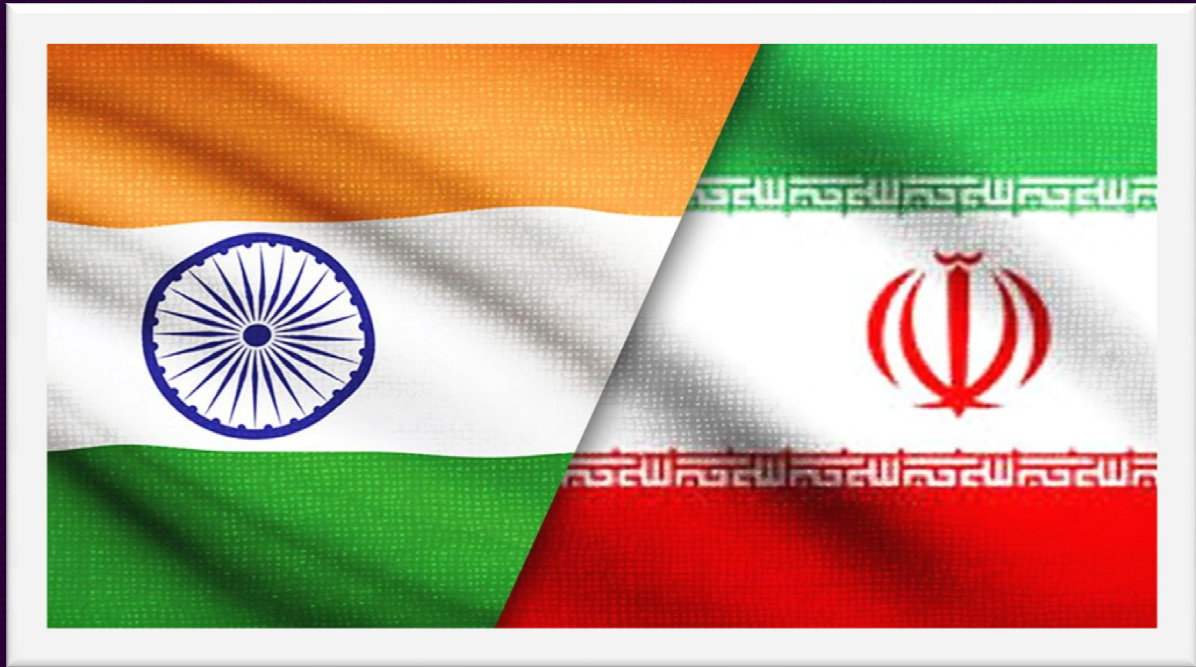


# INDIA (BHARAT) - IRAN (PERSIA)

## AND ARYANS

### PART - 7



#### Dr. Gaurav A. Vyas

This book contains the rich History of India (Bharat) and Iran (Persia) Empire. There was a time when India and Iran was one land.

This book is written by collecting information from various sources available on the internet.

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## 82. Nomadic pastoralism :

Nomadic pastoralism is a form of pastoralism when livestock are herded in order to find fresh pastures on which to graze. Strictly speaking, true nomads follow an irregular pattern of movement, in contrast with transhumance where seasonal pastures are fixed. However this distinction is often not observed and the term nomad used for both—in historical cases the regularity of movements is often unknown in any case. The herded livestock include cattle, yaks, llamas, sheep, goats, reindeer, horses, donkeys or camels, or mixtures of species. Nomadic pastoralism is commonly practised in regions with little arable land, typically in the developing world, especially in the steppe lands north of the agricultural zone of Eurasia. Of the estimated 30–40 million nomadic pastoralists worldwide, most are found in central Asia and the Sahel region of North and West Africa, such as Fulani, Tuaregs, and Toubou, with some also in the Middle East, such as traditionally Bedouins, and in other parts of Africa, such as Nigeria and Somalia. Increasing numbers of stock may lead to overgrazing of the area and desertification if lands are not allowed to fully recover between one grazing period and the next. Increased enclosure and fencing of land has reduced the amount of land available for this practice. There is substantive uncertainty over the extent to which the various causes for degradation affect grassland. Different causes have been identified which include overgrazing, mining, agricultural reclamation, pests and rodents, soil properties, tectonic activity, and climate change. Simultaneously, it is maintained that some, such as overgrazing and overstocking, may be overstated while others, such as climate change, mining and agricultural reclamation, may be under reported. In this context, there is also uncertainty as to the long term effect of human behavior on the grassland as compared to non-biotic factors.

Origin :



**A boy herding a flock of sheep in India**

Nomadic pastoralism was a result of the Neolithic revolution and the rise of agriculture. During that revolution, humans began domesticating animals and plants for food and started forming cities. Nomadism generally has existed in symbiosis with such settled cultures trading animal products (meat, hides, wool, cheeses and other animal products) for manufactured items not produced by the nomadic herders. Henri Fleisch tentatively suggested the Shepherd Neolithic industry of Lebanon may date to the Epipaleolithic and that it may have been used by one of the first cultures of nomadic shepherds in the Beqaa valley. Andrew Sherratt demonstrates that "early farming populations used livestock mainly for meat, and that other

applications were explored as agriculturalists adapted to new conditions, especially in the semi-arid zone."



**A young Maasai cattle herder in Kenya**

In the past it was asserted that pastoral nomads left no presence archaeologically or were impoverished, but this has now been challenged, and was clearly not so for many ancient Eurasian nomads, who have left very rich kurgan burial sites. Pastoral nomadic sites are identified based on their location outside the zone of agriculture, the absence of grains or grain-processing equipment, limited and characteristic architecture, a predominance of sheep and goat bones, and by ethnographic analogy to modern pastoral nomadic peoples Juris Zarins has proposed that pastoral nomadism began as a cultural lifestyle in the wake of the 6200 BC climatic crisis when Harifian pottery making hunter-gatherers in the Sinai fused with Pre-Pottery Neolithic B agriculturalists to produce the Munhata culture, a nomadic lifestyle based on animal domestication, developing into the Yarmoukian and thence into a circum-Arabian nomadic pastoral complex, and spreading Proto-Semitic languages.

In Bronze Age Central Asia, nomadic populations are associated with the earliest transmissions of millet and wheat grains through the region that eventually became central for the Silk Road. By the medieval period in Central Asia, nomadic communities exhibited isotopically diverse diets, suggesting a multitude of subsistence strategies.

Nomadic pattern :



**Reindeer milking in a forest; western Finnmark, late 1800s**

Often traditional nomadic groups settle into a regular seasonal pattern of transhumance. An example of a normal nomadic cycle in the northern hemisphere is :

- Spring (early April to the end of June) – transition
- Summer (end of June to late September) – a higher plateau
- Autumn (mid-September to end of November) – transition
- Winter (from December to the end of March) – desert plains.

The movements in this example are about 180 to 200 km. Camps are established in the same place each year; often semi-permanent shelters are built in at least one place on this migration route.

In sub-regions such as Chad, the nomadic pastoralist cycle is as follows :

- In the rainy season, the groups live in a village intended for a comfortable stay. The villages are often made of sturdy material as clay. Old men and women remain in this village when the other people move the herds in the dry season.
- In the dry season, the people move their herds to southern villages with a more temporary character. They then move inland, where they stay in tent camps.

In Chad, the sturdy villages are called hillé, the less sturdy villages are called dankhout and the tents ferik.

#### David Christian's account :

David Christian made the following observations about pastoralism. The agriculturist lives from domesticated plants and the pastoralist lives from domesticated animals. Since animals are higher on the food chain, pastoralism supports a thinner population than agriculture. Pastoralism predominates where low rainfall makes farming impractical. Full pastoralism required the Secondary products revolution when animals began to be used for wool, milk, riding and traction as well as meat. Where grass is poor herds must be moved, which leads to nomadism. Some peoples are fully nomadic while others live in sheltered winter camps and lead their herds into the steppe in summer. Some nomads travel long distances, usually north in summer and south in winter. Near mountains, herds are led uphill in summer and downhill in winter (transhumance). Pastoralists often trade with or raid their agrarian neighbors.

Christian distinguished 'Inner Eurasia', which was pastoral with a few hunter-gatherers in the far north, from 'Outer Eurasia', a crescent of agrarian civilizations from Europe through India to China. High civilization is based on agriculture where tax-paying peasants support landed aristocrats, kings, cities, literacy and scholars. Pastoral societies are less developed and as a result, according to Christian, more egalitarian. One tribe would often dominate its neighbors, but these 'empires' usually broke up after a hundred years or so. The heartland of pastoralism is the Eurasian steppe. In the center of Eurasia pastoralism extended south to Iran and surrounded agrarian oasis cities. When pastoral and agrarian societies went to war, horse-borne mobility counterbalanced greater numbers. Attempts by agrarian civilizations to conquer the steppe usually failed until the last few centuries. Pastoralists frequently raided and sometimes collected regular tribute from their farming neighbors. Especially in north China and



Iran, they would sometimes conquer agricultural societies, but these dynasties were usually short-lived and broke up when the nomads became 'civilized' and lost their warlike virtues.

Around the world :



**A camel trader in Hargeisa, Somalia**

Nomadic pastoralism was historically widespread throughout less fertile regions of Earth. It is found in areas of low rainfall such as the Arabian Peninsula inhabited by Bedouins, as well as Northeast Africa inhabited by Somalis (where camel, sheep and goat nomadic pastoralism is especially common). Nomadic transhumance is also common in areas of harsh climate, such as Northern Europe and Russia inhabited by the indigenous Sami people, Nenets people and Chukchis. There are an estimated 30–40 million nomads in the world. Pastoral nomads and semi-nomadic pastoralists form a significant but declining minority in such countries as Saudi Arabia (probably less than 3%), Iran (4%), and Afghanistan (at most 10%). They comprise less than 2% of the population in the countries of North Africa except Libya and Mauritania.

The Eurasian steppe has been largely populated by pastoralist nomads since the late prehistoric times, with a succession of peoples known by the names given to them by surrounding literate sedentary societies, including the Bronze Age Proto-Indo-Europeans, and later Proto-Indo-Iranians, Scythians, Sarmatians, Cimmerians, Massagetae, Alans, Pechenegs, Cumans, Kipchaks, Karluks, Saka, Yuezhi, Wusun, Jie, Xiongnu, Xianbei, Khitan, Pannonian Avars, Huns, Mongols, Dzungars and various Turkics.

The Mongols in what is now Mongolia, Russia and China, and the Tatars or Turkic people of Eastern Europe and Central Asia were nomadic people who practiced nomadic transhumance on harsh Asian steppes. Some remnants of these populations are nomadic to this day. In Mongolia, about 40% of the population continues to live a traditional nomadic lifestyle. In China, it is estimated that a little over five million herders are dispersed over the pastoral counties, and more than 11 million over the semi-pastoral counties. This brings the total of the (semi)nomadic herder population to over 16 million, in general living in remote, scattered and resource-poor communities.



### **Tuareg nomads in southern Algeria**

In the Middle Hills and Himalaya of Nepal, people living above about 2,000 m practise transhumance and nomadic pastoralism because settled agriculture becomes less productive due to steep slopes, cooler temperatures and limited irrigation possibilities. Distances between summer and winter pasture may be short, for example in the vicinity of Pokhara where a valley at about 800 meters elevation is less than 20 km. from alpine pastures just below the Annapurna Himalaya, or distances may be 100 km or more. For example, in Rapti zone some 100 km west of Pokhara the Kham Magar move their herds between winter pastures just north of India and summer pastures on the southern slopes of Dhaulagiri Himalaya. In far western Nepal, ethnic Tibetans living in Dolpo and other valleys north among the high Himalaya moved their herds north to winter on the plains of the upper Brahmaputra basin in Tibet proper, until this practice was prohibited after China took over Tibet in 1950–51.

The nomadic Sami people, an indigenous people of northern Finland, Sweden, Norway, and the Kola Peninsula of Russia, practise a form of nomadic transhumance based on reindeer. In the 14th and 15th century, when reindeer population was sufficiently reduced that Sami could not subsist on hunting alone, some Sami, organized along family lines, became reindeer herders. Each family has traditional territories on which they herd, arriving at roughly the same time each season. Only a small fraction of Sami have subsisted on reindeer herding over the past century; as the most colorful part of the population, they are well known. But as elsewhere in Europe, transhumance is dying out.

The Mesta was an association of sheep owners, (Spanish nobility and religious orders) that had an important economic and political role in medieval Castile. To preserve the rights of way of its transhumant herds through *cañadas*, the Mesta acted against small peasants.

In Chad, nomadic pastoralists include the Zaghawa, Kreda, and Mimi. Farther north in Egypt and western Libya, the Bedouins also practice pastoralism.

Source :

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nomadic\\_pastoralism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nomadic_pastoralism)

### 83. Ethnic groups in Iran :

Iran's current population is over 80 million people who are ethnically diverse (Poorolajal et al., 2017). The dominant population consists of Iranian Persians (Fars), who constitute 51% of Iran's population. The rest of the population consists of Iranian Azeris (24%), Iranian Gilakis and Mazandarani (8%), Iranian Kurds (7%), Iranian Arabs (3%), Iranian Lurs (2%), Iranian Balochs (2%), Iranian Turkmen (2%), and others (1%) (Ethnic\_minorities\_in\_Iran Hassan et al., 2007).

#### 1. Persians (Fars) :

Iranian Persians, who make up 51% of Iran's population, dominate the central government of Iran. Persians live in major provinces in Iran such as Tehran, Isfahan, Kerman, Yazd and Fars. A group of them also live in Mazandaran and Gilan, residing in the Caspian seaside villages separated from the Persians in Alborz by the northern climate conditions. Though they are originally Persian, their difference has resulted from their separation from Alborz and geographical climate conditions. Any differences present between Mazandarani and Gilaki people are not due to race, but entirely to environmental differences (Rashidvash et al., 2012).

#### 2. Azeris :

The Azeri people are among the oldest of the Aryan race (Rashidvash, 2013a). Northwest of Iran has been a passageway and a residential region from the age of primitive humans, meaning many tribes emigrated from here to other places and others immigrated here. Most of the Azeri people resided in an area between the Caspian Sea and Lake Urumia, and from the Republic of Azerbaijan in the north to the latitude of Tehran in the south.

While there have been conflicting data in various journals, it has been stated that, at the turn of the 21st century, there were around 7.5 million Azerbaijani people in the neighboring area of Iran and more than 15 million Azeris in Iran (Rashidvash et al., 2012). Roughly one out of four Iranians are considered to be Azeri, making this the largest ethnic minority at over 18 million.

#### 3. Kurds :

As an ethnic community, the Kurdish population is mainly spread across five countries in the Middle East: Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Armenia. The distribution of the Kurdish population through the five Middle Eastern countries is thought to consist of 45% in Turkey, 20% in Iraq, 20% in Iran, 5% in Syria, 5% in Armenia, and 5% in other countries, although exact numbers are not available and are a matter of some debate and controversy. A significant population of Kurdish immigrants, an estimated 500,000 Kurds, live in Western European countries, namely Germany, the Netherlands, France and Scandinavia (Sirkeci, 2000).

Historically, the Kurdish population has resided in the Zagros Mountains area along the western frontiers of Iran with Turkey and Iraq, beside the Kurdish population in both countries (Rashidvash et al., 2013). They are found mainly in the western regions of the Iranian plateau (Farhud et al., 1991), such as Kurdistan and Ilam.

There are approximately 3 to 4 million Kurds living in Iran, compared to 12 million living in Turkey and 6 million living in Iraq (Farhud et al., 1991). As of 2008, the Kurds represented around 7% of the total population of Iran.

#### 4. Arabs :

In 1986, there were around 530,000 Arabs in Iran. Today, they constitute around 2–3% of Iran's population (Rashidvash, 2013b). The majority of this population live in Khuzestan, many along the Persian Gulf, and a number are scattered in central and eastern Iran. The Iranian Arab population has intermingled with Persians, Turks and Lurs who also live in those provinces, and so their population has been mixed with other ethnicities over time (Rashidvash, 2013b). Around 40% of the Arabs are urban, living in cities such as Abadan, Ahvaz and Khorramshahr (Rashidvash, 2013b). Iranian Arab communities have also been found in countries such as Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates and Qatar.

#### 5. Lurs :

The Iranian Lur people live in the mountainous areas in the southwest of Iran, occupying areas of northern Fars and southern Zagros (Rashidvash, 2013b). The territories occupied by Lurs are Lorestan, Bakhtiari and Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad (Amanolahi, 2005). In addition, they also reside in other provinces such as Khuzestan, Fars, Ilam, Hamadan and Bushehr (Amanolahi, 2005).

In 2007, the total number of Lurs had been estimated to be close to 4 million people. As of 2008, the Lur population was reported to form 2–6% of the overall population of Iran (Rashidvash, 2013b).

#### 6. Turkmen :

Iranian Turkmen live in the Turkoman Sahra and in the Gorgan plains. This area is near Iran's border with the Republic of Turkmenistan. It stretches from the Atrak river in the north, to the Caspian Sea in the west, the Quchan mountains in the east and Gorgan river in the south. Iranian Turkmen have been said to be living in Iran since 550 AD, with the first formed tribes from 750 AD (Rashidvash, 2013a; Iran Chamber Society).

The Turkman population has been reported to number 6 million people globally (Turkmen People). Almost one-third of that population, nearly 2 million Turkmen, live along the northern edges of Iran, close to the Turkmenistan border, while millions of others are found in other countries across the Middle East and central Asia.

#### 7. Balochs :

Balochistan, located at the crossroads of India, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the Persian Gulf, became a point of intersection for the peoples and cultures of South Asia. Over the centuries, the Balochi people were scattered across a wide range of territories, from Bushehr to Bandar Abbas, India, Afghanistan and Southeastern Iran.

In 1908, John Gordon Lorimer noted that the Baluch numbered around 20,000, many of whom were in Oman and who were also the dominant population in Persia (Kashani-Sabet, 2013).

In 2013, the Balochi population was estimated as 10 million people worldwide (DaBell, 2013).

#### 8. Persian Gulf Islanders:

The Persian Gulf is home to many small islands, such as Qeshm Island, Tunb and Kish Islands. Iranian Arabs have been known to reside in this area of the Persian Gulf and Khuzestan, and who are pastoralists or fishermen on the Gulf (Rashidvash, 2012).

Source :

[http://www.iranome.ir/ethnic\\_groups](http://www.iranome.ir/ethnic_groups)

#### 84. **Iranian Archer – Soldier profile :**

Iranian archer of the Persian Wars :

On the battlefield, the archers were formed up in the centre of the army, many ranks deep, protected by a barricade of shields and spears along their front, such that any enemy formation approaching would face a relentless rain of tens of thousands of high-velocity arrows.

At a glance :



### Clothing and Jewellery :

- Tunic and trousers: loose-fitting and often with elaborate woven and applied decoration
- Phrygian cap: distinctive headgear worn by many eastern peoples in antiquity
- Combined quiver and bow-case.

### Weaponry :

- Composite bow: formed of wood, bone (some say its horn), and animal sinew, combining elasticity and strength
- Sword: secondary weapon for use if caught by enemy in close-quarters action

### Armour :

- Shield wall: front-rank men used large wicker shields and hedge of projecting spear-points to protect ranks of archers behind

### Overview :

The Persian Empire was an amalgam of diverse states, tribes, and peoples. The power of the Great King was based on tribute payments and military conscription. Persian armies, therefore, were polyglot affairs, each segment of the Empire sending its quota of men, dressed, equipped, and trained in the local fashion. The great majority were light-armed skirmishers – foot archers, javelin-men, or cavalry.

Because of this, while the Greeks relied on shock action, the Persians did the opposite, adopting tactics designed to take full advantage of superior firepower and mobility. Massed archery was used to break up the enemy formation, while massed cavalry manoeuvred to attack the flanks and attempt encirclement.

The Iranian plateau, the Persian heartland, was a region of peasant-farmers skilled in the use of the composite bow. This weapon, developed by Central Asian nomads in the mid 2nd millennium BC, had been used by Eastern archers for many centuries. The body of the bow was formed of horn and wood laminated together using animal resin. This was left to dry, allowing a bond to form, strong enough to withstand the immense pressures placed upon it when the bow was drawn. Sinews from animal tendons were then laminated to the outside face of the bow, imbuing it with explosive power.

Complex construction techniques and long drying-times meant that a bow might take up to 18 months to manufacture. Once complete, the unstrung bow would curve outwards. When strung, using a bowstring made from organic fibre or sinew, the ends of the bow were pulled inwards, such that tremendous power was already stored.

The result was a relatively short bow that had the power of a much longer wooden model. In modern tests, the composite bow has proved its accuracy and killing-power by piercing several layers of chain-mail at ranges up to 180m.

Source :

<https://www.military-history.org/articles/profile-iranian-archer.htm>

## **85. Amazons in the Iranian world :**

The Amazons of ancient Greek mythology were depicted in art and literature as fierce, barbarian women of exotic lands east of the Mediterranean (Mayor; David, pp. 203-25, 227-31). In myth, Amazons were the archenemies of ancient Greek heroes such as Heracles and Achilles; but Greek and Roman historians also described historical, legendary, and contemporary warrior women of Eurasia whose lives and exploits were like those of Amazons. Thanks to more than 300 archeological discoveries of battle-scarred female remains buried with weapons in graves from the Black Sea to the Altai region, we now know that the Amazons of myth and legend were influenced by women of nomadic Saka-Scythian and related cultures of Eurasia (Mayor, pp. 63-83).

In 2004, the Iranian archeologist, Alireza Hejebri Nobari, who had excavated 109 graves of warriors with weapons in an ancient site near the city of Tabriz in northwest Iran, pointed out in an interview that one of the graves held the bones of a warrior woman. This attribution was based on the DNA tests of the skeleton indicating that the skeleton inside the tomb was of a woman warrior and not, as previously suggested, that of a man because of the metal sword buried close by it (Hejebri Nobari, quoted in *Hambastegi News*, 2004). Plans were made to conduct DNA tests on the skeletons of other ancient warriors in the same site, but no further reports have appeared (Reuters).

The lives of Saka-Scythian and other related nomadic people centered on horses and archery, and the women participated in hunting and warfare alongside the men. Many Scythian groups from the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Caspian regions spoke forms of Old Iranian languages. More than 200 names of Amazons and women warriors have survived from antiquity, preserved in texts, inscriptions, and traditional epics. Most of the names are Greek, but other languages are represented, including Egyptian, Caucasian, Turkic, and Iranian. The etymology of the non-Greek word "Amazon" is unknown but may have had multiple sources. Several theories have been suggested, ranging from the Circassian (ČARKAS) name *a-mez-a-ne* "forest [or moon] mother" to ancient Iranian *ha-mazon* "warrior" (Mayor, pp. 85-88; 234-46; AMAZONS i).

It is often assumed that the ancient Greeks held a monopoly on Amazons. But Greeks were not the only ancient culture to tell stories about warlike women and thrill to accounts of legendary and historical female warriors. The ancient Medes and Persians fought Scythians from the north and Saka tribes on the eastern frontiers of their empires. Beyond the Greek-influenced world, one can find intrepid horsewomen-archers in oral traditions, art, and literature of Egypt, Arabia, Persia, the Caucasus, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Central Asia, and India. The exploits of

these warrior women recall the Amazons of Greco-Roman myth and history (see Kruk, pp. 16-21, on echoes of Amazons in tales of Near Eastern warrior women).

Amazon-like legends arose about the Assyrian warrior queen Semiramis (Akkadian *sa-mu-ra-mat*; Iranian *Šamiram*), widow of the king Ninus (on whom, see also CTESIAS), who ruled around 810-805 BCE. A colorful frieze of glazed brick in Babylon described by Ctesias (the Greek writer and physician in the Achaemenid court of Artaxerxes II, ca. 413-397 BCE) showed Semiramis, in about 470 BCE, on horseback spearing a leopard. It was said that Semiramis rode her swift horse to conquer Bactria, personally leading a band of mountaineers to scale a high cliff to attack a citadel. In her campaigns, she survived arrow and javelin wounds. Like Amazons of Greek myth, Semiramis rejected marriage but enjoyed sexual partners of her own choosing. Disguised as a boy on the battlefield, she only revealed her sex after victories.

To blur differences between men and women and provide protection while riding, Semiramis designed a new style of practical clothing for herself and her subjects (Diodorus, 2.4-20). The long-sleeved tunics and trousers were so comfortable and attractive that the Medes and Persians adopted the costume (CLOTHING ii. In the Median and Achaemenid Periods; Gera, pp. 65-83; Justin, 1.12). Notably, the sorceress Medea of Greek myth, from ancient Colchis, was also credited with inventing the clothing worn by Saka-Scythians and Persians (and Amazons in Greek vase paintings). According to Strabo (11.13.7-10), to hide her sex, Medea donned trousers and a tunic and covered her face when she and Jason of the Argonauts ruled jointly over what is now Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Another legendary warrior queen was said to be the first to invent trousers. According to a lost history by Hellanikos (5th century BCE), Atossa, whose ethnic origin is not clear, was raised as a boy by her father King Ariaspes (the names are Persian but their origins and dates are shrouded in mystery). After she inherited her father's kingdom, this Atossa "ruled over many tribes and was most warlike and brave in all deeds" (Jacoby, frag. in Gera, p. 8). She created a new style of dress to be worn by men and women alike, long sleeves and trousers that blurred gender differences (Gera, pp. 8, 141-58). Amazons in ancient Greek art are depicted wearing trousers. In fact, trousers were the invention of the first people to domesticate and ride horses on the steppes (Mayor, pp. 191-208).

From fragments of Ctesias's *Persica* we learn of Persian accounts of two Saka warrior queens, Zarinaia and Sparethra. Diodorus based his biography of Zarinaia on Ctesias's fuller account; a papyrus fragment of the historian Nicolas of Damascus also relates her story (Ctesias, frags. 5, 7, 8a and c; P. Oxy. 2330). According to Diodorus (2.34), the powerful Saka "whose women were known to fight like Amazons" were "ruled by a woman named Zarinaia, who was devoted to warfare." A daring, beautiful warrior queen who subdued many enemy tribes, Zarinaia was honored after her death with a colossal gold statue and a monumental pyramid tomb, 600 feet high.

When the Parthians (Irano-Scythians) rebelled against the Median Empire, they allied with Zarinaia, who had assumed leadership of her Saka tribe after the death of her husband. She married the Parthian ruler Marmārēs/Mérmeros and the Parthians "entrusted their country and city" to Zarinaia in the long wars against the Medes (Diodorus, 2.34). During one of the battles, Zarinaia fought the Median commander Stryangaeus. The Mede wounded Zarinaia, but struck by her valor, he spared her life. When Mérmeros later captured Stryangaeus, Zarinaia



defied her husband and freed Stryangaeus and other Median prisoners of war. With their help, she killed Mérmeros. After peace was declared between the Medes and the Saka-Parthian alliance, Stryangaeus came to visit his friend Zarinaia in Rhozanake ("Shining City," thought to be in the Roshan area of the western Pamirs) and declared his love (Gera, pp. 6, 84-100; Mayor, pp. 379-81). Scholars have compared this Persian love story to the tragic Greek myth of Achilles, who regretted killing the valiant Amazon Penthesilea at Troy and expressed his love for her dead body. But the Persian tale offers a very different scenario. Zarinaia and Stryangaeus had spared each other's lives in battle, and thus friendship and love were feasible. It has been suggested that the existence of Persian narratives about "fighting a Scythian queen" may have formed part of a conventional Iranian repertory of heroic feats, just as fighting against Amazons seems to have been a required task for many Greek heroes" (Sancisi-Weerdenburg, p. 32). But some accounts reflect historical events and figures, such as Cyrus the Great.

After his conquest of the Median Empire in 550 BCE, Cyrus II of Persia made war on the Saka tribes between the Caspian Sea and Bactria. In about 545 BCE, Cyrus battled the Amyrgioi of Sogdiana and Bactria, known to the Persians as "*haoma*-drinking Saka." When Cyrus captured their chieftain Amorges ("Excellent Meadows"), Amorges' wife Sparethra ("Heroic Army") became the leader of the tribe. According to Ctesias, Sparethra called up an immense force to attack Cyrus, made up of "300,000 horsemen and 200,000 horsewomen" (Photius, 72: epitome of Ctesias, *Persica*). The numbers may be exaggerated, but the detail provides strong evidence that women and men rode to war side by side in Saka-Scythian tribes (Mayor, pp. 282-83). It also supports the comments of Diodorus (2.34.3) regarding the Saka: "These people, in general, have courageous women who share with their men the dangers of war." Sparethra led her vast army of allied tribes against Cyrus, defeating his troops and capturing many of Cyrus's highest-ranking men, including three sons or cousins. Sparethra negotiated a treaty with Cyrus, who released her husband Amorges in exchange for the Persians taken prisoner. Sparethra's tribe became an ally of Cyrus (Diodorus, 2.34).

Cyrus was not so lucky with Queen Tomyris ("Iron," Mongolic/Turkic *temur* with Iranian suffix? or *Tahm-rayis* "Brave Glory"?). In about 530 BCE, Cyrus was routed by Tomyris's horde of mounted archers, the Massagetae, a confederation of Saka-Scythians east of the Caspian. The Massagetae were warlike archers on horseback noted for the gender equality and the sexual freedom of their women. After this defeat, Cyrus resorted to treachery, setting up an ambush using wine as the bait. The *kumis*-drinking nomads, unused to wine, were slaughtered and Tomyris's son captured. Enraged by the trick, Tomyris sent a message to Cyrus vowing to "give him his fill of blood" (Herodotus, 1.214). In the next battle, amid horrific mayhem, Tomyris's army decimated the Persians. Cyrus was mortally wounded. It was said that Tomyris found the king's corpse, hacked off his head, and plunged it into a wine jug brimming with blood (Diodorus, 2.44; Herodotus, 1.211-14; Justin, 1.8; Strabo, 11.8.5-9; there are various versions of Cyrus's death). Today Kazakhstan claims Tomyris as its national heroine and issues coins in her honor, and some have suggested that the magnificent "Golden Warrior" of Issyk could be the remains of Tomyris (Mayor, pp. 76, 143-44, 187, n. 2, fig. 24.3).

Herodotus (7.99; 8.68-69, 87-101-3, 132, and 185), a native of Caria, described a seafaring female commander from his Persian homeland in the 5th century BCE. She was Xerxes' trusted advisor and naval commander, Artemisia I of Halicarnassus in Caria. Artemisia saw action in Euboea and then bravely commanded a Persian warship in the Battle of Salamis, 480 BCE. A

costly alabaster perfume jar, a gift from Xerxes to Artemisia, was discovered in the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (tomb of Mausolus and Artemisia II); the jar is inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphics, Elamite, and Babylonian cuneiform (Mayor, pp. 314-15).

Another historical female military leader was Targatao, leader of the Ixomatae, a Maeotian tribe of the Azov-Don-Caucasus region northeast of the Black Sea, in about 430-390 BCE. Targatao (Iranian *tir* arrow, *tighra tava*, "Arrow Power") won many victories with her army of male infantry archers and cavalrywomen skilled with bows and lariats. She married Hecataeus, king of the Sindi, a people of the Taman Peninsula and adjacent Black Sea coast. At one point Targatao was imprisoned in a tower in Sinda by order of Satyrus, king of the Bosphorus. Targatao made a daring escape and returned to her tribe on the Don River. She raised another army and took revenge, crushing Satyrus and laying waste to his lands (Mayor, pp. 370-71; Polyaeus 8.55; Strabo 11.2.11).

An episode in the memoir of the Greek general and historian Xenophon suggests that a group of captive Persian women helped defend his army (*Anabasis* 4.3.18-19, 6.1.11-13). Xenophon recounts how his large mercenary Greek army marched from Persia north through Anatolia to the Black Sea and back to Greece, in about 400 BCE. On their route through Persia, the soldiers seized women from local villages to serve as concubines and servants. On the long trek through dangerous territories and rugged terrain, the soldiers and the captive women shared hardships and came to trust and depend on each other for survival. They learned each other's languages and formed bonds of friendship, and the women helped to fend off attacks from hostile tribes. Xenophon does not say that the women had been trained to use weapons, but at a banquet hosted by Paphlagonian chieftains, at least one of the Persian women performed a war dance with weapons. Greek soldiers boasted to their hosts that "these very women drove off the king of Persia!" (Xenophon, 6.1.13; Mayor, pp. 140-41).

Alexander the Great was involved with several women identified as Amazons, as described in his biographies and in the body of legends that arose after his conquest of the Persian Empire and his death in 323 BCE. The most celebrated story, reported by several ancient biographers, recounts his meeting with the queen of the Amazons, Thalestris, who stalked the young conqueror from her home between the Black Sea and the Caspian, catching up with Alexander in his camp in Hyrcania. Alexander agreed with her request for intercourse so that she could bear his child. Another encounter with warrior women occurred upon Alexander's meeting with Atropates, satrap of Media, who presented him with a cavalry unit of horsewomen, identified as "Amazons" by the historians Arrian (7.13.1-6) and Curtius (10.4.3; Mayor, pp. 318-38). Amazons also appear in the legends known collectively as the *Alexander Romance* (Greek, Armenian, and other versions dating from the 3rd century BCE to the 6th century CE). In the Persian epic poem *Šāh-nāma* by Ferdowsi (b. 940 CE), Eskandar (Alexander) meets the warrior queen Qaydāfa of Andalusia (Spain). In a later version of this meeting by epic poet Neẓāmi Ganjavi (1141-1209 CE), Eskandar disguised as an envoy visits the court of Nušāba, the queen of Sakasena in Barda (Barda'a). In both versions, Qaydāfa and Nušāba recognize Eskandar from his portrait, which they had secretly commissioned earlier. The queens do not engage in battle but discuss philosophy with Eskandar as equals. Near the end of his life, it was said that Eskandar corresponded with the Amazons of Harum and they met in battle outside the city of women. In other Islamic traditions, Eskandar meets with Amazon queens named Baryanus and Radiya (Kruk, p. 17).

According to the military historian Polyaeus (8.56), a warrior woman named Amage (derived from Iranian *magu* "mage"?) was acclaimed as ruler of the Roxolani, a tribe of Alan-Sarmatians in 165-140 BCE. She also won many victories. In one incident, Amage led 120 of her best warriors in an attack and personally killed the enemy commander. She saved his son, however, and persuaded him to rule peacefully (Mayor, pp. 371-72).

In 138 BCE, the Parthian queen Rhodogyne (Gk. "Woman in Red") married the Seleucid king Demetrius II Nicator. Apparently she did not accompany him from exile in Hyrcania to Antioch in 131 BCE. According to ancient traditions, she was "resplendent in scarlet belted tunic and trousers woven with charming designs" (*Tractatus De Mulieribus* 8, in Gera, p. 8), riding her black Nisaeon mare to defeat the Armenians (Gera, pp. 141-58; Philostratus, *Imagines* 2.5). Rhodogyne was famous for rushing off to battle without braiding her hair. Her image appeared on Persian royal seals with long flowing hair, and she was honored with a golden statue showing her hair half braided (Polyaeus, 8.27; *Tractatus De Mulieribus*).

In about 66 BCE, during the Third Mithradatic War, Pompey's Roman army pursued King Mithradates VI after a crushing defeat in Pontus to the southern foothills of the Caucasus in ancient Colchis. In Caucasian Albania and Iberia, Pompey's soldiers fought battles against an aggressive coalition of tribes, numbering about 60,000, allied with Mithradates. Plutarch (*Pompey* 35 and 45) and Appian (*Mithradatic Wars* 12.15-17) reported that "Amazons" fought alongside the male warriors. Pompey's soldiers discovered warrior women among the dead with wounds showing they had fought courageously. Pompey even captured some of these women alive. In his magnificent triumph of 61 BCE, Pompey paraded his most illustrious prisoners of war, including a group of Amazons from the southern Caucasus, labeled "queens of the Scythians." Notably, the Greek-Persian king Mithradates had fallen in love with Hypsicratea, a horsewoman archer of an unknown Scythian tribe of the Caucasus region. She had joined his cavalry in about 69 BCE. He praised her courage and battle skills, and she became his last queen, as confirmed by the discovery of a statue base inscribed with her name near ancient Phanagoria, Taman Peninsula (Mayor, pp. 340-45, 349-53).

Roman sources reported that horsewomen served in the Persian cavalry of the Sasanian king Shapur I (240-270 CE; Harrel, p. 69; Zonaras 12.23.595). In later times, European travelers in Persia and Mughal India told of female battalions guarding royal harems. Like Amazons and Scythian women, women in Persian harems were described in art and literature riding horses, hunting with bows (and later with rifles), and playing polo (Walther, pp. 95-97). Legends arose about female fighters of the Persian military nobility who served as Sasanian *savāran/aswārān*, cavalrymen and "knights" specializing in single combat on horseback or elephant. The anonymous short epic *Bānu Gošasb-nāma* (see *Gošasb Bānu*; variously dated 5th to 12th centuries CE) and other poems featured the *savār* heroine Bānu Gošasb, Rostam's daughter; she battles several suitors and her own father and her husband Gēv. Princess Datma was described as an accomplished martial horsewoman-cavalier in *One Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf Layla Wa Layla*, 597th night; Burton, tr., V, pp. 94-98). In the Islamic period, legendary guerrilla heroine-archer, Bānu Ƙorramdin (Ƙorrami), fought beside her husband Bābak Ƙorrami for two decades (816-837 CE) from their stronghold in Azerbaijan to overthrow the Arab Caliphate. Never defeated, ultimately they were overcome by treachery (Nafisi, p. 57).

As noted, warrior women appear in the *Šāh-nāma*, where the war like Saka-Scythia nomads of Central Asia were known as Turanians. Ferdowsi's poems were drawn from pre-Islamic traditions (Walther, pp. 176-78). In the first (mythic-legendary) half of the *Šāh-nāma* women are presented very differently from the ways they are presented in the "historical" (post-Alexander) half of the poem. Dick Davis (2007, 2013) points out that the geography and names of the *Šāh-nāma* centered on "Turan," Parthia, a land with strong traditions of powerful Amazon-like women. Gordia ("Woman Warrior") was one foreign female fighter in the first half of the epic, but the most famous was champion horsewoman-archer Gordāfarid ("Created as a Hero"), daughter of Gaždaham. She defends their White Fortress (Dež-e Safīd) from invasion by the hero Sohrāb, son of Rostam and Tahmina, princess of Samangām (Bactria). In full armor, Gordāfarid challenges Sohrāb to single combat. Her long hair hidden under her helmet, Gordāfarid lets fly a hail of arrows as her swift horse weaves back and forth. Sohrāb's sword blow is deflected by her armored belt and she hacks his sword in two. Only when his lance knocks off her helmet does he realize that he is dueling a woman. He captures Gordāfarid with his lasso, but she tricks him into releasing her and she escapes with her people

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## 86. Clothing in Persia from the Arab conquest to the Mongol invasion :

*The Omayyad period (41-132/661-750)*. Investigation of costume in the Omayyad period is hampered by the scarcity of surviving representations; furthermore, many of those that do survive are purely symbolic and do not reflect what was actually worn. For example, all the so-called "kings of the world" in a wall painting at Qoşayr 'Amra in Jordan, of the 2nd/8th century (Ettinghausen, 1972, p. 190 fig. 2), wear Byzantine robes. Similarly, the approximately contemporary stucco reliefs from Čāl Tarḵān-‘Ešqābād, near Ray, in which a king is depicted hunting boar in full Sasanian royal regalia (Thompson, pl. II/1-2), probably do not accurately record contemporary princely dress; more likely they express the wholesale adoption of Sasanian attributes of power.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence that styles of the late Sasanian period in Persia continued to be worn for some time after the Islamic conquest. For example, the costume worn by "Bahrām Gōr" in a relief from the same site probably reflects that of a contemporary man of high rank: It consists of a smooth, close-fitting tunic with a jeweled belt at the waist, a wide skirt with jeweled hem below the knee, and tight sleeves ending in rolled cuffs or bracelets at the wrists worn over smooth trousers ornamented with pearls (Thompson, pl. II/3-4). Deborah Thompson (p. 21) has compared this garb with that worn by Ƙosrow II Parvēz (r. 591-628) on the Investiture and Boar Hunt reliefs at Ʀāq-e Bostān (see iv, above); the absence of a central fastening in front is most closely paralleled in the robe in the investiture and those worn by the courtiers in the boar hunt (Fukai and Horiuchi, I, pl. V; Peck, 1969, pls. XV-XVII). Stiff, close-fitting decorated caftans (long, heavy, often richly decorated robes with long sleeves, worn belted) and smooth pantaloons appeared in Sasanian Persia only in the 7th century and continued into the post-Sasanian period, as attested on the reliefs at Ʀāq-e Bostān and on silver vessels attributed to the 1st-2nd/7-8th centuries (Fukai and Horiuchi, I, pls. XXXV, XXXIX; Harper, 1981, pls. 19, 21, 27, 33, 36; idem, 1978, pl. 25). The flat cap with beaded

fillet worn by “Bahrām Gōr” is also paralleled in the Boar Hunt relief, where it is worn by the king and some of his courtiers (Fukai and Horiuchi, I, pls. XLVIII, LVII). As Prudence Harper has pointed out, this cap, which is not characteristic of Sasanian dress, may have been introduced by Kōsrow II, for it was incorporated into the royal headdress in representations on his coins (Peck, 1969, p. 121).

The taste for richly decorated caftans seems to have spread through Omayyad domains. Remnants of a stucco figure known as the “standing caliph,” from the unfinished 2nd/8th-century palace at K̄erbat al-Mafjar, north of Jericho, probably built during the reign of the caliph Hešām (r. 105-25/724-43), show a smooth, close-fitting garment with wide skirt and narrow sleeves, girt with a jeweled belt and worn over full trousers and soft boots (plate lxxxv; Hamilton, pl. LV/1). The central fastening recalls the king’s coat in the Boar Hunt relief at Tāq-e Bostān, which was also worn with ample pantaloons (Fukai and Horiuchi, I, pl. XLVIII). This type of heavy coat had a long history in Persia (see v, above). Although it was worn in the early Sasanian period (Herzfeld, 1941, p. 309 fig. 402), its form at K̄erbat al-Mafjar is closest to that in the late Sasanian representations at Tāq-e Bostān, which are closely paralleled in turn by garments in wall paintings and sculpture of the 5-8th centuries at Central Asian and Afghan sites like Bāmīān, Qizil, Balalyk Tepe, Fondukistan (Fondoqestān) and Panjīkant (Panjīkat; Rowland, pl. 57; T. T. Rice, figs. 83, 97, 157, 179; Belenitsky, 1968, fig. 143; see v, vi, above).

Enough of the upper torso of the “standing caliph” has survived to suggest that the coat closed diagonally across the chest, from right to left. This type of closing recalls those on 4th or early 3rd-century b.c.e. tunics and jackets found at the Siberian site of Pazyryk, as well as rare Parthian and Sasanian examples (see iii, iv, above). The caftan worn by the standing caliph probably had lapels like those on the garments of smaller stucco figures from K̄erbat al-Mafjar; (Hamilton, pl. XXXVI/6); this feature is also more closely linked with the caftans of Central Asia than with those represented at Tāq-e Bostān. The fastening, hem, and vertical slits on the sides of the skirt are edged with pearls, emphasizing the slightly pointed dip of the hem at the sides. The form of the skirt and the vents, suitable to a riding coat, are also known from late and post-Sasanian representations (Fukai and Horiuchi, I, pls. XXXV, XXXIX; Harper, 1981, pls. 19, 27, 36). The wide trousers, gathered at the ankles, hark back to Sasanian styles continued from Parthian and Kushan dress of the 2nd century c.e. (Kawami, pl. 31; Ghirshman, 1962, pp. 56 fig. 70, 155-56 fig. 197; Rosenfield, pls. 22, 120; Harper, 1981, pls. 10, 13, 16).

The dress of the “standing caliph,” which seems clearly to have been inspired by Sasanian and Central Asian models, is paralleled by a fur-lined green-silk caftan decorated with a pattern of *sīmorǵs* (legendary creatures generally represented in the art of this period as having the front quarters of quadrupeds combined with wings and peacocks’ tails) in roundels from a burial of the late 2nd/8th or early 3rd/9th century at Moshchevaya Balka in the northwest Caucasus and now in the Hermitage, Leningrad (Jeroussalimskaja, pls. I, XIII). It was probably worn belted over a lighter tunic, trousers, and soft leather shoes (Jeroussalimskaja, p. 186). This find provides evidence not only on the construction of early caftans but also on how they were fastened. The closing of the caftan, which was vertical, rather than diagonal, was from right to left in the Persian manner, as at K̄erbat al-Mafjar, with small lapels (Figure 62); A. Jeroussalimskaja (p. 205) has noted that Chinese garments were wrapped in the opposite direction and that the Chinese considered a closing to the left characteristic of barbarians. The

coat was fastened symmetrically by three or four pairs of tabs fastened to the right panel with covered buttons and containing buttonholes for a matching set of buttons on the left panel. A hidden button secured the waist, but the wide skirt, constructed of several panels of material, was unfastened in front, and the sides were slit for freedom of movement. Jeroussalimskaja (pp. 203-06) related the form and decoration of this garment to those of the royal caftan represented on the Boar Hunt relief at ʾĪāq-e Bostān and to Central Asian examples. Only the wide sleeves, made separately and stitched to armholes, differ. Better-preserved men's garments from Moshchevaya Balka suggest that the sleeves were generally longer than the wearers' arms; though identical in cut to the *sīmorǧ* caftan, they are made of humbler materials, linen with silk borders or sackcloth.

The persistence of Sasanian styles of dress during the Omayyad caliphate is further exemplified by a stucco relief of a ruler from the palace at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Ġarbī in Syria, probably also dating from the time of Hešām. A tunic, decorated down the front and around the hem with a pearl band and at the knees with rosettes, is worn over ample trousers with jeweled bands down the front (Schlumberger, 1939, pl. XLV/3). The hem of the tunic is pulled up on the sides, probably by straps, which are represented as borders on the sides of the garment (Schlumberger, 1939, p. 353). This detail recalls the apron-like skirts of Sasanian Persia, which appeared first in the 4th-century reliefs at ʾĪāq-e Bostān and were depicted on Persian metalwork into the 2nd/8th century (Fukai and Horiuchi, II, pls. LXVI, LXVIII, LXX; Harper, 1981, pls. 16, 19, 24, 29, 36). The Sasanian fashion, ultimately derived from Parthian dress, must have been adopted so that the long tunic could be worn for riding (see iv, above). The jeweled pantaloons were also adopted by the Sasanians from styles in vogue in Parthia and Palmyra (Ghirshman, 1962, pp. 47 fig. 60, 56 fig. 70, 79 fig. 91; Harper, 1981, pls. 13, 14, 16, 38). The headdress of the stucco figure at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Ġarbī was described by Daniel Schlumberger (1939, p. 328) as a flat cap with metallic fillet supporting a central jewel flanked by a pair of wings. The form recalls the caps depicted in the Boar Hunt relief at ʾĪāq-e Bostān and in the "Bahrām Gōr" relief at Čāl Tārķān-ʿEšqābād, but the wings were borrowed from Sasanian royal crowns.

Few depictions of nonroyal male figures have survived from the Omayyad period, but the late 2nd/8th-century finds from Moshchevaya Balka in the northwestern Caucasus provide evidence that men of lower social status probably wore garments similar at least in form to those worn by their rulers (Jeroussalimskaja, p. 203). In other stucco reliefs from Ǫerbat al-Mafjar riders of lesser rank wear stiff tunics over full pantaloons tucked into boots, a costume quite close to that of the "standing caliph" (Hamilton, pl. VII/2, 3, 7). Simple boots are most characteristic of Omayyad representations, though at Čāl Tārķān-ʿEšqābād there is one example of boots with upturned toes (Thompson, p. 44, pl. IX/1). Figures of low social status are represented in the paintings of Qoṣayr ʿAmra with bare feet and legs and wearing simple short tunics with long or short sleeves (Almagro et al., pp. 182-86, pls. XXXIV-XXXVIII). This tunic was ultimately derived from the Greek chiton, which was secured by a belt and then pulled up and folded over it, and recalls tunics worn by servants in the Boar Hunt relief at ʾĪāq-e Bostān, which in turn must hark back to depictions of servants' garments on Palmyrene reliefs (Fukai and Horiuchi, I, pl. LXXIV; Peck, pp. 104, 105). Male figures depicted either hunting on horseback or butchering onagers are clad in longer robes with wide sleeves, the hems tucked up for greater freedom of movement (Almagro et al., pp. 133, 178, 180, pls. XXX, XXXII). Such clothing worn with neither shoes nor boots seems to echo Hellenistic traditions of dress, rather than those of Sasanian Persia. More elaborate male outfits are worn by two fan bearers flanking the

enthroned caliph (Almagro et al., pp. 158, 159, pls. Xb, XI); they wear soft shoes, long robes with beaded collars, and mantles with elaborately patterned linings.

This costume is quite similar to that of a flute player depicted in a painting on the floor of a stairwell at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Ġarbī (Schlumberger, 1946-48, p. 89 fig. 4, pl. B), though the latter wears full trousers tucked into boots under his long belted caftan in violet cloth, with tight sleeves. The red of a tunic worn beneath shows at the cuffs and collar, and a long, transparent red cloak is worn over the whole. Flying ribbons and a jeweled scarf complete the costume (Schlumberger, 1946-48, p. 89 fig. 4, pl. B). Schlumberger (1946-48, p. 96) believed that this dress reflected Sasanian styles depicted on the reliefs at Ṭāq-e Bostān and on silver vessels, though in Sasanian art only royal or divine personages were shown wearing cloaks (see iv, above). The elaborate garments worn by the fan bearers at Qoṣayr ‘Amra and the flute player at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Ġarbī probably spread among both men and women of lower rank after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty.

In the main register of the same floor painting from Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Ġarbī a hunter is shown wearing a close-fitting tunic with long sleeves similar to that in the “Bahrām Gōr” relief, though open below the waist to reveal trousers tucked into low boots (Schlumberger, 1946-48, p. 91 fig. 5, pl. B). The form of the robe is of Sasanian type, as are the knotted flying ribbons at the back of the head and the jeweled scarf fluttering from what is probably a leather belt (Schlumberger, 1946-48, p. 90, pl. B; Harper, 1981, pls. 10, 13, 15); as hunting was a royal pursuit, it is possible that a royal personage was being depicted.

Depictions of female dress surviving from the Omayyad period are even fewer than those of male dress. In a stucco relief of “Bahrām Gōr and Āzāda” from Čāl Tārḵān-‘Eṣqābād the slave girl is shown in a close-fitting tunic with necklace, bracelets or rolled cuffs, full trousers, and small slippers. The dress falls in rippling folds, suggesting soft or transparent cloth, in contrast to the stiff textile of Bahrām Gōr’s caftan. Certainly the taste for close-fitting, diaphanous robes was already familiar in Sasanian times, reflected in representations of queens and goddesses on rock reliefs and of dancing girls on silver vessels (Ghirshman, 1962, pp. 173 fig. 215, 178 fig. 218, 215 fig. 256; Harper, 1978, pp. 60 fig. 18, 77 fig. 26). Trousers are not known to have been worn by women in the Sasanian period, however; they must have been introduced in imitation of male costume in the early Islamic period. Women wearing trousers are depicted on post-Sasanian silver plates (e.g., *Survey of Persian Art* IV, pls. 229A, 230B).

A more complex garment of approximately contemporary date is represented in the figure of a female lute player on the floor painting from Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Ġarbī. A long white robe with narrow sleeves and a short overskirt is worn over an even longer green tunic. A violet mantle and soft shoes complete the attire (Schlumberger, 1946-48, p. 89 fig. 4, pls. B, XXV). The basic dress is reminiscent of Sasanian examples (Peck, 1969, pls. X, XI; Ghirshman, 1962, p. 218 fig. 259). The long cloak and multiple skirts were new fashions, worn also by female musicians on a post-Sasanian plate in the Hermitage (*Survey of Persian Art* IV, pl. 208A).

A woman’s headdress depicted on another fresco fragment from Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Ġarbī consists of a low, cloth turban wound with a length of material surrounding the face, which could serve as a veil when necessary (Weiss, p. 433 no. 258). It is difficult to find earlier parallels for this turban, as few representations of Sasanian women other than queens and goddesses survive. Two harpists on the Boar Hunt relief seem to wear soft turbans, though damage to the surface has obliterated the details (Peck, 1969, pls. IXb, X; see iv, above, plates lxx, lxxi). The wound

turban or *‘emāma* (see *‘amāma*) became the characteristic headdress of men in the Islamic world, and there is evidence that it was already in use early in the Omayyad period (Mas‘ūdī, *Morūj*, ed. Pellat, IV, pp. 6-7; Ettinghausen, 1972, p. 30; Serjeant, p. 67).

In the wall paintings at Qoşayr ‘Amra female figures appear in various styles of dress and undress. A flute player wears a long-sleeved garment patterned with floral roundels, diamonds, and flower sprigs (Almagro et al., p. 154, pl. VIb), reflecting the tradition of elaborately decorated female garments in the late and post-Sasanian periods (Fukai and Horiuchi, I, pls. LIX, LXIX, LXX; Ghirshman, 1962, pp. 215 fig. 256, 218 fig. 259). Dancers are shown either elaborately bejeweled but nude (Almagro et al., p. 175, pl. XXVIIc) or wearing draped blouses or sleeveless belted gowns with short overskirts, both costumes echoing classical attire (Almagro et al., pp. 154, 190, pls. V, XLIIc). The figure of Fortuna is also dressed in Hellenistic style, a draped robe with a veil drawn over her head (Almagro et al., p. 157, pl. IXb), whereas a “bacchante” is portrayed nude to the waist but adorned with collars, belts, and bracelets (Almagro et al., p. 157, pl. IXa). This alluring outfit is repeated on other Omayyad representations of courtesans and dancers: Stucco figures at the palaces of Qaşr al-Ḥayr al-Ġarbī and Ķerbat al-Mafjar are shown nude to the waist and wearing elaborate torques with pendants, bracelets, anklets, and hair rosettes. Skirts, belted at the hips with twisted cords, are elaborately patterned; they are either pleated or wrapped like sarongs (Schlumberger, 1939, p. 354 fig. 25; Hamilton, pl. LVI/6-9). Although no such depictions survive in contemporary Persian sculpture, Schlumberger (1939, p. 354) compared them to representations on Sasanian and post-Sasanian silver objects. Certainly they call to mind the bejeweled dancers represented nude or in transparent, clinging robes on some vessels (Ghirshman, 1962, pp. 215-17 figs. 256-58; Grabar, pls. 19-23), but the style of the skirts is not known from Sasanian representations and seems peculiar to Omayyad and early ‘Abbasid art. In later times dancers were more discreetly clothed, with rare exceptions, for example, a drawing of a nude dancer (from Fatimid Egypt, probably 6th/12th century; Guest and Ettinghausen, pl. 12/43).

During the Omayyad caliphate dress for both men and women thus seems to have been derived in large part from the fashions of Sasanian and post-Sasanian Persia and Central Asia, though new elements had already appeared, for example, trousers and a complex arrangement of skirts worn by women. The clothing worn by rulers in sculptures from Qaşr al-Ḥayr and Ķerbat al-Mafjar suggests deliberate adoption of the attributes of power and authority associated with the vanquished empire.

*The early ‘Abbasid period (132-ca. 422/749-1031).* The trends observed in the Omayyad period continued through the early centuries of ‘Abbasid rule, with gradual evolution of new styles. In fragments of wall paintings and painted ceramic wine jars found in the palace of Jawsaq al-Ķāqānī at Samarra in central Mesopotamia (218-27/833-42) male figures are depicted in the heavy, ornamented caftan with short, tight sleeves and hems dipping to points at the sides and ample, decorated trousers gathered at the ankles above small boots (plate lxxxvi). The caftan with short sleeves, a new feature, is worn over a tunic with long sleeves, recalling garments worn by both men and women in wall paintings from Qizil, perhaps dating from the 7th century c.e. (Herzfeld, 1927, pls. XVI, LXV, LXIX; Le Coq, 1926, p. 116). The bright hues of green, red, and pink seem to conform to the dictum of Abu’l-Ṭayyeb Moḥammad Waššā’ (246-325/860-936) that men of position should wear pure colors and avoid “ugly” tones in their clothing (Serjeant, 1972, p. 214). A leather belt with short thongs, or lappets, is



associated with the caftan worn by noble and warrior figures at Samarra (Herzfeld, 1927, p. 88 fig. 65, pls. LXV, LXVI, LXVIX). This belt, though also represented on the Boar Hunt and Stag Hunt reliefs at Tāq-e Bostān, was essentially a foreign fashion originally borrowed from nomadic peoples (Fukai and Horiuchi, I, pls. XXXV, XXXIX, L, LVII, LXXXIX). The first examples seem to come from 5th-6th-century burials of the Avars in Mongolia and southern Siberia, where two belts were customarily worn, the upper as a symbol of rank, the lower for suspending weapons (Ghirshman, 1953, p. 69; idem, 1963, pp. 305-06 fig. 13). The lappet belt was popular in Central Asia in the 6th-8th centuries, and on wall paintings there are many representations with small objects or weapons suspended from the thongs (Le Coq, 1924, pls. 14, 15, 17; Grünwedel, 1920, p. 128 fig. 14; Bussagli, p. 59; Belenitsky, 1973, pls. 9, 11, 122; see belts ii. in the parthian and sasanian periods).

A belt with three long lappets tipped with metal, from which two swords are suspended, is shown on a wall painting of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries from the palace of Sabzpušān at Nišāpūr; Wilkinson, 1986, pp. 206-07 figs. 2.39-40). The rider is clad in a stiff, decorated caftan with tight sleeves, ornamented trousers (or leggings that cover the heels), and high boots with pointed toes. On the upper sleeves of the caftan are *yerāz* (embroidered) bands of pseudo-Kufic writing, a common element of clothing in the early Islamic period. Charles Wilkinson believed that plain, uninscribed brassards were worn in Persia as early as the 3rd/9th century; they appear on the garments of what have been identified as "Persians" in wall paintings of approximately that date at Bāzāklik (Wilkinson, 1986, p. 211; Le Coq, 1926, pl. 20); it is more probable, however, that they are Central Asian donor figures. Although this parallel underscores the influence of Central Asian styles on Persian clothing, inscribed brassards seem to be a purely Islamic innovation in dress. According to Wilkinson, the headdress worn by the painted rider from Sabzpušān is probably a helmet of silk and leather, which he considered unique in form (1986, p. 209). Next to the rider is a second, damaged figure wearing a stiff embroidered coat; what appears to be a stole; ample, decorated trousers; and small slippers reminiscent of Omayyad examples (Wilkinson, 1986, p. 207 fig. 2.40). The headdress, an onion-shaped turban, perhaps of ornamented silk, with a pseudo-Kufic inscription and a knobbed finial at the top, is a new style that prefigures Islamic headdresses known from later representations; only the finial has earlier parallels, in the 7th-8th-century paintings at Panjīkant (T. T. Rice, p. 108 fig. 91; Azarpay, p. 66 fig. 31). The turban may, however, have had precursors in the Omayyad period: A conical cap of wrapped cloth is depicted in a late 2nd/early 8th-century wall painting at Qoşayr 'Amra (Almagro et al., p. 162, pl. XIVb).

Samanid buff-ware ceramics from Nišāpūr, generally dated to the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, also attest the Sasanian and Central Asian origin of garments worn in Persia during the early 'Abbasid period. Decorated men's caftans with stiff skirts and diagonal closings (usually from left to right) and lapels were worn over wide trousers and boots with pointed or upturned toes (plate lxxxvii; Wilkinson, 1973, pl. 2; *The Arts of Islam*, p. 35, pl. 4); sometimes there were also an overskirt and an undergarment. This costume is closely related to those shown on wall paintings at Qizil (Le Coq, 1926, p. 116; Wilkinson, 1973, pl. 2). The curious pointed boots are akin to those of the rider in the painting from Sabzpušān and in one early representation at Čāl Tārķān-'Ešqābād (Wilkinson, 1973, pl. 2/62a; Thompson, p. 44, pl. IX/1). Possible Central Asian affiliations can again be cited, for upturned shoes of felt and leather are known from the late 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries at Mazar Tagh, east of Khotan (Whitfield, pl. 84). A unique feature of male dress depicted on Nišāpūr buff ware is the bifurcated wing-like veils or sleeve

attachments, which terminate in narrow points (plate lxxxvii; Wilkinson, 1973, p. 47 fig. 64, pl. 2; *The Arts of Islam*, p. 35, pl. 4). Judging from the ceramics, tight-fitting, decorated shirts and full, elaborate pantaloons, sometimes covered from ankle to knee with stiff leggings, were also popular at Nišāpūr (Wilkinson, 1973, pp. 45 fig. 62, 47 fig. 64). Leggings, a distinctively nomadic accouterment, were first worn by Persian tribes in the Achaemenid period and continued to be worn through the Sasanian period (see ii-iv, above). The stiff version represented on the ceramics most closely resembles those of donor figures on the wall paintings at Qizil (Le Coq, 1913, pl. IV; T. T. Rice, p. 190 fig. 180).

There appear to be but few representations of early 'Abbasid headgear other than helmets, and it is often difficult to distinguish caps from hairstyles. It seems, however, that at Nišāpūr long, decorated head coverings with points were popular, in contrast to the pointed caps with ear flaps that were worn with stiff coats and boots in Mesopotamia (*The Arts of Islam*, p. 35, pl. 4; Atıl, p. 18 fig. 3; Grube, 1976, p. 77 fig. 38). A number of headdresses are also to be found on silver and gold 'Abbasid medallions of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries. The ruler may be shown in what seems to be a crenellated crown or in a rounded cap with beaded brim, tied at the sides with ribbons; the latter harks back to Sasanian styles (Sourdel-Thomine and Spuler, pl. 154d-e). A camel attendant wears a tall, conical hat and a lute player a small pointed cap with a brim (Sourdel-Thomine and Spuler, pls. 155b, 204c). By the 5th/11th century the ruler was depicted wearing not a cap or crown but an elaborate tulip-shaped turban (Sourdel-Thomine and Spuler, pl. 267b).

Literary and historical accounts contribute further information on male clothing in the early 'Abbasid period. Waššā' described the fashionable footgear for men of rank: shoes and boots of black or red leather with fur trim. He approved of the use of fine silk and linen shirts worn with cloaks and hoods but decried the choice of saffron-dyed garments and those scented with musk and ambergris, as such trappings were more appropriate to dancing and serving girls (Serjeant, 1972, p. 214). Ebn Qotayba Dīnavarī (213-76/828-89) gave an account of the cloaks (*borūd*) of Baṣra in southern Mesopotamia, which were, according to an Arab informant, "sewn with blossoms of spring which caught the eye" (ed. Guirgass, I, p. 300; Serjeant, p. 90). This description recalls the elaborately decorated garments depicted at Samarra and Nišāpūr. The stiff contours of many of the early illustrated caftans may be explained by the statement of ʿĪālebī (d. 412/ 1021) that for winter silk (*kazz*) robes were lined (*mobaṭṭan*) with silk and quilted raw silk (*qazz*; *Gorar*, p. 710; Serjeant, p. 68).

On a few polychrome-painted ceramic wine jars from the Jawsaq al-Ḳāqānī palace monks or priests are depicted (Herzfeld, pls. LXI, LXIII). Their habits consist of striped shawls or vestments worn over long, decorated robes; hoods like balaclavas cover their heads and necks. The garb of a figure represented on an approximately contemporary luster-painted jar from Mesopotamia, consisting of a long robe with a pointed hood and long veil, has been interpreted as that of a priest (Atıl, pp. 20-21 no. 4), though the presence of earrings suggests that the figure may be female. (There is no doubt that a comparable image on a luster-painted bowl from Fatimid Egypt, probably of the early 6th/12th-century, is a priest wearing a long, decorated robe with wide sleeves and a pointed hood; Lane, pl. 26a.)

A particularly valuable source of information on Persian costume in this period is a manuscript of *Ketāb ṣowar al-kawākeb al-ʿābeta* (Treatise on the fixed stars) by 'Abd-al-Raḥmān b. 'Omar Ṣūfī, written in 355/965 for the Buyid 'Azod-al-Dawla and copied by the author's son in

400/1009. In the drawings of the personified constellations male and female clothing of the early 5th/11th century is represented in some detail. The basic male garment is a tunic similar in form to the caftan, with a diagonal closing from right to left and lapels, open in front below the waist to reveal knee-length trousers or long, loose pantaloons covering the heels. This tunic was worn over a shirt with longer sleeves (plate lxxxviii). It differs from the caftan in that it is shorter, has wider sleeves, and is made of soft material (Wellesz, pls. 2/3-4, 3/5, 4/7-8, 5/9). The most common male headdress represented in this manuscript is the soft, wound turban, flat in silhouette and set squarely on top of the head (Wellesz, pls. 2/4, 4/8, 5/9, 7/14). The personification of the constellation Cepheus, however, wears a tall hat, rounded at the top and covered with a lattice pattern (plate lxxxviii), probably representing the *qalansowa ʾawīla* (tall *qalansowa*). Richard Ettinghausen has identified the *qalansowa* as the official headgear of the Omayyad and early 'Abbasid caliphs on the basis of historical and literary sources (1972, pp. 30-33), though no early pictorial representations survive, with the possible exception of the tall, rounded cap worn by a camel attendant depicted on a silver medallion of the caliph al-Motawakkel (232-47/847-61; Sourdell-Thomine and Spuler, pl. 154e).

Ettinghausen traced its origin from the *kyrbasía* of the Achaemenids (see ii, above) through the 1st-century b.c.e. pointed hats represented at Commagenian Nimrud Dagħ in southeastern Turkey and Parthian examples; tall, rounded caps were also current during the Sasanian period (Ghirshman, 1962, pp. 153-54 fig. 196, 169-170 fig. 212). By the beginning of the 5th/11th century the *qalansowa* had come to be worn by men who did not have royal status, even by non-Muslims. The taller version was probably of silk over a framework of reeds, whereas the shorter one may have resembled the modern fez and was most often worn wrapped in a turban. The use of the *qalansowa ʾawīla* is documented in illustrated manuscripts as late as the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries (Ettinghausen, 1972, fig. 89; see ix, below).

Depictions of female dress in the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries are less numerous than those of male dress. A variety of styles is, however, depicted on the wall paintings from the Jawsaq al-Ḳāqānī palace at Samarra. In a particularly well-known example (plate lxxxix) two dancing girls are clad in long-sleeved hip-length tunics, long skirts, and soft shoes; the tunics are girdled at the hips with two strands of beads. Scarves are draped over the arms and across the front. On their heads the dancers wear rounded caps with gold diadems and strands of pearls in their hair, which is worn in long plaits. There are pearl drops in their ears. The pink garment on the left is patterned with "v"s, and the blue robe on the right has a broad, frilled collar.

These bejeweled figures with their clinging robes and scarves are reminiscent of the dancers on Sasanian silver vessels (see iv, above, plate lxix). The broad collar and hip-length tunics are new features, however, probably derived from the costume of female entertainers like those on a post-Sasanian plate in the Hermitage (*Survey of Persian Art* IV, pl. 208A). A similar collar is also worn by male figures represented on post-Sasanian silver plates (pls. 208A, 218), and the caps of the Samarra dancers recall the round, filleted headdresses worn by male figures on still another vessel in the Hermitage (pl. 207B). Other dancers are also represented in the Samarra wall paintings; they are bare to the waist and wear brightly colored and patterned skirts girdled at the hips with corded sashes (Herzfeld, 1927, pls. XX-XXI), evoking the costumes depicted on Omayyad stuccos from Ḳerbat al-Mafjar and Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Ġarbī (see above). Other female dress depicted at Samarra includes tightly fitted tunics with a variety of patterns and narrow short sleeves worn over long-sleeved undergarments, again resembling some male

costumes (Herzfeld, 1927, pl. XVI). This type of tunic was also worn by both men and women somewhat earlier in Central Asia (Le Coq, 1926, p. 116).

Aside from the paintings at Samarra, depictions of women are rare from the Islamic world in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries. Two women on a Samanid bowl are dressed like their male counterparts in heavy belted caftans with tight sleeves and simple undergarments; the caftans are wrapped diagonally from right to left and have lapels (Atıl, p. 24 no. 6). That such caftans were in fact worn by women is also clear from the donor figures on the wall paintings at Qizil (Le Coq, 1924, pl. 1; idem, 1926, p. 116). In the Şūfī manuscript already mentioned most of the female figures representing constellations are rendered as dancing girls. Two distinct types of costume are illustrated. One is a long, soft tunic with a diagonal closing; it is belted with a jeweled girdle over full trousers. Like the male tunics represented in the same manuscript, it has features in common with slightly earlier caftans but is of soft material and is worn with an undergarment with long sleeves and possibly a decorated skirt (Wellesz, pls. 3/6, 7/13): it lacks the lapels that usually appear on the male version, however. Female figures are frequently also represented wearing a more complex fashion. It consists of a close-fitting tunic with short scalloped sleeves and hem over an ankle-length dress with longer sleeves.

A third skirt, short and open at the front, is held in place by a twisted scarf; sometimes tight, decorated trousers are worn beneath the dress as well (Wellesz, pls. 5/10, 6/11-12). All the female figures in the manuscript are adorned with jewelry: diadems with single composite jewels in front, necklaces, bracelets, hoop earrings, and anklets. The jewel on the diadem of one image of Andromeda is a rosette contained in a crescent, which is derived from elements of the Sasanian crown (Wellesz, p. 14, pl. 6/12). Although in general the jewelry and diadems are similar to those of dancers on Sasanian and post-Sasanian silver (e.g., Ghirshman, 1962, pp. 215-17 figs. 256-58), the dress is new and may reflect the actual attire of entertainers at the Buyid court.

*The Saljuqs and the post-Saljuq period.* The decorated caftan retained its popularity as a male garment into the 5th/11th century and can be seen in the wall paintings from one of the Ghaznavid palaces at Laškarī Bāzār in central Afghanistan, probably built by Mas'ūd I (421-32/1030-41). On the inner faces of the piers in the throne room were painted friezes of richly dressed nobles, probably originally sixty of them, in stiff coats, which close diagonally from right to left and have lapels only on the right of the openings. The single lapel appeared at Balalyk Tepe in Sogdiana perhaps as early as the 5-6th centuries and occurs side by side with double lapels at Qizil (T. T. Rice, pp. 101 fig. 83, 97 fig. 112, 180 fig. 190).

It seems that this Central Asian fashion was continued at Laškarī Bāzār. The caftans are worn over elaborate undergarments and are embellished with inscribed *īerāz* borders on the upper arms (Schlumberger, 1952, pls. XXI, XXII/1). They are belted with thonged girdles, from which small objects are suspended. Full trousers and high boots complete the outfit. Schlumberger (1952, p. 264) suggested that such inscribed garments were robes of honor presented by Muslim rulers to members of their retinues or to important allies.

As details of the caftans, belts, and boots were apparently imported from Chinese Turkestan, he concluded (1952, p. 267) that these figures represent the Ghaznavid sultan's Turkish bodyguard. A soft headdress resembling a turban in a wall painting from room IV in the same

palace (Schlumberger, 1952, pl. XXXII/2) is also paralleled in Central Asia, in a wall painting at Bāzāklik of the 8th or 9th century (Bussagli, p. 110).

Few representations of either male or female dress seem to have survived from the period after the advent of the Saljuq dynasty (429/1038) in Persia through the early 6th/12th century. Illustrations in a manuscript of Ṣūfī's treatise dated 525/1130-31 (Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul, Ahmet III 3493) demonstrate some modernization of male dress in the century and a quarter since the Bodleian manuscript had been copied; although the basic forms of the turban and tunic remained the same, a belt with thongs for suspending weapons had been added (Wellesz, pl. 18/45). Silver belt ornaments from a Saljuq hoard said to have been found at Nehāvand (Gray, p. 75, pl. XXXII) attest that this type was still worn at the end of the 6th/12th century.

Continuity of dress styles between the two Ṣūfī manuscripts can, however, be assumed on the basis of representations on 11th-12th-century pottery, ivories, wall paintings, and woodwork from Fatimid Egypt, where Persian garments like the flat turban had a strong influence (Lane, pl. 26B; Atıl, p. 128 no. 57; Kühnel, 1971, p. 229 fig. 194; Ettinghausen, 1942, p. 123 fig. 23; Jenkins, fig. 6). It is shown, particularly on luster-painted pottery, along with the familiar embroidered caftan decorated with brassards and worn over boots. These garments differ from their Persian prototypes, however, in their wider sleeves and complex, polygonal necklines, a style peculiar to Fatimid Egypt (Lane, pl. 26B; Atıl, p. 128 no. 57; Ettinghausen, 1942, fig. 23).

A taste for loose robes with wide sleeves seems to have had no parallel in Persia, though the surviving evidence is scant. Laborers and hunters in Fatimid art are shown wearing either short decorated tunics with sleeve bands and short underskirts or longer robes tucked up for greater freedom of movement (Kühnel, 1971, p. 229 fig. 194; idem, 1929, p. 408 fig. 404), costumes that may be traceable to styles depicted in the early 4th/11th-century Ṣūfī manuscript. A complex series of paintings on the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina at Palermo in Sicily, dated to about 534/1140, also attest the continuity of earlier styles of male dress: rounded turbans and long robes with sleeves and brassards worn with full trousers like those of the Fatimids (Ettinghausen, 1942, figs. 7-8; idem, 1962, p. 45). A three-pointed crown of reversed heart-shaped leaf forms is represented several times; it is reminiscent of ornate crowns depicted in the wall paintings from Panjikant (Ettinghausen, 1962, p. 45; idem, 1942, fig. 7; Belenitsky, 1968, fig. 142).

Representations of women are also common on luster pottery and wall paintings of Fatimid Egypt. They, too, wear jeweled diadems and headdresses derived from Sasanian royal crowns or the fillets of dancers from silver vessels (Grube, 1968, p. 13 fig. 4; Philon, pl. XXIIA; D. T. Rice, p. 127 fig. 93). The women wear loose, decorated robes with wide sleeves banded with *ḡerāz* and polygonal necklines, similar to those worn by men. The robes may be girt with jeweled belts and worn over wide trousers (Grube, 1968, p. 13 fig. 4; Philon, pls. XXIIA, XXV; Robinson, pl. 3/1.7; D. T. Rice, p. 127 fig. 93).

The number of surviving illustrations of costume from the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries, the period of the small dynasties that succeeded the Great Saljuqs in Persia, is much greater, especially for men and women of high rank. Representations on ceramics and metalwork, as well as in wall paintings, manuscript miniatures, and stucco sculptures, permit a

fairly comprehensive description of the clothing worn at court, among which new styles probably introduced by the Saljuqs were combined with older fashions.

Most characteristic for high-ranking men was a stiff, decorated caftan closing diagonally from right to left. D. S. Rice identified this garment as a *qabā'* (1953, p. 133; see xxvii, below), and L. A. Mayer suggested that the closing from the right was specifically Turkish, in contrast to the closing from the left, which he believed characterized "Tartar," or Mongol, robes (p. 21). In fact, the closing from the right was typical of Persian caftans, worn with high boots, from the last decades of the Sasanian dynasty through the early centuries of Islam and also paralleled in Central Asian examples (see above). In the Turkish period the version with narrow sleeves and wide skirt was the single most important male garment.

It is depicted in an early 7th/13th-century illustrated manuscript of *Varqa wa Golšāh* by 'Ayyūqī and on contemporary pottery without decoration other than gold arm bands, which appear to have been very common (Ateş, pls. 1/2-3, 5/13, 15; Atıl, pp. 82 no. 35, 92 no. 40, 100 no. 44). It sometimes closed vertically in front, with jeweled borders; the brassards were inscribed "the faithful" (*al-mo'menīn*) or a similar expression; there might also be shoulder ornaments similar to epaulettes (plate xc), recalling late Sasanian and Central Asian embellishments at Ṭāq-e Bostān and Panjikant (Fukai and Horiuchi, I, pl. LXVI; T. T. Rice, p. 108 fig. 91).

Nevertheless, the most distinctive feature of late Saljuq and post-Saljuq male dress was the popularity of patterned textiles for these garments. On pottery simple patterns of dots or groups of three dots (also a conventional textile pattern on Sasanian silver vessels) appear, as well as more complex patterns of tiny scrolls or arabesques of palmettes and half palmettes, some of them even incorporating figures (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 640B, 642, 643A-B, 651, 653, 673B; Atıl, pp. 68 no. 28, 72 no. 30, 78 no. 33, 102 no. 45, 104 no. 46). Various stripes and overall geometric patterns were also common (Lane, pl. 68; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 652, 654, 656A, 657A, 666-68; Atıl, pp. 78 no. 33, 84 no. 36, 96 no. 42). That these patterns do not merely represent ceramic conventions is clear from the rendering of garments in fragmentary wall paintings and in illustrations from the copy of *Varqa wa Golšāh* already mentioned, as well as in frontispieces to the volumes of Abu'l-Faraj Eşfahānī's *Ketāb al-aḡānī* dated 614-16/1217-19 and to two copies of *Ketāb al-deryāq* (Book of antidotes) by Pseudo-Galen, dated 596/1199 and ascribed to the second quarter of the 7th/13th century respectively (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pl. 554A-B; Ateş, pls. 1/3, 6/16, 18; D. S. Rice, 1953, figs. 14-19; Ettinghausen, 1962, pp. 65, 85, 91).

The last three manuscripts, all of them attributed to northern Mesopotamia, show that the stiff coat with diagonal closing and arm bands was also worn in that region from the end of the 6th/12th century. The wavy patterning on some garments represents a local convention for rendering folds. The same garment was also depicted on contemporary inlaid metalwork from the same area (Du Ry, pp. 116-17; Guest and Ettinghausen, figs. 11-16). A variant of this coat had wide sleeves, similar to the robes known from Fatimid Egypt and the ceiling of the Cappella Palatina. Versions made from decorated textiles and with *īerāz* bands are depicted on contemporary Persian ceramics and in the illustrated *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript (Lane, pls. 55A, 58B, 68A; Atıl, 102 no. 45; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 641B, 687; Ateş, pls. 6/18, 10/27). They also appear on late 6th/12th-century metalwork (Baer, figs. 3-4), worn open at

the neck with two lapels; though made of undecorated textiles, they are adorned with arm bands.

The dress for men of high station included a variety of head coverings, some of them harking back to older styles, others clearly of Saljuq Turkish derivation. The turban, which had been the most characteristic headgear for Muslim men since the Omayyad period, continued to be worn by men of importance, its larger size and typical flat-topped silhouette echoing those of the turbans depicted in the early 5th/11th-century Šūfī manuscript (see above). Turbans constructed from either plain or decorated lengths of cloth are illustrated on pottery and metalwork of the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries (Atıl, p. 72 no. 30; Lane, pls. 52C, 55A, 58B, 63A; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 642, 643B, 672, 686, 693; Guest and Ettinghausen, figs. 12-16, 73). In illustrations from the autograph Persian translation of Šūfī's text by ʿĪsā (597-672/1201-74), dated 647/1249-50 (Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul, Aya Sofya 2595), the turbans are even larger and more elaborate, adorned with *ḫerāz* bands inscribed in Kufic (plate xci; Wellesz, figs. 46, 48).

Although no pictorial depictions of turbans with *ḫerāz* bands have survived from before this period, it is mentioned in historical sources that the late 4th/10th-century Fatimid caliphs wore them (Serjeant, 1972, p. 158). Smaller, more rounded turbans, sometimes with long ends dangling, are depicted in the *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript (Ateş, pls. 1/1-3, 6/17-18, 7/20, 10/27, 11/32, 13/38); this type seems to have been much more common in the Arabic-speaking countries, where it, too, grew larger with the passage of time. In fact, despite the continuing use of the turban in Persia at the end of the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries, it seems not to have been as popular there as in Syria and northern Mesopotamia. In contemporary manuscripts from the latter areas a great variety of styles not known from Persia are illustrated (Ettinghausen, 1962, pp. 75-77, 79, 87, 97, 106-07, 113-14, 116, 118-19).

In Persian art courtiers are also depicted wearing the winged crown. Although ultimately derived from the Sasanian royal ceremonial headdress and subsequently adopted by Omayyad rulers (see, e.g., the stucco figure from Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Ġarbī), by the late 6th/12th century it had lost its royal connotations and become a decorative headdress for the nobility. In both ceramic and stucco representations it is shown as a pair of wings flanking a jewel in the shape of a lotus bud or placed above jeweled fillets (plate xc; Atıl, pp. 188 no. 52, 120 no. 53; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 687, 707C).

Among the new styles of headgear in Persia at this time were a variety of caps and hats of different shapes and sizes, ranging from small decorated creased or dented hats (Atıl, p. 68 no. 28) to flat caps with or without central knobs (Atıl, pp. 78 no. 33, 82 no. 35) to those with fur brims or made completely of fur (Atıl, p. 94 no. 41; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pl. 653). Flat hunting caps trimmed with fur are depicted on Saljuq wall paintings from Nīšāpūr (Wilkinson, 1986, fig. 28). Other headdresses were taller and slightly conical, with brims, or more similar to the modern fez, with finials (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pl. 643B, 646A, 688A; Atıl, p. 110 no. 50). Similar small hats with knobs and upturned brims were illustrated in wall paintings (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pl. 554) and in the illustrated *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript (Ateş, fig. 27), where fur-trimmed conical caps (plate xcii) and a tall forked headdress of curious shape (Ateş, pl. 1/3; İpşiroğlu, fig. 16) also occur. Tall, rounded caps with palmette-shaped cockades on the side or in front are also worn by courtiers in the frontispieces to the *Ketāb al-*

*aḡānī* manuscript from northern Mesopotamia (e.g., Ettinghausen, 1962, p. 65). That these new types of headgear, rounded or pointed in outline, conical or brimmed, were introduced by the Turks is clear from earlier representations of similar forms at such Central Asian sites as Qizil, Dandan Öllüq, Bāzāklik, and Panjikant (Grünwedel, 1920, pls. XXVII, XLIX; Le Coq, 1926, pl. 20; Whitfield, pl. 69; Belenitsky, 1968, fig. 144; Seyrig, pl. II).

The most distinctive headdress worn by rulers and courtiers was a conical cap with a wide fur band that also bordered a tall, rounded metal plaque in the front (plate xciii). It is illustrated on both glazed and unglazed ceramics from Persia and northern Mesopotamia (Lane, pls. 37B, 63A, 64B, 68A, 78A; Atıl, p. 96 no. 42; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 651, 672, 675, 688, 708). In the *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript, on the other hand, the plaque is much taller than in the pottery representations, and the cap itself is often even taller, resembling the *qalansowa ʔawīla* (see above; Ateş, pls. 13/36, 14/39). In northern Mesopotamia and Syria this cap, as illustrated in the *Ketāb al-aḡānī* frontispieces and in the two copies of *Ketāb al-deryāq* already mentioned, as well as in several contemporary manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt* (Assemblies) by Ḥarīrī, was low and rounded, hidden by the taller plaque (Ettinghausen, 1977, pp. 65, 91; D. S. Rice, 1953, figs. 16-19; Buchthal, fig. 6). D. S. Rice (1953, p. 133) identified it with the *šarbūš* favored by the Zangids, a Turkish dynasty that ruled parts of northern Mesopotamia and Syria (521-619/1127-1222), and their successors (cf. Mayer, p. 28). It is difficult to trace the earlier history of this cap. Hats with rectangular plaques in both front and back, which may have been trimmed with fur (Le Coq, 1926, pl. 20), were depicted on the 3rd/9th-century wall paintings at Bāzāklik and may have been early versions of the Turkish *šarbūš*.

Finally, a characteristic fashion for rulers and men of high rank in the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries was tall boots, a natural choice of footgear for nomadic peoples, with a long tradition in Persia, from the Achaemenid period onward (see v, above). It is difficult to determine the form of the boots from post-Saljuq representations, as the tops are almost always hidden under the hems of the caftans. They were slim, close-fitting, with slightly pointed toes, and seem to have been made of soft leather (plate xciii). On pottery they are shown in a variety of colors: black, brown, red, blue, and green (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 668D, 686, 687, 705; Atıl, p. 100 no. 44), and some seem to have been patterned with scrolls, rosettes, and spirals (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 653, 651). In a few instances it is possible to glimpse the complete form of these boots, which rise to single points at the knees (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pl. 705), recalling the boots worn by servants in the Sasanian Boar Hunt relief at Tāq-e Bostān (Fukai and Horiuchi, I, pls. XXV, XLIII) and those depicted on post-Sasanian silver vessels (Harper, 1981, pls. 19, 27, 36). They were probably derived from Central Asian examples like those represented at Qizil, Dandan Öllüq, Fondukistan, Bāzāklik, and Panjikant (Le Coq, 1928, pp. 116; Bussagli, pp. 57, 59, 80; Ghirshman, 1962, p. 32 fig. 430; Belenitsky, 1968, figs. 143-44) and on a Sogdian silver plate (T. T. Rice, p. 115 fig. 101).

On two ceramic pieces the pointed boot tops are elongated to form straps, which were apparently attached to inner belts in the manner of the leggings worn by the Parthians and Sasanians (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 672, 686; see v, above). That the boots illustrated in the *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript were attached in this way is clear from battle scenes, in which the displacement of the coat reveals a broad thong reaching from the knee to an inner belt (plate xciii; Ateş, pls. 1/2, 2/4, 4/11, 5/13, 9/24; İpşiroğlu, fig. 17; Melikian-Chirvani, opp. p. 99, fig. 38). This method of securing boots was certainly of Central Asian origin and is represented in 6th-7th-century sculptures from Fondukistan, and 8th-9th-century wall



paintings from Bāzāklik (Ghirshman, 1962, p. 321 fig. 430; Le Coq, 1913, pl. 22). Although the man's caftan was almost always worn with trousers tucked into boots, the *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript shows wide pantaloons worn outside (Ateş, pl. 11/32).

Male figures of lower social status are not represented wearing caftans and boots. In the *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript the butcher and the baker are unshod and bare to the waist, wearing only loose white trousers (Ateş, pl. 1/1). Foot soldiers and attendants are shown in wrapped leggings or loose pantaloons and short jerkins (Ateş, pls. 8/21, 15/42). Varqa himself wears only loose pantaloons after being taken captive, apparently the usual garb for prisoners (Ateş, pl. 4/11; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pl. 692B; Grube, 1976, pl. 142). In the *Ketāb al-deryāq* manuscript of 596/1199 laborers and gardeners wear either knee-length trousers with bare torsos or short tunics without trousers (Ettinghausen, 1962, pp. 84, 85); on contemporary metalwork from the same region they wear short trousers with tunics tucked up and caught at the waist (D. S. Rice, 1949, p. 338 fig. D; idem, 1957, fig. 11).

Although these workmen are often bareheaded, they also wear a variety of hats: tall conical bonnets with upturned brims (D. S. Rice, 1949, p. 338 fig. D), small pointed caps (D. S. Rice, 1957, fig. 11), and tiered caps (Ettinghausen, 1962, p. 85). One distinctive headdress that seems peculiar to northern Mesopotamia is a tall pointed hat with a broad brim, suitable for shading the face from the sun. It is seen on illustrations of gardeners and laborers on both inlaid metalwork and the later *Ketāb al-deryāq* manuscript (D. S. Rice, 1949, p. 338 fig. D; Ettinghausen, 1962, p. 91). In the same manuscript it is also worn as a traveling hat by horsemen wearing the decorated caftan associated with high rank (Ettinghausen, 1962, p. 91); on an inlaid ewer from Anatolia it is worn by a hunter (Allen, pl. 7, detail, p. 60).

A few figures are also shown clad in either loose or tight trousers of a richer sort, decorated with patterns and worn with elaborate short tunics. They include fallen enemies and fantastic winged creatures (Atıl, p. 112 no. 50; Lane, pl. 69A), as well as men engaged in enigmatic physical activities, perhaps acrobatics or dance (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pl. 712).

Representations of women in the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries, though far more numerous than in earlier periods, are sometimes difficult to distinguish from beardless youths, as they also wear decorated, stiff caftans with narrow sleeves and diagonal closings from right to left (Atıl, pp. 99 no. 41, 96 no. 42, 104 no. 46, 120 no. 53; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 672, 689). These caftans are ornamented in the same way as those of their male counterparts, with arm bands and patterns of dots, scrolls, geometric, and figural designs. Robes with wide sleeves, recalling Fatimid examples (plate xciv), were apparently more popular for women than for men (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 641 B, 653, 693). Indeed, all female figures in the *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript wear them, whereas the men almost always have narrow sleeves (plate xcii; Ateş, pls. 1/2-3, 5/15, 6/17-18, 7/19, 9/25-26, 10/28-29). These robes are sometimes worn under open, patterned coats with wide sleeves (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 651, 691 A, 720A). The woman's caftan is sometimes shown open below the waist, revealing either wide white trousers or striped or plaid pantaloons underneath (plate xcii, plate xciv; Ateş, pls. 1/2-3, 5/15, 7/19, 10/28-29, 11/31, 14/39 and 41, 15/43; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 652, 664, 672), a garment that had first been adopted by women in the early years of the Omayyad period (see above).

Women of the court are depicted wearing small, pointed slippers in the *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript (plate xcii; Ateş, pls. 1/2-3, 7/19, 10/28-29, 11/31, 15/43). On pottery one slipper may be worn while the other foot is shown bare with a tattooed or hennaed design and an anklet (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 651, 652, 653). Boots were seldom worn by female figures, though they do appear occasionally on ceramics (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 641, 672; Atıl, p. 10 no. 53).

Women of the court wore a variety of hair ornaments, crowns, and hats. Perhaps the most characteristic headdress, shown on pottery, on metalwork, and in manuscript illustrations, was a jeweled diadem ornamented in front with a round lotus bud or a trefoil-shaped jewel and sometimes bound with long, decorated ribbons (Atıl, pp. 94 no. 41, 104 no. 46; Lane, pls. 59 B, 84 A; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 641 B, 646 B, 651, 693; Grube, 1976, p. 183; Du Ry, p. 116). Such hair ornaments are worn by women in the *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript (İpşiroğlu, fig. 16; Ateş, pls. 1/3, 13/38), the *Ketāb al-ağānī* frontispieces, and the *Ketāb at-deryāq* of 595/1199 (D. S. Rice, 1953, fig. 17-19; D. T. Rice, 1965, pl. I, opp. frontispiece). They are very similar to those depicted on the female constellations in the early 5th/11th-century Şūfī manuscript (see above; Wellesz, pls. 3/6, 5/10, 6/11-12), which were ultimately derived from the diadems of dancers on late Sasanian silver vessels (Grabar, 1967, pls. 19-22).

A small flat cap adorned with a jewel or plaque in front or tied with ribbons was also a popular feminine style (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 653, 672; Lane, pl. 68A; Atıl, p. 96 no. 42). Other headdresses resembled those worn by men: round caps, flat hats with central knobs, and "fezes." It is this similarity in particular that makes it difficult to distinguish between male and female representations (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 641 B, 664, 666, 688, 703; Atıl, pp. 120 no. 53, 121); only when the figures are represented wearing the characteristic tiered and looped earrings is it certain that they are female (plate xcii; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pls. 641, 646, 652, 690, 691). These hats, which originated in Central Asia, are worn by female donor figures in wall paintings at Qizil (Grünwedel, 1920, pl. XXVII). The winged crown derived from Sasanian prototypes was also worn by high-ranking women. It is represented on ceramics, in the frontispiece to the 7th/13th-century *Ketāb al-deryāq*, and in the Persian translation of Şūfī's text (plate xciv; Atıl, p. 120 no. 53; *Survey of Persian Art V*, pl. 687; D. T. Rice, 1965, pl. I opp. frontispiece; Wellesz, pl. 20/49).

In the Şūfī manuscript the constellation wearing the winged crown is Andromeda, represented as a dancer or court entertainer. She is dressed in a fitted tunic, closing from right to left and belted with a sash; wide, floating trousers; pointed slippers; and a wealth of jewelery, including a necklace with pendant, earrings, two bracelets on each wrist, and anklets. The richness of her ornaments links this figure to dancers on Sasanian and post-Sasanian silver vessels and in Omayyad and early 'Abbasid representations, though in the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries such dancers were more fully clothed.

In illustrations winged figures unfurling canopies above the heads of rulers or shown in conjunction with important personages are also dressed as court dancers. On ceramics they are usually shown wearing the jeweled diadem, slippers, wide trousers, and decorated tunics (*Survey of Persian Art V*, pl. 686). In the frontispiece to the *Ketāb al-deryāq* of 596/1199 such figures are dressed in brightly colored tunics tied up with sashes in front to allow greater freedom of movement; these tunics are decorated with arm bands and scrolled patterns and are worn over loose trousers with flaring cuffs in contrasting patterned textiles (D. T. Rice,

1965, pl. I, opp. frontispiece). The figures also wear elaborate jewelry. The central seated figure in the frontispiece is clad in the same way, with the addition of an elaborate loose coat with little underneath. In the *Ketāb al-agānī* frontispieces similar winged figures are shown in rich tunics and pantaloons (D. S. Rice, 1953, figs. 16-19).

In this period women were sometimes represented wearing scarves wound round their heads and draped over their shoulders, as in an illustration of Cassiopeia in the *Ṣūfī* manuscript dated 647/1249-50 (Wellesz, pl. 20 fig. 51) and in the *Varqa wa Golšāh* manuscript, where it seems to characterize Golšāh's mother and older women in general (Ateş, pls. 9/26, 10/29). In images on ceramics this scarf may be shown pulled up to veil the lower half of the face, especially during travel (Lane, pl. 62B); in one miniature from the 7th/13th-century *Ketāb al-deryāq* women traveling by camel are shown with their veils secured by headbands (Ettinghausen, p. 91).

It is clear from these examples that Persian clothing during the first six centuries of Islamic rule was strikingly conservative. Although new styles were introduced, especially after the advent of the Turks, innovative fashions in headgear and elaborate jewelry under the Saljuqs altered the basic form of Persian costume very little. There was also a definite trend toward a more androgynous mode of dress; in the 6/12th and 7th/13th centuries the caftan was worn as often by females as males, and women adopted such previously male accessories as boots and certain headdresses. Nevertheless, despite this shift, the traditional nature of Persian clothing remained fundamentally unchanged. The stiff, decorated caftan worn with boots and pantaloons, retained from late Sasanian and Central Asian fashions, continued to be worn by high-ranking men and women in Persia until the advent of the Mongols and even afterward.

Source :

<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/clothing-viii>

## **87. Cremation in Tepe Sialk :**

Tepe Sialk (Persian: تپه سلیک) is a large ancient archeological site (a tepe, "hill" or "mound") in a suburb of the city of Kashan, Isfahan Province, in central Iran, close to Fin Garden. The culture that inhabited this area has been linked to the Zayandeh River Culture.

During recent archaeological excavations at the northern mound of Tepe Sialk, a small cluster of burials was found in a settlement layer dated to the latest phase of the Late Neolithic period. Among the six burials recovered, four were jar burials including cremains, one was a plain pit grave (Yamnaya culture) with no traces of cremation and one was a double burial with both cremated and uncremated bones. The white colour of the cremains indicated that, except for one cremated body, all were burnt at temperatures exceeding 700/800°C and most were covered by red ochre. In two cases, the spatial distribution of bone fragments belonging to various body parts revealed that the bones may have been systematically collected from the funeral pyre and placed into funerary vessels.

Source :

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tepe\\_Sialk](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tepe_Sialk)

[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271518136\\_Evidence\\_of\\_Late\\_Neolithic\\_cremation\\_at\\_Tepe\\_Sialk\\_Iran](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/271518136_Evidence_of_Late_Neolithic_cremation_at_Tepe_Sialk_Iran)

## 88. Nomad Burials :



17 MAY, 2019 - 18:50 ED WHELAN

### **Farmer Unearths Elite Nomad Burials and 'Laughing Man' Elongated Skull**

In Southern Russia, an elite nomad burial site has been unearthed. While working on his lands, a farmer stumbled across burials that appear to have belonged to a nomadic culture. Archaeologists have found several skeletons and many grave goods that are expected to transform our knowledge of nomadic society 2000 years ago.

The find was made near the village of Nikolyskoye, in the Astrakhan region of southern Russia, to the north of the Caspian Sea. A local farmer, Rustam Mudayev, was digging when his shovel struck something metallic. He found a copper pot that was clearly very old, and he took it to the local Astrakhan Museum. The experts recognized that the farmer had possibly made an important archaeological discovery, and when the weather improved, they launched a mission to Mudayev's farm. They suspected that the farmer had uncovered a burial mound known as a Kurgan.

"They often contain the burials of elite members of ancient groups," reports Fox News .



**The Bronze cauldron found by Rustam Mudayev in southern Russia. (Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Astrakhan Region)**

A Kurgan or noble burial mound :

The Daily Mail quotes the museum's scientific researcher Georgy Stukalov as saying that 'after inspecting the burial site we understood that it to be a royal mound' and it was 2,500 years old. They believe that it was a site where nomads buried members of the upper echelons of society.

The team soon established that the burial came from the Sarmatian culture. It had been robbed by looters at some stage but it was largely intact much to the delights of the experts. The Sarmatians were a powerful nomadic people who dominated an area from the Caspian Sea to the Carpathian Mountains . They were an Iranian people who dominated the Russian Steppe , from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC until the coming of the Huns (4<sup>th</sup> century AD). They frequently fought the Romans and one group even established a powerful state in central Europe. These nomads were famous for their heavily armored horsemen and were eventually absorbed by the Slavs and other nomadic peoples.

The End of the Huns: The Death of Attila and the Fall of the Hunnic Empire

Is The Book of Veles a great Slavic text or a charlatan's forgery?

## Sarmatian nobleman :

In the space of only twelve days, the team from Astrakhan made a number of very important discoveries. They found a noble buried in the remains of a wooden coffin. According to the Daily Mail , 'he was buried with his head raised as if on a pillow and wearing a cape adorned with gold plaques.'

He was unearthed with weapons, a mirror, pots and jewelry 'decorated with turquoise and lapis lazuli', reports Live Science . A tiny gold horse head encrusted with miniscule precious stones was found between his legs. The quality of the jewelry came as no surprise, to the archaeologists as the nomadic people were renowned for their metal working skills.



**Gold horse head and other jewelry were found adorning the body. (Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Astrakhan Region)**

Near the chieftain or noble, the team found a grave that contained a female buried with a bronze mirror and some enigmatic stone artifacts, which may have had some symbolic meaning. The team also found the bones of a lamb who appears to have been some sort of sacrifice. It is not known if it was a sacrifice to the dead or some underworld deities.

Another burial found was that of an elderly man, but sadly his remains had been disturbed by an excavator. Curiously a horse's head was found in the grave and according to the Daily Mail 'its skull still dressed in an intricate harness richly decorated with silver and bronze'. There have been many examples of horses being buried with nomads, such as the Scythians, on the Eurasian Steppe . This find may indicate that the Sarmatians had been influenced by previous nomadic peoples or that they even emerged from the Scythian group of tribes.

The Tatars: The Golden Horde, People from Hell, Or Something Else?

Cataphracts: Armored Warriors and their Horses of War



**Another burial had an egg-shaped, open mouthed skull. (Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Astrakhan Region)**

Laughing man skull :

Then the archaeologists made a somewhat shocking discovery, they uncovered a skeleton of a male with a skull that appeared to be laughing. The laughing skull was also said to be 'artificially deformed egg-shaped' reports the Daily Mail.

The shape of the dead man's cranium would indicate that his head had been bound when an infant to produce this shape. Having an elongated skull was often seen as a sign of nobility in nomadic societies. This deliberate deforming of skulls was popular with many Steppe peoples including the Huns.

Fox News reports that the 'remains from the newly found kurgan are being taken to the Astrakhan State Museum', Here the age and the cause of death of the nomads will be

established. Work is continuing on the kurgan and it is expected that more discoveries will be made. The elite burial site is offering us unprecedented insights into the Sarmatians who dominated the Steppes for over a millennium.

*Top image: Skeleton found at the Nikolyskoye nomad burial site.*

*Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Astrakhan Region*

Source :

<https://www.ancient-origins.net/news-history-archaeology/nomad-burial-0011921>

## **89. Bolan Pass :**

The Bolan Pass is one of the famous mountain passes in the world. The pass traverses the Toba Kakar Mountain Range of the Balochistan Province in West Pakistan. The distance of the pass from the boundary of Afghanistan is almost 120 km. The coordinates of the pass are 29°45'N and 67°35'E. The altitude of the pass is 1,793.4 m (5,884 ft).

The Bolān Pass (Urdu: درۂ بولان) is a mountain pass through the Toba Kakar Range of Balochistan province in western Pakistan, 120 km (75 mi) from the Afghanistan border. The pass is an 89 km (55 mi) stretch of the Bolan river valley from Rindli in the south to Darwāza near Kolpur in the north. It is made up of a number of narrow gorges and stretches. It connects Sibi with Quetta both by road and railway.

Strategically located, traders, invaders, and nomadic tribes have also used it as a gateway to and from South Asia. The Bolān Pass is an important pass on the Baluch frontier, connecting Jacobabad and Sibi with Quetta, which has always occupied an important place in the history of British campaigns in Afghanistan.

The local population predominantly consists of Brahvi tribes, who extend from Bolan Pass to Cape Monze on the Arabian Sea.

About Bolan Pass :

The Bolan Pass is famous for its tactical location. This is the reason why businessmen, attackers, and migratory clans have used the Bolan Pass as an entryway to and from South Asia. It is a major pass on the boundary of Balochistan and joins Sibi and Jacobabad with Quetta. This boundary had a key role in the chronicles of the battles of the British Army in Afghanistan.

Historically, the Brahui of the Kurd ethnic group are in command of the law and order situation in all over the Bolan Pass Region. This ethnic group is still residing in the contemporary Balochistan province in Pakistan.

In 1837, the British Army was intimidated about a probable raid by the Russian Army on Southern Asia through the Bolan and Khyber Passes. As a result, they sent a diplomat to



Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, to get the patronage of Dost Mohammed, the Emir. In February 1839, under the headship of Sir John Keane, the British Ground Forces transported 12,000 men through the Bolan Pass and penetrated Kandahar, which was forsaken by the princes of Afghanistan. From this place, they went on to raid and cause the downfall of Ghazni.

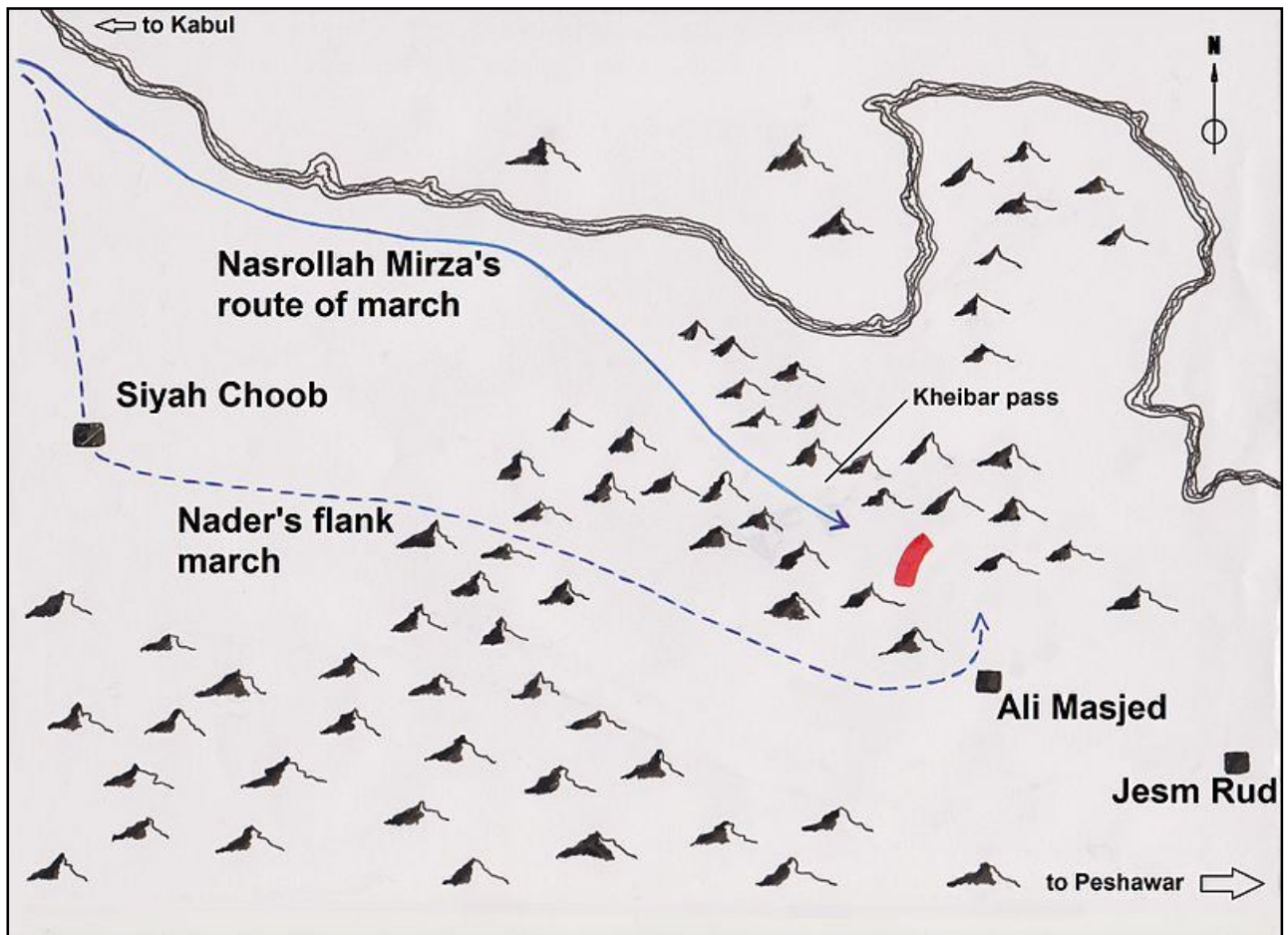
Sir Rober Groves Sandeman entered into conciliations with Khudadad Khan, Khan of Kalat and ascertained British command over the Bolan Pass in return for a yearly cost.

Source :

<https://www.mapsofindia.com/mountains/passes/the-bolan-pass.html>

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bolan\\_Pass](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bolan_Pass)

## 90. Battle of Khyber Pass :



**A map of the Kheibar campaign, illustrating Nader's incredible 80 kilometre flank-march**

The battle of Khyber Pass (or Kheibar Pass) was an engagement fought in the mid-eighteenth century between the Persian empire of Nader Shah and the Mughal vassal state of Peshawar. The result was an overwhelming victory for the Persians opening up the path ahead to invade the crown-lands of the Mughal empire of Muhammad Shah.

### The context :

The first major military event of Nader's new reign as Shah of Persia was the conquest of Qandahar. Already Nader was in the process of concocting a pretext for an invasion of Mughal India. Succeeding in capturing Qandahar and putting an end to Hotaki Afghan rule, he seized on the excuse that the Mughal authorities had been deliberately non-cooperative in handing over spies and fugitives from the Afghan army.

Reza Qoli, Nader's son, was appointed as viceroy and sent to Khorasan freeing Nader to move east a day after towards Jalal Abad where he made an encampment. At this point in time intelligence reports came in that the governor of Kabul & Peshawar had raised an army of some 20,000 (mostly Afghan warriors) and despite receiving no aid from Delhi was intent on resisting Nader's incursion upon his lands.

### The battle :

The position that had been chosen to resist the Persian army could scarcely have been better selected, as through the narrow pass of Kheibar only a small column of men could hope to march and any deployment into fighting formations would be an impossibility. Nader being convinced of the futility of a head-on struggle, instead opted for a more refined approach. A local guide informed him of a difficult yet traversable pass running parallel to that of Kheibar called the pass of Chatchoobi.

Setting out on November 26 from near Jalal Abad the Persian army arrived at Barikab (33 kilometres from the Kheibar pass) where Nader divided his army leaving Morteza Mirza behind with the bulk of the forces at his disposal and sending forth 12,000 men to the Kheibar pass under Nasrollah Qoli whilst he gathered a 10,000 light cavalry under his direct command. Beginning an epic flank-march of over 80 kilometres through some of the most unnavigable terrain in Asia Nader reached close to Ali-Masjed whence the 10,000 curved their route of march northwards and onto the eastern end of the Kheibar pass.

The Persian cavalry formed ranks and swept into a deadly charge against the startled forces who despite being twice their number, and resisting the initial shock of finding the Persians behind their positions, managed to somehow put up a valiant last stand before they were all either killed, taken prisoner or fled the field of battle leaving the governor of Peshawar to be made captive. The Russian general Kishmishev wrote of the campaign as a "masterpiece" of warfare.

The consequences :



**The Kheibar pass today**

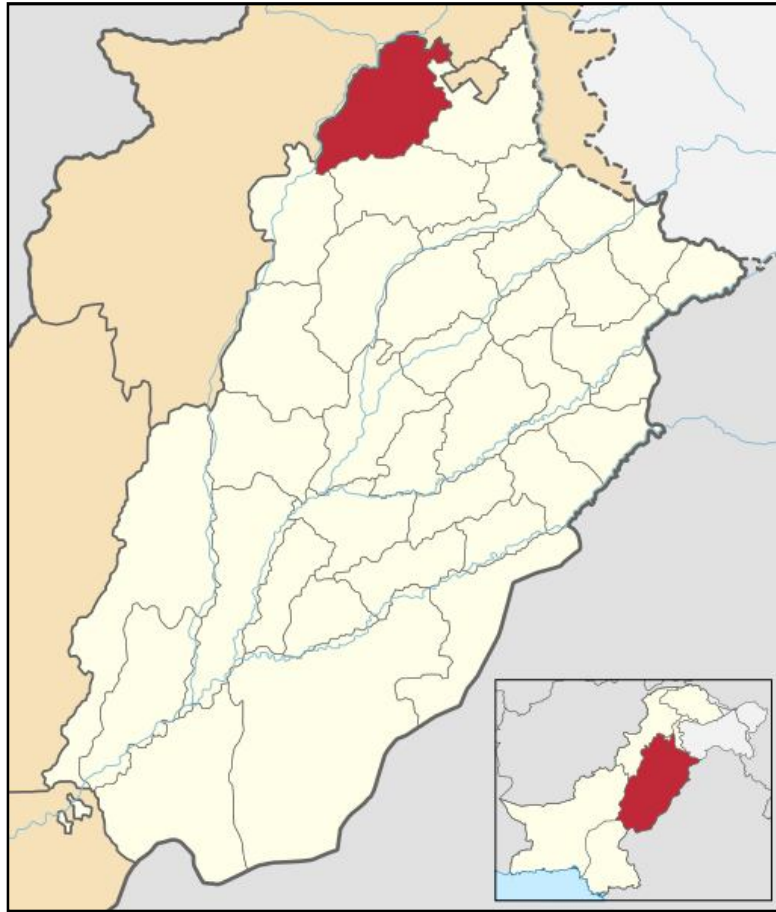
Soon after, both Peshawar and Kabul fell to Persian subjugation and Nader marched against Lahore. The army which the governor of Lahore had arrayed against the onslaught of the invaders was routed when Nader pounced upon it from an unexpected direction forcing the remainder to withdraw to the city walls and shortly afterwards surrender as well as pay a heavy tribute in gold.

The news of these catastrophes engulfed the authorities in Delhi in horror as they sent frantic requests of troops and levies throughout northern India.

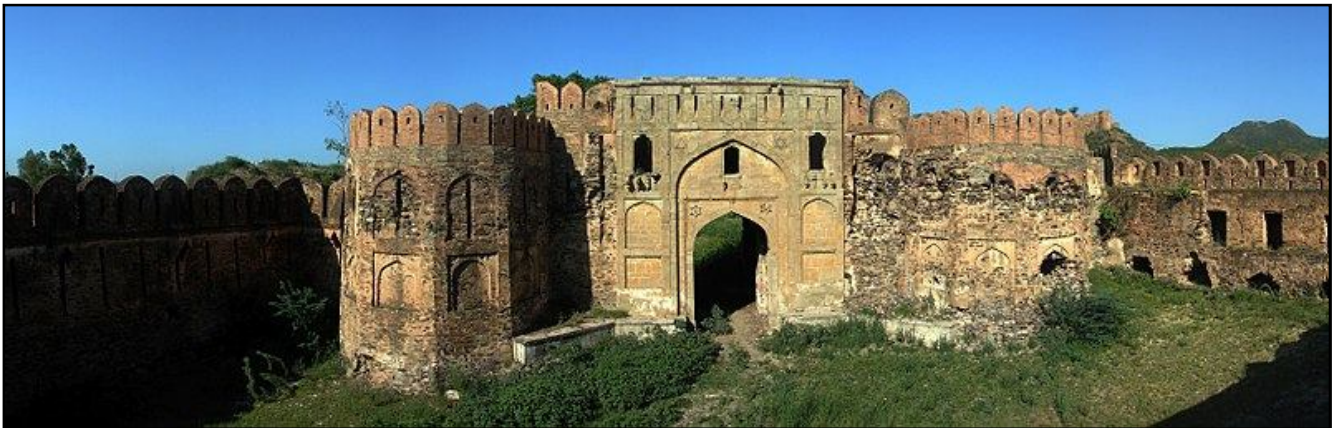
Source :

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Khyber\\_Pass](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Khyber_Pass)

## 91. Attock :



**Attock**



**Attock Fort in Old Attock**

Attock (Punjabi, Urdu: اٹک), formerly known as Campbellpur (کیمبل پور), is a city located in the north of Pakistan's Punjab Province, not far from the country's capital Islamabad. It is the headquarters of Attock District and Attock Tehsil. The city was founded in 1908 several miles southeast of the older city of Attock Khurd, which had been established by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in the 16th century, and was initially named in honour of Sir Colin Campbell.

### Etymology :

The city was initially named Campbellpore, also spelt Campbellpur, in 1908 in honour of Sir Colin Campbell. The name was changed in 1978 to Attock, which literally means "Foot of the Mountain."

### Geography :

Attock is located near the Haro River, a tributary of the Indus River, 80 km (50 mi) from Rawalpindi, 100 km (62 mi) from Peshawar, and 10 km (6 mi) from the Pakistan Aeronautical Complex, Kamra.

### Background :

Attock is located in a historically significant region. Gandhar was an ancient kingdom extending to the Swat valley and the Potohar plateau regions of Pakistan as well as the Jalalabad district of northeastern Afghanistan. Situated astride the middle Indus River, the region had Takshashila and Peshawar as its chief cities. The place is of both political and commercial importance, as the Indus is here crossed by the military and trade route through the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan. Alexander the Great, Timur and Nader Shah crossed the Indus at or about this spot in their respective invasions of India.

The Attock Fort was completed in 1583 under the supervision of Khawaja Shamsuddin Khawafi, a minister of Emperor Akbar. Nader Shah crossed through Attock when he defeated the Mughals at the Battle of Karnal and thus ended Mughal power in Northern India. The Battle of Attock took place at Attock Khurd on 28 April 1758 between the Durrani Empire Maratha Kingdom. The Marathas under Raghunathrao Ballal Peshwa and Tukojirao Holkar Bahadur were victorious in the battle and Attock was captured. But this conquest was short-lived as Ahmad Shah Durrani came in person to recapture Attock and checked the Maratha advance permanently after destroying their forces at Panipat. After the decline of the Durrani Empire, the Sikhs invaded and occupied Attock District. The Sikh Kingdom (1799–1849) under Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) captured the fortress of Attock in 1813 from the Durrani Nawab.

In 1849, Attock Khurd (Old Attock) was conquered by the British East India Company who created Campbellpur District. Following the Indian Rebellion in 1857, the region's strategic value was appreciated by the British, who established the Campbellpur Cantonment in 1857-58. Campbellpore District was organised in 1904, by the division of Talagang Tehsil in the Jhelum District with the Pindigheb, Fateh Jang and Attock tehsils from Rawalpindi District.

### Founding :

The city's foundations were laid in 1908 by Sir Colin Campbell, the British Commander-in-Chief of India for whom the city is named. The old city was established near the 16th century near the Attock fort that had guarded the major routes between Central Asia and South Asia. Attock's first oil well was drilled in Khaur in 1915, while the Attock Oil Company was established. It has an oil and gas field Dakhini near Jand and in Fateh Jang.

## Modern :

After the independence of Pakistan in 1947, the minority Hindus and Sikhs emigrated to India, while Muslim refugees from India settled in Attock. The Government of Pakistan renamed Campbellpur as Attock in 1978. The city and surrounding area are known for their high representation among soldiers of the Pakistani Military.

## Source :

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Attock>

## **92. Escape from Iran :**

### Last Stands & Flight from Iran :

After the Arab conquest of Iran in the mid 7th century CE, Zoroastrians started to flee their ancestral homeland. They were either pursued by the Arabs and their allies or they felt compelled to leave in the face of intolerable conditions. The Qissa-e Sanjan narrates one such flight. There are other accounts.

One of these is in an Arabic book *Futuh-ul-Buldan* by Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Jabir Al Biladuri, a ninth century CE writer who died c 892. In his book the author tells us about Zoroastrians who took a stand against the advancing Arabs at Hormuz on the southern Iranian coast. The Zoroastrians were over-powered and fled by sea to Makran, the coast of Baluchistan to the east of Hormuz. The text reads:

"He (Mujasa bin Masood) conquered Jeraft (Jiroft, Kerman) and having proceeded to Kerman (city), subjugated the city and made for Kafs (Hormozgan) where a number of Persians, who had emigrated, opposed him by at Hormuz (the port of Kerman). So he fought with and gained victory over them and many people of Kerman fled away by sea. Some of them joined the Persians at Makran and some went to Sagistan (Sistan)." (cf. Translation from the Arabic by Rustom Meheraban Aga as quoted in an article *The Kissa-e-Sanjan by Dr. Jivanji Modi* in the *Journal of the Iranian Association* Vol. VII, No. 3. June 1918.)

Sistan, the legendary home of Sam, Zal and Rostam, was where a scion of the Sassanian royal family Kaikhusrau together with a number of family members and other Zoroastrians fled immediately after the Arab invasion.

The fleeing Zoroastrians made their last stands against the Arabs in several places including Sistan and Hormuz. There they either died in the struggle, were taken prisoner, submitted, or continued fleeing east and into India.

We note that the Zoroastrians from Hormuz "joined the Persians at Makran". Makran is Baluchistan's coastal region and today spans south-eastern Iran and southern Pakistan. It appears from this account that Makran already had a 'Persian' (Zoroastrian) community. If the Zoroastrians (Persians) were fleeing from the advancing Arabs, they would have continued fleeing after the Arabs conquered Makran. The logical direction would have been to continue

eastward either by land or sea. The coastal regions to the east of Makran are lower Sind and Gujarat.

### Introduction to the Qissa-e Sanjan :

The *Qissa-e Sanjan* (also spelt Qissa-i Sanjan, Kisse-i Sanjan, and Kisseh-i Sanjan), is a book written in c.1599 CE (969 YZ) by a Parsi priest Bahman Kaikobad, whose full name, according to Dastur Firoze Kotwal, was Bahman Kaikobad Hamjiar Sanjana. When he wrote the Qissa, Bahman Kaikobad was a (Sanjana) priest in the Gujarati town of Navsari.

The Qissa chronicles the early history of the Parsees (Parsis) - the initial group of Zoroastrians who fled from Iran to India following the Arab conquest of Iran and the overthrow of the last Zoroastrian-Sassanian king of Iran, Yazdegird III in 636 CE.

Qissa is an Arabic word meaning 'story', perhaps 'legend'. The name Qissa-e Sanjan means the 'Story (or Legend) of Sanjan'. Sanjan is a small town in the Indian state of Gujarat close to its border with the state of Maharashtra (also see Sanjan Description below). The Qissa states that Parsi (Indian Zoroastrian) history in India as a community, starts with the landing by the original refugees from Iran at Sanjan.

The original Qissa manuscript has been lost. However, copies of the original manuscript survive. One such copy was scribed by Dastur Rustamji Tehmulji Mirza. From the copies of the Qissa we note that it was written as Persian poetry in a style reminiscent of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh. It is apparent from the text that the writer was not fluent in Persian nor did he have access to historical accounts. Rather, he had to rely on anecdotal history of which large chunks had been forgotten in transmission from one generation to the next. Given these limitations, the Qissa is still a remarkable achievement and is the only account of its type that we have. While the Qissa cannot be taken literally nor can it be taken as history - even the author calls it a story - it can nevertheless provide us with important clues and information-leads, which when supported by other sources or archaeological evidence, can assist in reconstructing early Parsi history.

The first translation of the work into English was by a Lieutenant in the British Indian army, E. B. Eastwick. His translation was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay, Branch, in 1842. Other translations were by P. B. Paymaster, Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala in *Studies in Parsi History* (Bombay, 1920, pp. 94-117.), and Lieutenant Colonel M. S. Irani, this writer's great-grand maternal uncle, in his book *The Story of Sanjan* (Poona 1943).

One copy of the Qissa contains 430 couplets or 439 lines. The first sixty three couplets are a prayer to God and a self-effacing apology for the writer's shortcomings and inadequacies. The couplets that follow the opening prayer, credit at the outset, the information narrated to a learned Dastur Hushang who provided the Qissa's author with 'secrets' regarding the history of the Zoroastrian refuges.

### The legendary / historical account starts with the seventy fifth couplet :

"It was in the days of Gushtasp That holy Zarathushtra showed us the path of religion."

## The Three Tragic Cycles :

The next verses (adapted by this author from Col. M. S. Irani's text) chronicle the adversities faced by Zoroastrians throughout history, the three stages being presaged in the Avesta:

Qissa couplet lines #80-84.

Three times will the Behdin (Good Religion) be shattered.

Three times will the behdins (Good Religionists) be ruined and made weary.

This will happen at the hands of the sitamgars, the destroyers.

First, came Sikandar (Alexander of Macedonia) who openly burned the books of our religion.

For three hundred years, the Good Religion was in ruins and the faithful were oppressed.

After a long period the Ardeshir (Papakan, 224/6-241 CE, first Sassanian king) took the kingdom.

The Good Religion was revived and came to be known throughout the world for its excellence. He sent Arda Viraf to the Divine Court to gain knowledge of the spiritual world. Then the Evil Spirit wrought destruction again on the Good Religion, And reports of evil came from all directions.

After a time (pas az moddat), Shahpur\* ascended (to the throne) and caused the Good Religion to shine again.

Then did Adarbad Meher-Safand (Mahraspandan)\*\* girth his loins in service of the Good Religion.

(So righteous was he that he survived) molten metal of seven elements poured over his body. Behdins had all doubts resolved and the creed shone with brilliance. From king Shahpur to Yazdegird splendour and dignity came to the Good Religion.

95. Then the Time-assigned days of the Zarthosht's Good Religion came to an end. With this millennium's passing, nary a vestige of the Good Religion remained. The sovereignty of Yazdegird was seized away by one of alien faith, Alas! From that moment on, Iran lay shattered - the kingdom, the Good Religion desolated. From that moment on, all who loved the Zand and wrote Pazand were scattered.

[Note: We are uncertain about which king Shapur the Qissa's author, Bahman Kaikobad is referring to here:

Shapur I (241-272 CE), Ardeshir Papakan, the first Sassanian king's son,

Shapur II (310-379 CE), or



Shahpur III (383-388 CE).

It is commonly assumed that Adarbad Meher-Safand is Adarbad Mahraspandan, a Zoroastrian high priest and prime minister of Shapur II. Adarbad Mahraspandan is said to have 'purified' the Avesta and fixed the number of nasks at twenty one, the number of words in the Ahunavar prayer. However, Hodivala figures the reference in the Qissa is to Shapur III. We are not aware of any great evil of the magnitude of the invasions of Alexander and the Arabs, between the start of Sassanian rule and say the rule of Shapur II. Adarbad Meher-Safand surviving the test of molten metal is fanciful.

We can see that bits and pieces of history had trickled down to the ears of the author of the Qissa, and that he is attempting to combine the three millennium concept (cf. 'Time-assigned days') from the time of Zarathushtra to the coming of a final Saoshyant or saviour with his information. In addition to other problems reconciling the event chronicled in the Qissa with Zoroastrian history or tradition elsewhere, Hodivala notes that Alexander of Macedonia "defeated Darius at Arbela in 331 BCE and Ardeshir Papak's accession cannot be placed earlier than 226 CE. There was therefore an interval of 557 years and not 300 between Alexander and the Sassanian. (See Alberun's remarks on this confusion in the Persian Chronology in the Athar-al-Bakya, tr. Sachau. 116-121. West, S.B.E. XLVII. Introduction, xxxii.)"

This author notes that Macedonian rule of Iran-Shahr started to break up about 100 years after Alexander's invasion and lingered on in some western regions for about another 100 years (also see Timelines). It was the Parthians (Parthav / Pahlav, the people of northern Khorasan) and not the Sassanians who were responsible for expelling the Macedonians from Iran-Shahr. It is unfortunate that even Ferdowsi gives the Parthians short shrift, for it was the Parthians who were the real liberators of Iran-Shahr and revivers of the Zoroastrian religion. But we must forgive the Qissa's author for this oversight as we have the benefit of historical records while he had to rely on sparse information and legend.]

Beginnings of the Parsi Epoch :

Journey from Iran :



**Locations related to the early Zoroastrian (Parsi) migration from Iran to Hind (India)**  
**Image credit: Base map courtesy Microsoft Encarta. Additions copyright K. E. Eduljee**

Kuhistan :

Qissa couplet :

Line 100: Behdins and dasturs, one and all, did hide themselves and the practice of their faith. Abandoned, did they, their homes, their gardens, their mansions, their halls - all for the sake of their faith.

There in Kuhistan\* they made their abode for a hundred years, their condition reduced to a desperate state.

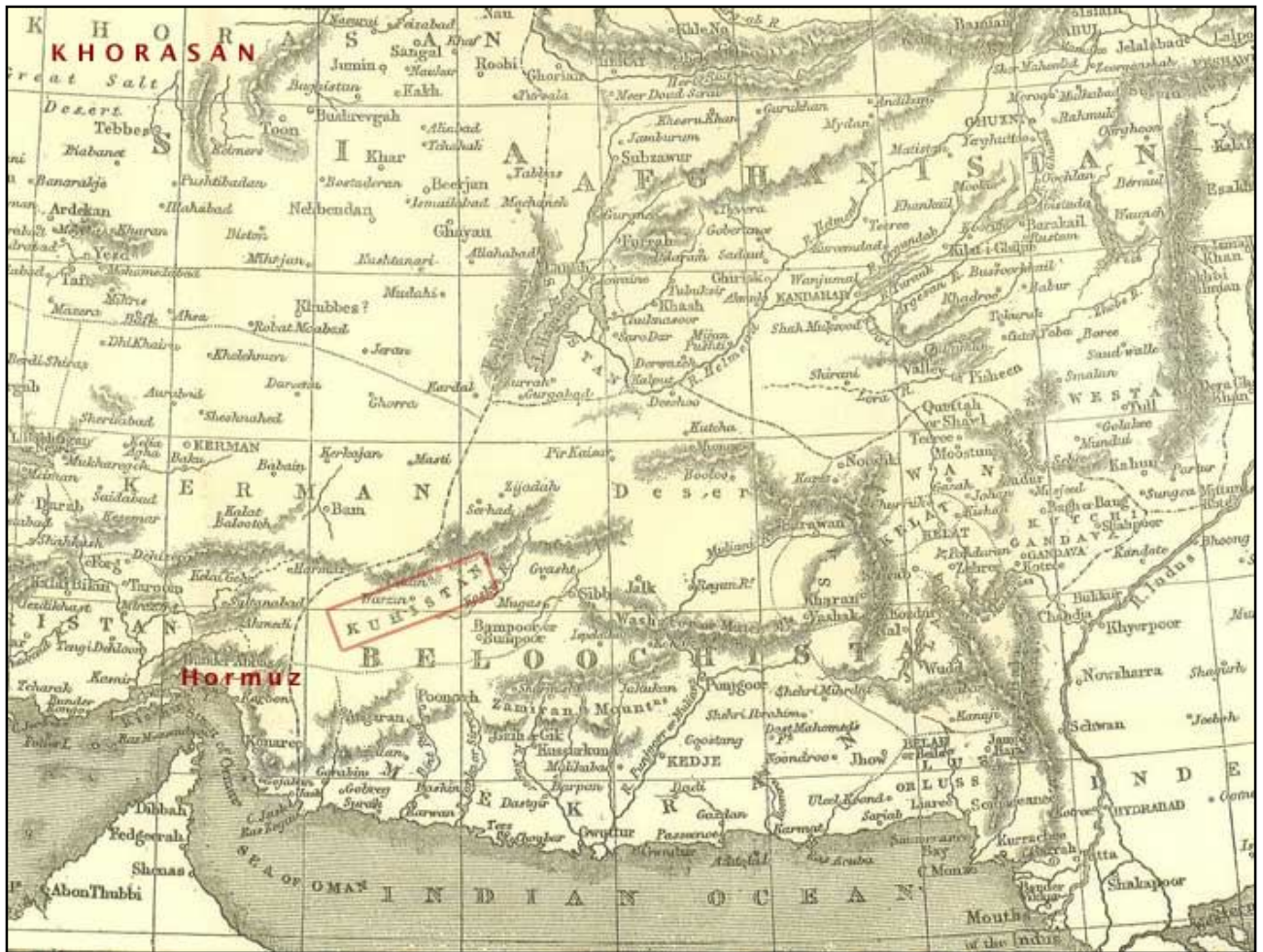
Of them, for the sake of preserving them and their beliefs, a wise and pious man pondered deeply their happenstance.

And afterwards said to the others, "We must leave for there is peril from the alien hordes in remaining here."

[Note: Kuhistan or kohistan, means land of the mountains. It can mean just that, meaning the Zoroastrian refugees fled to some anonymous mountainous region, or it can refer to a specific region known by that name a thousand years ago. Of the latter, there are five locations within present-day Iran and another four in Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Pakistan. One feature they all share in common is that they were all remote, sparsely populated, not fertile, controlled by independent lords, and generally cut-off from the main population centres.

In Iran, there are six principal kuhistans or kohistans :

1. The mountainous region of south-east Khorasan i.e. Quhistan or Tun-o-Qa'in, Tun being modern Ferdows. In the centre lies Birjand,
2. The mountainous region of Khorasan north of Nishapur and west of Mashhad (controlled by Hephthalites - White Huns?),
3. The mountains in the southwest of Kerman, north of Jiroft,
4. The mountains in the southwest of Yazd and,
5. The mountains in the west of Sistan & Baluchistan, south of Zahedan and,
6. The mountains in the northwest of Iran.



**Balochistan 1870 CE. Note "Kuhistan" (red box) in Western Sistan & Balochistan (Beloochistan) just north-east of Hormuz. This is the only Kuhistan noted on the map.**

**Image credit: George Rawlinson. The Seven Great Monarchies**

Outside of present-day Iran, there are at least five regions given the name Kuhistan or Kohistan :

1. The mountains in NW Afghanistan's Herat Province sometimes called the Paropamisus Range, and northeast of Herat city,
2. The mountains in north-central Afghanistan's Faryab Province north of the Paropamisus and across the Murgab river,
3. The mountainous district of Kapisa Province in Eastern Afghanistan,
4. The Badakhshan region that spans north-eastern Afghanistan and south-eastern & eastern Tajikistan i.e. Kuhistani-Badakshan/Pamir-Badakshan and,
5. The mountains of north-western Pakistan

There is also a town named Kuhestan in Afghanistan's Herat province just east of its border with Khorasan.

A number of authors state that the kuhistan to which the Zoroastrians fled was in Khorasan\*\*. Or, they in some fashion conclude that the initial migrants to Sanjan (the ones referred to in the passages above) came from Khorasan. While Khorasan is mentioned later in the Qissa (lines 216 & 217) in a completely different context, the Qissa does not mention Khorasan in this section, nor does it say that the Zoroastrians who hid in Kuhistan were from Khorasan, nor does it say in the line 216 & 217 that those from Khorasan were from the Kuhistan of Khorasan, nor can we assume that the Kuhistan that is today part of Khorasan was part of Khorasan in those days - Khorasan then meant all of Eastern Iran. The later reference in the Qissa to Khorasan suggests a later group who joined the initial group and who brought tools with them. See the section Tools from Khorasan. The First Mention of Khorasan.

(Khorasan is also spelt Khorrasan, Khurasan or Khuresan, meaning land of the sun. This might have to do with it being in the east of Iran. However, since it was almost in the middle of the Iranian-Aryan lands, it is more likely that the name is in reference to it being on the solar meridian for these lands.)

It might also be useful for the reader to refer to the section Last Stands & Flight from Iran in our page on conditions in post-Arab Iran as well as our page on Khorasan.

The flight of Zoroastrians before the advancing Arab hordes scattered them to different locations eastwards and as a consequence all the kuhistans might very well have been home to some group of Zoroastrians. Even the royal family of King Yazdegird III, split up in different directions, the king fleeing to Merv i.e. Mouru where he was murdered; his wife and children

fled to the mountains (kuhistan) of Yazd where they met their death, and we also know of one scion, Kaikhusrau, who fled with his followers to Sistan which has its own kuhistan. The Sistan kuhistan is sometimes the only kuhistan marked as the Kuhistan on old maps.

In this section we are interested in the identity of the Kuhistan referred to in the Qissa from which the initial party of Zoroastrians went to Hormuz and from there to Sanjan. While the mountains of Khorasan are a possibility, we cannot rule out the mountains of Kerman or Sistan, or for that matter some of the other mountainous regions to which Zoroastrians fled.]

#### City of Hormuz & Astrology :

Qissa couplet :

Line 105: With behdins, dasturs and friends, he marched to the city of Hormuz\*. There they spent fifteen years suffering oppression and abuse from the darwand, the dregvant, the followers of the Lie.

The learned dastur there with them was also an accomplished astrologer.

After consulting his old astrological charts (he said), "Our time here is at an end. It is well we leave this country. Leave this country forthwith we must."

[Note: \*Old Hormuz city was thought to be located near the city of Minab in the southern Iranian province of Hormozgan. The ruins of the city of Hormuz have been identified some fifty kilometres from the province's present main city and port - Bandar Abbas. New Hormuz city was located on Hormoz Island. Both are at the horn of the Persian Gulf (see our page on Hormozgan).

This reference to astrology being part of a learned dastur's training is interesting. That consulting the charts was part of important decision-making is even more interesting. The Zoroastrian calendar does have a Zodiac.]

#### Sailing to Hind (India) :

Qissa couplet :

Line 110: "If not, we will be caught in a snare, our wisdom will be of no help and all our effort will be naught.

It is for the better that we flee from the evil ones towards Hind (India)."

In fear of their lives and for the sake of their faith, they sped towards Hind.

In haste, a ship\* they readied and hoisted its sail

After the women and children had boarded the ship, they set sail for Hind.

[Note: Hodivala's translation refers to one ('the') ship. The translation in Colonel M. S. Irani's

book first mentions 'the ship' in couplet 113 and then 'ships' in couplet 114. Again in couplet 120 we have 'ships' and then in 121 we have 'ship'.

Regarding the reason the migrants chose a sea route and a coastal area for settlement, we wonder if perhaps some of the refugees were traders or knew other Zoroastrian traders who owned ships and who wished to establish a home port away from Iran, but in a place they were familiar with and one that was part of their existing trade routes between the Middle East and China. In this manner, the ship(s) they used for the migration would continue to be used for trading and the settlers would provide a home base for the traders' families. The migration could have started with an initial sailing and once a settlement had been procured the ships would go back, spread the word and others especially, those familiar with trading and extended travelling would follow.

#### Landing at Div (Diu?) & Astrology :

Qissa couplet :

Line 115: When at last they arrived at the shores of Hind, they weighed anchor at Div\*. There they disembarked and made their homes on the land at their feet. There, the behdins remained for nineteen years, until the astrologer once again sought their future.

The aged dastur peered into his charts and said, "O enlightened friends, Again we must depart and find another place which we can call our second home."

[Note: Div is commonly taken to mean Diu, a coastal town in India (see map above).]

#### Sailing to Sanjan & Storm at Sea :

Qissa couplet line 120. Delighted to hear his words, the party set sail towards Gujarat. When the ship was at sea, a violent storm came upon them, All the dasturs of the faith were thrown into consternations, giddy as in a whirlpool. They rubbed their faces before the divine threshold. Then standing they made supplication thus:

"O Wise Lord, aid us in our work and deliver us from this calamity."

125. "O All powerful Varharan (Bahram), befriend us so that we may triumph over this adversity.

Through your grace, we will fear no tempest and free our hearts from despair.

For you heed the prayers of the helpless and guide the lost to the way.

If we find emerge safe from this whirlpool, if disaster does not destroy us,

If we reach the land of Hind happy and cheerful,

130. "We will kindle an Atash Varharan (Bahram). Deliver us then from these tribulations and give us strength.

We resign ourselves to the will of God, and for us there is no other."

Through the blessings of the Atash Varharan (Bahram), all emerged safe from these troubled waters.

Their entreaties were fulfilled and the Lord had assisted them in their efforts. Now aided by a prosperous wind and guided by a divine light, no contrary wind came their way.

135. The captain of the ship, with God's name on his lips, could now command the ship's course.

All on board, dastur and behdins alike did their kusti while the ship sailed the seas.

#### Early Travellers' Accounts :

The following accounts are noted in Rustom Burjorji Paymaster's book *Early History of Parsees in India*.

#### Mandelslo (1616-1644 CE) :

Rustom Paymaster quotes German traveller John (Jean) Albert de Mandelslo's *Les Voyages du Sieur* (1638, pp. 180, 184 & 186) as noting that in Gujarat (Guzuratt) there were a group called Parsees who were "Persians of Fars and Khorasan (Choransan), who fled into those parts to avoid persecution of the Mohametans in the Seventh Age (7 century CE)." Further that "the (Zoroastrian) king perceiving it was impossible for him to oppose it, took shipping with 18,000 men at Ormus, and landed at Indosthan. The King of Cambay... received him to dwell in his country, into which liberty drew several other Persians."

[Note: Paymaster also informs us that elsewhere Mandelslo also notes "that Parsees had settled in large numbers in the Konkan at the time of his visit." The Konkan is the coastline of Maharashtra. Maps from the 18th century show Konkan to include the Maratha coast up to Surat. We do know that Parsees had settled Thana and Chaul on the Maratha coast. Chaul is close to Revdanda, some 45 km south of Mumbai / Bombay as the crow flies.

Paymaster goes on to cite Mandelslo as saying that in Bijapur territories (probably referring to Bijapur district in Karnataka State south of Sholapur in Maharashtra State), "craftsman worked for Mussalmans, Hindus and Parsees, who were there in greater numbers than either Dakhnis (people of the Deccan) and Kanarians."]

#### Ogilby (1600 - 1676 CE) :

Rustom Paymaster also cites John Ogilby, a Scottish cartographer, as stating in Atlas V (1670) p. 218-219, that the Parsees "came about AD 640 in a fleet of seven ships, some said as many as 18,000 men, women and children. The people of five ships settled at Sanjan, those from another at Variav near Surat, and those from the seventh at Cambay. In course of time, these settlers forgot their origin, their religion and even their name. At length, the name

'Persians' was made known to them by some men from Persia who instructed them in their religion and taught them to serve God. The physique of the Parsees was about the middle size; their faces pale, and especially the women excelled all other women of the country in beauty."

Henry Lord (1620 CE) :

Another traveller cited by Rustom Paymaster is Rev. Henry Lord, a chaplain in the service of the East India Company. In his *Discovery of Two Foreign Sects in the East Indies...*, Lord notes "These Persians or Parsees... are people descended from the ancient Persians... He (the Persian king) was forced to fly to Karson (Khorasan?)... . Parsees, not enduring to live contrary to the prescript of their own law... determined a voyage to the Indies... . So repairing to Jasques\* (Jask, Hormozgan. See note and map below), a place in the Persian Gulf, they obtained a fleet of seven junks to convey them and theirs, as merchantmen bound for the shores of India, in course of trade and merchandise. It happened that in safety they made to the land of St. Johns (Sanjan - and we may be permitted a chuckle here)."

[Note: Jasques or Jasquez: Present-day Jask in Hormozgan, 200 km southeast of Hormuz Island. Part of the Makran Coast in the east of Hormozgan Province, Iran. Jask is a port on Jask peninsula. In addition there is a place called Jask-e Kohneh 10 km to the north of Jask. Jask-e Kohneh means Ancient Jask. According to Henry Yule, A. C. Burnell, *William Crooke in A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, Jask was an alternative port to Hormuz such as when Hormuz was occupied by the Portuguese. It is quite possible that some Zoroastrians could have sailed to India from Jask.]

Sir Thomas Herbert (1606-1682 CE)

In an account of a 1626 CE visit to India, *Travels into Africa and Asia the Great*, British traveller and author Sir Thomas Herbert notes, "...into India these Parsees came (such time as Omar the second Caliph after Mohomet subjected Persia\*) in five junks from Jasquez\* (Jask, Hormozgan. See note above and map below), sailing to Surras where after treaty with the Rahaes and Bannyans\*\*\*, they got leave to plant; and living peaceably to exercise their religion."

[Notes: Omar: Probably meaning Umar ibn al-Khattab (c. 586/59-644), caliph from 634 to 644 and second caliph of the Rashidun Caliphate. Umar (Omar) was responsible for defeating the Persian armies in 636 at the battle of Qadisiyyah (now in South-Central Iraq), securing the Persian lands west of the Zagros, and again in 642 in the battle of Nehavand (near Hamadan), securing the Persian lands east of the Zagros.

[Bannyans: perhaps meaning Bania, specifically the trading caste (Vaishya) or generally, wealthy business-people. The merchant community of Gujarat, such as Shahs, Gandhis, Ambanis, Sarabhais, Mehtas, Parekhs, Parikhs, Kotharis and Desais, are also known as Banias. It is unclear to whom Rahaes refers - perhaps Brahmins?. It is curious that in this account, the Parsees made an agreement with two groups - an agreement perhaps regarding trade and religion; an agreement that allowed them settle (i.e. plant) in Gujarat.]





1724 Map of Mughistan (Mogostan) by Lisle Guillaume. Note 'Jasques' just before the entrance to the Persian Gulf

C. Dellon (1667 CE) :

French physician, Dr. C. Dellon in *A Voyage to the East Indies* notes "...three of their vessels came to the Indian shore, whereof the first set up themselves near Surat, the second at Diu, and the third at Gandevi, a town betwixt Surat and Damaun."

Captain A. Hamilton (1716 CE) :

Captain A. Hamilton in *A New Account of the East Indies* p.161 states, "They (the Parsees) are a remnant of the ancient Persians, who chose to be banished their country than change their religion; for in the seventh century of the Christian era, when Mahometism overran Persia, the Spirit of Persecution came there, and some 4 or 500 families were put on board of shipping, and sent out to sea, without compass or pilot; and they steering their course eastward, (in the southwest monsoons) from Jasques in about 20 days, fell with the coast of India in the night, and the first thing they saw was a fire ashore, which the exiles steered towards, and accidentally steered into the river of Navsari... . When they came ashore, the charitable Indians flocked about them, and there being some among them that could speak Indian languages. related what hard usage they had met with in their own country, and that Providence having directed them to the Indian country, begged leave to settle among them... . The generous Indians granted their request."

Analysis of the Accounts :

The travellers would have written their accounts based on interviews with Parsees and represent a collective consciousness amongst the community. Allowing for hyperbole, confusion, embellishments and dim memories, we note the following:

The accounts refer to Parsi migrants originally from Pars and Khorasan who arrived in Gujarat via Hormuz and/or Jask, both in the present-day Hormozgan province of Iran. Jask was an alternative international port to Hormuz.

The figure of 18,000 migrants is consistent. Unless each of Ogilby's seven ships were capable of holding more than 2,000 passengers, it is doubtful if these 18,000 migrants arrived on the Gujarat coast in one flotilla. The number could, however, refer to the first migratory wave.

The number of ships or 'junks' that made up the first migration, are listed as between five and seven. An initial flotilla of up to seven ships is entirely plausible.

Diu, Surat, Gandevi, Variav, Cambay (Khambhat), Navsari and Sanjan are all mentioned as the initial Parsi-Zoroastrian ports of landing.

Mandelslo notes that once the local king had consented to accommodating the Parsees, the conditions were suitable "into which liberty drew several other Persians." Once permission to migrate had been secured, the ships could have returned to pick up other migrants. Or word could have been transmitted by trading expeditions to other Zoroastrians dispersed along the coast. Other waves or groups of migrants could also have arrived by land. What makes the Sanjan migration different from any other migration to other parts of India is that it received official royal sanction from a sovereign king for a community to settle. This official sanction has many implications for the holding of land and the conducting of commerce. Such a royal sanction would have attracted other disparate Zoroastrian groups that might have settled elsewhere to come join and make community with the migrants to Gujarat.

The migratory wave appears to have included women and children. It has been the custom of some later Zoroastrian immigrants for the men to migrate first, secure a means of income and a home, and then return to collect their families.

Lord mentions that the Zoroastrians travelled as "as merchantmen bound for the shores of India, in course of trade and merchandise" confirming that the first wave of migrants from Hormuz were traders and that this occupation may have, if needed, disguised the true intent of their journey back home.

The various accounts are consistent in that the Zoroastrian refugees negotiated with the natives the terms of their settlement. Captain A. Hamilton adds that a few among the refugees spoke the local language. We seldom question how a group of foreigners can converse competently with the locals and this would hardly have been possible without the aid of someone in the group already familiar with the local people and their language.

As we have noted earlier, the travellers' accounts could only have been acquired from Zoroastrian-Parsees. The general consistency and specific differences add to, rather than detract from, their authenticity, since after a lapse of nearly a thousand years, it would have been impossible for a largely oral tradition to have been perfectly consistent.

Take for instance the difference in the names places where the refugees first landed. The consistency is that they came by sea, landed on the shore of Gujarat and negotiated the terms of their settlement. We take for granted that Parsees speak Gujarati as their mother tongue

but do not ask why it is not Marathi, Hindi or another Indian language. And why before settling in Bombay, the Parsees were for the main part residents of Gujarat - and more specifically the coast of Gujarat rather than some inland towns on the trade routes to Central Asia. The preponderance of all of these observations lead us to the conclusion, that while the Qissa-e Sanjan may not meet the tests of unimpeachable history (which it does not claim to be), it does nevertheless generally and fairly represent the history of the Parsi-Zoroastrian's migration to India as a community - it represents the commonwealth of the collective consciousness of the Zoroastrians who fled to India.

For the preservation of this heritage we owe an eternal debt of gratitude to Bahman Kaikobad Hamjiar Sanjana, author of the Qissa-e Sanjan, and all those who persevered and preserved the temporal and spiritual flame. Bahman Kaikobad sought to preserve and honour the memory and sacrifice of the Zoroastrian refugees and in that task this author makes common purpose with him.

This page is dedicated to the sacrifice of the early Zoroastrian migrants to India - to those who perished at sea, in battle, and to those who survived - the nameless children, women and men. For they all made it possible for this writer and his generation to be here on this earth and engage in this sharing. We honour them. We revere them. Aidun bad.

Source :

<http://www.heritageinstitute.com/zoroastrianism/history/qissa1.htm>

### **93. Possible migration route :**

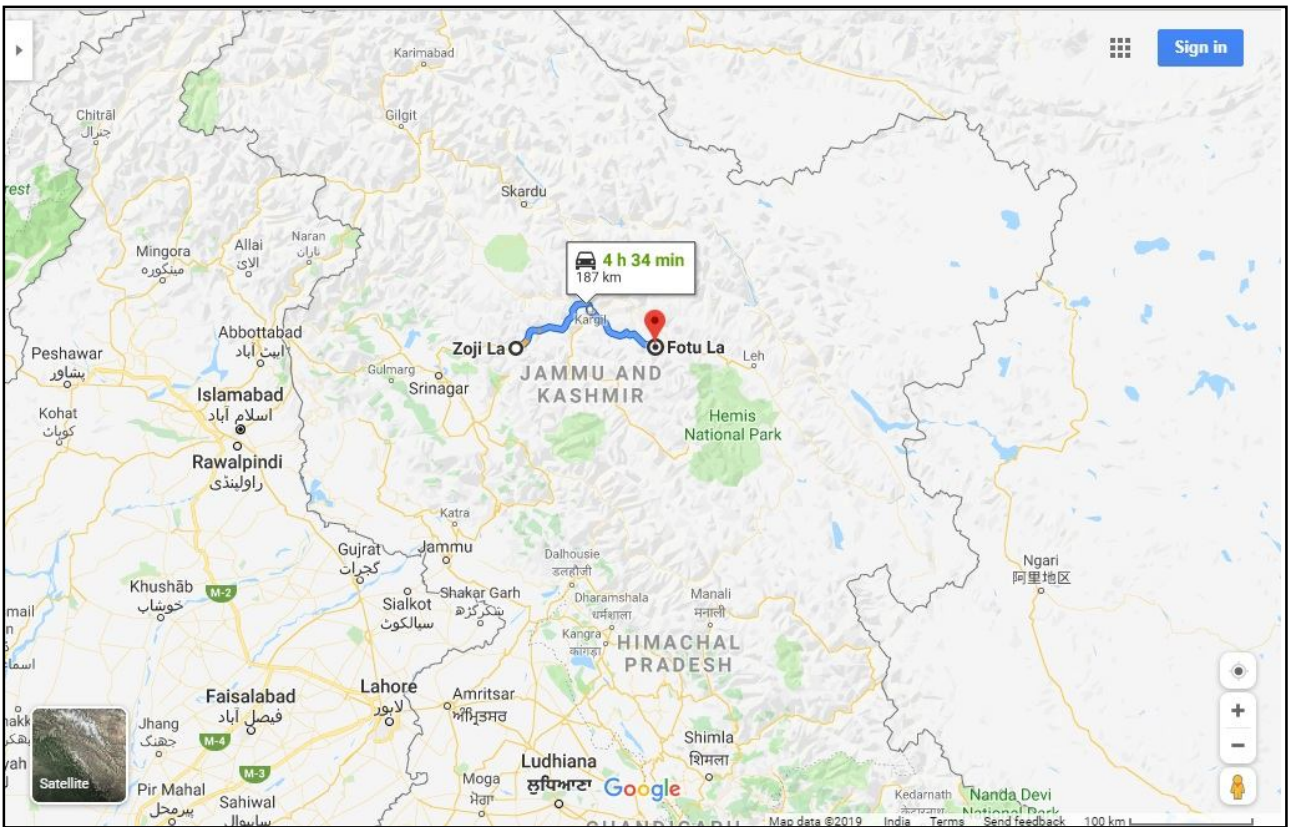
This is just an assumption that during Arab Invasion the Bhramins who went from Iran to Naimisharanya, Uttar Pradesh took route of Khyber Pass to Zojila Pass to Fotu La.

From Fotu La they took route of Himachal Pradesh because Punjab, Delhi, etc. states were also under attack and only Himachal route was safe.

It is said that there are a lot of skeletons in Roop Kund. So, chances are that a group of people might have lost the route and died in Roop Kund.



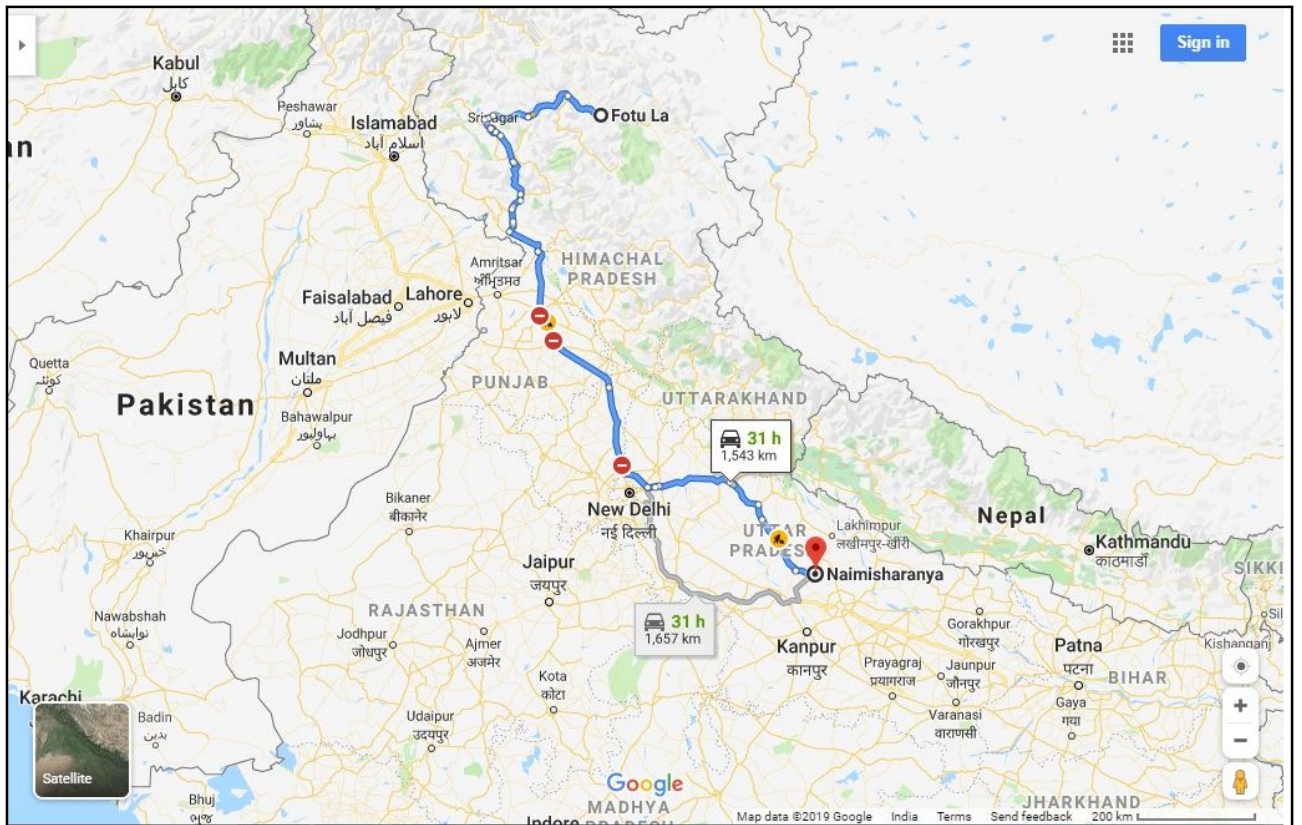
### Khyber Pass to Zoji La Pass



### Zoji La Pass to Fotu La Pass



**Roop Kund in Red**



**Fotu La Pass to Naimisharanya**

Roopkund (locally known as Mystery Lake, Skeletons Lake) is a high altitude glacial lake in the Uttarakhand state of India. It lies in the lap of Trishul massif. Located in the Himalayas, the

area around the lake is uninhabited, and is roughly at an altitude of 16,470 feet (5,020 m), surrounded by rock-strewn glaciers and snow-clad mountains. Roopkund is a popular trekking destination.

With a depth of about two metres, Roopkund is widely known for the hundreds of ancient human skeletons found at the edge of the lake. The human skeletal remains are visible at its bottom when the snow melts. Research generally points to a semi-legendary event where a group of people were killed in a sudden, violent hailstorm in the 9th century. Because of the human remains, the lake has been called Skeleton Lake in recent times.



### **Human skeletons in Roopkund Lake**

Skeletons were rediscovered in 1942 by Nanda Devi game reserve ranger Hari Kishan Madhwal, although there are reports about these bones from the late-19th century. At first, British authorities feared that the skeletons represented casualties of a hidden Japanese invasion force, but it was found that the skeletons were far too old to be Japanese soldiers. The skeletons are visible in the clear water of the shallow lake during a one-month period when the ice melts. Along with the skeletons, wooden artifacts, iron spearheads, leather slippers, and rings were also found. When a team from *National Geographic* magazine retrieved about 30 skeletons, flesh was still attached to some of them. Geneticists Niraj Rai and Manvendra Singh at the Center for Cellular and Molecular Biology at Hyderabad conducted DNA tests on a hundred samples from the lake and compared them to the current Indian population. Results indicated that 70 percent of them had an affinity with Iran, while the remaining ones belonged to the local population. It is hypothesized that the Iran group took the help of local porters to seek new land for settlement. Later studies placed the time of mass death around the 9th century CE (1,200 years old).

Local legend says that the King of Kanauj, Raja Jasdhal, with his pregnant wife, Rani Balampa, their servants, a dance troupe and others went on a pilgrimage to Nanda Devi shrine, and the group faced a storm with large hailstones, from which the entire party perished near Roopkund Lake.

Remnants belonging to more than 300 people have been found. Radiocarbon dating of the bones at Oxford University's Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit determined the time period to be 850 CE  $\pm$ 30 years. The Anthropological Survey of India conducted a study of the skeletons

during the 1950s and some samples are displayed at the Anthropological Survey of India Museum, Dehradun.

More recently, radiocarbon dating found that the remains are from very different eras. All of the remains with South Asian ancestry were dated to around 800 CE, while the other skeletal remains analyzed were dated to around 1800 CE. "These findings refute previous suggestions that the skeletons of Roopkund Lake were deposited in a single catastrophic event," the scientists explain, in Nature Communications.

#### Identification :

Genome-wide DNA study of skeletons from Roopkund by Harney et al. 2018 revealed that the skeletons belonged to two distinct groups; one group is composed of individuals with broadly South-Asian related ancestry from 9th CE, and the second group is composed of individuals from 200 years ago with genetic affinity with east Mediterraneans.

The studies of the skeletons revealed a common cause of death: blows to the back of the head, caused by round objects falling from above. The researchers concluded that the victims had been caught in a sudden hailstorm, just as described in the local legends and songs.

In a study published in August 2019, the DNA extracted from 38 skeletons was analyzed and revealed that many different populations experienced mortal incidents at the lake, separated in time by approximately 1,000 years and one that occurred as late as the 19th century. These findings refute previous suggestions that the skeletons of Roopkund Lake were deposited in a single catastrophic event.

#### Conservation concerns :

There is a growing concern about the regular loss of skeletons and it is feared that, if steps are not taken to conserve them, the skeletons may gradually vanish in the years to come. It is reported that tourists visiting the area are in the habit of taking back the bones in large numbers and the district administration has expressed the need to protect the area. The district magistrate of Chamoli District has reported that tourists, trekkers, and curious researchers are transporting the skeletons on mules and recommended that the area should be protected. Governmental agencies have made efforts to develop the area as an eco-tourism destination in an effort to protect the skeletons.

Trishul Massif :

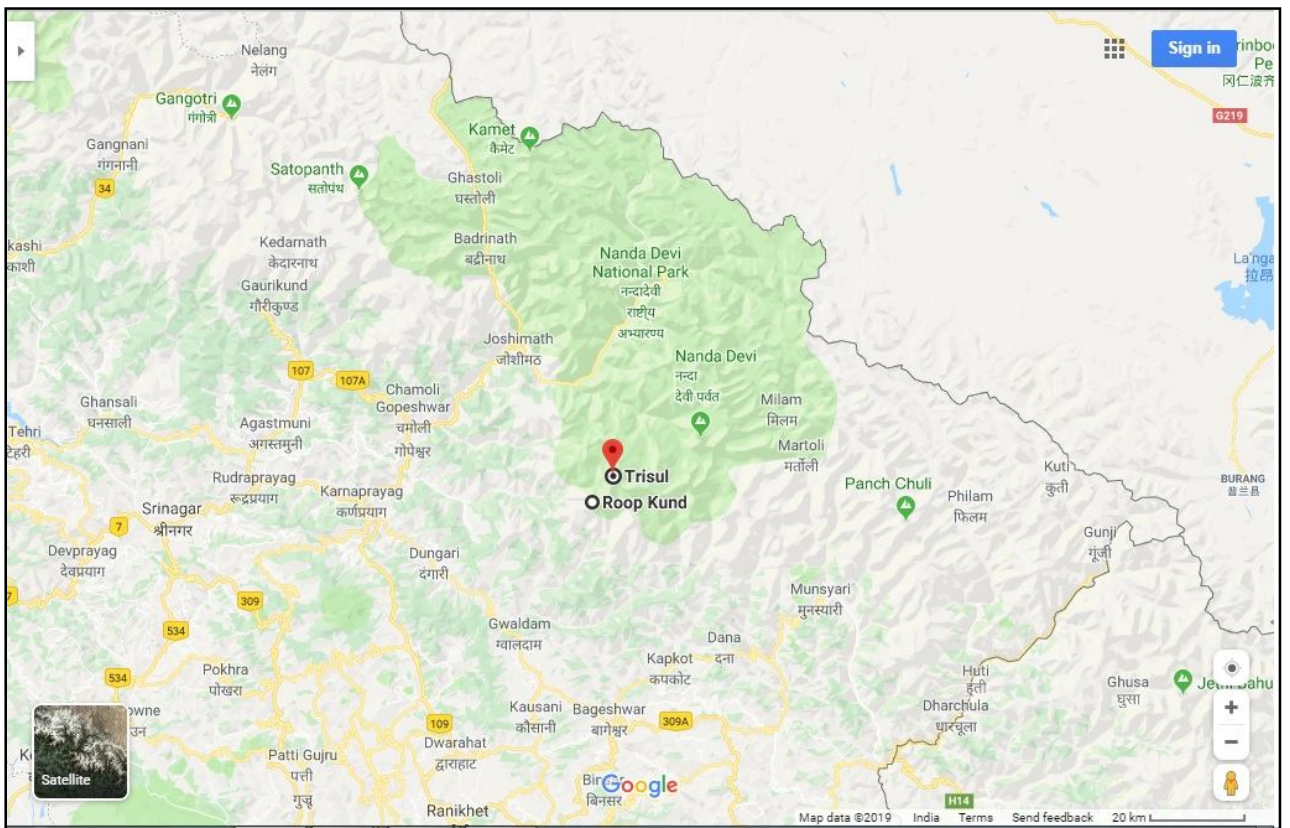


**Trishul Massif**

The three peaks are named Trisul I, Trisul II, and Trisul III. The massif is a north-south ridge, with Trisul I at the north end and Trisul III at the south. The massif runs roughly North-South, and hence appears compressed when viewed from the south (Ranikhet, Kausani), and more stretched out from the Southeast (Chamoli, Bedini Bugyal).

Nanda Ghunti lies a few kilometers to the northwest, while Mrigthuni is just to the southeast.





Trisul and Roop Kund

#### 94. History of Pre-Islamic dress Iran :

History of Pre-Islamic Dress Iran :

By Patricia L. Baker



Our knowledge of dress in pre-Islamic Iran comes from pictorial depictions mainly on rock reliefs, metalwork (including coinage), seal impressions, and, from about the second century C.E., wall paintings. Information is fragmentary and episodic, and relates to the ruling households, the military, divinities, and occasionally priests; depictions of women (even female goddesses) are rare.

Elamite Dress (C. 2750-653 B.C.E.) :



**Iran statue of Queen Napirasu**

In its heyday the Elamite empire controlled the region from eastern Mesopotamia to central Asia and Pakistan, but after 1100 B.C.E. its political influence waned. Early Elamite cylinder seals show bearded men (possibly princes or priests), wearing multi-layered skirts—perhaps of hanging feathers, leather strips, or sheepskin—similar to those found in certain votive statues from Mari (an ancient Syrian city), and clay tablets reveal that wool and flax were being exported to neighboring lands. A few seals (c. 2200-1600 B.C.E.) include female figures wearing similar but fuller skirts. However, a bronze statue (now in the Louvre) of Queen Napirasu (d. 1333 B.C.E.) from Susa shows a diagonally necked bodice with elbow-length sleeves, a long, bell-shaped skirt with wide decorated bands around the hips and down the left front, fabric flaps on the right hip, and a deep fringe (possibly of sheep wool) around the hem. Later Elamite rock reliefs (e.g., Kuh-i Farah, c. 800 B.C.E.), although seriously eroded, record ankle-length, long-sleeved robes worn with projecting shoulder collars.

Achaemenid Dress (C. 550-330 B.C.E.) :

The Persian Achaemenid family triumphed over the Medes of northwest Iran, seizing land stretching from the Balkans to the Tian Shan mountains in central Asia and China, until its destruction by Alexander the Great. The ceremonial capital of Persepolis provides most costume pictorial evidence; scholastic opinion is divided regarding whether details on the so-called Oxus Treasure (British Museum) and surviving clothing from other central Asian sites such as Pazyryk should be considered Iranian Achaemenid or central Asian dress.



### Persepolis reliefs :

The Persepolis reliefs and the Susa tile revetments (Louvre) reveal nothing of women's and children's dress but show two distinct male costumes: the "Median" dress of long trousers tucked into ankle boots, a tunic under a knee-length, a long-sleeved coat (*kandys*) draped over the shoulders, and a rounded soft cap encircled by metal fillet; and the "Persian" dress of an ankle-length, draped skirt, a top with four deep pleats at the elbow, and a tall, fluted cap (possibly of feathers or padded felt). It is this latter garment that has provoked discussion. Rejecting a theory from the 1930s that the garment was made of an unseamed rectangle of fabric folded on the shoulders and belted to form drapery folds, Anna Roes argued for a sophisticated construction of two separate pieces: a waist-length cape with a triangular insert at the elbow creating four sleeve pleats, and a sari-like skirt with hanging fabric bands down the front, back, and sides. Two decades later, P. Beck (1972) proposed another structure based on two lengths joined at the shoulder, both differently cut to produce the curves and pleats of the distinctive sleeves. Neither theory is entirely satisfactory regarding the skirt as detailed on seated figures. At court, men's hair was worn behind the ears to shoulder-length, tightly curled, while the beards (which may have been false) were carefully arranged into ringlets, interrupted by rows of tight curls.

### Parthian or Arsacid Dress (C. 250 B.C.E.-224 C.E.) :

The various Silk Roads crossing Asia flourished in the Parthian period, bringing Chinese silk to the West in exchange for horses, wool, and linen. Short-staple cotton was perhaps being cultivated in eastern Iran but was available from east Africa and the Persian Gulf regions. Most detailed information about the dress from this period is gleaned from pictorial art from the ancient cities Palmyra, Dura Europos, Hatra, and Nimrud Dag-as well as from central Asian regions of ancient Syria, ancient Iraq, and ancient Anatolia-but modern specialists in these regions often evaluate such clothing as "national" rather than Parthian "imperial" dress.



### Palmyra rock sculpture

The man of rank wore a hip- or thigh-length belted tunic with narrow, long sleeves, although the Palmyran sculptures show a long fabric tie, knotted and looped. There were various methods of fastening tunics, possibly denoting differences in rank, status, or, perhaps, office: wide diagonal openings right to left, small and deep rounded necks, square necks, and extended neck lapels fastening below the front left shoulder. The tunic sometimes had heavy drapery folds forming a U-shaped apron, and a long-sleeved, calf-length, narrow-fitting jacket was worn over this. Loose trousers, often heavily patterned and banded down the center of the leg, were gathered at the ankle or into calf-length boots. A long folded stole, or strip of silk, on the left shoulder, shown on figures in some images, may indicate priestly attire. Regarding head covering, gods, kings, and generals (as those at Hatra and Nimrud Dag) are shown with tall helmets with a narrow front profile, decorated with "pearl" beading.

Information regarding female attire is sparse. The Greek *chiton* is said to be the inspiration behind the Palmyran dress, but ladies' bodices in Khaltchyan wall-reliefs are close-fitting with a deep or shallow neck, with additional material flaring from the breast band. Below this a trailing pleated skirt was worn, and a long, wide stole covered the shoulders or was draped over the arms.

### Sasanid Dress (224-658 C.E.) :

From the fifth century, Iranian cotton was being exported to China along with linen flax and wool. Chinese imperial histories record that silkworms were smuggled into central Asia in 419 C.E., but the Arab histories and Iranian poetry suggest sericulture was established in Sasanid lands around 300 C.E.. Draw-loom technology was known from eastern Mediterranean lands, but most dress fabrics were still made on the narrow back-strap loom. Tapestry (slit) weave and compound twill weave are mostly associated with Sasanid wool and silk dress fabrics, respectively.

The rock carvings near Shiraz show shahs in fitted bodices, perhaps of molded leather, together with full-length trousers or chaps with long wavy curls of either sheepskin or very fine fabric. By the mid-fourth century a draped apron-like tunic, reaching to the lower calf in front,

was worn, and some later silver dishes depict another type of tunic with stiffly pointed side corners. By the late fifth or early seventh century—depending on the date of a carving at Taq-i Bustan—the royal dress was a long-sleeved, knee-length tunic in heavily patterned woven silk, or decorated with padded appliqué forms; the belt had hanging lappets signifying status (the more numerous, the higher the rank). A double row of beading decorated the central front fastening, neck, cuffs, and hem edges. Underneath, ample trousers were gathered into soft ankle boots fastened with long ribbon ties. Each shah wore a distinctive crown often incorporating a large "balloon" (possibly of hair), while princes and generals had tall caps with a slight Phrygian curve ending in a bird or animal head, or decorated with a stylized emblem.

A few images of the Zoroastrian goddess, Anahita, and court entertainers provide most information about women's dress. In a late-third-century relief at Naqsh-e Rostam, Anahita has an ankle-length robe, falling in diaphanous folds and girded by a creped ribbon belt. However, at Taq-i Bustan, carved at least 150 years later, her long-sleeved robe falls from a shoulder clasp with a sleeved coat (possibly felt) draped over her shoulders. Her tall, tasseled headdress is more elaborate than those of female musicians in the hunting compositions beneath. On Sasanid metalwork female dancers are noticeable for their long stoles draped across the front at hip level. In the rare depictions of royal ladies, the dress is similar to those of Anahita, while the children wear miniature versions of the regal ensembles.

In Sasanid times, Zoroastrianism was officially promoted, and Zoroastrian priestly dress was probably formalized in this period. Ritual regulations concerning the lambswool *kusti* (girdle) and cotton *sudra* (shirt), worn by all adult believers, were also probably codified during this period.

Source :

<https://fashion-history.lovetoknow.com/fashion-history-eras/history-pre-islamic-dress-iran>

## 95. Kashmir Exodus :

### 1. The First Exodus (1389-1413) :

The scheming wily and guilty Shah Mir became the founder of the Muslim rule in Kashmir. By encouraging inter-marriages he poisoned and weakened the family life of the Kashmiri Hindus to the advantage of the Muslim minority as this tactics built a reliable and strong base/plinth for the propagation of Islam in Kashmir. By fraudulently getting Kota Rani, Bhatt Bhikshan and Bratt Autar murdered he removed forces of resistance from his way and became instrumental in letting Islam set its root deep in Kashmiri soil. The counselors of Kota Rani did not let her have tit for tat, following their ethos of non-violence, reverence for moral and ethical values.

Terrorised by Tamur the lame - Syiid Mir Ali Hamdani along with 700 Sayyids, his followers, landed in Kashmir and drove a wide and deep wedge between the majority Hindus and minority Muslims. He dictated the Sultan Qutubud-Din to make the persecution and torture of the KPs a state policy. The code he prescribed for the sultan was a model of hatred, distrust, intolerance, bigotry and malignity against the KPs. He compelled the Sultan to officialise the presecution and massacre of KPs unless they embraced Islam. He is the architect of desecration and demolition of the Kalishree temple near Fatah Kadal in Srinagar and raising on its plinth a mosque known as Khanqah-i-Mulla.

With his repressive and precautionary measures backed by state terrorism he achieved the conversion of 37,000 KPs to Islam during the latter two of his three visits. The Sayyids headed by Mir Ali Hamdani openly preached extermination of Hindu religion and Hindu politics from the soil of the Kashmir in order that Islam might flourish and get unshakably entrenched in their place. Following in his father's footsteps Mir Mohamad Hamdani urged Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) notoriously known as the iconoclast (Sikandar but-shikan) to wipe out infidelity (Hindus) root and branch, from Kashmir and let not even a weed of it survive. The two reinforced by the rabid neo-convert Malik Saifudin unleashed a massive war against KPs with the target of genocide of this highly cultured people. Sikandar having pawned his soul to the Sayyids threw all norms of civilized life and tolerance to winds and issued an atrocious and barbaric Government decree ordering the KPs to opt for conversion or exile, flight or death.

They let loose the floodgates of a reign of terror on the KPs to pressurize them to embrace Islam. Sikander enjoyed and exulted in breaking down images of Hindu deities. No temple anywhere in the city town or village escaped paying the heavy toll. Numerous Hindus fled, numerous were converted and numerous were brutally killed. Many poisoned themselves. This marks the first ominous exodus of the Kashmiri Pandits from their native fair homes. It is this mass migration that occasioned the plight of KPs to the neighbouring regions of Kishtwar and Bhadarwah via SMITHAN pass and to various provinces of India via Batote (Bhatta wath, path of the Bhattas or Kashmiri Pandits).

In the wake of this damned decree of Sikandar, seven mounds of the sacred thread of the murdered Brahmans were burnt by Sikandar and all of their sacred books were thrown into the Dal Lake. The KPs numbering over one lakh were drowned in the Lake and were burned at a spot in the vicinity of Rainawari in Srinagar City known as Bhatta Mazar (The grave yard of the Bhattas, the KPs) beyond present day Jogilanker. According to the living memory of the KPs only eleven KP families stayed back in Kashmir, the rest, rather than abandoning the religion

of their father's, chose to migrate leaving behind their beloved homes hearths, lands and everything, only to protect their religion and faith.

Jonraj, the contemporary historian draws a graphic picture of the traumatic experiences of the first exodus. Crowds of Hindus ran away in different directions through passes and bypasses. Their social life was totally disrupted, their life became miserable with hunger and fatigue. Many died in the scorching heat. Some disguised as Muslims roamed about the country searching for their distressed families. Hindus lolled out their tongues like dogs, looking for dog's morsel at every door. (Jonraj: Kings of Kashmir). Then the Sultan exclaimed proudly that he had succeeded in exterminating all traces of Hinduism from the valley by massacring the Hindus, by ravaging, looting and ransacking their properties and more than most by kidnapping and raping there women folk. Jonraj laments the trampling of the Hindu ethos by the Yavanas (Muslims) whom he compares to locusts descending on and destroying a paddy field.

Source :

<https://www.ikashmir.net/exodus/chapter1.html>

## 2. The Second Exodus (1506-1585) :

The Kashmiri Pandits suffered vicissitudes and misfortune when under the zeal of Islamic fundamentalism the Sultans made it a state under policy to effect forcible conversion and implements it by issuing decrees to sever and chop off limbs of the Pandits, kidnap them, loot their possessions and imprison respectable people on various concocted pretexts so as to pressurize them to change their faith and become the followers of Islam, the religion of the rulers.

There is a general agreement on the point that the Chaks came to Kashmir from the land of Dares of Dartistan of Gilgit-Hunza Region. Ferocious, rugged and wild by nature they possessed great physical powers. When Shah Mir founded the Sultanate in Kashmir he found them the most suitable to be recruited to his armed forces. This brought them into great prominence.

The Chaks belonged to the Shia sect of the Muslims, like all other earlier Muslim rulers they also adopted their policy of conversion by coercion, loot, plunder arson and butchering of Kashmiri Pandits, who as a result of continual religious persecution became considerably reduced in number. There was no let up in religious crusade against them either to force them to get converted or face liquidation.

Kashmir universally known as abode of sufis and saints (Rishiwari) presented scenario of religious harmony, peace and absolute tolerance as long as there was preponderance of Hindu population, be it Saivites, Vaishavites or Buddhists. All co-existed amidst amity and maintained very cordial relations and religious intolerance was unknown. This serene and sublime atmosphere was vitiated and poisoned by the emergence of alien Muslim rulers, no matter what class of dynasty they belonged to. The holy land of Kashmir, the cradle of Trika philosophy, the abode of rishis and munis was transformed into an arena of strife and intrigues



which very soon saw not only the reversal but also the annihilation of centuries old and precious socio-cultural attainments.

Making a historical evaluation of political and social role of Islam in Kashmir and among various medieval societies, historians have adjudged Muslim ideology as parochial and stereotyped. It is in this ideological framework that, to one's amazement and shock, loot, arson rape, murder and killing have a religious recognition and sanction.

Firstly all this appears legalized under the umbrella of 'maliganeem' . Secondly any social strife leading to disorder and anarchy is permissible getting covered under Jihad (holy war). Thirdly any Muslim intoxicated with religious frenzy and going on a spree of killing without rhyme or reason is saluted as 'Majahid' or 'Ghazi' (conqueror or victor).

The Kashmiri Hindu having reached a high level of cultura attainment was found to be a soft target and was thus subjected to the most horrendous tortures and atrocities in the name of service to Islam. A right thinking person wonders whether the message of Islam was bloodshed, plunder, arson and liquidation of followers of other faiths or for spirrtual betterment and exaltation of mankind at large.

Dr. M.L. Kapoor observes that it took Islam almost six centuries to secure a strong foothold in Kashmir. Subsequently with a jet speed it galloped through and within next one hundred years over shadowed Hinduism and claimed a majorty. Quoting Jonaraja Dr. Kapoor writes "As the wine destroys the trees and locusts the paddy crops, so did the Yavanas destroy the usage of Kashmiris and the Kingdom of Kashmir was polluted by evil practices of malechhas."

While the power of the later Sultan ebbed, the Chaks correspondingly gained supremacy at the court and ultimately succeeded in usurping the throne and establishing their suzerainty over Kashmir. They consolidated their political power through intrigues, conspiracies and murders of political rivals and opponents. They spared no ferocious and barbaric means to seize political power. Though belonging to the Shia sect the Chaks were no less ruthless than the earlier Sunni rulers and showed no sympathetic consideration for the Kashmiri Pandits whose number continued dwindling steadily following the unrelenting onslaughts of the fanatical zealots.

When Fatah Khan (1506-16) proclaimed himself the ruler and ascended the throne under the title of Sultan Fatah Shah, the situation in the valley was depressing and deplorable. He tried bid best to restore normalcy and rule of law and order by curbing the power of nobles but met with no success. Contrarily he ended up in becoming a mere tool in the hands of those who counted in the echelons of power. Foremost among those were the intriguing Shams Chak, and his three trusted friends. Nasrat Raina, Sarhang Raina and Moosa Raina.

Moosa Raina succeeded Shamas Chak as the Prime Minister of Sultan Fatah Shah. He was a confident of Shams-ud-Din Iraqi propagator of Islamic faith and converter of non-believers and Sunnis to Shia sect of Islam. Hailing from Talish on the Caspian Sea he played a capital and instrumental role in converting Chaks to Shia sect of Islam. Receiving green signal from Moosa Raina Shams Iraqi opened floodgates of repression, terror and cruelty against the Kashmiri Hindus.

Hindu places of worship were demolished only to see the erection of mosques on their foundations. All traces of infidelity and idol worship were replaced by Islamic symbols and the infidels and holy thread bearers of Kashmir were converted to Islam so much so that Shams Iraqi with the help of Moosa Raina was able to convert 24000 Brahmin families to Islam. (Kapoor from 'Baharistani Shahi'). The two savages terrorized and forced their faith. A model of bigotry and tyranny, Moose mission of humiliating, looting and then murdering those Kashmir Pandits who still clung to their ancient faith besides wiping out residual Hindu temples and schools.

When persecution and religious repression became intolerable and showed indications of being tantamount to ethnic cleansing, some Hindus rallied round the leadership of one Pandit Nirmal Kanth, a respected scholar. They sent a delegation to Prime Minister Moosa Raina to appeal for mercy. Moosa Raina came down with a heavy hand on the members of the delegation. It was breaking their head against the stone wall of cruel Feteah Shah, wolfish Shamas Iraqi and pitiless Moosa Raina. The suppliants were thrown into jail, where unfed they famished and groaned and died of starvation. This forms one of the darkest periods of the black history of Kashmir.

Shamas Iraqi's fanaticism and zealot was unquenchable. His vindictiveness did not get satiated with the massive conversion of Kashmiri Pandits whom he found with suspicion and distrust. He did not spare them even after they had forcibly accepted Islam. He charged the neophytes of clinging to their original faith. He gave free vent to his wrath when he observed them chanting mantra by placing their haunches on the hand written copies of Muslim religious texts and bowing before Hindu idols. Moosa Raina set up camps for forcible circumcision of the neophytes in order to brutalise and deculturise them. Moosa Raina and his gang men would forcibly draw and haul them out of the homes and stuff their mouths with beef so as to stagger and shock them psychologically. This was intended to give them such a shaking that they would not dare retain any Hindu tradition and lest they should be exterminated, snapped their habitual links with the Hindus, their erstwhile brethren.

After Moosa Raina had gone the way of all flesh in 1513 Mohammed Shah (1517) appointed Kazi Chak, again a Shia, as his Prime Minister. Kazi Chak too gave no quarter and no time for recovery to the distressed Kashmiri Pandits. One hound after another thirsty of the blood of the unfortunate Pandits followed in succession. Kazi Chak left no stone unturned inflicting pain and heaping disasters and miseries on the Pandits. He initiated a systematic and planned campaign for the desecration and dismantling of Hindu temples and sacred places. The movable and immovable property of Pandits were looted and ravaged and ruined. It is attributed to him that he used to get 900 KPs beheaded every day for not having accepted Islam as their only mode of faith. Such kind of cruelty was unheard of before.

The Hindus hold cows sacred and revere them. The Chaks ordered that one thousand cows be slaughtered every day to wreck vengeance on the Kashmiri Hindus so as to shock them into accepting Islam. They re-imposed the dreaded punitive tax Jazia on KPs and snapped all means of sustenance from them. The contemporary historian Shukla testifies. "The Hindus were overpowered by the religious intolerance the same way as the sun is overpowered by the gray sable clouds". A KP wearing the sacred thread had to pay annual tax to the Chak rulers. For the Chaks killing, butchering, mangling and marauding was a common place routine after not worth being taken as a sensation.

During the Chak period the KPs were persecuted, snubbed, humiliated, held low and trampled mercilessly. They had to pay tax even for performing their religious rites and obligations, rituals and customs. To preserve the distinctive traits of their sect and creed the Kashmiri Pandits were bound to pay 40 precious stones to the ruler. The Chak era goes down as black saga in the history of the Kashmiri Pandits. The Chak rulers were cruel and heartless and peerless in devising ever-new methods of inflicting pain and misery to the KPs without the slightest tremor of scruple.

Those KPs who somehow escaped getting converted to Islam fled their native places to seek refuge and sustenance at safer places in the neighbourhood of Kashmir Valley. It was a massive exodus in that innumerable KPs left their homes and hearths and marched out of Kashmir. While they were fleeing for their lives, a barrage of spiteful abuse and insolent contumely was let loose on them with the aim of preventing their return to the land of their genesis. Thus the genocide of Kashmir Pandits was designed, engineered and pursued to transmute the basic character of the heritage of Kashmir, change its social religious and cultural identity beyond recognition and reduce this ancient land of Hindu sages and saints to the Muslims ghetto as was conceived by the Sayyid theologians.

When Akbar, the Mughal King, began to make inroad into Kashmir and Yusuf Shah Chalk abjectly surrendered and joined the invading Moghul forces, the rebel Yakub Chak seized the reigns of power in Kashmir. He too initiated his rule with forced conversion of the Pandits, rank communalist as he was. He made the Jama Masjid in Srinagar as the headquarters of his Jihad against the Sunnis and the Pandits. Under his instructions his fanatic Shia zealots committed numerous atrocities on the Pandits, especially on their women folk, including their massacre. He added a new feather to his cap in his Jihad for Islam by hauling up Pandits in their houses and roasting them alive. It was a new cono button to the spread of Islam in Kashmir.

Source :

<https://www.ikashmir.net/exodus/chapter2.html>

### 3. Third Exodus under the Mughals (1585-1753) :

Akbar captivated by the idyllic and scenic beauty of the valley of Kashmir visited the place three times. His court poet Maulana Faizee composed a poem to eulogize the beauty of Kashmir. It purposes to say that the dust of Kashmir is like an eye lotion and the grass and herbs are vital medicines for beauty. Faizee depicts the great Mughal's fascination for the allurements of Kashmir. Akbar initiated many plans and welfare schemes for the people of Kashmir. He attempted to expend his liberal policies to Kashmir. He entrusted the administration of the valley to a subedar.

Akbar launched a comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandits honourably in their native place. He also became aware of the importance of the role they could play in managing and running the administration of Kashmir. They in fact rose to high places of status and prestige. After about a span of thirty years the KPs again started feeling comfortable and assured of their safety and security. They found the atmosphere favourable enough to practise their faith without any coercion and persecution.

Akbar was admittedly highly tolerant and refrained from falling into the net of fanatic religious zeal. He never resorted to following the policy of persecution and discrimination against the Hindus who had earlier encountered periods of misfortune at the hands of Muslim rulers who made them targets of their religious bigotry and persecution.

On his visit to Kashmir in 1589 Akbar gleaned accounts of stirring and blood boiling plight of the KPs where groaning, being crushed to pulp under the heavy weight of the vexatious extortion's like the much deplored Jazia (Poll tax), Akbar repealed the black tax along with other taxes and fines imposed by the vicious Chak rulers. Akbar's decree abolishing them brought a relief and much sought after respite to the KPs. Many KPs who fled to other safer places their lives and honour found conditions in their home land quite conducive to their honourable return though shocked to find their homes and hearths looted and plundered by the Muslim zealots during the period of their absence.

Jehangir, Akbar's son made a departure from the path of religious tolerance and non-interference in other religious affairs. His sectarian predilection and prejudices were clearly pronounced. He shuffled his stances in his dealing with KPs and his inconsistencies were to a large extent responsible for the communal frenzy and rioting to resurface in its full fury. It was during his rule the Kashmiri Pandits were forced to marry their daughters to Moghul officers and Subedars and yet it is an irony that Jehangir is known for his "adal" and love and concern for justice. Seemingly just and equitable in his treatment of the Kashmiri Pandits, he upheld and followed in letter and spirit Islamic practices. This blots and besmears his image of being a tolerant ruler. He disapproved of and opposed matrimonial relations between Hindus and Muslims but declared that while a Hindu was forbidden by law to marry a Muslim woman. Muslim had all the license to marry a Hindu woman.

Jehangir did not lag behind in following the footprints of earlier Muslim fanatics. It was at his behalf that the flight of steps linking the temple of Shankeracharya to the river Jhelum near the temple of Trepur Sunday was dismantled and the smooth chiseled stones thus got were used by Noorjehan to erect the massive mosque at Pather Masjid in down town Srinagar on the west bank of over Jhelum. The Mughal Sardar Itquad Khan, cruel and inhuman as he was, further tarnished and blackened Jehangir's image that had already been soiled by anti-Hindu pursuits in Kashmir. Itquad Khan forced the Hindus at gun point to get converted to Islam and tortured them by levying taxes on them. As the Shia Chaks had persecuted Sunni Muslims, he persecuted the Shias.

Shah Jehan was a chip of the old block of his father and proved true to him. No less ardent lover and admirer of the natural beauty of Kashmir he did conceal the ugliness in his mind. He did justice to his faith as a Muslim in devoting himself to torturing and persecuting the Kashmin Hindu. He laughed with pleasure when a Muslim mob led and instigated by Kwaja Mam pounced on a prominent Kashmir Hindu Pandit Mahdeo's house and looted it and set it ablaze.

Shah Jehan did not fall to keep up the iconoclastic heritage of his father and did his bit by desecrating and demolishing a number of temples in Kashmir. Bernier is reliable in his conclusive finding that "the doors and pillars were found in some of the idol temples demolished by Shah Jehan and it is impossible to estimate their value." Shah Jehan showed his love for gardens by laying out Shalimar, Nishat, Achabal. He also got constructed many

mosques, but hardly cared to reconstruct temples, monasteries and libraries of Hindus demolished and destroyed by Islamic zealots preceding him.

Aurangzeb the 'Puritan King' whose life is a sharp contrast to that of his predecessors/ancestors lost no time after ascending the throne in Delhi in 1658 to convert whole of India to Islam. To fulfil this desire of his he had no hesitation in using and wielding sword. The fundamentalist emperor threw to winds the seemingly secular policy of his forefathers replacing it by one of religious harassment and persecution. He re-imposed Jazia (poll tax). While the entire Indian people shuddered at his manner of building an Islamic state, he implemented a well calculated plan according to which he started with liquidating Hindu scholars in India in general and the Kashmiri Pandits in particular. Not surprising he did not spare his own father. According to him elimination of Hindu scholars was a pre-requisite for the spread of Islam India.

Since Kashmir has from times immemorial remained a prominent center for learning, Aurangzeb appointed 14 atrocious subedars as administrators and governors of Kashmir for its Islamization. Notable among them was Iftekhar Khan who during his regime (1617-75) unleashed his pack of hounds of cruelties of all sorts to leave the Kashmiri Hindus no alternative but to embrace Islam on pain of death. During his rule of five years of hair raising cruelty and tyranny Iftekhar Khan drove it home to Pandits that their future in their land of birth was assured only if they kissed Islam, failing which they must quit their homeland forthwith; there was no third option.

In consequence of this dire threat thousands of Kashmiri Pandits succumbed to his policy of duress and treacherous religious bigotry of the vicious subeder and thus got converted to Islam. Thousands who could manage to withstand the tremendous pressure bade good bye to their homes and hearths and sought refuge in neighbouring regions to keep alive themselves and their faith that was so dear to them.

It is during the rule of Emperor Shah Jehan and Aurangzeb that Kashmiri Pandits driven out of Kashmir reached Delhi and settled down in Bazar Sitaram. Two prominent castes namely Zutshis and Shangloos reached there after a great struggle, difficulties and hardships. These castes over a period of generations had changed into Pehlvis (poets) and Topawallas, said one of the descendants of KPs living in Bazar Sitaram Shri Gulzar Pahlvi. There is a temple of ancient KPs now internally displaced communities in India believe in. It is said that Pandit Nehru's marriage procession had come all along from Allahabad to Bazar Sitaram where his marriage was solemnized. Their present priest is Iqbal Krishen Revoo.

It is during the Aurangzeb-Iftekhar Khan combine that reduced the Kashmiri Pandits as low as dust, nay they made them lick the dust. They trampled the Pandit psyche by subverting all the achievements of this advanced and learned community in social, economic and religious fields during the pseudo-secular stance of the earlier Mughals. Aurangzeb followed Islamic law with fervor showing no regard for normal laws of Hindus.

When the religious persecution and cruelties perpetrated by Iftekhar Khan and approved by Aurangzeb made life unbearable for Pandits in Kashmir, the latter decided to approach the immortal national hero Shri Guru Teg Bahadur at Anand Sahib for rescuing the Kashmiri Hindus from Islamic onslaught by his personal intervention. A delegation of 500 KPs led by

Pandit Kripa Ram learned person, called on the Guru and narrated their harrowing and woeful experiences of the diabolical misrule of Iftikhar Khan patronized by Aurangzeb whose wickedness had no parallel. These fundamentalists thrust Islam by hook or by crook. They converted by atrocities, by polluting the KPs by banning the wearing of sacred thread and tilak, by sexual harassment and forcible abductions of the daughters of Hindus and other satanic misdeeds. The delegations appealed to Guru Teg Bahadur to deliver them from their religion of the land.

The great Saint whose face radiated Cecilia light was painfully moved on hearing the woeful tales narrated by the Kashmir Pandit suppliants. This great man from Punjab went to Delhi for the redressal of the grievances of the KPs and got killed by the cunning Aurangzeb. The Guru was asked to embrace Islam but he preferred death to change his Dharma which was most dear to him. Furious Muslim zealot Aurangzeb ordered the execution of Guru Teg Bahadur. His head was slit by one Jalal-ud-din Jalad (Executioner). In this way the Guru attained martyrdom for the sacred cause of saving Hindu Dharma. Shat Shat Pranam. Guru Maharaja's sacrifice sent a shiver down the spine of Aurangzeb and it marked the beginning of the fall of Mughal empire in India.

Despite the supreme sacrifice for the preservation of Hindu religion and Kashmiri ethos, the state terrorism remained unabated for sometime more. The desecration of temples and the killings of KPs continued and the process of exodus also continued.

A gripping and inspiring and graphic account of this national issue and the unforgettable sacrifice and martyrdom of Guru along with his three disciples has been given by Giani Gian Singh in his book 'Shri Guru Granth Prakash' and another book 'Shri Guru Pratap Suraj' which are strongly recommended to the readers.

Source :

<https://www.ikashmir.net/exodus/chapter3.html>

#### 4. The Fourth Exodus (1753) :

Following close on the heels of Faqierullah's tyrannical and fanatic misrule came his diabolical son Fazal Kanth the Chief Minister whose subedar beheaded Kailash Dhar in broad day light in the open court of the Shia-Muslim Governor Amir Khan Jawansher and gave a contemptuous watery burial in the river Jhelum. Then he went amuck killing and plundering the KPs. This episode so alarmed and panicked the KPs that they felt helpless and desperate. The whole environment became so hostile to them that they fled to Poonch and Kabul for safety and shelter.

Physical torture in the most ruthless fashion, mental agony, emotional, spiritual anguish fleeing punitive taxes, indignity heaped on the male members of the hapless community. Unchecked harassment and shameless molestation of women folk and more than most the commendable remarkable and unbeaten will to preserve the faith that had been good enough for their forefathers could perhaps have been the reasons that compelled this exquisitely cultured and literate, non-violent and highly tolerant community with rich and radiant heritage to flee the land of their genesis, of their Saints and Sages, of their mature ancestors four times

by the time the sixty seven year black and cursed rule of the Afghan butchers in Kashmir expired. The capture of Kashmir by Sikhs marked the deliverance of the KPs from the barbarous Afghan governors.

Source :

<https://www.ikashmir.net/exodus/chapter4.html>

#### 5. The Fifth Exodus :

Despite having been made victims of repeated humiliations relentless atrocities, a series of reigns of terror, religious fanaticism of the worst type known to the world, conversion by sword and fire, social and economic repression, population decimation and what have you at the hands of savage Muslim rulers for over 500 years, the vibrant and resilient spirit of the KPs despite diminishing numbers, never got dampened or sagged. In spite of deathblows to their culture, ethos and faith they managed to keep alive their centuries old heritage and tradition while they had to pass through fire and water.

This microscopic minority recognized and acclaimed and feared as an extra-ordinarily intelligent stock even by the barbaric rulers, both local and alien always maintained a unique cultural attainments and inherent goodness and shunned crookedness even when they served in key positions in the courts of the despotic, bigotic brutal Muslim rulers barren in all human attributes. This nationalistic group preferred to break but did not bend. It did not easily rush into making compromises with the iconoclasts even at the cost of their lives. It was the great Pandit Birbal Dhar whose political maturity and maneuvering paved the path for Maharaja Ranjit Singh to re-establish a Hindu Government in J&K state.

Aftar Kashmir slipped from the hands of the Afgans back into those of the Hindus in 1820 the sound of bells restarted emanating from temples that had earlier stood for over four centuries wearing the mantle of mourning, whose ruins spoke volumes in a loud and clear voice of the stones of religions and ethnic fanaticism and intolerance suffered by their builders at the hands of those who hold their faith superior to all other faiths but which deems as sacred and halal, dispossession, loot arson, molestation, rape and slaughter of infidels particularly the Hindus. The Sikh rule ushered in an epoch of peace for all. In some instances the Sikh rulers may be guilty of harshness but they were not cunning, cruel and fanatic religious zealots as their predecessors were. With the passage of time the Sikh rule displaced symptoms of aging and the Dogras seized the golden opportunity to step in and take charge of administration of the combined provinces of Kashmir, Jammu and Ladakh.

It was a glorious period of all round development and reform. It signaled the initiation of the modern history of the state. All the Dogra rulers, though Hindus, believed in and adhered to religious tolerance and harmony. Maharaja Hari Singh, a refined and cultured person, had good will of all his subjects to his credit. Lover of freedom and self-rule he was progressive in his thoughts and deeds.

That the British rulers of India followed the policy of divide and rule is well known to all. To safeguard their entrenched supremacy they went the whole hog in communalising politics and drive such a wide wedge between the Hindus and the Muslims that there could be no meeting

point for them. How could they approve of the communal peace and amity the Sikhs and the Dogra rulers had established? Maharaja Hari Singh had to encounter political agitation triggered by the cunning, British from the very inception of his rule.

Young Kashmiri Muslims, fresh from the universities of Northern India, particularly AMU, Aligarh where they had met and come under the influence of burgeoning Muslim leaders in India and who were hectically propagating and campaigning for Pan-Islamism, formed an organization for holding frequent meetings. It came to be known as Muslim Reading Room. This crop of new spring literate young Muslims became jealous of well-educated KPs holding comfortable position in the state administration. They became frustrated and desperate at their failure to enter Government service and hold responsible and influential and remunerative posts by direct appointments. So they commenced a campaign against what they dubbed the Hindu State. They had the covert backing and blessing of the British India Government chair and the Maharaja had no knowledge of it.

His address at the Round Table Conference in London in 1931 as chairman of the chamber of princes convinced the British rule that he was a hard nut to crack by virtue of his being haughty and independent in his ways and, therefore, he could not toe their line nor have any truck with them. The British carved a situation in which stage was set for the desperate educated young Muslims to enact scenes of violent political agitation. And the Muslim press did not lag behind in keeping pace with the agitators. It let loose a fierce and venomous propaganda against the Hindu Maharaja; later on Anglo-Indian press joined hands with its and echoed its refrain.

Sheikh Mohd Abdullah was the most prominent. voluble, eloquent, firebrand activist of the Muslim Reading Room Group. He was all fire in his outbursts against the procedure guidelines of the civil service Recruitment Board for selection and appointment of candidates to higher posts strictly on the basis of merit where the KPs stole a march over their rival aspirants among the Muslims. The Sheikh and his comrades in arms would not take it lying down. After over a hundred years, the KPs unfortunately became an eyesore for the simple fault of their out-shining others with their higher education and technical qualification. The Sheikh minced no words in voicing his resentment against the established system and convened mammoth meeting of Muslims in mosques and made fiery provocative speeches instigating the audience to rise in revolt. Communal tension reached the point of ignition needing just spark to engulf the state in uncontrollable conflagration.

The 13th of July 1931 will go down as a black day in the history of KPs in modern times. On that ominous day the Kashmiri Muslims repeated their history vis-a-vis the KPs. On that Day City of Srinagar and its suburbs witnessed a depressing and demoralizing spectacle of loot, arson and murder of Kashmiri Hindu property and lives. The Bombas and the Khakas had, it seemed, revisited the Valley. On the incitement and directive of the Muslim Reading Room party the Muslim hoodlums made the unfortunate KPs direct target of their wrath, frenzy and madness. The Goondas and the anti-KP Muslims had a hayday.

They went berserk everywhere particularly in downtown Srinagar looting KP shops and houses and setting them on fire. The booty they lard their hands on in Zaina Kadal and Maharaj Gunj was distributed. It was in fact, the looters day and the real martyrs were the KPs. Numerous KPs were killed and many wounded. Legend has it that there was a communal orgy at



Kanikoot, Tehsil Nagam, Distt, Badgam, a few KMs away from the city of Srinagar. About a dozen houses of the KPs were ransacked, looted and then torched and several KPs were murdered for absolutely no fault on their part. Sheikh Abdhullah in his ever first address to the KPs at Sheetalnath in Srinagar, is on record having blamed it on the goons for the communal disharmony resulting in loot and murder of the KPs.

A mob of furious Muslims gate crashed into the central Jail in Srinagar to extricate one Qadir, a bearer of a European, who was being tried there for sedition. The state police posted there fired on the rowdy mob killing ten agitators. The Muslims crowded and directed their vengeance and vindictiveness against the soft and easy targets, the KPs, who were taken unawares and who had a long history of meeting violence with non-violence as sufferance has been their badge since they came into contact with the Muslims in Kashmir. Those responsible for flouting law and order and creating mayhem and glory on a spree of loot and murder were eulogized and glorified as Freedom fighters and exalted as martyrs for the cause of rights of Muslims. They went scotfree and the Maharaja's administration proved too weak and ineffective to afford protection to the terrorized KPs.

The KPs received no privileges and prerogatives from Dogra rulers. They were not specially favoured community. The Dogra rulers were as strangers to them as to the Kashmiri Muslims. There was no partisan or partial tilt towards the KPs who, like the Ajax rose from their own ashes, regenerated and renewed themselves by hard incessant labour and struggle. Speaking with regard to all fairness and objectively, the sufferings of the Muslims taken apart during the one hundred and twenty six years of the rule of the Sikhs and the Dogras in Kashmir pale into significance and dwindle to nothing when contrasted with the sufferings of the KPs during the five hundred years of the Muslim rule.

No Sikh or Dogra ruler employed state power for proselytising Muslims into Sikh or Hindu, for demolishing mosques to raise temples on their plinths and ruins, for torturing and persecuting Muslims for following their faiths, for extorting exorbitant sums of money by way of religious taxes, jazia, baj, zaridood or tax on burying their dead and maintaining their identification marks. No Muslims were tied back to back and put into sacks and consigned to the Dal Lake. No Muslim women were made victims of their carnal lust, debauchery lechery and voluptuousness. No Muslim family had to marry off its young budding daughters in teens or chop off their noses to disfigure their faces and make them repulsive lest they fell prey to the lusty eyes of the rulers and their ministers. And yet the Hindu rulers are denounced as tyrants despots, fanatics and anti-Muslims. It is the pot calling the kettle black.

KPs were equal partners in the quit Kashmir movement launched against the Dogra rule. As India awoke into freedom in August 1947 from the yoke of British imperialism, Dogra rule too reached the end of its tether soon after. While freedom bells were chiming for the majority community, the unfortunate KPs were in for a grave surprise and shock turning the reveling and jubilation of freedom into a melodrama for them. Pakistan, the new born Islamic theocratic state, clandestinely engineered and launched an aggression on Kashmir by sending armed tribesmen backed up by Pakistan army across the state border on the northern and north-western side. The religious zealots of Kashmir acted as guides to these hordes of savages from NWFP who behaved even worse than their Afghan ancestors. Besides indulging in wholesale loot and arson they killed numerous KPs at Batapora, Gushi and Tikkar in the present Kupwara district and at various places in the district of Baramulla, Badgam and outskirts of Srinagar.

Tens of thousand of KPs in the Northern, Northwestern and Northeastern Kashmir had to flee their homes and hearths and seek refuge in Srinagar. A good number of them left the state for good, thus setting the stage for the fifth exodus. The local Muslim zealots joined hand with the wild tribals in forcibly converting many KPs to Islam on pain of torture and instant death. And numberless were the Hindu places of worship and Dharamshalas that were reduced to ashes. The emancipated, the far sighted and those with the sense of the past history of Kashmir since the coming of Muslims and those who were sagacious enough to sense which way the wind was blowing and what trends the future had in its womb lost no time in seeing through the intriguing game plan of what was in essence pan-Islamic fundamentalism raising its ugly head. Mir Waiz Yousf Shah, a grand uncle of Umar Farooq, the present Mirwaiz of Kashmir became cat's paw for Muslim clergy.

At the behest of M.A. Jinnah he corned on in Pakistan a campaign of canard of concocted and alleged tales of persecution of Kashmiri Muslims under Dogra Hindu rule and pioneered the process of infecting the psyche of the Kashmiri Muslims with the ideal of separate quam (nation). Barring in Srinagar and the southern Kashmiri they acted as guides and accomplices of Pakistan army supported Pakistan tribals, in their crusade against the infidels for the glory of Islam by means of murder, rape, loot, arson and conversion by coercion. According to a Reuter's dispatch in 1947 the mass rape at Baramulle eclipsed the massacre at Rajouri in Jammu province. With a view to grab Kashmir by force Pakistan flauntingly violated Maharaja Hari Singh standstill agreement with India and Pakistan and in a way pushed him to execute the instrument of accession to India. But for the landing of the Indian troops at Srinagar who stalled the advance of the tribals almost at the gates of Srinagar, the gori things would have happened, had they entered the city.

When the popular Government came into existence in free Jammu and Kashmir it started imperceptibly implementing the resolutions of the Reading Room Party. We cannot help making allowance for the occurrence of some pleasant and unpleasant things in the course of transfer of power from one form of Government to another. These are bound to happen. But when the mind of the people at the helm of affairs is warped and deformed by narrow, sectarian, communal, and religious considerations and prejudices one cannot hope for fairness and justice. The newly sprung Muslim Ministers coupled with the bureaucracy and executive of the same creed made the KP officers and official's targets of their vendetta for being good and loyal employees of the erstwhile rulers. Resorting to compulsion and coercion. they brushed aside all moral restraints in subjecting the KP employees in subordinate positions to injustice and gross unfairness and vexations and whimsical orders. Their rights by way of their seniority, qualification and experience were treated as trifles.

They were relegated to second class status and treatment. Was this their dream of Naya Kashmir they had aspired to build in a democratic egalitarian secular framework in unison with the Muslim freedom fighters? Having gauged and scanned the trend of the Government and having been disillusioned and embittered with the gap between its theory and practice, some self respecting KP intellectuals abandoned Srinagar. Notable among these are Dr. R.K. Bhan, Prof. Soom Nath Dhar, Prof. T.N. Raina, Prof, S.N. Koul, Prof. P.N. Dhar Secy to Late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Veer Vesheswer and others. There are innumerable prominent KP personalities who felt compelled by hostile political and economic circumstances to bid unwilling good bye to their dear native places. They found the climate of the paradise charged with sinister and inauspicious and revengeful mist which would in due course of time drop as brutal

hail on the poor KPs leaving them cold, shivering and stunned. People like Sh. R.N. Koul Advocate, (Ex-Registrar Supreme Court of India), Sh. P.N. Koul Karihaloo (Ex-Governor, Reserve Bank of India), Sh. Zinda Lal Koul (Charge do affairs), Sh S.N. Bhat (Indian Railways), Sh. J. N. Ganjoo (Secretary, Indian Embassy in USA) who died recently and among others Munshis, Kaws, Saproos. Tengs. Gassis, Thusoos, Wangnoos and so on migrated to better and safer pastures.

The post independence period in J&K state witnessed an unmistakably slow and steady exodus of the KP community owing mainly to the following prime and significant factors :

- a. Break down of law and order,
- b. Ever dwindling and waning chances for securing government appointments in spite of their requisite merit and qualifications,
- c. Abolition of Zamindari system, which though welcome step in principle, resulted in turning thousands of KP landowners into paupers as no compensation in lieu of loss of their land was granted to them. Nor was any other means of rehabilitating them sought with the inevitable result that they became victims of rural indebtedness and,
- d. Discrimination of admission of KP youth to higher educational and technical and professional institutions.

The year 1948 dawned quite ominous for the KPs. The tribals of NWFP again supported by regular Pakistan army re-raided north Kashmir, this time from Titwal Karnah-Keran in Kupwara sector. Meeting no resistance of any name the raiders wiped out all KPs staying behind in the region following the earlier raid of the Pakistan army and tribals in 1947 on the heels of the partition. Unfortunately Mahatma Gandhi, Father of the Nation, met his dramatic end in the national capital in the course of his prayers for national reconciliation and emotional integration. Here in Kashmir a campaign was let loose to harass and humiliate KPs for alleged allegiance to RSS and those who were thought to be stooges of Maharaja Hari Singh, the then ruler of the state. Distinguished and eminently respectable KPs were summoned time and again to Halqa (Block) National Conference offices for interrogation by members of the Halqa peace Brigade officers.

They were subjected to unbearable disgrace, humiliation and even tortured for personal animosity and political vendetta. Not tolerating this insult many people belonging to various social and political groups were disgusted and ran away to escape facing dire consequences. Thus a good number of KPs of repute holding dignity, honour dear to them said good bye to the Valley never to re-enter it. There was obviously no state authority to look to the affairs of law and order. Only the peace brigade constituted at the time of Pakistani aggression ruled the roost and held the supreme sway. They enjoyed the full liberty to settle their personal scores.

A noted historian and political associate and co-worker of Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah. P.N. Bazaz records that "those who dared to oppose National Conference were treated as 'Pariah' dogs. They were arrested in thousands, their hands tied with ropes behind their backs and dragged like animals through the main bazars of Srinagar and other towns". The former Prime Minister Shri R.C. Kak was taken from a subjail to the High Court on foot with his hands tied

with rope made of dry paddy hay and enroute Muslim, National Conference workers pelted stones, cast dirt and rubbish on him and even spat at him. And in the courtroom the N.C. activists manhandled him doing him physical violence while the judge looked on helplessly and dumbly.

Now the soil was propitious for Sheikh Modmmed Abdullah to transform into reality his cherished dream that had been lurking in his mind since the Reading Room Forum days. ZAMIN KISSAN KI. In 1950 an act called "The J&K landed Estates Abolition Act of 2007 (1950) vide Act No: XVII of 2007" was passed. It purported the abolition of big landed estates and their transfer to the actual tillers. This act came into force with immediate effect without any consideration for payment of compensation to the landowners dispossessed of their land. The landowners could retain 182 canals of land with no tenancy rights.

According to the provision of the Act, the landowner would get 1/4 th of the yield of 182 canals but no share of the hay. Sheikh Sahib's dream came true when he rapturously witnessed the KP irreparably hit by his land reform program. With one hit below the belt he gloated quietly at the thought that KPs had been sent sprawling with no chance to recover and fight back. Reduced to the state of paupers the aggrieved KPs knocked at the doors of justice but in vain.

The land reform blitz that turned the tables out of justifiable proportion on the former land lords and changed social relationships and traditions so suddenly generated enough heat in the dispossessed land lord community to which KP community was no exception.

To the tenants, predominantly Muslims, the Act came as a boon and blessing and they received it with jubilation and revelry. On the landlords, mostly Hindus, it fell like a guillotine. They protested and cried hoarse against the unfair and partisan and jaundiced deal given to them. The game plan of the Sheikh was clearly seen through. The cardinal objective of the Act was to deprive the landlords of their rights as proprietors and help the tenants at the cost of the former. The judicious approach ought to have been made to find a path to secure fair play and justice to both the classes. The Act, it became clear, was remotely motivated by such consideration and indicated antagonistic and hostile approaches only to see that KPs were reduced to penury.

The Act was sheerly based against the Hindu community in particular and heavily tilting in favour of the tillers, thus making one class poor and the other suddenly rich. The Act was categorically against the spirit and the interest of natural justice according to the bereft and distressed landowners. The writer has personally been witness to the spectacle of so many KP Chakdars starving and living below poverty line. Deprived of all means of sustenance for their families and livestock they distributed their starving cows among their well off neighbours and bewailed their destiny.

Chances for appointment and promotions were blocked, by taking into employment undesirable and incompetent persons from the majority community ignoring the deserving and qualified and technically trained hands. It became a state policy to ignore KPs in matters of appointment and give first preference and priority to take a Muslim applicant or to wait till one became eligible or available.

A KP teacher with a good deal of service to his credit was made subordinate to his Muslim taught who was upgraded and promoted to be his Head Master. Here is an instance on how the administration of education was deliberately and crudely maligned. Once all aspirants to the post of headmaster were called for an interview and the venue was the open lawns of the palace on the bank of the Jhelum. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs their number ran into hundreds. Sheikh Sahib, the then Prime Minister and incharge of education, was in a fix what he should do. He hit upon a plan. He asked them to fall in two rows - one of those tall in size and the other comparatively short or medium. This having been done he had a look around and looked still indecisive and confused since both the rows consisted of both Hindus and Muslims.

Ultimately utilizing his sweet whim of absolute power, he resorted to absolute corrupt practice of pick and choose by pointing his finger, like Hitler, on tall Muslim aspirants, like Mr Abdul Ahad, Mr. Kak and others singling out about 100 teachers from the lot ignoring veteran teachers like Sh. Gangadhar Dhar, Sh. Sham Lal Madan, Sh Raghunath Kaul, Sh Keshov Nath Veshin and so many others. This naturally entailed a breaking of hearts and genuine grievance of unjustified unwarranted and brazenly unrestrained open discrimination against the KPs. The realization that Kashmir is not a place for the future of their children nor for their posterity began to gain ground and later events confirmed it so that it turned into a conviction deeply rooted in the treatment meted to KPs in every sphere of life in Kashmir and they started turning their gaze beyond the borders of the state to find sustenance to their survival. They were snubbed and subjected to various indignities and deprived of avenues and opportunities to display what mettle they are made of. Thus started an imperceptible exodus of KPs for pastures elsewhere.

The state Government, controlled, regulated and steered by the National Conference passed new laws designed to protect the interest of the majority community. One of these was the Agrarian reform law brought into abolish tenancy farming. All land that was cultivated by tenants was taken away from the landlords and transferred to the tenants. It was a welcome step in socialistic sense. But the axe fell on the KPs in the Valley as the new law made them suddenly paupers and deprived them of source of their income and livelihood. Many of them who were solely dependent on land turned into paupers.

Since the bulk of the landlords affected by the Agrarian reform were the KPs, the reform as a tremendous success. It was along cherished desire of the ruling National Conference to snatch away the land. The money that was to be paid to them for their land barely added to a fraction of a year's income from it and in any case, it was to be paid at some future date not specified. Decades have passed since the KPs lost their ancestral fields. They have still not received the money. The compensation case is still pending resolution. No attempt was ever made to rehabilitate the ex-owners of the land.

As it all this were not sufficient Caesar appeared in the form of a ghost. Mr Ghulam Mohd. Sadiq, said to be a liberal, emancipated, progressive and secular person passed, as state Education Minister in Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd. Ministry an impugned order/circular that only 30 percent seats at the maximum be allowed to the KP boys seeking admission to academic colleges for higher education, not to talk of admission to professional institutes. What tale hangs thereby is obvious. And it was allowed to take effect when the state followed the declared policy/program of free education to all up to postgraduate level. In order to curtail and curb and demoralize the brilliant KP youth from obtaining admission in academic and

professional colleges in the state various impediments and hurdles were put up in the form of admission committees, selection boards and boards for categorizing and classifying the admission seekers.

The tacit purpose was to dissuade and deprive them of all possible opportunities for progress and advancement. How ironical it is that the son of Muslim Chief Secretary was deemed and acknowledged as backward while his Jamadar-Ramjoo's son was declared forward and not entitled to the award of the backward certificate! The resultant mood among the KPs was naturally underlined by preference for life and death some where else to economic strangulation and deprivation in the so called Naya Kashmir where communal prejudice and discrimination had become order of the day under the patronage of rulers known for secular credentials. There were writ petitions of scores of KP teachers and admission seekers in the Apex Court of the country and the state High Court for redressal of their genuine grievances and injustice meted out to them on the basis of belonging to the KP community.

The powers that be minced no words in telling them that India is a vast country and KPs could go upto Raskumari (Cape Comorin). Where will the poor Muslims go? This was the import of the discourse of no less a person than late Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah with a deputation of the KPs that called on him to give vent to their protest. We believed him to a majestic edifice sheltering us all. The signal was loud and clear - the KPs had better pack up and get scattered over the rest of India, it would be of no avail to them to stay back. Sheikh Sahib's words made it abundantly clear what his motives were.

The agitation by the Muslims following the disappearance of the holy relic at Dargah Hazratbal in 1964 and the KP agitation following the conversion of an underage KP girl Parmeshwari to Islam was a severe setback to the existing KP social fabric. It aggravated the process of exodus of KPs that was going on quietly un-cared for by the so-called nationalists.

While concluding the era from 1931 to the end of 1985 I find it quite pertinent to quote here a few significant excerpts from the book "History of Kashmiri Pandits" by justice Jia Lal Kilam, also known as Sher-e-Babbar Kilam. He terminates his history at the point of time of the conversion of Muslim Conference to National Conference. Why he did so is intriguing and worth probing. He writes "But here we stop. What followed is matter of recent history in which the present writer has also played his humble part. It would indeed be embarrassing for the present writer to discuss facts that form a quite recent history".

A person of Kilam Sahib's status and caliber and with his rich and varied store of information and personal experience on the subject should not have chosen to cut it short and apply the break abruptly to bring the history of the sufferings of the tormented community and the events having bearing on life after the conversion of the Muslim Conference into National Conference to a grinding halt. It should be apparent that there could not be any justification to abandon the narrative kept alive by his compelling historical impulse to see things as they are, to find out true facts and store them up for the use of posterity. He ought not to have left the community in the lurch by leaving the story untold. Obviously there must have been more compelling and urgent considerations - political, social and last but not the least personal, that must have constrained the roaring lion of the KP community to become tame and quiet. Is not discretion the better part of valour?

Source :

<https://www.ikashmir.net/exodus/chapter5.html>

## 6. The Sixth Exodus :

The mastermind behind the planning and architect of Shah Masjid within the premises of an ancient temple inside the New Civil Secretariat area at Jammu was Mr. Gul Shah 'Padsha' and his brigade of hoodlums and hooligans (sirwallas), after he had snatched political power from his estranged brother-in-law Dr. Farooq Abdullah. Gul Shah held the reigns of power as Chief Minister for a spell of twenty months. His regime was the worst ever in the post independence history of the state. Every Kashmiri, even every child who had attained age of consciousness then, will testify that Kashmir saw maximum number of curfew days during Shah Sahib's mis-rule. He earned the appellation 'Gul Curfew' not unjustifiably and undeservedly. Chaos and confusion held its sway all over. Law and order suffered a complete break down. Anarchy spread its tentacles in political, social and economic area. Corruption was rampant.

The valiant people of Jammu did not take Shah Sahib's heroic deed lying down. They poured out into the streets. There were demonstrations and protest marches throughout Jammu against this avowedly Islamic act of the CM in a secular state. Shah was not only haughty but also unpredictable and deeply vindictive. Accompanied by some of his trusted Muslim officers and bureaucrats like Sheikh Gulam Rasool, the former chief secretary, who could boast of brave exploits of having evicted some KPs from EP Quarters, Gulshah entered Srinagar on 20th February, 1986 and provoked the Muslims to communalise the situation in Kashmir in view of what had happened in Jammu and deliberately raised the boggy of 'Islam Khatre Mein Hai' (Islam is in danger) and excited and raked his Lushkar (Brigade) known as Lushkari Gulshah Padshah among the local people into a violent and bloody stance and then directed them towards Kashmiri Pandits for no fault of theirs. At his behest they went on a unleashed spree of desecrating their temples and places of worship and shrines, torching their cowsheds and molesting their womenfolk.

This time it was in south Kashmir that had in the post-independence time remained untouched by the loot arson, murder, molestation and rapes by the tribal invaders with the active support of Pakistan in league with its stooges in Kashmir. They had not suffered the ordeal and trauma that the KPs in Baramulla district had passed through in the wake of partition in 1947. The then Congress (I) President, Mufti Mond. Syed, the former Union Home Minister, patronized a member of his clan Qazi Nissar, a crude and confirmed fundamentalist and theologian to spearhead the movement against the KPs in Southern Kashmir where the latter commanded a vast influence and audience.

This provided the hawk like Farooq Abdullah a golden opportunity to go for fishing in the troubled waters. The anti-KP tirade of repression spread like wild fire. The main targets were their temples to what was a lightning operation temples at Vanpoh, Lukbhawan, Anantnag, Salar, Fatehpur, Akoora and so many places in South Kashmir and those in and around Sopore in north Kashmir the birth place of Jamaite Islami leader, Ali Shah Gillani were rampaged, demolished and leveled to ground and destroyed in fire. It was like Sultan Sikandar the iconoclast (butshikan) having been recalled to life. Putting the pieces together it is very easy to discover that it was a planned design of the pseudo secularists and the Muslim fundamentalists

with Qazi Nissar in the vanguard hatched not only to destroy the property of the KPs but also it bred a fear psychosis in their mind so as to facilitate and precipitate their early flight from the Valley. It was the shadow of the coming events. It did cause a tremor in the KP psyche and many a sagacious person was wakeful enough to read the writing on the wall and take time by the forelock. Not a tear was shed by the then Government of the State or the Central Government.

The light that Mahatma Gandhi had sighted in Kashmir was beginning to fade. The KPs were frightened and armed by the psychological onslaught by the forces inimical to India on the patriotic community of the KPs. The episode of 1986, in fact, made two things crystal clear:

1. Kashmir is for Kashmiri Musalman only. Islam can exist and flourish there and there is no place or scope for any other religion or its followers to co-exist in Kashmir.
2. The slogan of secularism with reference to Kashmir in particular is a farce and a facade rendered hollow and a hoax by the passage of time and the behaviour of the State and Central Governments viz. Kashmir secularism as a concept and way of life had become cold and dead and lay buried deep in the same Kashmir where, during the bloody days proceeding and following the partition of India, the Father of the Nation, Bapu had seen a ray of hope of survival of communal amity and harmony; It turned out to be a myopic sight. The myth had got exploded with a bang, whether they heard it in India or not. They heard it in deed, but they paid no heed or were indifferent or did not care about it, since it touched neither their skin nor their heart. It touched them nowhere at all.

The Indian intelligentsia and leadership of all hues and labels remained mute spectators. The mass media looked the other way. The Indian Army and security forces stationed in the Valley could not come to the rescue and succour of the unhinged and terrorized KPs. The State administration gloated and laughed up its sleeve at their plight and anguish. It was at this juncture that the KP lost his faith and trust in both the State and the Central administration. Both betrayed his faith and turned out to be pusillanimous in the extreme. The very soul of India was gasping for breath; the very corner stone of India's composite cultural tradition was dislodged; the backbone of Indian polity was broken; the spirit of the constitution of India was hacked.

It appeared that the State Administration and the anti-KP and anti-national elements were in league with each other for the former did nothing to assuage the emotional pain caused by the communal violence. The KP looked at the situation in a historical perspective and its analysis left him in no doubt that it formed a link in the chain of persecution of KPs at the hands of the Muslims. Those who were not complacent and doubted the effectiveness of the Indian polity took the cue and planned their quiet exit from the Valley where the latter-day Chengezes and Tartars in the form of Gulla Shahs, Farooqs, Syed Mir Qassims, Qazi Nissars etc. with their inherited convert's blood and zeal were there to carry on their tradition in a modern drafty manner. Thousand of KPs saw no redeeming feature in the way things were shaping and found no option but to make preparation or rather be in a state of preparedness for deserting their motherland physically and mentally. The truth is that numerous families disposed of their immovable property and left the valley for good.



Source :

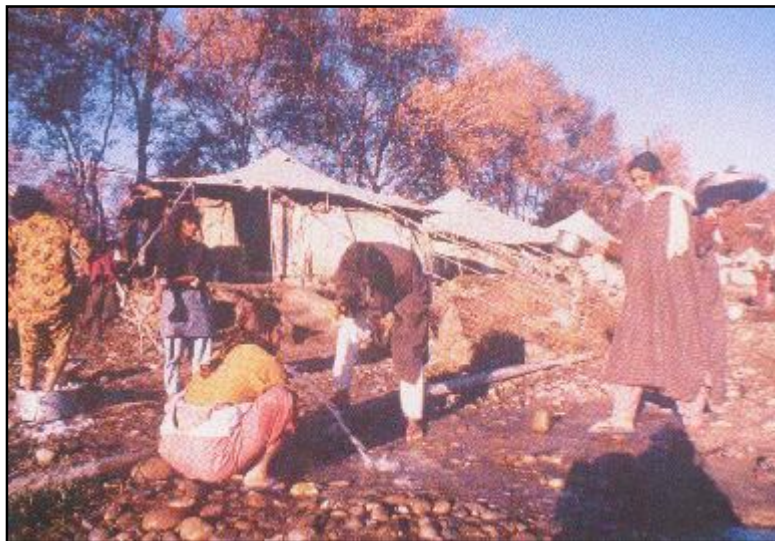
<https://www.ikashmir.net/exodus/chapter6.html>

## 7. The Seventh Exodus :

The wounds inflicted on the Kashmiri Hindus in the 1986 disturbances were not allowed to heal. Looking back now the episode looks like a mild arm twisting of the State administration and that of the so-called mighty India to gauge their real might and will-power to deal with recurrence of such disturbing situations. The unexpected speed with which anti-India and anti-Kashmiri Hindu designs, the seeds of which had been sown over the years, began to unfold themselves was the most terrifying thing about it. The madrasas financed and run by the Jamaite-Islami had poisoned the mind of the younger generation with Islamic fundamentalism under dictation from the theocratic Pakistan. The Jamaite-Islami activists had crept into the services at a large scale. They had found their way even into the top rung of the State machinery and also influenced and won the members of the bureaucracy that crossed over to their side. So for all practical purposes the State bureaucracy was hand in glove with pro-Pak elements and forces that had most sinister plans up their sleeves.

Though Dr. Farooq Abdullah saddled himself in power by allegedly rigged elections in 1987, the power had, as a matter of fact, slipped from his hands. The Muslim United Front, a new fangled Muslim outfit owing political allegiance to Pakistan did not take its defeat at the busting lying down and vowed to get its own back. A monster with virulent fangs was harnessing itself for the charge. The Government headed by the nincompoop chief minister was too inefficient to crush the monster raising its horrible head.

Law and order machinery that had developed cracks became steadily defunct. Farooq Abdullah openly admitted having sent numerous Kashmiri Muslim youth to Pak for training in arms. He released about seventy of them soon after they had been arrested. It is clear that armed insurgency and subversive activities were receiving state patronage and protection. Soon the forces inimical to secularism and democracy, having got sufficiently pretty good time and long rope found the time ripe for sounding alarm calls of terrorism which before long became the rage through out the length and breadth of Kashmir Valley.



Then entered Gen. Zia-Ul-Haq into the Kashmir arena. Addressing a top secret meeting in April, 1988 at Islamabad he said, "Gentlemen, let there be no mistake, however, that our aim remains quite clear and firm the liberation of the Kashmir Valley. Our Muslim Kashmiri brothers can't be allowed to stay with India for any length of time now. The Kashmiris have a few qualities, which we can exploit. First, his shrewdness and intelligence; second his power to persevere under pressure, and the third, if I may say so, he is a master of political intrigue. If we provide him with means through which he can utilize these qualities he will deliver the goods".

Spelling out his methods of combat in terms of moral and physical means 'he singled the Kashmiri Muslims to get hold of the power apparatus of the State by political subversion and intrigue and seek collaboration of favoured politicians' for subverting all organs of the State. He went on to say to elaborate his Kashmir Plan "OP TOPAC" we plant our chosen men in all the key positions to subvert the police force, financial institutions, the communication net work, whip up anti-Indian feelings amongst the students and peasants preferably on some religious issues. Detailed plans for the liberation of Kashmir Valley and establishment of an independent Islamic State in the third phase will follow".

The speech of Gen. Zia-Ul-Haq speaks volumes for the on going insurgency and terrorism in Kashmir Valley and Doda and which is now escalating to other parts of the State. The message to the Kashmiri Muslim was loud and clear and urgent declaration of Jihad, holy war, against the infidels ruling from New Delhi. But the beginning was to be made with hitting the Kashmiri Pandit, a very soft and easy and non-retaliating target.

Give the dog a bad name and kill it, they say. That is what they did with the Kashmiri Pandit. Posters were pasted outside Mosques and at selected busy places labeling KPs as agents of India and branding them as traitors; accusing that the KPs had always and invariably acted as traitors and stabbed in the back of Kashmiri Muslims and their sectarian movements. It was quite easy to incite the motivated, indoctrinated Muslim youth in particular and other Muslims in general, and make them rally one and all under a religious theme to fight the enemy, the KP in the first instance.

Thus fundamentalists axe felt on the KP and drew the first blood. The fundamentalists exhibiting their terrorist credentials included government employees more than most police officials. The Muslim policeman posted for the security of the Mahant at Vicharnag killed with his rifle butt the Mahant Pandit Keshav Nath, for refusing to embrace Islam. The savage killer Mohd. Yusuf, represented only the tip of the iceberg of the all pervading deeply embedded fanaticism, religious prejudice and intolerance. The truth about the motive and intentions of the frenzied Kashmiri Muslims obsessed with Islamic fundamentalism and was no longer concealed. Their battle against Hindu Indian would be half won by decimating the KPs, by the ethnic cleansing.



This immediate goal with far reaching consequences had, been dinned into the ears of the rank and file of Kashmiri Muslims by all from within and without the State in unmistakable terms. The Allah-Wallahs rode rough shod on idol worshipping Hindus and openly exhorted and urged their mammoth congregations to concentrate all their attention and efforts for the establishment of Nizame Mustafa. The KPs scanned the public mood, the collaborative nuances of the government and the trends of the future. They became wary but did not lose faith in the saner leadership among the worked up Muslims and the capability of the Central Government to act to shield its cherished values of secularism, religious freedom, pluralism, national integrity and solidarity. It proved a highly mistaken conviction that got shattered more easily than most brittle glass at one jolt.

Days went by and each day saw the floating of a new terrorist and militant outfit. Their number went on swelling steadily but surely. JKLF had been there in the vanuward. Among others that crept up were Al-Jehad, Dukhtarane Milat, Muslim Janbaz force, Ikhwan-ul-Muslameen, Allah Tigers, Hizbul-Mujahideen and many more by scores. Hindu temples, shrines and their properties came to be attacked, looted and damaged or torched not to speak of Hindu houses. This after all, did not augur well for the KPs. All was not well for them. The rot had set at work, the canker had eaten into the entrails of communal harmony. The Islamic bigots and frenzied zealots gone crazy were prowling about drawing up their lines for whole sale onslaught. The air, the mist, the sunshine, the good earth, the whole environment tingled and vibrated with threats of danger in security, instability and gory days ahead. There was no lull, a storm was brewing.

Frightened Pigeons that was what the KPs felt like. This feeling was not anything new to the KPs. History bears eloquent testimony to the fact that since the coming of Muslim rule till today Kashmiri Pandits have been the worst victims of terrorist violence. The recent trouble in the Valley started in 1989 when some miscreants masquerading as followers of Islam began to frighten the Kashmiri Hindu Community and others by resorting to violence.

"Within a span of a few years not less than 300,000 members of the Hindu minority had to leave their hearths and home, they are now leading a miserable life in the camps at Jammu, Delhi, Chandigarh, Amritsar and other places, " writes Himanshu Shanker Jha (HT, August 15, 1995). The writer further adds " It may be recalled that the first mass exodus of Pandits started 500 years ago when an irreligious despot, Sultan Sikander made a proclamation that if a Hindu did not become a Muslim he must either leave the country or be killed; the persecution of Pandits continued during Aurangzeb's regime too. Teg Bahadurji the 9th Sikh Guru boldly

faced death at Chandni Chowk in Delhi in 1675 to protect the lives and honour of Kashmiri Pandits".

Subsequent to the passing away of the great son and iron man of India, Saradar Vallabhai Patel, no Central Government had noticeable hold on the State bureaucracy and the local leadership. The Indian army stationed in the State was sitting on the fence and non-interfering and, therefore, a mute witness to all that was happening in Greater Kashmir. Perhaps they had no role for anything other than disposing off surplus diesel and petrol all along the National Highway from Nandni (Jammu to Barsoo, Anantnag).

In free democratic socialistic and secular India too, the KPs were direct and easy targets for humiliation, and vandalism at the hands of the Kashmiri Muslims. The Jews desecrated the Aqsa Mosque in distant Israel but the poor KP had to pay for it through his nose. For what fault? He was a Hindu and belonged to the minority community. Passing through the Hindu localities of the city of Srinagar the angry demonstrators protesting against the Jewish high handedness shouted 'Yeh tamasha nahi hai, yeh matam dari hai' if a Hindu dared look from a window above or if one passing by the roadside stopped to look on. An anecdote of those days comes to my mind and is worth mentioning here.

Two ladies, one European and the other a national leader, Mrs. Krishna Hathi Singh on a tour of the valley, were staying at Nedous Hotel. They came out on the verandah to have a look at the passing protestors. The fanatics, crazy with religious frenzy and fervor rushed through the lawns and caught hold of the two ladies. Without being severe to them they only thrashed their pelvic regions and loins with fresh nettle that produced red spots all over the skin affected by the nettle-sting. The ladies moaned and groaned with pain and mental agony. The European lady had to get hospitalized for a couple of days and on recovery she said she had traveled widely and she had widely read but never encountered such brutality as she was made victim of. The first target incidentally of the vandalism was the Mission School at Fateh Kadal followed by two Churches in Srinagar City.

Who are these fanatics and the fundamentalists? They are not the descendents of the alien rulers like the Chaks, the Afghans and the Mughals etc. They are none other than our foster brothers, born and brought up in the Muslim culture and tradition. Gen. Zia-ul-Haq would call them Brahman Zadas. But I fail to understand their psychological standard, which is still poor, deficient, crude and coarse. Professing to be more loyal than the King, they typify the proverbial convert's zeal. When Z.A. Bhutto, former Prime Minister of Pakistan gave up his ghost at the gallows following the Machiavellian machinations of his patronized Gen. Ziaul-Haq they burnt effigies of Zia and his stooges in the Jamat-e-Islami were roasted alive. They blocked roads with uprooted trees and smashed electric and telegraph posts. The KPs, the ever frightened pigeons, remained imprisoned within their houses for many a day without water, vegetables and essential commodities because the entire Muslim community was in mourning since their liberator had been mercilessly killed by his own creation.

Now see the other side of the picture. When on 17th August 1988 Pak President Zia-ul-Haq was killed and torn into shreds in a plane crash, the Brahman Zadas repeated the mourning cry "Yeh matam hai koi tamasha nahin" as they moved in procession through lanes and by lanes and Hindu localities in particular. They coerced the KPs to switch off the lights and virtually imposed civil curfew on the bewildered and dazed KPs, the Muslim women pounded their

chests and beat their breasts with closed fists and the Muslims on the whole behaved as if some dearest members of their families had died.

In his "Op Topac" aiming at the liberation of the Kashmir Valley, Zia-ul-Haq had clearly hinted at adopting a coordinated use of moral and physical means, other than military operations as methods of combat. It was just a political operation, it had tacit religious, cultural, communal aspects. The means evidently signaled an uncivilized, undemocratic, unlawful and irreligious line of action. It was a clarion call for Jihad, a holy war enjoined upon Muslims as a religious duty in the service of Islam. Which could be the best form of that service? The cut and dry method was elimination of the microscopic KPs who had ever and all along been branded as symbolic presence of India in Kashmir. There being only a handful of them, their liquidation was a simple and easy goal to be achieved and thus bring to fruition insignificant item on the Jihad agenda, that of complete, ethnic cleansing.

The path to 'azadi' began to be paved with the blood of the KPs. All Kashmiri Muslims of all shades and hues, Of all denominations and nomenclatures, converged and united, rising above their divergent conflicting beliefs and convictions, in the unholy mission of raising the edifice of 'azadi' with the bricks and mortar of the bodies and blood of KPs. The names of KPs, young and old wanted to be sacrificed in the service of Islam came to be pasted, as public posters, at the entrances of mosques in the localities where. the innocents doomed to death had been living for generations in peace and amity. The lists appeared at regular intervals and were there for any one to see. The names of the condemned stood in a sort of rank and merit or order of priority. They were dubbed as 'mukhbirs', spies working for interests of India, and hence meriting no mercy. The war against the arch enemy India was inaugurated with blowing the bugle against KPs for whom India had done no favour out of the way.

There was a mushroom growth of militant and terrorist outfits. Trained in the use of deadly sophisticated weapons and armed to teeth by Pakistan, they multiplied in scores, all moving ahead concertedly with the plan of striking terror, all pervasive terror, before embarking on a spree of preplanned murders.

All news papers published from Srinagar carried no news worth the name other than declarations like 'Mein Mukhbir nahin Noon' (I am not a spy) 'Ailane la taaluqui' (confession of parting links with political parties and serving of such affiliations) and open unmistakable threats to the KPs of dire consequences for their past and present anti-movement (anti azadi) and traitorous behaviour. Thus the message of the terrorists that Muslims of Kashmir should gear themselves up and be in readiness to pounce and swoop upon the soft target, the defenseless KPs, reached every home. The developments in Romania and Chekoslovakia became models for the insurgents who believed that following these models for their goal of azadi was almost a foregone conclusion and a matter of days. The religious frenzy and Islamic euphoria was on a spiral surge.

The terrorists were emboldened beyond their expectation when almost half a dozen hardcore terrorist were released in exchange for kidnapped Rubia, daughter of the Union Home Minister Mufti Mohd. Syed. By abjectly surrendering to the demand of the terrorists the Central and State Governments licked the dust and acquiesced in the wide spread belief that the terrorists were a power to reckon with. The follies galore of the two Governments boosted up the morale of the militants and terrorists tremendously.

They marched on making one inroad after another. Suddenly mosques boomed and zoomed day in and day out with pro-jehad and anti-India and anti-Kaffir (anti-Hindu) slogans, speeches, sermons and discourses. No relevant superlative can convey the degree of venomous and provocative propaganda blared at maximum pitch from the mosques. At night they beat empty tin canes and tin roofs to inject terror into the mind of KPs. Several shocks had already been given to them including a sizeable warning and threats in black and white through some dailies that the KPs must quit the Valley within 48 hours or overstay on pain of death. The *Alsafa* edited by Mohd. Shaban Vakil was in the vanguard publishing these gory threats.

This paper virtually became the mouth piece of the terrorists and played a capital role in fanning its flames and carrying them to remote corners of the Valley. Ironically Mohd. Shaban Vakil was gunned down in his office in April 1991 for having criticized a militant group. But by then he had been instrumental more than anybody else in inflicting maximum damage to the KPs in his vocal advocacy of the terrorist cause. 'Aftab' and 'Azaan' joined in the choice songs in praise of the mujahids. And incidentally now 'Ahadnama Kashmir' written by Sonallah Bhat tracing the history of the state from the Buddhist period to recent times, stands banned by AL-Fateh force and the AI-Faran.

The night of January 19, 1990 will remain the most unforgettable one in the memory of every Kashmiri Pandit child who had attained age of consciousness of surroundings, and grownup men and women. That night stands singled out as the harbinger of the terrible catastrophe which beforelong engulfed the panic-stricken unfortunate community. That night flood gates broke open and the world resounded with war cries inciting the Muslims that it was time they came out into the streets breaking the chains of slumber, to welcome the ringing of the dawn of a new and Islamic order. That night seemed to be fated to ring out the life of every Kashmiri Pandit child, man and woman.

That night signaled that all was over with them. That night tolled the knell of what Kashmir and oft-quoted Kashmiriat symbolized. No male Muslim man or child stayed back in doors but streamed out to swell the crowds whose shouts of 'death to India', death to Kafirs rent the skies from Qazigund to Karnah. That night in the pall of darkness the land of rishis would get saturated with the warm blood of Kafirs. That night demons masquerading as neighbours, friends, co-workers came out in true colours, for a sea change had swept over the so-called peace loving Kashmiri Muslims. Gone with the wind was their facade of secular, tolerant, cultured educated outlook replaced by intolerant Islamic fundamentalist stance. The urbane and the rustic, the high and the low, all rubbed shoulders in wild frenzy in their common war against the KPs huddled up together indoors while their fate hung in balance.

They read the clear writing on the wall, their days in their native land were numbered and they must catch time by the forelock to escape the impending doom. The seventh exodus was surely in the offing. The pusillanimous Central and State Governments had neither the will nor where with all to crush the monster of Islamic fundamentalism that had entrenched itself in the Islamic Republic of Kashmir. The terrorist living and acting in absolute fidelity to bear creed of intolerance emanating from Muslim fundamentalism set in motion the Juggernaut of physical liquidation of KPs on selective basis. The terrorist outfit Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front stole the march over other groups.

The terrorists who were never tried of styling themselves as followers of Islam, as their camp followers still do, adopted the evil policy 'kill one and frighten one thousand'. It was in pursuance of this policy that 1000 KPs were butchered in 1990. The terrorist outfits vied with one another in out Heroding, Herod and devised so barbarous and horrendous methods of torture and murder that would make Sikandar the iconoclast, the Hamadani rulers, the Chaks and the Afghans turn in their graves and salute their present progeny for improving upon and breaking all their records in savagery and inhumanity. Have you ever before heard of or read of such cruel acts of violence as stitching the lips of the victim before killing him and nailing the chest and feet of the poor man till he bled to death? Those who crucified Christ were kinder.

The implementation of the policy began with extinguishing the beacon lights among the KPs comprising intelligentsia, the political workers, professors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, well placed officers in the State and Central Governments and others. The stale and hackneyed accusation or charge in every act of murder was that they had indulged in anti-azadi activities. There was not to reason why? There was not to ask why? The terrorists had their own interrogation centers and courts awarding penalties and death sentences. Very few KPs were afforded opportunity to explain their position or prove their innocence.

There was the Jamate-Islami injunction and commandment "Bahas Mubahasa se perhez Karen" (shun argumentation). So the allegedly unwanted and undesirable persons were killed summarily and point blank in lanes and by lanes, streets, thoroughfares, in offices, at homes, any where the choice was that of the killer who more often than not made a show of his chivalry in the Islamic tradition by gunning down a poor KP in full public view so as to earn the appellation and applause for being a mujahid. Kill an unarmed, defenseless person caught unawares and become a mujahid. JKLF drew first blood with the pre-planned murder of Shri Tika Lal Taploo, an advocate and prominent and vocal member of the provincial wing of BJP.

He fell to terrorists bullets quite near his house. He had always helped and served the Muslims of his locality without any compensation and was very popular with them. The Muslims of his locality mourned his death and joined the mammoth funeral procession. His death sent a powerful tremor down the spine of the KP community and caused real tangible concern. The ground had been broken for the vicious process to gather momentum. As days passed the heads of prominent KPs rolled down. No day passed without registering the murder of an innocent KP here and there. Shri N.K. Ganjoo, a retired Judge was gunned down at an arm length in broad day light in Hari Singh High Street, Srinagar. The dead body lay in a pool of blood with no police anywhere and no Hindu daring to touch it, lift it or cover even with a sheet of paper. The Muslim passers by and shopkeepers watched the scene with jubilant faces and hilarious hearts. Much later Muslim policemen removed a dead body dragging it in the manner of dead dog. The scene was televised a number of times.

It became a common place to hear Kashmiri Muslims greeting one another with the gleeful news of the fall of a KP. The day angered well if the day dawned with fresh warm blood of a KP. A medieval tribal trait still alive in Kashmiri Muslim mind despite the gloss of advancement in its modern sense.

Those who know Shri P.N. Bhat, a front rank advocate practicing at Anantnag, will vouch safe how much popular he was with Muslims in his town. His skull was shattered with a volley of

bullets. No Muslim uttered a word of condolence for him; why should they? It had brought glory to Muslim zealots.

Shri Lassa Koul, Director, Doordarshan Kendra, Srinagar, was gunned down just outside his house at Bemina. He was returning home at night after doing his duty. Even a layman could suspect the foul play of DD employees in his dastardly murder.

Shri R.N. Handoo, P.A. to Governor, was killed outside the gate of his house at Narsinghar just as he was entering the official vehicle to take him to his office.

The next day, in its early hours, witnessed the merciless and brutal killing of Shri B.K. Ganju, a young budding and extraordinarily intelligent and efficient Telecom Engineer, within his home at Chotta Bazar, Srinagar. He hid in a charcoal drum and the assailants failing to find him were about to leave when his neighbours whom he trusted too much redirected the blood thirsty savages to conduct a research. A dozen bullets were pumped into the drum killing the helpless trapped weak man. When his young widow appealed to the jubilant killers to shoot here down along with her two baby daughters, they marched out chuckling "who would mourn over his dead body?"

The following day heralded the murder of Shri A.K. Raina, Deputy Director, Food & Supplies, Srinagar by terrorists in his office. It was literally dying in harness. His subordinates stood aloof and watched the proceeding joyfully.

Prof. Nila Kanth Lala, MA (Political Science, History and Education), extensively read and informed person, with a gift of gab, in fact an institution in himself, was done to death by his own Muslim taught of his own area. After his retirement from Government service he had been serving in Islamic Higher Secondary School; What a reward?

Prof. K.L. Ganjoo an agricultural scientist at Sheri Kashmir University of Agriculture Science & Technology at Wodhura Sopore (his home town) was kidnapped and tortured by his own Muslim students and friends before he was shot dead while wading the Jehlum under dictation from the terrorists. His wife Prana Ganjoo was kidnapped and gangraped and then dismembered. Her body was not returned to her relatives.

The followers of Nizam-e-Mustafa revived the medieval barbaric age when Shri Brij Nath Kaul, a driver in SKUAST, Shalimar campus, Srinagar was tied by his feet to a jeep driven by the terrorists. Muslims praying five times day, witnessed the ghastly manner of dealing out death and enjoyed his defacement. This belittles the brutalities of the Afghan rulers of Kashmir.

Shri D.N. Mujoo had done a lot for educating the Muslim youth of his area, Fateh Kadal, Srinagar before he moved Rawalpura. Besides being a Theosophist, an unassuming Scholar, an educationist who took pains to experiment 'with J. Krishnamurti's dynamic thoughts on education, Shri Mujoo was all his life a real teacher. An old man of over 70 years, tall and healthy he passed his time in philosophical contemplation. He did not dabble in any politics and was least dangerous. Yet the terrorists intruded into his house seized him and stabbed ruthlessly at the dead of night. His wife was also assaulted and injured but left as 'dead'. The poor old man bled pale and cold.



Shri Sarvanand Koul 'Premi' truly brimmed with love for all. A distinguished poet in Kashmiri he contributed much to enrich the Kashmiri Literature. He translated the Bhagvat Geeta into Kashmiri verse. He had a copy of the Holy Quran besides the Hindu scriptures in his library. Destroying his library was not enough. The terrorist hounds led Premi and his son Virender some distance away from his house. His forehead was nailed at the tilakmark, his eyes were carved out; his limbs and bones were broken; his body was aeced and then butchered in the same manner. What impressive examples of Islamic tolerance!

Smt. Sarla Bhat, a nurse in SKIMS Srinagar was suspected of being an informer since the institute was a den of other terrorists who included members of the faculty as well. At the behest of Dr. A. A. Guru she was gang raped by a number of Muslim bad characters of degraded order before she was stripped naked, mauled and murdered in a shameless manner that no human being born of woman can conceive. She was thrown on the road for all to see what respect they had for womenfolk.

Smt. Girja a school teacher in Bandipora had gone to school to collect her salary and called on a friendly Muslim colleague. The architects of Nizama-e-Mustafa kidnapped her from there with the Muslim lady restraining herself from interceding and thwarting the evil designs of the Islamic zealots. The possession of her body was halal; according to religious injunction. They gang raped her, ripped open her abdomen, placed her on band saw and sawed her into two halves.

Kumari Babli and her mother Smt. Roopwati of Pulwama met a horrible end at the hands of terrorist brutes.

Shri Balkrishen Tutoo, an officer in agriculture department became the victim of callous bloodthirsty militants who barged into his house to abduct and kill his brother. Tutoo pleaded for mercy and resisted, he was fired and critically wounded. He was rushed to the hospital where the doctors on duty allegedly completed rest of the work.

Mustaq Latram for whose release the AI-Faran outfit wants release of the four foreign hostages was allegedly involved in the gruesome murder of four members of a family at Mallapora, Habbakadal, Srinagar. The victims at the instance of some neighbours gunned down Jawahar Lal Ganjoo, Mrs. Ganjoo, Badri Nath Koul and his wife Lalla, living under one roof, leaving behind two unmarried daughters and two innocent teenaged boys and an old 85 years paralytic mother.

Asha Koul was abducted from Achabal-Anantnag. She was taken to a KP migrants abandoned house in Srinagar and gang raped for many days and tortured. Her body was found in a decomposed state in the very house on 8th August in 1991.

Babli Raina, R/o Sopore a teacher was gang raped in her house in presence of her family members on 13th August 1990, before she was killed an act we have never heard or read in the recent history of any civilized country. There are many more reported and unreported cases of brutal and hair-raising treatment meted out to women as memorable examples of Islamic gallantry.

No religion enjoins upon its followers such inhuman, cruel and unnatural acts. And the Muslims more educated in number than the uneducated ones hailing from well to do homes indoctrinated and motivated by Pakistan Government backed ISI prowled about like man eaters looking for KP victims. Killings were carried on and unabated in ever new devised forms that beat all past records of cruelty and ferocity during the 500 years of Muslim rule in Kashmir. The KPs went on receiving threatening letters, death warrants and highly disturbing telephone calls not in-joke but in real meaningfulness. For paucity of space I cannot allude to comprehensive details brutal and ruthless murders of hundreds of Sarlas, Rainas, Ganjoos, Tikoos, Kouls, Mujus, Tutoos and so on. Hundreds of KP martyrs who fell at the altar of Indian secularism and the splendid heritage of India have remained unsung.

The KPs remained at the receiving end, the terrorists were ruling the roost as the gun had given them unfettered liberty and power to kill, where and when they chose. Even teenagers and boys under ten could be seen openly carrying lethal weapons slinging down their shoulders under their pherens. The unrestrained hunting of the cream of the KPs became as much a pastime as it was a well planned and calculated design to achieve ethnic cleansing with the ulterior aim to establish Islamic way of life and governance and merge the Valley with Pakistan, the so called defendant and guardian of Islam in the world. Each case of murder sent waves of shock after shock and tremor after tremor in order to shed and break the spine of the Pandits.

There was no law and order worth the name as it was under the control of the terrorists who counted the shots. The collusion or nexus between the law enforcing agencies and the gun trotting terrorists was conspicuous. In fact the Kashmir Police was there as it is still now infested with anti-national elements and moles that provided protection and patronage to vandals and criminals. It was a total Muslim revolt nay, armed insurgency against the KPs as a matter of first preference.

No saner voice rose from among the enlightened literate Muslims of Kashmir. They sealed their lips, curbed their conscience and smothered their soul in astonishingly mysterious silence. Muslim ladies proved more ferocious and furious than men. Humanity and humanism in Kashmir vis-avis KPs were dead and cold and buried. Gods and Rishis seemed to have fled the valley leaving the dumb founded and bewildered KPs. It was at the total mercilessness of Islamic zealot's fanatics and fundamentalists whose writ prevailed. There was in fact, one exception: late Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq who did not toe the line of the terrorists.

He had the temerity to declare that all that was un-Islamic. His voice was a cry in the wilderness and the Mujahids professing to be impassioned followers of Islam too silenced it for its nonconformity. Did the Prophet preach intolerance towards adherents of other faiths? Is this the path to the type of peace in his write up 'Tolerance is key to peace' the eminent Islamic scholar and authority on Islamic scripture Maulana Wahid-ud-Din Khan writes: 'Tolerance is not an act of compulsion. It is a positive principle of life expressing a noble side of a man's character. The existence of tolerant human beings in a society is just like blooming of flowers in a garden.'

So far as Islam is concerned it is an entirely tolerant religion. Islam desires peace to prevail in the world. The Quran calls the way of Islam the path of peace the state of peace can never prevail in a society if a tolerant attitude is "lacking in the people...." (Excelsior 2.9.95) What a

sublime ideal, theoretically! But what an agonizing gulf between the ideal and the ground reality, between theory and practice of Islam as is expounded by the Maulana.

Now, when the entire Kashmiri Muslim populace was up in arms yelling out in bass and treble disaster and death to the Kafirs, meaning there by clearly and explicitly the KPs whom they, without any valid justification, alleged to be a major stumbling block and obstacle in their illusory dream of azadi and integration with Pakistan; when the Muslim leaders like Ali Shah Geelani, Qazi Nissar, Abdul Gani Lone, Prof. Saifu-Din Soz, and their ilk by their well guarded muteness concurred with the acts of loot plunder, vandalism, arson, murder and desecration of temples and shrines; when acquaintances, neighbours, friends, colleagues and co-workers bore daggers in their eyes and spat fire in their speech; when none in the majority community deemed the KP minority as God's trust with them and therefore imperative to be protected; when the KPs encountered hostility and strangulating atmosphere of insecurity within and without their homes and places of work; when their women folk were ridiculed, humiliated, physically and sexually harassed and terrorized; when their political and religious freedom were snatched from them; when their basic rights of life, property and freedom were trampled; when discussion, dissent and disagreement become a crime and irrationality and obscurantism, fanaticism and fascism became the order of the day; when the KPs were given a bad name and all sorts of notorious accusations leveled against them adding up to their being black sheep and traitors and above all when the barrels of Klashnikoves and AK-47s were vomiting bullets freely at them and respect for age and dignity of womanhood was no consideration; when in nutshell the Kashmiri Muslims, on the whole, became brutalized and impervious to the fundamentals of Kashmiri culture and heritage the KPs pondered to retrieve themselves from the traumatic and bleak situation.

What could they do? How could they pull themselves out of morass of depression and mounting tension eating into their entrails and sapping their vitality? How could they manage to pull on when life became intolerable and they became prisoners feeling choked in foul contaminated air? How could this essentially peace loving, non-violent, non-aggressive, liberal, secular community of 4% completely unarmed choose to go on warpath against the majority of 96% armed to the teeth and financed by a hostile neighbouring power? How could they bear with the indignity and insult, which their womenfolk were subjected to? Could they forget their racial memories of their faith and honour during the repressive rule of the Sultans, the Chaks and the Afghans? History was repeating itself and they had to rise to the occasion which was clearly on the cards of the terrorists who had sold their souls to satan. The seventh exodus was forced on the KPs and the most regrettable thing about is that it happened in secular India that claims J&K to be an integral and inalienable part of the Republican, the most precious jewel in the crown of India, whose President and the Prime Minister are both Hindus.

The insurrection of the Kashmiri Muslims could, for the sake of argument, be defended were it directed against injustices and lapses, omissions and commissions of the Central and the State Governments from time to time or that it was the outcome of economic and educational neglect of the Kashmiri Muslim alone. They are more affluent than the other segment of population in the whole J&K state and many other states in India. They are more than enough pampered lot. their advancement in every aspect of life during the last about fifty years has been phenomenal; they have come a long way while as their counter parts in the other two provinces of Jammu and Ladakh are leagues behind. This is not an over statement as facts and figures speak for themselves.

The insurgency in Kashmir by the Kashmiri Muslims erupted at the behest and incitement of Pakistan essentially in the name of their religion, Islam. Several other strides like Pan-Islamism, world Muslim brotherhood, conquest of the World by Islam in the Hitlerian fashion, flow of petrodollars, regional ambitions etc. were twisted to it to form a formidable force visualizing/envisaging the Islamisation of the whole of India. We who are the sons of the soil and have lived among them, have our fingers on their pulse and know their chemistry better than those sitting in the ivory towers in New Delhi and gazing on the storm raging in Kashmir. The reigns of political power have all along been in the hands of their elected representatives and bureaucracy predominantly Kashmiri Muslim. Policies and plans were formulated and shaped not in Jammu or in Leh but in Srinagar which has B1 status while as Jammu and Leh have no status at all.

Political masters they were; they wanted religious, i.e. Islamic supremacy. Hence Jihad and Nizame-Mustafa. The explicit character of slogans raised and popularized drives home the irrefutable point, "Zalimo, O Kafiro Kashmir harmara chod do", Kashmir main rehna hai, Allah-ho-Akbar kahna hoga' "Musalmano jago, Kafiro bhago", "Islam hamara maqsad ha Kuran hamara dastur hai, jehad hamara rasta hai", "Kashmir banega Pakistan" and a host of other highly provocative communal, pro-Islamic, sectarian and anti-secular slogan and martial songs.

As an immediate reaction there could be no other alternative for the KP than have recourse to flight from his homeland. The seventh and may be the last exodus was forced upon the KPs to get them scattered and battered in unfriendly circumstances like fish out of water and easily achieve an ethnic cleansing. The Islamic jihad had its eye on the genocide of the KPs. There is no mistake about it notwithstanding the observation of pseudo secular, shallow and hypocritical guardians of human rights. The Muslim fundamentalists at least did succeed in their avowed and cherished goal of ethnic cleansing and islamisation. if not in getting rid of Indian presence in Kashmir.

While the Islamic zealots and mujahids fired cannon shots at secularism and coexistence and Indian nationalism and buried them alive hundred fathoms deep, the Indian State watched and, waited effeminately. No amount of pressure could arouse it to action. The very corner stones of the Constitution of India were being not only questioned and challenged but also knocked out so that the entire structure of the Nation was crumbling. All cries and appeals for constitutional guarantees and safeguards and protective remedies were falling on deaf ears of the rulers smug in their vice regal mansions.

Even in these circumstances the KPs sought, advice and protection from their Muslim brethren who cared least to have any communication with them. The intentions and the motives of the adversary were clear in their slogan "Asi gache Pakistan, Batav ros Batnev san (we want Pakistan, inclusive of Kashmiri women and exclusive of Kashmiri Pandits). It needs no elaboration.

In this context what could the KPs do? To whom could they look up to for a healing balm to their bruised hearts? Their leadership, if any, was in disarray. They did not need any guide or leader to give them a green signal to pack up and quit, highly literate sagacious and impregnated with sense of history as they are now. Everyone unto himself. It is travesty of truth to put the former governor Jaghmohan in the dock for having induced the KPs to flee

because he had some specific drastic, line of action up his sleeve to deal with the Kashmiri Muslims up in arms and teach them a lesson leaving the KPs untouched and unscathed. It is a myth, a farce, and a figment of prejudiced Muslim imagination.

The position and State of KPs in the post independent Kashmir was like that of the sacrificial lamb bedecked with garlands of flowers, vermilion, bandanvar and other tokens of having gone through the ritualistic operation and ready to be led to the altar for the offering and in innocence licking the knife of the butcher. In the latest instance the state had failed him, defrauded him, deserted him and he stood forsaken and Forlorn. He murmured plaintively:

"Bul Bulo, Mat Ro Yeh Ansu Bahana Hai Mana,

is Kafas Kai Kaidiyo Ko Gul Machana Hai Mana.

Chod Kar Tufaan Mai Yeh Keh Kar Malah Chal Diya,

Dub Ja Manjdhar Mein Sahil Pae Aana Hai Mana.

Mai Hun Voh Fariyadi jiska Sunane Walla Chal Basa,

Mai Hu Voh Ansu jise Daman Pe Aana Hai Mana".

The Muslim and Sikh taxi drivers and truck drivers came handy and with broken bruised heart and tears streaming from his eyes a KP bade adieu to his home and hearth. Upto the moment he took leave of his Muslim neighbours and actually departed from his door, he waited and waited for Samaritans to come and assuage his agony. But the security collapse was so total that no neighbour could come orward with any degree of assurance of safety. In explicit terms they conveyed their utter helplessness even against the gun wielding fundamentalists of their mohallas, not to speak of any power and strength to prevail over the Muslim bigots from other mohallas to spare the helpless KPs from II becoming their fair game. When all avenues and prospects of safety and security of life over and above all things were tapped and found to be unreliable and treacherous and no guarantee of life the KPs could not be naive to take chances and meet their doom wittingly.

Embracing the lot of a refugee was the last and the only resort and recourse for him to I' take. When the air was resonant with shouts of Muslim big- I' ots crying extermination of the kafirs. The take over of Kashmir by the Muslim terrorists in the name of Jihad woke the KPs upto the fact that they had very little time while the terrorist's mounting capacity to destroy was keeping abreast.

Would that we had a Khushwant Singh to document the aftermath of migration, nay fleeing of the KPs from their paradise to the plains at the time of the year when it is virtual hell on this side of Patnitopl It was falling from frying pan into fire. Caravans of buses, trucks and taxies with puzzled and anguished men, women and children huddled in them looked like sheep being taken to the slaughter house. Searching questions seemed writ large all over the faces. What had they done to deserve such severe inhuman punishment? Why this banishment? Where was the protective umbrella of the State Authority? The Kashmiri Muslim intelligentsia, the Muslim press dancing to the tune of the ISI commands, terrorists belonging to numerous outfits and

the Kashmiri Muslim political leaders taking oaths of loyalty to the Indian Constitution but in the depth of the heart owing allegiance to anti-India subversive force spread the canard that the Kashmiri Pandits left Kashmir on their own in search for greener pastures and that nobody compelled and coerced them to quit their homes and hearths. Living in the most advanced epoch of the 20th century and thriving on the spoils of Indian secularism and tolerance these philistines retain characteristic traits of tribal culture of the middle age.

How much truth and fact their propaganda contains is for anybody to see and verify by himself. You can scarcely imagine a more shameless, blunt and deliberately concocted white lie than this. No doubt, the highly qualified and educated youth among the KPs deprived of opportunities and jobs in the State did reluctantly migrate to destinations outside the State in the search of pastures. But why would the entire minority community migrate? Were they like lemmings that periodically rush to the sea and drown themselves? The heard instinct along the KPs is not so pronounced and dominant as it is among the Kashmiri Muslims. Who will be so idiotic as to call Migrant camps at Nagrota, Muthi, Purkoo, Mishriwalla and other localities at Udhampur, Kathua, Delhi and elsewhere green pastures? Would that they too were driven to greener than these green pastures!

We have no count how many KPs young and old men and women, gave up their ghosts in the refugee camps because of sun strokes, snake bites, cardiac breakdown and other unnatural causes of death unknown in the Valley. What a plight the KPs braved through, my countrymen, in unfriendly, hostile climate! It left one dazed, stupefied and infuriated to see the "Kings" of yesterday turned into "Paupers" of today looking up for succour, accepting charity that they dispensed so freely in their own homes. Thousands of KPs are even today in the ninth year of the exodus languishing and decaying in the pigeon holes, stables and cells that the built up quarters are, as they are counting their days in the torn tattered tents that fall with stormy winds and are swept away by heavy rains and rise again with fair weather.

In the thirties of this century when Jawahar Lal Nehru visited the slums and hovels of industrial workers in Bombay and Calcutta, he was infuriated to see the sub human conditions and environs of squalor in which the workers lived. Would that he had lived to see the people of the land of his forefathers, the land that he loved most, that he integrated with the body of India and called it its head and crown, living a life worse than that of the creatures of the forests and fields. Three four generations of hundred percent literate enlightened decent KPs cramped and crumpled into one room or tent! The pangs of the loss of home and homeland by the KPs is aptly mirrored by W.H. Auden's poem. Say this city has ten million souls on the theme of the misery and lament of the German Jews rendered refugees by the persecution and torments of Hitler in the name of ethnic cleansing. Nehru's ancestors too had been victims of Islamic fascism in their own day.

The KP refugees live worse than sub human life, by modern standards.

Consider the fall out of the forced migration of the KPs from their paradise. Families have become disjointed and fallen apart. Father has parted from his sons, brother from brother. For a pretty good time people did not know where their kith and kin had taken refuge, in what city or town or village. They lost all track and there is a shocking communication gap particularly on occasions of sadness and sorrow in a family. Wedded partners have got dispersed with

distances of a thousand kilometers separating the two. They have a reunion once in a blue moon. This has adversely affected their children.

The growth rate of widows and widowers has amazingly increased. Those in the evening of life rendered lonely feel terribly deprived and alienated not having their children around them to depend on in their distress.

The petty agriculturist lost his land, the orchardist his orchard and the shopkeeper his source of sustenance. The economy of these classes of KPs lies shattered to pieces and their laments during these six years of exile have fallen on deaf ears, the dole of Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1500 can in no case mitigate their stress and strain. How they keep their body and soul together is a miracle. But for the continuation of payment of salary to the refugee KP State employees, their economic problems would have compounded their miseries to an unimaginable extent and what the condition would have been like staggers the imagination.

The one notable segment of KP refugees is that of the school and college going youth, the latter particularly. Their normal process and plans of education have been totally unhinged and ruptured. Suddenly they found that neither the present nor the future held any hope or promise for them. Their admission to local centers of learning was and is still vehemently opposed. Against their will they are knotted to the Kashmir University which bothers two hoots about their educational career and future prospects.

Examinations are time and again postponed or delayed and there is absolutely no schedule of any sort to follow. What though it takes six years for a student to qualify as a graduate? Most of the graduates have overage and thus been deprived of employment opportunities in Central Services, they belong neither to Kashmir nor to Jammu. They have no cake either to eat or to have it. Bypassing the appointed rules and regulations for recruitment the Central Government holds no examination for the Kashmiri Muslims in their vain efforts to appease them.

Central teams visit the Valley and order appointments on the spot. No such extraordinary concession is extended to candidates from the Jammu region or the refugee KP aspirants to various posts. There is no HRD Program for the educated unemployed KP youth whose potential gets dissipated in unproductive activities. There will be no denial of the fact that 23000 Kashmiri Muslim young men have been appointed by the Central Government in various Departments, particularly the Railways, B.S.F and C.R.P.F., Banks without any test or criteria simply to appease them. There was a duel between the Railway Minister Jaffer Sherief and the BJP M.Ps on the floor of the house during question hours in the Indian parliament in Monsoon Session 1995.

The civic amenities at the refugee camps are conspicuously non-existent. The inhabitants of these camps and their spokesmen and leaders frequently complain through the press of the lack of hygienic conditions. It is a cry in the wilderness. Nobody is interested in heeding to them. It does not pay to do so, for the helpless KPs have no mischief value. They are a spent force left to their lot to rot in sun and shower.

Yes, they are in for humiliation after humiliation. For any thing under the sun, be it petty or of some consequence, he is required to furnish affidavits duly endorsed by authorities appointed by law or State. Proofs of this kind or that to authenticate his claims. The Photostat business is in boom. Probably no ration card of any citizen in any State of India is bound to have a joint photograph of the cardholder, and his spouse pasted on the front page or anywhere inside. As if declared offenders and criminals, with their records and files duly maintained at zonal offices and then at the Relief Commissioners office. No new ration cards have been issued to them since 1991 as is usually done in the case of people in Kashmir and Jammu divisions on yearly basis.

At every level and at every step they are made victims of exploitation, corruption, discrimination, neglect and injustice. The migrant employees are not paid HRA and CCA while as Muslim employees in Kashmir Division get these at double rate for contributing nothing by way of service. Is not anti-social and anti-national activity at a premium?

The inmates at refugee camps have virtually become collection of living curios, as if in museums. From time to time delegations, national and international, land there to have a look at the species of the lost tribe of KPs. No visit to Kashmir is complete unless you have visited the human zoos. Activists of human rights outfits, known and unknown ambassadors and envoys, double faced politicians Central Ministers flock to the sanctuaries where the KPs enjoy the status of being protected species like the Hangul (the Kashmiri stag).

The camp dwellers assemble time and again with the hope and faith that their fate is going to be decided. They narrate the horrendous and hair raising circumstances and episodes related to the rise of ISI backed Islamic fanaticism and religious persecution at the hands of the terrorists in the valley and their present sufferings as refugees in their own great country, Bharat. Tragic experiences are recalled and relived. Appeals to the international community and the world conscience are rehearsed. The guest visitors listen visibly moved; they give assurances of every possible moral support and raise their voice in various fora to highlight the sufferings of the refugees. So dignitaries come and go: but nothing moves, nothing follows so as to alleviate their suffering and terrible plight. Visits to the camps have degenerated into a farcical ritual. End to their exile continues to be an illusion and still they hope against hope to return to their hearths and homes.

Meanwhile, the Islamic fundamentalists have consolidated the gain accruing from pushing and hunting out the KPs. They have seen to it that no chance and scope is left for the return of the native KPs. They have left no stone unturned for making a frontal and all out assault to destroy all symbols, tokens and traces of their culture, their practices, traditions and heritage. Uprooting the KPs is not enough, their existence in the valley in the past and in the present must be wiped out root and branch so as to make it appear that KPs never belonged to the valley. They would rewrite the history of Kashmir in the Islamic way.

With an eye on this the fundamentalists went on a free for all spree of loot, plunder, spoil and arson. Village after village comprising of KP settlements have been razed to ashes; KP localities in towns and cities have been torched and gutted either completely or partially in such a manner that the vagaries of weather in a couple of winters will complete the unfinished agenda of the Muslim bigots who aim at ground and leaving no evidence of their having lived there. The looted booty ornamented their houses and halls and what was unwanted was disposed off



in Sunday markets. Following the Islamic traditions private libraries of the KPs containing priceless manuscripts and rare books on philosophy, world religions, Hindu scriptures, literature, art, law, humanities etc. were plundered, torn to bits, burnt or sold to street hawkers what they were worth as raddi or junk, good for a retailer to sell groceries in. Islam enjoins upon its followers to venture going to far away China in pursuit of knowledge and here in Kashmir you get a fine specimen of reverence for knowledge.

The ineradicable, the incurable, intolerance towards followers of the other faiths. Knowledge too is Muslim and non-Muslim. What a perversion and decadence of mind and spirit. It does not matter in the least that pages of the religious books and Holy scripture of the KPs litter the lanes and bylanes. float in the gutter and are trampled upon because they sing hymns of God who is not Muslim. What hullabaloo would have followed if a page from any other religious book had been shown scanty respect in this manner? The progeny of those who burnt the legendary library at Alexandria a rich and peerless repository of knowledge and learning in its day, find a mean and petty pleasure to destroy Kafirs treasures of learning.

The KPs of the post Muslim period in Kashmir had read of Khokas and Bombas, savage and ferocious Muslim tribes, used by the callous and ruthless Muslim rulers to plunder and kill the KPs. Loot, plunder, arson, rape and ruthless murder have been an essential ingredient of the Muslim psyche and ethos and they can't see life and world but through these ignoble and diabolical devices. Suffering these at frequent intervals has been the badge of the KPs. And since 1989 we have been eye witness to the re-emergence of this racial traits of savagery, crudeness, tiger like ferocity of the Kashmiri Muslim re-enacted towards the KPs contributing in the main to the unavoidable exodus of not fewer than 3,00,000 members of the Hindu minority.

The customary loose long robe worn by the Kashmiris to protect themselves from severe cold is known as pheran. It has found universal usage these days and embroidered pheran is a craze with big people. The pathan ruler of Kashmir ordered KPs to have "laad" a wide fold near the lower border of the pheran on its outside so that they could become easily distinguishable from the Muslims. Normally this garment has only one pocket on the right side below the length of a hand. The pathan rulers ordered the KPs to wear pherans with two pockets on either side so that the bastard boor could use the two pockets as spurs and ride a KP holding him by long bushy bodhi or tuft of hair at the rear top of his head. Is there a worse form of humiliation and indignity than this? The fear of the Pathan that it engendered in the psyche of the KPS persisted till the present exodus.

While going round the Hari Parbat as part of his religious duty the KP devotee would at every short interval revolve around himself. In verity it was a vestige of the repressive pathan rule; the KP simply turned around to watch that no pathan was to be seen within his sight that the savage would command him to stop so that he should make the KP play the horse for him. With such a proud track record of barbarity the Kashmiri Muslim feels anguished with the rule of Hindu India that scrubbed away layers of alien growth on his head and made him affluent and taught him to live with comfort.

But racial traits die hard or seldom.

Commenting upon the Kashmir situation, Dr. Karan Singh former Sadri-Riyasat observes in January 1995 issue of VOM, "Many in the capital tend to look upon J&K merely as an interesting problem; Tens of thousands are forced to leave their home to live in refugee camps. Crores of rupees worth residential and other property are destroyed. Thousands of widows and orphans are left to face a bleak future". It is now common place and anybody's impression that New Delhi is least bothered about the safety, self-respect and property of the Pandits. In its estimation, a handful of outlaws have turned the valley into a veritable inferno. Fear has gripped every heart and home and there is sense of insecurity prevailing all around. Unless the State of India exerts its power and authority and addresses the situation arising out of terrorism with an iron hand, as Late Beant Singh, Chief Minister of Punjab did in his state, no solution is foreseeable.

The Central Government continues befooling the Indian public. Committees followed by Central Ministers air-dash to the valley to take the stock of the position on spot and report to the Prime Minister about the ground realities. Heaven knows whether any reports are submitted or it is just an excuse to seek relief from the blistering heat of New Delhi's sun and enjoy eating cherries under the Chinar tree. But where is Kashmir policy? Every opposition party has been repeatedly urging ruling congress party to spell out its Kashmir policy. BJP wants New Delhi to come out with a white paper on how it means to tackle the problems of terror, and subversion there. There is no policy.

Nothing can move the hard-boiled rulers to utter a word. Do what you will it will stick to its policy of no policy. Why should it have any? When it comes to distributing and sharing loaves and fishes and enjoying unearthly prerogatives and luxuries in state mansions, the Kashmir imbroglio is ticklish and too frivolous to deserve attention on emergency basis or war footing. When the engineers of the destiny of the nation are in race for position of power and pelf who has the time and inclination to pay heed to Kashmir? Minister after Minister changes portfolios of Kashmir affairs as if it were a laboratory for conducting experiments in which much was lost and little gained. It was hoped that with the Prime Minister having assumed the charge of Kashmir affairs things would crystallize and concrete and tangible steps would be taken in the direction of speedy restoration of normalcy in the troubled valley.

Those hopes have proved dupes. Leniency on the part of Central and State administration has encouraged the anti-nationals to commit more crimes and create more mayhem, otherwise a government building which is the residential accommodation of S.M. Hussain (K.A.S.) presently Deputy Commissioner, Anantnag district would have not turned into a laboratory for preparing improvised explosive devices (IDS). Unfortunate and sacrilegious crimes like the burning down of the holy shrine of Nund Rishi at Charar would not have occurred if exemplary and deterrent punishment had been awarded to the terrorists responsible for the Hazratbal seige. Too long a rope has been given to the subversionists. The consequence of the policy of appeasement has cost the ruling party little but the KPs and the nation have paid dearly for it.

As time goes by the Central Government plays its cool waiting and watching for nature to have its own course. The Muslim fundamentalists in the valley are upto their hilt in Islamising the basic secular culture of Kashmir and changing the centuries old face of Kashmir. The spirit of Kashmiriat distorted and marred by dying it in the exclusive Islamic caul drop and thus put a seal on the process that began with the Muslim rule in Kashmir.

What else is the purport and motive behind destroying KP shrines temples, all centers associated with their faith immovable structural properties and grabbing their land and orchards by tampering with revenue and land records? The state administration has till date taken no step to protect their land, houses and other property despite persistent demand for it by the KP community in exile. Its policy of expediency has overriding effect on the principle of justice and fair play. That explains settling the claims for damage to Muslim properties in the valley on priority basis by deputing special teams to settle the claims on spot while the claims of the KP fire sufferers, theft and loot are consigned to cold storage and neglected. Discrimination against the exiled KPs has not diminished, rather it has been augmented and its compass extended to encompass every area of their miserable life, notably education, recruitment into state services, grant of loans, payment of various allowances etc.

Mr. Cohen, a US Senator affirms that the gist of Pakistan's foreign policy towards India is summed up in one word-Kashmir. Kashmir has become a haunting obsession with Ms. Benazir Bhutto. It is a patently evident fact that Pakistan has unleashed an undeclared, a low cost proxy war in Kashmir. The Pakistan sponsored armed militancy and terrorism has taken a heavy toll of Indian security and armed forces, perhaps more than suffered by I.P.K.F. in Sri Lanka, India has been cautiously defensive and has taken care not to mount any offensive operation. New Delhi is blowing hot a cold in the same breath. It holds out and ever extended hand with an olive branch and simultaneously is not weary of threatening Pakistan of dire consequences if it did not forthwith stop inciting, aiding, abetting and sustaining terrorism in Kashmir. We have been hearing them for the last nine years ceaselessly. These are now taken not even at the face value, for Pakistan has still to exhibit howsoever slight change in its aggressive stance.

Confirming the ethnic cleansing of KPs by the Muslim fundamentalists in Kashmir Mr. Wimmer, a member of the German Parliament and Vice President OSCE asserted that they are against ethnic and religious cleansing and the way the KPs were forced to migrate from Kashmir, the land of their ancestors. New Delhi is yet to adopt tough attitude towards the terrorists and put down its foot to crush militancy with determination and courage. Even when it has a lot of irrefutable and unquestionable evidence and proofs of Pakistani's complicity and direct and open involvement in the present disturbances in the valley, New Delhi has done nothing appreciable to counter Pakistani propaganda and expose Pakistan and its patronized militant outfits before the world community. How long will she wait? Is there no limit to the patience? Must the KPs then submit to their genocide first at the hands of Muslim fundamentalists and now the pro-Muslim ruling class?

What is worst, lamentable and deplorable is the neglect of the ruling party of India to take direct measures, which will help the KPs to return to their homeland. Still more condemnable, unfair grossly undemocratic and authoritarian is the Center's posture not to include them in any deliberations to solve the Kashmir imbroglio. This has bred deep anguish, resentment and frustration in the community that is being relegated to the background though they are the worst sufferers and victims of militancy and terrorism in Kashmir.

Only recently in the second week of September, 1995, IndoAmerican Kashmir Forum under its National President Mr. Kannya Lai Koul sought a meeting with United Nations Secretary General Mr. Boutros Ghaili to urge him to declare the displaced KPs from the valley as internally displaced persons entitled to international support for the political and civil rights and

humanitarian relief as described in the relevant resolution of the UN Human Rights Commission. The circumstances that compelled the KPs to flee their homes in the valley in 1989-90 fully satisfy the conditions and terms of given in the report of the representatives of the UN Secretary General on IDPs submitted by him to HRC at its 51st session in Geneva in February-March, 1995.

Of late the ruling party has been trumpeting that it is going to hold elections in the troubled state to form a popular government in a bid to restore normalcy in the state. It has in fact been in the air for over two years; Central Ministers one after the other had jaunts to the valley off and on to assess the ground situation. The Chief Election Commissioner himself too had to see for himself if the atmosphere was conducive to holding elections. The major opposition parties have disfavoured the initiation of political process until militancy and terrorism has been completely crushed out thoroughly so that the fear of the gun stands removed from the minds of the electorate for a free and fearless franchise.

That the fear of the gun is entrenched in every mind and that there is resultant sense of insecurity pervading all around is vindicated by the civil curfew and total bandh with which the Election Commissioner of India Dr. M.S. Gill was greeted in the valley on his three day visit to the state to assess the situation for taking the decision on holding elections in the state. The outlaws however, small their number be have to rued the Valley and Doda district into a veritable hell. In spite of tall, but in reality hollow claims of the State Administration to the contrary they count the shots and their writ prevails.

The Union Home Secretary Sh. K. Padmanabaiah has described the prevailing situation in the state congenial for holding the polls since many people in the militancy infested Valley are anxious for restoration of peace and democratic order. The Prime Minister, Sh. RV. Narsimha Rao and the Minister of Home affairs Sh. S.B. Chavan enthused by Governor Gen. K.V. Krishna Rao's pleas of conducting elections of the state in mid November 1995 have showered their blessing on him. Yet the Election Commissioner, after his interaction with the senior Government functionaries, law and order authorities and leaders of various political parties acted in no haste and did not jump to the conclusions.

In a mature judicious and sagacious manner he stated that the decision would be taken after taking into consideration all the prerequisites and various aspects of the existing situation. It hardly appears to be an optimistic statement. In any exercise having bearing on the political solution of the Kashmir tangle and lakhs of uprooted and displaced Kashmiri Pandits stand not only marginalized but also absolutely excluded. No sincere efforts have been made by the governments at the Centre and the state to design any scheme or create conditions for their safe return with honour to their homes. The demand for creating constituencies in exile for them is a moot point. Thousands of eligible young voters are yet to be included in the voter lists. How the displaced Kashmiri Pandits will exercise their franchise and for whom is still shrouded in mysterious uncertainty or puzzles all those who take interest in watching the Kashmir affairs.

Kashmir continues to figure on deliberations on all sorts of agenda in international forum. Wrong signals continue to pour into the militant and secessionist outfits in the valley motivating them covertly and overly to subvert the peaceful election process in the state. Even as there has been surrender of arms and ammunitions by growing number of militants in the

valley, infiltration of fresh batches of trained Kashmiri Muslim militants and foreign mercenaries has not stopped or dwindled to a trickle. The arms and ammunitions recovered so far forms only the tip of iceberg. The entire Kashmir and upper reaches of Doda are so flooded with sophisticated arms and explosives that it will be many years before these are unearthed and recovered by the security forces, with the government adopting a soft attitude of conciliation and appeasement and repeated advice and appeal to militants to contest the elections- Kidnappings and the abductions are still a current menace. The houses of the displaced Kashmiri Hindus continue to be torched and razed to ashes.

Whatever the Central and or state governments may do with a view to end the feeling of alienation of the Kashmiri Muslims to win their hearts and confidence in Indian democracy and secularism and to coax them to fall in line with the national main stream by offers of well meaning packages, the glaring and irrefutable fact remains that acts of terrorism in the state particularly in Kashmir and Doda are not a thing of the past. The serpent of terrorism may have been scotched but it has not been killed; it raises its venomous head every now and then. Attack on security forces and bloody encounters and cross firing between the forces and the provocative militants are reported day in and day out from every corner of the valley. Exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from the valley is once again frontpage news.

Four KP families forty in all counted were forced to flee from their houses at Wanpoh after abduction and murder of one of their family members, Piyare Lal Raina on the night of September, 1995. The deceased was an ex-service man. His son Vinod Kumar Raina claimed that the killing had been carried out to coerce the remaining Kashmiri Pandits to flee the valley. But the government claims that the situation is fast returning to normalcy in the valley. The prominent militant outfits are unanimous on the stand that the war will continue, that they are least bothered as to who gets killed in this war; that by carrying out the attacks they aim to highlight their agenda of national freedom and nobody will be allowed to reach an agreement on this issue. "So the gun will continue to play its role not to allow the government to hold the elections and keep the cauldron of Kashmir as a disputed territory ever boiling and adding new ingredients of subversion".

The net result is confusion, more confusion, infinite confusion, confusion compounded and compounded, confusion created and sustained purposely by both the warring sides, the militants-cum-terrorists and the government at the center and the state levels. The Kashmiri Muslims by and large make the best out of the situation. The militants pump bullets into Indian polity and the Indian Government pumps hundreds of millions of rupees to the Kashmiri Muslims supporting the militants who envisage one highway to Azadi, by squeezing Indian economy as a leech does with impure blood. Muddled thinking behind New Delhi's Kashmir Policy will never help it. It is a Sheer Don Quixotic misadventure. Who else knows the ethos of the Kashmiri Muslims better than then Kashmiri Pandits? They say, 'beggars can't be choosers'. The Kashmir Muslims have been both. Indian brand of secularism has an in built mechanism to lend itself be used for anti-national fundamentalist campaigns.

The non-communal stance of the Election Commissioner, Dr. M.S. Gill if it is any indication, obviously implies that he has not failed to sense the mood of the Kashmiri Muslims under the thumb of the militants and terrorists that there are no takers for the so called elections on the anvil. The Central Government can't hoodwink them and the situation in mit il ancy torn

Kashmir remains as grim and gloomy as it has been for the last six years and no solution is foreseeable.

Now where do the displaced Kashmir Pandits stand? It is equally obvious that the Central Government is creating an impression that the KPs are a non-entity and have no locus stand and has as such sidelined them in its efforts to cut the Gordian knot and restore normalcy or at least semblance of it in the state. As long as the KPs, an essential and inalienable component of Kashmiri Society, are in exile they have little point of interest in the elections and holding the elections without their participation is meaningless and futile. That they all are unavoidable party to any future settlement of the Kashmir problem on the political level has been validly recognized at international forums, albeit Indian government has done precious little to project their plight as the worst hit victims of Pak sponsored militancy and terrorism in the state.

It is the lobbying of the KPs themselves that has lend strength to India's stand on the issue. It is desirable that the Indian government woke up and became amenable to reason and saw the realities in their true perspective and not be complacent in neglecting the significant state of the KPs in any political settlement. In democratic scheme of things minorities have as much and as important a voice in amicable settlement of issues of national importance as the majority. No arrangement showing disregard for the aspirations and ethnic consideration of the KPs will be acceptable to them. The powers that be must not commit the folly of taking them for granted and take them for a ride.

While the Islamization program in the Kashmir Valley is being carried on unabated the KPs have a history of over 500 years of Muslim rule in Kashmir to draw lessons from; History has repeated itself too many times for them. To obliterate the deep scars it has left on their life, work and vision. The dreaded Khokhas and Bombas of the yore have reemerged with doubly redoubled demoniac vengeance and wrath to exterminate the minority community of the KPs. They seem to be kinder and less cruel as contrasted with their present day descendents with all the sobering and civilizing and humanizing influences of education and material prosperity and numerous advantages of science.

That many civilizations in the history of Europe were destroyed by onslaughts of barbaric hordes of tribals has been proved true in Kashmir in our own day. Slogans like " La Sharqiya' lagharbia, Islamia Islamis" still ring in our ears and serve as index of the ethos of the Kashmiri Muslims in the living present and the future to be. It is as plain as it is day that this exclusive cry is unquestionably inimical to making any compromise with the Eastern or the Western cultures that today rest on tolerance, compassion, humanism, liberalism respect for basic human rights as recognized in the charter of human rights, secularism and democratic temper. It entertains no scope for modification and adjustment and believes in superimposing a particular outdated fanatical view of religion and life on others whether they subscribe to it or not. There is not to reason why.

Guided by his fundamentalist and fanatical approach to life as the majority community in Kashmir is, the minority community of the KPs must move in unison very cautiously and be guided by lessons learnt from its history down the centuries since the emergence of Muslim rule. The existence of Saprus, Katjus, Haksars, Kitchloo, Zutshis, Kauls etc., in Allahabad, Lucknow, Delhi and other places remind us of the circumstances that led to their exodus from time to time from the valley in the hoary past. Kashmir is cold, dead and buried; so is Gandhi

Ji's tiny ray of communal harmony. According to hadith Prophet Mohammed once said, "A true believer is one with whom others feel secure, one who returns love for hatred".

Another hadith says "by God, he is not a believer, by God, he is not a believer with whom his neighbours are not secure". The KPs have tasted to the lies this spirit of neighborliness of the Muslims in Kashmir and they will remember it forever. They must also not forget that as Kipling found west and east irreconcilable, the Muslim culture in Kashmir is in essence diametrically poles apart from the KP ethos and the two shall never meet now that Kashmir's secular character and traditions have ceased to be.

Way back in 1989 wall posters in fairly large letters proclaiming Kashmir as "Islamic Republic of Kashmir" were a common sight in Srinagar. Since then a lot of pioneering work has been done by every Kashmiri Muslim, irrespective of his rank and standing, to make Kashmir the land of 'Militant Islam'. The so called struggle for freedom began rallying round the pivot of total Islamization of Kashmir and despite India's efforts to re-impose secular outlook. Kashmiri Muslims have been non-cooperative, Islam continues to be cultural unifying and cementing force in their life and for them religion and politics are inseparable and undistinguishable.

The Jaun dived local bureaucracy no less than the administrative echelon overtly and covertly support and direct the militants. There are instances galore to establish the involvement of senior as well as junior government functionaries in the avowed goal of Islamization of Kashmir. They have taken a vow not to let the grip of Islam get relaxed and sabotage every move of the state government to curb militancy and restore normalcy and democracy.

It is for this reason that Kashmiri Muslims, including the so called leaders of any political denomination have kept absolutely mum and dared not utter a word against the Islamization campaign in Kashmir. No intellectuals among them have raised even any weak voice of protest to religious intolerance. In fact the Kashmiri Muslims are loath to the return at the entire displaced refugee Kashmiri Pandits who looked upon as the enemies of their movement. They are no longer needed there and are clearly told to forget that they ever belonged to the Valley. The foundation stone of the Muslim State of Kashmir was laid right at the time of India's partition and now the free Islamic republic of Kashmir is on the anvil.

It is in the 6th year of our exile that one secessionist leader and man behind the operation Balakote militant outfit Azam Inqulabi, speaking at a seminar organized by the South Asian Forum for People's Initiative, on the theme "Kashmir at present and future prospects" held in New Delhi on 1511-1995 said that he had been pained by the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from the Valley. Now realizing the mistake committed and the value of KPs he said both Muslims and minority community needed to sit together to resolve the issue and arrive at a mutual understanding.

He was however, critical of the community for not coming forward with the people of Kashmir (Muslims) in their struggle. "If even ten people had come forward I would shed my blood for them", he said (K.T. dated 16-12-95). "Fitna garas bahana bisyar" a Kashmiri saying. Ripvan winkle has woken up from a deep slumber when most of the Kashmiri Pandits blood has been spelt. Inqulabi probably does not remember that the so-called Kashmiris leading human rights activist late H.N. Wanchoo was a Kashmiri Pandit, a well-known Trade Unionist.

He had filed quite a number of petitions in J&K High court against the Government and is reported to have acted as an intermediary between the Government and certain militant groups for the release of militants. He too was silenced forever on 5th Dec. 1992 by the militants of Jamiatul-Mujahideen. I ask Inqulabi, was not late Wanchoo a KP who shared and abetted terrorism? Was not Lt. Satish Tikoo S/o. Sh. RN. Tikoo of Karfali Mohalla associated with relief committee's set up by Muslims? Why was he gunned down on 2nd February 1990 by a notorious Bitta Karate? This, I write simply to keep Inqulabi's record straight. Their movement was purely a Muslim fundamentalistic Jihad against secular India. The question of KPs participation did not arise under the circumstances, even though some took part in it they were silenced because no outfit wanted the association of any Hindu with the movement (Salman Khursheed ).

Kashmir Pandits now in exile have to pay heed to ground realities and watch with keen interest the changing political scenario together with its fall out and frame their policy and response in a cool collective and sagacious manner, and act firmly to achieve their goal which has already been spelled out.

History is a great teacher and reminder of time tested messages. It is time that the KPs display their characteristic intelligence and shrewdness and sagacity by heeding to the call of their history. They have committed many lapses in the past for which history has penalized them in the shape of their having become docile sufferers of persecution cruelty and intolerance and repeated exoduses in every period of Muslim rule in their homeland and let them not make a move in huff that could prove an act of Harakiri for which their awakened and liberated young generation and posterity shall never pardon them. One foot on sea and the other on shore is not going to be helpful policy at any stage of time henceforth.

Let them show in the words of Tennyson :

"One equal temper of heroic hearts

Made weak by time and fate but strong in will

to strive to seek, to find and not to yield."

Let them bear in mind the wise old Persian saying "Azmodra Azmod Khatas". This may be transliterated into an English proverb "Once bitten twice shy", an unpleasant experience induces caution.

Source :

<https://www.ikashmir.net/exodus/chapter7.html>