled by the Mongols.

The typical style of the Masjid is quite well known: the main chamber is frequently domed and is accompanied with minarets for the call for prayer. Sometimes the minaret only has a symbolic significance as it cannot be climbed for the call. Often the mosque had an open yard behind the main chamber, sometimes with rooms for the traveller or devotee to stay in, and a pond or hauz for ablutions. The madrassa, khanqah and rauza [burial chamber] which could accompany the Masjid or exist as a separate entity, as the case may be, did not have a standard layout. Similarly the gardens had a considerable variety but the Shalimar style was popular in the Enclave.

Non-monumental architecture:

Commercial architecture was almost exclusively in the bazaar form. The more stylized bazaars found in Iran, Turkey and Egypt do not seem to have prospered under the Sultans of Delhi or the Mughals. All reports, however, testify to the neat organization of the market area. They also tell of cleanliness until the time when governance and civic control began to decline[12].

Harappan urban domestic architecture is the first of its kind that we come across in the Enclave. The buildings are grouped into three categories: private houses, a complex of houses and public structures, each with its general pattern. The first category had a set of rooms arranged around a central courtyard with a wall or hallway blocking view to the inner rooms. The houses of the

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[12] For example see S. A. Latif, *Lahore*, (Lahore: New Imperial press, 1892). Histories of many towns are available in English, Urdu or local languages, put together they cover a considerable corpus of material left out here.

Harappans had a haveli-deorhi-sehan plan with wells and staircases inside the courtyard. Many houses had two stories with 70cm thick walls and 3meter high ceilings. The complex of houses was a second category, with smaller units for servants, dependents or relatives.

This form may have been the inspiration for the vehra/Muhalla pattern in Gandhara. Private soak wells were maintained in every house; these are generally not seen after the Greek occupation. No domestic wells are to be found at Bhir, this suggests that stream water was used for the daily needs of the city. The simplicity of domestic architecture, except perhaps in terms of sculpture is a common feature between Harappan and Gandhara civilization. Apparently by the same token, in subsequent ages we do not find grand houses but only large ones where needed.

Towns in Sind, described by the Arab geographers had gardens and fountains. In Mekran, the fortifications of mud had two gates, one facing each of the directions of transit to it. Other towns did not follow a uniform pattern in the accounts. Unfortunately these sources do not report the placement of rooms and spaces inside the buildings of this stage. The Chachnamah also does not help us in house plans during the regimes of Sahasi Rai and Chach.

BUILDING MATERIALS

In the Harappan civilization, for the entire period, the proportion of bricks is in the ratio of 1:2:4. Mud and baked brick are common but stone is used where readily available. Doors and windows are made of shisham wood and mats, with floors of hard packed earth covered with sand. Some floors, like those of drains, were paved

with baked bricks or stone. Roofs were made of wooden beams thatched with reeds. Some monumental structures have been built exclusively of wood.

At Sirkap, softer stone is used for construction, which suggests both a shift in technology as well as trade links for import of varieties of stone. Rubble masonry technology of earlier settlements was replaced by the diaper technology during the first century AD, because it was more stable and earthquake proof. The Sirsukh remains have diaper masonry walls belonging to the Kushan period. In Gandhara the use of mud and burnt brick is much less compared to the Harappans. The Turks revived the use of burnt brick but the size of their bricks was considerably different from the Harappans. They also introduced glazed tiles and delicate woodwork for ceilings.

In the 17th century houses in Thatta were built with stone and mortar with large terraces. Smaller houses were made of poles covered with grass and mud which were quite strong[13]. At the start of the 19th century, a more explicit description is available of the hollow walled houses of wood and clay, up to four stories high[14]. However, brick and mortar buildings were also found; all houses have a mechanism called badgeer [wind-catcher] for using the sea breeze to cool them. When we see the change in building material in Hyderabad and Thatta over a period of three centuries

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[13] Mubarak Ali, *A Social and Cultural History of Sind*, (Lahore: Book Traders, 1987): 128.

[14] Pottinger in Mubarak Ali, Ibid, p. 136. This source is valuable for urban evolution in Sind during Stage Five.

as observed by various European travellers we come to the following conclusions:

When the state was affluent and the city had a vibrant economy, burnt brick and stone were used. When the economy declined, mud plaster, reinforced with wood was used. In times when there was acute recession, un-burnt brick had to suffice. The change in river channels and the seaboard would naturally have influenced the economy. However, it is also possible that the additional effect of reduced or increased forestation and humidity may have caused a decline in the quality and quantity of wood available for kilns. Jat and Med nomads lived in reed huts during Stage Four probably similar to those described in the British Gazetteer. It is unlikely that riverine vegetation would have sufficed for ensuring the supply of burnt brick.

On the other hand, we have also pointed out that people of the Enclave have had an enormous capacity of stoicism. It is possible to assume that ecology related technological expertise could maintain structural strength in inexpensive materials and lack of ambition allowed them to settle for a less sophisticated life. The example of the limited furniture in the houses of the rich is also germane to this line of reasoning. On the whole, the Enclave did not have a strong tradition of monumental architecture except for socio-political/religious utility. The idea of commemorative monuments seems to have been lacking. Religious utility monuments in particular could be on a grand scale or delicate expressions of art but mostly they reflect the simplicity of local society. In domestic architecture except for exterior decoration by the elite its simplicity was almost austere.

Conclusion

The continuity of architecture and civic planning in the Enclave depicts that the ethnic pool in the region was consistently in a state of flux but it was steadily absorbed into the local lifestyle. Slight variations in layout and materials indicate changes in social organization and technology of the incoming communities. In Stages I, II and III, the foundations and infrastructure of the social fabric was put in place. In Stage IV, with a change in the religious and political polarities, a major change in urban tradition could have been expected, but it did not come. No doubt the nature and functions of religious architecture, particularly mosques, changed radically. The art of fortification was also considerably more developed compared to previous stages. However, town planning and layout evolved within the earlier traditions of the Enclave.

Note on sources

The schools of architecture and historians of Pakistan have produced sound, though not extensive secondary material on the subject. To this can be added primary sources such as travelogues or reminiscences for further investigation in the field. It is neither possible nor advisable to repeat information provided in other sources except to exemplify links that exist between them and our study. But it would be worthwhile to compile a comprehensive study as a reference work where relevant information regarding socio-cultural and technological historical heritage of Pakistani people is listed. Civil engineering aspects of architecture and town planning have not been included in this study as this scribe does not have the competence to comment on them.

CONCLUSIONS

We hope that some basic truths about urban patterns of the Indus Enclave have been brought to light in this monograph. Here we will summarize our findings and identify certain limitations of our study, thereby highlighting possible directions for future enquiry into its cultural history. It is likely that many readers may have been sceptical regarding the words Enclave, foyer and cusp used for the region comprising Pakistan. Perhaps the monograph will have convinced some of them to reconsider their opinion.

While most readers would have found it easy to identify its north and north-west boundaries, its southwest and eastern boundaries are geographically not so obvious. It is only when one takes into account historical urban patterns, the concomitant hinterlands and the routes in and out of the Enclave that have been taken by civil and military travellers that its frontiers emerge as a stark reality.

Virtually all invaders of Rajasthan have avoided approaching it from the western side and almost all conquerors of Sind avoided approaching it from the land of the Rajputs. We could credit the Rajputs with the ability to withstand attempted conquest except along the east-northeast flank if they themselves had frequently assailed Sind across the desert. Humayun, fleeing Bharat, sought this unfrequented route which could be defended by the string of forts along the length of Cholistan and Tharparkar. Others have preferred to take the northern crossing past Rajputana at Bhatnir or the southern one around it along the coast from Sind to Gujrat; the Mohenjo-Daro link to Dholavira via the Runn of Kuch. This

option had ceased to be popular since the drying up of Ghaghara as it was impracticable without force-major or a guide.

To the southwest, beyond the Kirthar, there may appear to be doubts regarding the objective delimitation of Baluchistan as a part of the Enclave. History, however, reveals that pre-modern and pre-colonial structures of state, society and culture too have confined their watersheds within the same region. Topographic changes such as the drying up of the Ghaghara in the east or some water sources in the west have shifted boundaries marginally but dictates of mountains, deserts, rivers and plains as integrative and divisive entities has remained the cardinal factor in maintaining unity and diversity in the Enclave as well as its identity outside it. The fact that the Iranian and Afghan monarchies of the time were not reluctant to accept British dominance in parts of Baluchistan that it acquired; but were loath to permit ingress into other parts of their domain was not due to lack of strategic understanding.

It is natural to assume that urban development would have taken place along the rivers because of the relationship of water supply with large settlements. It is logical to expect the emergence of towns along trade routes. As river crossings, mountain passes and desert oasis dictate directions of movement, urban centres for defence and offense are likely to emerge in their vicinity. These natural considerations however were exploited by each ethnicity according to its own need. Thus we see certain urban locations universally utilized in all the stages outlined above, except stage two, which was a stage of de-urbanization. We have also seen certain locations that were unique to each stage and some whose importance varied greatly due to changes in political leadership.

We have defined as urban, non-agricultural settlements based on trade, industry or administration and reliant on a hinterland for food and raw materials. This probably allows for a greater variety in size and form of urban entities than any other criteria. The human experiment in primary skills starting with small kilns, metals needing less heat for smelting, and less sophisticated pottery in a single house or a trading post could also be treated as urban in this context. The presence of nomadic and pastoral people within the spatial unity of the Enclave and small urbanisms are two elements that hold the key to deciphering historic patterns of urbanization in the Indus Enclave.

The pastoral people whose movement was probably essential to 'factory' sites like Lewan in Harappan times remained a critical factor in all urban enterprise till the British period. Similarly, the concept of convention rather than administration as a means of standardization remained the norm despite the de-urbanization during stage two. This is particularly noticeable in defence by the use of topography; communal rosters of rights and privileges; nesting and split sovereignties; and the consensual economy of trust through communes of industry and collectives of skills. We see through a comparison of the matrix of indices used in this study how these cultural traits have provided the underpinnings of social life through all the urban stages delineated by us.

The location of important towns of each stage has been mapped in the respective chapters. Some of the stages display sub-phases and we can see a change in the urban pattern from one phase to another. In Stage I this consisted of the seeding locations which flowered into urban traditions and expanded to cover a large area. In the declining phase, these traditions receded to the periphery

as outward looking remnants of the Harappans. In stage II, the de-urbanization stage, only the northern exits of the Enclave display a weak urban interface with the Aryans. While stage III shows a robust urban tradition in the northwest corner of the Enclave other parts began a slow, sparse and unimpressive urban growth. This led to a vibrant urban tradition in the next three stages; which, however, lost some of its lustre during stages V and VI.

After the major setback to urbanization during stage II, there was virtually continuous urban growth in the Enclave. However, parts of it have been de-urbanized between stages IV to VI. This is most obvious in the case of Baluchistan. On the whole we see that when the northern regions experienced rapid urbanization, growth of towns in the south lagged behind; and vice versa. In a private conversation, Mark Kenoyer suggested that the inference could not be substantiated since new towns have hidden the remains of older ones. A detailed study of Cholistan, Pothohar and Suleiman range should be conducted to assess the veracity of these views.

More importantly, ethnology and patterns of animal husbandry in Pakistan today need to be studied to assess the relationship of an agro-pastoral population with towns during each urban stage and phase that has been delineated here. Pastoral towns are a reality as testified by Alexander's historians and Arab geographers. The ebb and flow of ethnic demography within the Enclave is evident by the Jats extending from Baluchistan to Punjab. This important point of reference should form the basis of a complete range of anthropological research. Such a study should run parallel with the linguistic analysis and cultural mapping through historical texts, especially poetry and literature.

Location of towns:

Although we have followed the general pattern of introducing a stage in the opening paragraph of each chapter, followed by a survey of its urban centres and the external environment before embarking on the three sections of 'political and administrative', 'socio-cultural' and 'capacities and constraints', we have also made exceptions in certain chapters. The most blatant naturally is stage II where almost all parameters have been set aside due to extensive and comprehensive de-urbanization. In other cases the deviation is slight. There the modifications have been made because of special conditions pertaining to that stage. In the present section we will summarize the developments of each stage to depict the comparative matrix of stages and phases.

Early Harappans discovered the potential of using small supplies of water and managing small communities for agriculture and industry. At the same time they learnt the art of riverine trade as well as skills for pottery and metallurgy. The mushroom growth led to a network linking rivers and mountains. Rohri and SKT may have been the places where transition from stone to clay as a medium of industrial produce took place. Mehrgarh, Amri and Balakot would certainly have contributed to the skills necessary for managing mountain drainage for agriculture. Harappa and Ganveriwala [Ravi and Hakra] created conditions for expanding the scope and developing the model for an integrated civilization.

In the Late Regionalization/Kot-Diji phase, the riverine network linked these urban units to form an integrated socio-economic infrastructure that led to the Mature Harappan Civilization. Two mediums of transport led to the exploitation of a marketable

industrial output. A central region extending from Amri to Harappa was more densely populated and extensively exploited in flood plains along the Indus, the Hakra and the Ravi. Eastern rivers provided the Sothi-Siswal annex in the northeast while the southern mountains of the Baluchistan tradition supplied the Nal-Amri link. This set the stage for seafaring trade, raised the urban enterprise to the level of a civilization and encouraged communes of skills to become collectives of exportable industry.

A full blown process of ethno-genesis was probably underway by the time the Mature Harappan phase began. Nomadic movement gave way to pastoral communities which acquired the pivotal role in transporting raw material from the hinterland and the periphery to industrial centres. The riverine communities drained finished or semi-finished products to locations of value addition or export like Allahdino. In the delta area seafaring communities completed the trade circuit; to the west for export alone and to the east for raw material as well. It is likely that the rich resource of animals in the Enclave formed part of the export material as livestock or as body parts. In this phase are three sub units of time which probably denote the rise and decline of the trade network.

The fact that internal variations in culture are visible along the eastern seaboard and western mountains indicates communities that were not entirely amalgamated in the ethnic unity that had developed. It was also an indicator of fault-lines for Localization. Probably the rise of new nomads in the east and/or west began the process of degradation in industrial output and consequently affected trade; or they caused a decline in the western markets.

The mountains in the north and those in the south had both been peripheral to the Harappans but in the south they were also linked to the sea. The rise of Aryans in the northwest was preceded by emergence of Swat as a local remnant of Harappa. Cemetery H and Swati people were, however, clearly affected by the influx of the Aryan speaking people. Jhukar and Rangpur, in the south continued to maintain trade links that they had developed but suffered a general decline with the change in polity around them. Swat and Jhukar supported mountainous pastoral communities while Rangpur maintained seafaring communities in a south-facing urban pattern. The real casualties of the Localization era were riverine communities that had linked these outer limits of Harappans. Sothi-Siswal, heartland of the Cemetery H, probably continued to thrive on a Bharat based polity. This together with Swat was the Harappan contribution to the Aryans.

During the 1400 years between the Late Harappan period and the Achaemenid incursion into the Enclave are the two stages of what may have been several waves of Aryan movement across it. In the first stage the nomadic people, speaking what are designated as Aryan languages, moved across the breadth of West Asia and South Asia. In the second stage they stamped their unique brand on South Asia but only managed to tamper with the trajectory of urban and ethnic growth in West Asia. We have tried to show that an almost complete de-urbanization took place within the Enclave as a result of the decline of trade. Aryan movements enhanced the effects of this in the north but left a skeleton structure along the seaboard in the south. That is why we find that Alexander came across kingdoms in some areas and tribes in others.

We have postulated that the roots of Harappan urbanism were not strong in the Gandhara region. It is perhaps for this reason that a vibrant new tradition of this stage arose in this area. On the other hand some Harappan residue probably remained in the south, especially along the seaboard where trade ties with the east would have allowed Aryan traditions to percolate to Sind. During this stage there is a tantalizing temptation to speculate on the southern urbanisms that are testified by Greek and Chinese observers. The picture in the north is relatively clearer, it is therefore the focus of archaeological research. In Sind riverine, deltaic, mountainous and desert ecologies provided pastoral-tribal hinterlands but in Gandhara it was a combination of monastic, pastoral-militancy which created small urban bases close to each other. In the south some of the Harappan hinterlands revived or created urban centres which led to the empire of Chach. In the middle region only a few tribal cities seem to have emerged at this stage.

In Stage IV the entire range of Harappan locations seem to have been revived with the addition of Baloch highlands, due to camel breeding communities, which made it possible to trade across the desert. However the ecological and ethnic disconnect between the Brahman states based in Gandhara and Sind remained until they were unified by the Ghaznavi Empire. The initiative of the Arabs had exploited the seaboard and the deserts leading to urbanization in Baluchistan in the first phase of this stage. This suffered a rapid decline with the rise of the Turks. On the other hand, for the first time, the entire northern passage from Peshawar to Lahore was urbanized. This became the most well-known route through the

Enclave. It was integrated with its urban grid which consequently achieved its maximum range if not its optimum size.

So far we have only been able to identify large units of hinterland which fed provinces or small states. The sub-units of a province or state, if it may be so called, ruled from Harappa or Jhukar are as difficult to identify as those of Taxila or Charsadda. In Stages III and IV delineation of a boundary between Multan and Sukkur or Alor would also present a problem. It would be virtually impossible to identify the relationship between Kallari and Ballari in Sind or Darak and Rasak in Baluchistan. However, in Stages V and VI we can identify the relationship between Depalpur and Multan or Depalpur and Uch. Thus we can now identify smaller units of hinterland at a level that may compare with the concept of a district in modern times. This is not to suggest that such a demarcation did not exist in earlier times or that it may not be reconstructed with more diligent research today. Such research would however need to be conducted primarily at the district level in space and perhaps for a specific stage or phase in terms of time.

In the first phase of Stage V Multan acquired the central position in the Enclave and held sway over almost the entire domain that had been ruled by Chach. It sporadically retained a paramount position over Sind till the end of the stage but had passed its prime when the second phase began. In this stage administrative and political considerations superseded industry, ethnic management, trade, agriculture and religion. Military and administrative routes now dictated the location of towns. The rises of Bhera, Tulumba, Pakpattan and Depalpur [like the emergence of Jacobabad and Montgomery in Stage VI] are typical examples in the first phase.

In the second phase, development of towns along the Lahore-Peshawar route is the most obvious example. Since the apparatus of state also grew enormously during these stages, therefore even secondary considerations had a powerful impact. The rapid and closely placed urbanization of the province of Lahore led to demarcation of hinterlands at the level of a mahal or tehsil. The thickest growth of urban life during the second phase of stage V was in the vicinity of Lahore but Multan and Sind experienced substantial urban growth also. It has not been possible to identify the urban signature of each town in this survey but the general pattern is obvious. In the plains, agriculture had become the norm and trade, industry or religion supplemented military importance. In desert and mountain regions where animal-husbandry provided sustenance to non-food-producers, trade alone enhanced military significance leading to partial de-urbanization.

The British did not start changing the urban configuration of the Enclave immediately. In the first instance they found it divided in a new north-south state system that marginally altered the Mughal scheme. In the second instance their piecemeal acquisition had not allowed them to make a plan of action in advance. Thus, they first began with minor adjustments to suit their immediate needs. They moved from three to six districts in Sind and then to ten canal districts cutting across them. Since their considerations like the Mughals were military but their means of communications were changing rapidly, a new urban grid was needed. Jacobabad, Lyallpur, Montgomery and Abbottabad led to the marginalization of some of the older centres and a restructuring of the hinterland.

SECTION A: Politics and Administration

In the attempt to restructure hinterlands, the British were thwarted by tribal-pastoral communities and minor sovereigns who were amalgamated in the previous states. We had introduced the terms of **nesting sovereignties** and **split control**, while speculating on politics and administration in the Indus Valley Civilization. By nesting sovereignties we mean that in a hierarchy, groups or political entities exercised un-conflicting sovereignty vis-à-vis each other. Ulama, Sufia and Muqtis of the Sultanate period as much as the raja, tumandar and lumbardar or Alam bardar of later times fall into this category. Control within such a system was split between multiple coeval sovereignties.

It appears that this was the exclusive political and administrative model during the First and Second Stage of urbanization in the Enclave. It seems that regardless of any innovation introduced by a ruling elite subsequently, this pattern remained constant at the grass-root level. This system was ideally suited to a foyer where genetic pool was constantly changing and eminently convenient in the continual process of ethno-genesis. It allowed for stable relations among seasonal tribal agrarian and pastoral immigrants.

The Achaemenid satrapy system was the first known state levied administrative layer which covered the grass-root level of self-sufficient agricultural and pastoral tribal communities. More detailed are the instructions of the Arthashastra reinforced by religious-political moral high-ground. The need for political and administrative structures to cater to the needs of towns and a military elite was introduced in the third stage of urbanization. The satrapy system introduced two new levels, the supreme ruler

and his deputy for local governance. The Arthashastra had a more extensive scheme of centralization that was used in the Enclave.

A reversal of the religious and political polarities of the Enclave took place during Stage IV. In administrative terms this translated into an Arab-Turk model of governance in the upper echelons of state. Ethnic and political considerations aside, this also meant a conversion to Turkish ethics as a third stage in the evolution in Muslim states. The Spartan form of Arabian Khilafat gave way to the Iranian bureaucratic Khilafat which surrendered power to the Turkish Sultans whose ideals of governance came from all the civilizations that they knew of. These ideals included, defence of the faith, justice, security of trade, incentives for productivity, revenue, commerce and industry. Neither the level of governance nor its basic objectives changed with Muslim rule but the social interaction between communities within the state underwent a drastic change. In the Enclave the caste system had never been supreme; here the change was more quantitative than qualitative. Within tribes and clans we may even suggest that it was nominal.

During Stage IV, Muslim rule in the Enclave was peripheral at first and transient in its second phase of. In Stage V there was a more consistent and a more intense application of Turko-Mongol Muslim model of governance. This affected the polity partly by reducing the area in which tribal systems prevailed and partly by absorbing tribal groups through subordination. One of the reasons for these changes had been centralization of power and control over lower echelons of government. Another was the allocation of units smaller than an Iqta or a satrapy to members of the ruling elite. The gradual settlement of these newcomers resulted in the

latest ethno-genesis of the Enclave. The fact that most of these adventurers belonged to pastoral and tribal communal traditions was an additional source of strength in the system.

It is obvious that the Colonial government introduced radical changes in the administration of the Enclave. An extensive, but not exhaustive, list of administrative measures has been provided in a preceding chapter. We have already mentioned that the vital differences between Muslim Rule and pre-Muslim governance in the Enclave were: increment in the levels of command to which the central administration chose to penetrate and the management of urban life in particular and agro-pastoral communities in general. The sine qua non of British administration in comparison was a communal classification along linguistic, racial, religious and occupational lines. A second major difference from previous experiences was remoteness of decision-making apparatus and a virtual inaccessibility to policy making nerves of government.

The implication of these two mutually conflicting procedures was that the state arranged for separate dispensations at whichever small communal level it found convenient. Intermediate levels of local power were duly disenfranchised. Thus in one aspect of governance, the unit of management would be occupation and in another it would be religious. This dispensation could be different for one part of Sind as compared to another in the same province. In one location the government could chose to have an interface with the tribal leader, while in another the religious leader or head of a guild could be chosen as the communal contact. Ratification of any of the dispensations could fail at any of several points from the grass-root to the crown and parliament. By the same token, the hierarchy could override local initiative ex-post-facto.

The thorn in the side of British administration were pastoral communities in general and those of the highlands in particular. If the English experience with Scotland was ever considered as an analogy for building a model, we do not know. However, almost from the start, the concept of 'agent' for the company was considered the solution. These agents bought safe passage and cooperation from the tribal leadership under the company. When the colonial rule was established in the Enclave, they became political agents for the colonial government.

While the ethnic mosaic of the Enclave had taken its present form before the British arrived, the political infrastructure in the region took final shape during colonial rule. This stage also saw the definitive orientation of its administrative trajectory for the foreseeable future. Initially there was no political interaction between the British and their subjects in the Enclave. A complex process of manoeuvring political space started between new and old administrative mechanisms. Where a previous government was left in place, its condition was similar to the Mughal period. Where British rule was direct, their need for local employees set the stage for political modernization.

When this transition reached the stage of electoral politics, a binary political culture emerged. As the state engaged its subjects on two levels, the communal and the individual, a binary interface was inevitable. In any event, the tradition of communal identity in the Enclave was so strong that it has not been disempowered to date. The modernist tradition is firmly grounded in individual identity and an impersonal interface with state and society, it was not possible for the British to replace it.

SECTION 'B' [Socio-Cultural]

Most of the ethnic identities ascribed to people who lived during Stages I and II have been assigned to them by modern researchers. Only in the case of the Aryans can we nominate them on evidence derived from their contemporary claims. The so called Dravidians may or may not have called themselves by that name. If Aryans found some people of that denomination it is not clear where or how many they were. As pointed out earlier Aryan communities may not have been racially homogenous either. To consider the inhabitants of south Asia as one great sea of Dravidian people is a misleading assumption of Western historiography.

The speculative trend to assign racial identity during Stages I and II is convenient for communal and social identities. However, we need not over-emphasize the issue except as a basic communal matrix resulting in an ethno-genesis. Homogenized communities thus came to occupy geographic watersheds before the historic periods: Stages III to VI. During Stage III, we first come across identifiable tribal settlements and clans with which modern ethnic identities can be associated. Even then, there are disconnects due to which there is considerable debate on relationship of modern tribes/clans with identities ascribed to them by historians during Stage III. From Stage IV onward, it is possible to reconstruct the ethno-genesis in several areas. Consequently, we have merely enumerated the ethnic names till Stage III with the postulate that several ethno-geneses took place during the preceding stages.

In stage IV, the tradition of history writing became strong enough to identify and maintain the racial, ethnic and tribal claims of communities across the Enclave. This is not to suggest that no

accidental or deliberate misconstruction of ethnicity has taken place since then. What it means is that no ethnic identity has since been introduced without reference to domicile and antecedents. It is from this stage that the Baloch and the Jat in particular can be identified under those names in historical documents along with their cultural paraphernalia such as language and lifestyle etc. Claims of Arab and Persian descent as well as those of previous titles such as Gujjar or Khokhar also begin to appear at this time while it had not been possible to identify the Hun or Kushan or Achaemenid and Greek demographic residue as such.

With the resurgence of Turkic races in the Enclave during Stage V, Turk, Mongol, Afghan and Tajik identities were introduced. The Rajputs and Sikhs were recognized as distinct communities in the ethnic mosaic. Religious and clan identities became co-terminus in certain cases. Most importantly, however, we must note the process of ethno-genesis during this stage. At this time many Baloch tribes acquired a Sindhi or Punjabi domicile. It is also the time when a concentration of Jats becomes noticeable in the Punjab. The settlement of Afghan, Pathan and Mughal elites in Sind and Punjab is also overtly mentioned in history. Had these remained distinct racial or cultural entities in the region of their new settlement, the ethnic distinction would have been of interest. We have, however, attempted to demonstrate that not only were all the identities of Stages IV and V the consequence of a process of assimilation, but that they, themselves began to be assimilated into a regional ethos during stage V.

Thus the Baloch assimilated non-Iranian clans of Turan as well as Arab communities, for example and the Jats took to breeding

various kinds of cattle. In their turn, the Baloch of Sind converted to many aspects of Sindhi culture including the local language as did the Semitic, Turkic and Afghan settlers who had come in as rulers. We have pointed out that lingua-genesis is virtually an essential concomitant of ethno-genesis. We have also pointed out that ethno-genesis has occurred several times in the Enclave, sometimes in small units of space and at other times in large units spaces. The latest lingua-genesis took definitive form in Stage IV and was fully formed by the end of Stage V as is visible from the multiple clan and tribal identities under a single language.

The Colonial obsession with communal identities led to cross classification of their subjects. As a result the variety of social links was exposed. If classification by religion and sect exposed one tier of the communal matrix, clans and tribes depicted another. When occupations were used for collecting data, one variety of social links became prominent; when domicile became a concern it accentuated a different parochial structure. The fact that the Baloch and Jats were to be found all across the Enclave and that a smattering of Syeds, Brahmans, Mughals, Pathans, Rajputs and Gujjars existed in every district and every town exposed an almost immutable social network.

This ethnic mosaic may have provided the colonial administration a convenient tool for interacting with small localized communal units but it enforced a linguistic and cultural limit for delineating districts and provinces. Accentuation of the communal identities played an important part in the decline of British control in South Asia. It has, however, become an integral factor in the politics of the Enclave since then. British management made it impossible to simultaneously evade all the communal traps in any political

manoeuvre. It also ensured dissemination of ethnic links across communities by colonizing and settlement policies. Consequently almost each individual citizen of this state constitutes a multi-ethnic, multi-identity unit of society in Pakistan.

Economy

The staple diet in food economy of human societies is generally some form of grain; wheat, rice and corn being most popular. What makes a society different from others is its specific animal and vegetable components. As the Indus Enclave had a wide range of ecologies, it was possible to experience the entire gamut of botanic and zoological genres. The Harappans were somewhat selective in the grains they used, the animals they ate and plants they grew. Nonetheless they had a food surplus robust enough to support large urban societies based on industry and trade.

The basic industrial raw-materials used by the Harappans were metals, ceramics and stone. Rare stones and perhaps finer ceramic specimens were luxury items probably of high value in trade. It seems likely that this was an un-administered self-regulating economy driven by trade. The Harappans were part of a trans-regional network of trade. When this declined, industry and local, riverine transit traders suffered a recession that led to decline of skills and the entire urban structure collapsed. While Harappan *communes of skills* and *collectives of industry* based on the *consensual economy of trust* were disbanded the concept of social governance became endemic to the Enclave.

The economic sociology of the Enclave that emerged in minimal Harappan management was ideally suited to its de-urbanization

during Vedic times. The revolution in metallurgy, resurgence of stone as prime artistic medium and the introduction of rice, the horse and the buffalo enhanced the marginalization of Harappan skills. The stage was set for the self-sufficient insulated village structure which could be linked as an *'add-on' by coupling hinterlands that nurtured communes of skills in a small non-food-producing settlement*. These muted or phantom urbanisms were the centres of pastoral trade with marches specified for tribes and clans; thus emerged the second socio-economic characteristic of linking hinterlands with urbanisms in the Enclave.

In stage III, a new pastoral-rural balance came into being due to state economic management. Pastoral domains may have been formally delineated for the first time under Achaemenid rule. A set of local dispensations under the Satrap governed villages and towns as envisioned by Kautilya. The rural-agricultural economy of Mauriya, Gupta and Sassanid states thrived on an expansionist-military political agenda. The Bactrian-Greek, Saka-Parthia Hun-Kushan polities used a pastoral-husbanding economic paradigm, tolerated agriculture and patronized rural communities; trade was more important than industry to them. Perhaps for the first time we find military towns without industrial or trade based economic activity. Were it not for the essential security of highways against marauding competitors, the towns would be economic parasites.

Thus three new elements were added to economic structures in the Enclave: *state management, monetization and defence*. Trade and industry were revived but could not be integrated across the Enclave as they had been in Harappan times. Neither the riverine nexus nor sea trade was able to reach the proportions of Stage I. However, *industry was diversified*; levels of value addition were

interpolated between raw-materials, exportable and luxury items. *Collective enterprise* was boosted both by *religion and state* leading to *increase in monumental construction and conspicuous consumption* promoting *refinement of skills and industry*.

Given the split levels of control and the self-sufficient village community with a non-monetized economy, two parallel systems of economic interaction existed from Stage III till the arrival of the British. All states from the Achaemenid to the Mughals were willing to accept revenue in kind and acknowledged pre-existing communal dispensations. They did not interfere in local norms except where essential for specific schemes of state; thus a *two tiered economic regimen existed*. In the lower tier was a *non-monetized structure of rights and privileges* which dealt with *goods and services as a collective barter* within a *corporate socio-economic body*. In the upper tier was a *mainly monetized* structure of *levies and service delivery* which was tempered, as needed, by a *non-monetized levy of goods and/or services*, the latter being the case with vassals.

British economic policy did not favour industrial development in the Enclave. No doubt a gradual process of industrial growth was recorded with defence needs, canal development railways and roads demanding semi-finished products from local sources. On the whole, however, pre-existing industries like fabrics, clothes and leather were promoted indirectly through demand. The major thrust of colonial economic design in the Enclave was in the area of land settlements and tenure.

Had the British confined their interest to the quantity and quality of economic activity, it is likely that no major change would have taken place in the production functions within the Enclave. The major change that set the region on the path of modernization was in the field of management. In economics as in administration, it was a radical change in the interface of state with subjects that resulted in a paradigm shift. Under administration we had noted the variety of dispensation at the local level with a uniformity of remotely controlled policy; this also applied to the economy.

Three major changes in economic policy were uniformly applied irrespective of local settlements in land revenue and tenure. First and foremost was the policy of monetization which disoriented the framework of grass-root and local economic arrangements. People who had neither had to use money for obtaining goods nor for services were suddenly forced to adapt.

Secondly there was the policy of dealing with an individual as owner, irrespective of communal privileges over the use and alienation of land. Although ownership of land was established under the first known [Mauriya] administration in the Enclave, almost all states had been content to deal with a communal levy of tax based on occupation rather than ownership. Dealing with individuals had been convenient in case of local representatives or indigenous tax collection. Thirdly, the canal irrigation policy cut across the traditional economic fabric on one hand and deformed it by settling new communities in hinterlands that used to provide a socio-economic buffer zone.

Whereas the social impact of these changes took some time to become visible, they soon showed a shift in economic relations

between the state and its subjects. Monetization provided the state with access to social grass-roots. Demand of cash payment led to alienation of land. Registration of ownership; creating a new elite in which zamindari overrode all other local modes of communal ownership. This was the first breakthrough of modernization.

Naturally the state sponsored work ethic influenced the previous employer-employee relations of production; however, the reverse was also true. The urban economy had been monetized in the past as well but it underwent a quantitative increment under the British. On the other hand its non-monetized, non-documented accounting remained a problem for modern revenue practices.

We have abstained from following the patterns of urbanization within the state of Pakistan for several reasons. One of them is the fact that later historians may find that it is in fact merely an extension of the colonial pattern. Although this is unlikely to be true, it is certain that 'modern' trends initiated by British form the basic urban tradition since their departure. Colonial occupation of hinterlands was certainly the most complete if not the most comprehensive administrative demarcations till its time.

The state of Pakistan has certainly made advances on frameworks provided by the British. However, being the first comprehensive unification of the entire Enclave under a single locally centred administration in a millennium, its viewpoint cannot be compared with other enterprises. It is also possible that there has been a psychological shift in perspective since creation of Bangladesh. Some perspectives on transition in the post-colonial era may be seen in a recent book by Syed Ali Naqvi quoted earlier.

SECTION 'C': Constraints and Capacities

Environmental constraints within the Enclave remained constant except as resource constraints which were a function of the ethnic ability to exploit them. However, changes in climate, topography or the shifting courses of rivers, were additional factors. Thus we see ecology and sociology as a compound factor in urban patterns of various stages. The increase in knowledge of botany, zoology, mechanics, astronomy, metallurgy and hydrology also filtered into the Enclave. The local ethos, however remained subsistence and ecology oriented. This led to a minimum intervention pattern. Pastoral people generally rely on biodegradable materials in any case. Rural organization in the Enclave also seems to have relied on perishables as is visible in the profiles given in the gazetteers. Especially significant in this regard is the use of dry beds of rivers as canals for irrigation and their annual communal maintenance.

Most advances in scientific and technological knowledge, seem to have been confined to urban areas and luxury goods. The Indus Enclave appears to have been in the lead during the Harappan era and perhaps even during the Gandhara Civilization. Not only in physical sciences, but in abstract, conceptual, intellectual growth also, its contributions remained significant in world civilization. When the Muslim scientists of Central and West Asia took the lead during the 2nd Hijra century, the Enclave continued to benefit from its development. From Buddhist iconography and religious architecture to calligraphy, geography and history of the Muslims world, technology and auxiliary sciences flourished here.

It seems appropriate to conclude this study with the relationship between demography, its culture and its environment. In the

preceding chapter we demonstrated how the agrarian revolution in the Enclave began to affect urbanization in the third stage. Non-food-producing settlements began to rely primarily on agricultural produce for subsistence. Earlier we had pointed out that non-urban immigrants tend to settle in vacant regions or vacate regions in order to settle. Generally new urban centres will emerge in vacant areas when conquest brings new settlers. When conquerors settle in old towns, they are often an elite which exists as a veneer on the top layer of society; when they settle in vacant areas they are frequently a large body including substantial lower strata of their own society, as in the case of the Mongols.

We have taken the baseline urban configuration of the Enclave in Stage III as the route taken by Alexander. The new towns that have been noticed in that stage reflect the settlement of larger migratory groups while a shift in urban location in the vicinity of an older urban centre indicates a small/elite migratory ruling class. The latter case applies to Taxila while Sialkot is probably a good example of the former. The effects of the two types of immigration were different in terms of their impact on the two phenomena of ethno-genesis and lingua-genesis.

Ethno-genesis, Lingua-genesis and the Urban Array

We take ethnicity to be a cultural denomination and postulate that it is actually a ‘re-nomination’ that cuts across earlier ‘racial’ or ‘ethnic’ denominations. We also believe that when ethnicity is converted into a genetic watershed for a long time, it leads to ‘racial’ classifications. The concept of ethno-genesis is thus central to ‘ethnicity’ within a given context of time and space.

There is a brisk linguistic trade in urban areas where words from different cultures are marketed because of ethnic plurality. The more cosmopolitan an environment, the greater is the likelihood that a variety of words for the same item will be used. The option of 'tabling' motions to include words in the local vocabulary lies with the towns. Unless the hinterland votes in favour of such a motion, however, a word will only have a temporary membership in the language. A glance at the history of Urdu in recent years will yield several such examples. Attempts at enforcement by the elite are rarely successful in a "democratic" of lingua-genesis.

Applying these postulates together: when an ethnic concentrate occupies a portion of hinterland as a collective, it dominates the lingua-genesis in its region. When an ethnic veneer settles in an urban area it contributes fractionally to the linguistic evolution. Urban elite thus drive linguistic growth by virtue of contributions to the matrix of social interaction through management of state or economy. The hinterland is the main absorptive organ and final arbiter of lingua-genesis. Even if de-urbanization occurs, the custodians of language remain in the non-urban environment as the culture of a people resides in its language. A transition in language may therefore be translated as a transition of culture and ethnicity; thus it is also an vital mechanism for ethno-genesis.

The Achaemenid, the Greeks, the Mauriyas, the Parthians, the Gupta and the Sassanid rulers may all have been settlers in pre-established towns. Perhaps the Sakas and the Kushans, like the Mongols in the Fifth Stage, believed in moving as a mass group. Sultanate period historians have indicated that Mongols settled in groups as large as fifty thousand; and these may not include camp-followers. In the Enclave, this proportion may even be

larger when we consider the fact that large portions of land were lying vacant. Till Stage III, the urban array is either close to the rivers or in the foothills. In Stage IV the bulk of growth is along trade routes feasible for animal husbandry or at best some arid agriculture in the vicinity of these trade towns. It is only in Stage V that the urban array extends to the lower part of the foothills, plateaus and regions between these and the floodplains. These are the regions where large groups of pastoral marauders or ruling elites came to settle, some from the west of the Enclave and some, like the Baloch and Jat, from within it.

The linguistic distribution that the British came across was the result of the lingua-genesis of the preceding millennium. There were still some ethnic elements of the elite needing absorption; this was especially true in Sind and Punjab. In the former the Timuri elites had ruled the region for almost five centuries but the Afghans were newcomers in that field. In the latter, the Mughals, also a branch of the Timuris, had a similar history but the Afghans and the emergent Sikhs did not have enough time to sink roots in many areas. None of the ruling groups had a meaningful suburban presence and consequently failed to affect either lingua-genesis or ethno-genesis. As a parent ethnic identity, however, the Turks, during the course of a millennium were able to effect both. This was despite the fact that unlike their Saka, Kushan and Mongol cousins they generally remained an urban community with hardly any roots in the hinterland. Perhaps part of the reason for their success was a demographic foundation provided by those people.

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