CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF KAPISA AND GANDHARA

A

Kapisa and Gandhara were meeting places of various religious faiths from a period much earlier than that with which we are concerned. Not only Brahmanical religion and Buddhism, but also Iranian faiths and even a few Hellenistic cults had exerted influence in varying degrees over these regions in the early centuries of Christian Era. Hence it will be of interest to study the position of these religious systems in the period under review. Moreover, we shall have to take into account the impact of Islam on these areas during that time, since this religion influenced areas near Kapisa within a few decades of its birth.

B

In the 7th century A.D. the influence of Buddhism was already on the decline in many parts of North India. Although Mahayana Buddhism was in a flourishing state in Kapisa, it was gradually declining in Lan-po, Nagara and Gandhara and Fa-la-na.

Many a ruined stupas and deserted monasteries bear testimony to this fact. Buddhism lingered in this area up to 9th-10th centuries A.D. Wu-k'ong and Hye-chao noticed royal munificence in this field. But it never regained the position and honour which it enjoyed in this region from 1st
The schism of Buddhism into Hinayana and Mahayana appeared long before the period under review. Both schools existed in Kapiša and Gandhāra during this period. Brethren belonging to the different sects of Hinayana and those of Mahayana lived in these territories side by side, sometimes in the same monastery. Of the eighteen schools of Hinayana, mention may be made of only Sarvastivadins and Mahisasakas in Kapiša and Gandhāra and its nearby areas. The former was one of the most influential sect in Kapiša, Gandhāra, Kaśmīra and surrounding areas in the days of Kanishka. Presence of the Sarvastivadins in Kapiša in the first half of the 7th century A.D. indicates that it was still of some importance here.

Hostages Monastery in the capital of Kapiša, Kanishka stupa and Kāśyapālāra in Gandhāra and another religious establishments near Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti (Pūshkarāvatī) were some of the centres of Hinayana Buddhism mentioned by Hsüan-tsang.

Mahāyānists were in the majority in Kapiša, Lan-po, Nagarā, Gandhāra and Pa-la-na and Tsaokuta. At least 6000 brethren resided in the monasteries of Kapiša alone.

The Mahāyānists' stronghold was the Mahāyānists monasteries at the capital of Kapiša. This temple had one Doctor of the Tri-Pitakas, Aryavarma of the Sarvastivadins and
others as its residents. But the number of Buddhist Brethren in Lan-Po, and other countries except Nagara, Tsao-kuta and Fa-la-na was very limited. In one monastery near the Po-lu-sha, city of Gandhāra, only fifty Mahayanist Brethren lived.

The rites and rituals described by the Chinese pilgrim revealed that the Hinayānist carefully followed the Vinaya rules. They observed upasatha and Rain-Rest. They held religious assemblies, one at the beginning and one at the conclusion of their Rain Rest. Here religious scriptures were recited and gifts given by the lay devotees, were accepted.

In both the schools, worship of sacred relics, stupas enshrining sacred relics, Sākya Buddha were performed. Five Dhyāni Buddhas, Bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, future Buddhas and a host of lesser divinities played an important part in Mahāyāna.

The stupas containing sacred relics and the shrines of sacred relics were scattered all over the region. At least, erection of six stupas were attributed to Asoka. Kanishka was the builder of a number of other famous stupas in this area. Kanishka stupa was one such monument.
Hsuan-tsang even located a few stupas which commemorated the Jātaka stories of Dīpankara Buddha, Kunāla, Sāma, Vessantara etc. and other stories connected with Nāgas and Kanishka.

The town of Hilo (Hadda) was celebrated in history for its shrine of Buddha's ushnīsha-bone. The ushnīsha-bone (cranial portubearance of Buddha), his scull, one of his eyes, his mendicants staff, and one of his clerical robes were preserved in a decorated two storeyed building in Hilo. The ushnīsha bone in Hilo was "twelve inches in circumference, with hairpores distinct and of a yellowish white colour".

"Pilgrims, who visited this place, made a fragrant plaster and with it took a cast of the upper surface of the bone, and according to their Karma read in the traces on the plaster their weal and woe". Hsuan-tsang got a representation of Bodhi tree and his companion a lotus. The Brahmin attendant was overjoyed with these representations. He said that the two would surely receive in future perfect knowledge.

Another shrine of the sacred relic was found in the capital of Kapisa, on the bank of a large river. The old king's monastery in Kapisa contained a part of the ushnīsha-bone, and hair of Śākya Buddha (violet in colour). Watters while translating the parah said that the whole ushnīsha-bone
was preserved in Hilo. Therefore, a part of ushnīsha-
bone’s presence at the same time at two different places
could not be possible. In his opinion, it was a mistake
on the part of the Chinese pilgrim.

But it appears from Hsüan-tsang’s description, that
the relic whatever it may be, is very sacred to the people.
The king of Kapiśa and his ministers worshipped it on six
fast days.

It is interesting to note here that the Ārya-
mañjuśrī-Milakalpa, although inculcated the efficacy of
Tantra, referred to Kapiśa as one of the Siddhikṣetras,
where one would obtain perfect knowledge if he recited
several mantras and practised usual rites. The Ārya-
mañjuśrī-Milakalpa mentioned several deities each of whom
the devotees will worship for receiving perfect knowledge.
Ushnīsha-Rājña was mentioned as the divinity per
excellence of Kapiśa and Bactria and Swat.

Shadow of the Buddha left in the Gopāla cave was one
of the sacred places of Nagara. The Buddha left his
shadow here after converting Gopāla dragon (Nāga).

The stupas, vihāras, saṅghārāmas depicted scenes
from the life stories of Śākya Buddha, worship of the Buddha,
Dhyānī Buddhas, Bodhisattvas like Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya,
and others, Yakshas, Yakshinis, Nāgas, etc.
Worship of Yakshas and Yakshinis and Nagas were also incorporated into Buddhism long before our period. During the period under survey the spirits and semi-divine beings exerted considerable influence.

Vaiśravana-deva, the king of the Yakshas held an important place as a guardian deity and the lord of the buried treasures of the monastery. In Hostages Monastery in Kapiśa, treasures were deposited beneath the feet of this god, which could not be taken out on account of Vaiśravana-deva's interference. With Hsüan-tsang's help the priests of this monastery were able to take out a portion of treasures needed for the repair of the monastery. Worship of Yakshini Hariti as the guardian deity of a monastery was a legacy of the earlier period. Pahchika and Hariti were worshipped as god and goddess, giver of children in the areas concerned.

Again, the Mahāmayūrī (Tibetan translation) inculcated worship of Yaksha Nalakuvara and Lankesvara in Kapiśa and Gandhāra. Large number of Yaksha heads from Hadda also points to some connection with Yaksha worship in this region.

The worship of the Buddha is performed with offerings of flowers and incense and giving banners and making presents, besides prostration and recitation of mantras etc. Both Hsüan-tsang and I-tsing noted that music and singing accompanied the performance of worship of a Buddha.
Besides, one of the famous festivals of Mahāyāna Buddhism was Moksha Parishad. The king of Kapisa held this festival every year like Harshavardhana's quinquennial assembly. One eighteen feet silver image of the Buddha was caused to be made by the king during the session of the Moksha Parishad. The king gave liberally to the needy and the bereaved (or widow and widowers) in this assembly.

Another notable feature of the religious life of this period was holding of religious assemblies. The different vihāras conducted this type of assemblies for ascertaining the religious merit of its Brethren. Kanishka Mahāvihāra was one such centre which invited eminent Brethren to discuss religion and gave distinction to men of illustrious merit. Kanishka Mahāvihāra produced many well-known scholars and writers of Buddhist religion and philosophy like Pārśva, Manoratha, Āsaṅga, Vasuvandhu, Nārāyanādeva, Dharmatrīta and others.

The king of Kapisa was very fond of holding religious assemblies and conducted one such assembly in the monastery of the Great vehicle during the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit. The Chinese pilgrim and his companion Prajñākara, the Doctor of the Three Pitākas, Āryavarma of the Sarvāstivādins, Guṇabhadra of Mahisasakas and all the people who came to join this assembly took part in it. Its session was held for five days. Hsüan-tsang, Prajñākara, Guṇabhadra, Āryavarma, Manojñāghosha and others debated the knotty problems
of religion in the temple of the Great vehicle. The acquirements of Hsüan-tsang's antagonists, however, were not universal, but confined to one or other points in the Great and Little vehicle, as the case might be, and although clear on that point, yet narrowed in its extent. But the Chinese pilgrim thoroughly examined their teaching and answered their questions put to him by all participants according to several system of doctrines, so that all present were forced to acknowledge his superiority. The king gave five pieces of silk as a distinct present to him and suitable offerings to others.

Thus, the Buddhism of this period was a curious admixture of faiths, beliefs which prevailed in Kapisa and Gandhāra.

Buddhism undergoes further changes in this and in the following centuries. Its transformation into Tantrayāna heralded the last stage of Buddhism in this area and in India as well.

In Tantrayana, Buddha was described as Ādi-Buddha. From Buddha emanated Bodhisattva Avalokitosvara and later on Tara and other Bodhisattvas. In Tantrayāna, recitation of mantras or magical spells, charms, mudrās, yantras played an important part.

Hsüan-tsang's above-mentioned description indicates that in his time, rituals, beliefs in miracle and magic
and belief in spirits played considerable part in Buddhism and began to replace original ethical and philosophical principles inculcated by Buddha. The Chinese pilgrim noted the existence of a cave in Kapisa dedicated to Avolokitesvara and another shrine to Yakshini Hariti in Gandhara.

As already stated Aryamanjusri-Milakalpa which described endless mudras, mandalas, kriyas, charyas and yantras, furnished a list of holy places for a quick success in Mantra cult. Kapisa was mentioned as one of them. One may attain success in mantra cult by worshipping ushnisha-rājña here, as stated earlier.

It is interesting to note here that Asanga, the famous Buddhist scholar of Gandhara is called the originator of Buddhist Tantra. The tradition said that the yogic practices propounded by Asanga led to the growth of esotericism which in course of time became Tantricism.

It is not unlikely that Asanga's influence helps to spread Tantricism in this area. Tantricism is not confined to Buddhism and represents a common phase of development both in Buddhist and Brahmanical religions.

This paved the way of absorption of Buddhism into Brahmanism. Gods and Goddesses like Umā-Mahesvara, Kārttikeya, Indra, Agni are common to both the religions and are mentioned as gods and goddesses of Kapisa.
In the Swat valley rock-cut sculptures, Śiva is represented many a times with a number of Bodhisattvas. For the want of further evidence, we can at least presume that like Buddhism in India, here also a part of Buddhism is gradually merged into Brahmanism. Although much diminished, Buddhism retained its separate entity uptil 11th century. Al-bārūnī referred to them as shamans and said that they were related to Brahmins much more than any other religion of this area. With the propagation of Islam, Buddhism like Brahmanism became extinct.

Among the causes of the decline of Buddhism in this area mention may be made of loss of royal patronage, and those of trading casts and common people. As it appears, from the numerous finds of statues of Śiva-Pārvatī, Kārttikeya-Viṣṇu, Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Maheśvara, and three and four-headed icons of Viṣṇu and Śiva, simple form of their worship appealed more to the people of the regions concerned than the intricate methods of worship of the Buddha and his pantheon. As stated earlier, propagation of Islam destroyed the last vestige of Buddhism here.

The second contributing factor in the religious condition of this period, in areas concerned, is the re-emergence of Brahmanism. As a result of Buddhism’s decline,
Brahmanism came into prominence, as stated above. Worship of Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇapati, Karttikeya, Śūrya, Viṣṇu, common to Pañchāyatana Pūjās, are quite well-known among the people of this region.

From the time of the Indo-Greeks up to the rule of the Hūnas, Saivism was one of the dominant religion of this area. Though overshadowed by Buddhism it held its own against that faith during this period. In the first half of the 7th century, this faith became one of the most important religion of this area and drew a large number of devotees to its fold.

The Chinese pilgrim noticed the prevalence of Saivism in Kapiṣa, Gandhāra, Fa-la-na. Even the neighbouring countries of A-Tien-p’o-chih-lo, Lang-ki-lo, A-Fan-tu, Tsao-kuta very much favoured the cult of Śiva. A great many temples adorned the different cities of all these countries. Most of them were dedicated to Śiva. Especially the shrine of Maheśvara deva near the Bhimadevi temple, another at the Western Gate of Pushkalāvatī and another at Tsao-kuta were famous centres of the Pāṣūpatas. The ash-smearing Tirthikas practised much worship here.

Prevalence of Saivism as one of the most important religion of this area is also supported by archaeological evidence. Excavation of the ruins in the Mound ‘E’ of Sahr-i-Bahlol reveals a curious fact. The mound ‘E’ originally belonged to a Buddhist religious establishment. Later on, it was
converted into a Śiva temple. 111 In Hund, ruins of a marble temple indicate that it belongs to the cult of Śiva. 112 A great many numbers of anthromorphic and theriomorphic images found among the archaeological remains of Kapisa and Gandhara amply testifies to its popularity.

As stated above, with the rise of the Brahmana Shahis, this faith won royal patronage. 114 Most of the Shahi kings were devotees of Śiva. 115 Representations of Śiva by his animal form or his vehicle Nandi became one of the important coin device of the Shahis.

Although inscriptions found from the areas concerned are fragmentary in nature, they throw some interesting light on the condition of this religion. The majority of the epigraphs record the construction of the temple of Mahādeva. Sometimes believers of other faiths were also connected with the construction of such shrines. Queen Kamesvārī appointed one sun-worshipper to supervise the construction of the Śiva temple. 118 Another inscription inculcates the idea of oneness of Brahmā, Vishnu, Mahēśvara. Śiva’s worship in his Saumya and Raudra and female forms are well-known.

Of the four principal sects of Saivism, the Pāsu-patas and Kapālādharaṇins were known. Presence of Mukha-lingas, portable linga-shaped sanctuaries, carried by Lingāyatas, three-headed images of Śiva suggests that other sects had also a footing among the
people of this region. Specially, the three-headed Siva images, as already mentioned, which portrayed the god in his Saumya, Ghora and female forms, were unique feature of the Saivism of this area. Frescoe painting from Dandanulique and other central Asian frescoes represented Siva in this particular form. This representation of Siva from Dandanulique and in the areas concerned suggest that they are related to each other and may belong to a particular sect, unknown at present. A bronze portable linga-shaped sanctuary which was moulded from a stone original indicates the presence of Lingayatas, an well-known sect of South India.

Thus, from the above account, it can be gleaned that this faith exerted considerable influence on the religious life of the people of this particular zone from the 7th century onwards till the invasion of the Muslims. This is probably due to the fact that the Saivas cared little for caste and āśrama rules and admitted casteless foreigners into their fold. The Sudras and women were allowed to have dikṣā and to worship the deity. This is not unlikely, for that very reason Saivism flourished here from very early times.

The cult of Devī was closely associated with Saivism. Here also Devī is represented as the wife (Śakti) of Mahādeva. Besides, she was worshipped as the paramount or supreme lord i.e. Mahishāsurasamardini Durgā by her devotees. Unfortunately, we have very little evidence
in our possession about this cult. In the period under consideration, worship of Mahishāsuramardini was well-known all over India. She is portrayed both in her ugra and benign forms in the sculptures of this period.

In Gandhāra, Dūrgā was known as Bhīmā or Bhimalā (the terrible one). The Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-tsang noticed the temple of Bhīmā devī on a lofty mountain near Udabhāndapura (Und). This shrine is located on the Karmar hill by Foucher.

Bhīma is called one of the terrible incarnations of Dūrgā for the destruction of Asuras in the Markandeya Purāṇa. According to Hsuan-tsang, her natural image had a dark blue colour. This recalls its close resemblance to Kālī, another terrible incarnation of Dūrgā. Dūrgā is also called Gāndhārī.

According to the Chinese pilgrim, it was one of the well-known centres of Saktism. In his opinion, the devotees from far and near, rich and poor visited this shrine. After fasting for seven days, and after worshipping the deity, the devotees were able to get her darsana who granted their prayers.

Discovery of marble sculptures of Dūrgā Mahishāsuramardini from Kapisa, another from Tsao-kuta well illustrates its worship in this period. Another rock-cut image of an unknown Devī is also found from Swat. The
image depicts one eight-handed female figure killing an ibex with trisula. This figure has some connection with the worship of Dūrgā unknown at present.

A female figure with a goose, now in the Peshawar Museum, probably points to the prevalence of Saraswati worship in this region.

The antiquity of the cult of Kārttikeya in the regions concerned dates back to second century of the Christian Era. The representation of Skanda, Kumāra, Visākha, Mahāsena in the coins of Kanishka, Huvishka, recovered from these areas, amply demonstrates his popularity with the Kushanas in these parts and elsewhere.

There is one particular reason why Skanda Kārttikeya was specially venerated by foreigners. Most of them came to the country as invaders and adopted Indian religion. All of them belonged to war-like tribes of Central Asia except a few. The Indian worlord therefore, soon attracted their reverential notice and became their favourite god. Moreover, his worship as the Kumāra, the lord of the Kumārakas, i.e., the gānas of Śiva who plagued the children was also known. He was worshipped with toys, images, of cocks etc. in all over India. Cock and his mount peacock always accompanied the images of Kārttikeya here and elsewhere in India.
Veneration for this god continued in the following centuries. This is testified by the issue of coins of Huna king Toramāṇa bearing the device of a peacock with outspread wings like that on Kumāragupta’s coin.

During the period under review this god was worshipped by a number of people in Kapiśa and Gandhāra. Skanda-Kārttikeya is generally represented in the coins of Shahi king Kamara (Kumāra ?) by the mount of this divinity, peacock. A number of sculptural representation of this god from Taxila, Mahavan, Attock, etc., has come to light. He is generally depicted as standing, facing, holding spear in his right hand and a cock in his left hand, wearing dhoti, ornamental cap, high boots, ear-rings, necklace etc. Standing figure of the peacock accompanied the deity.

Thus all these finds tend to show that Kārttikeya was worshipped as one of the important deity of this region and exercised considerable influence on the religious life of the people during this period.

Ganesa is also venerated by the people of the region concerned. Worship of Ganesa in the region concerned dates back to 5th century A.D. One terracotta plaque found from Akra in Bāmanū district, N.W.F.P., Pakistan reveals a figure of Ganesa. Two other marble stone images of Ganesa has been found from Kabul itself. This points to its veneration by the people of the region.
The discovery of a number of Visnu images from this region attests to the widespread prevalence of Visnu worship. The Dewi inscription compares Shahi Bhimadeva with the likeness of Vishnu. Kalhana's Rājatarāhginī mentioned that Shahi Bhimadeva, grandfather of Queen Diddā erected a temple of Vishnu in Kāśmīra during the reign of the latter. The above statement suggests that Shahi Bhimadeva was a follower of Vishnu. Sir A. Stein identified this temple with the Muslim Ziarat at Bumzu. Originally, the Bumzu shrine was a Hindu place of worship which was converted to a Muslim Ziarat in a later period. Al-Biruni also referred to Vaishnavism as one of the important religion of North-West India.

Different icons of this god recovered from this area depict him in standing and seated poses holding usual attributes. Unlike Saivism no centre of Vaishnavism was known at present. Three or four headed Vishnu images show the prevalence of Vyūha cult, which is most popular in Kāśmīra, and surrounding areas during this period. Possibly this is a side effect of Kāśmīra's political influence over Gandhāra. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that Vaishnavism was another sect of some importance here.

Sun-worship, which was a legacy of the Aryans and Sasanians here, was continued by their descendants in Kapisa and Gandhāra. This is evidenced by the statement
of Hsün-tsang, plaques discovered from Jelalabad, triple shrine at Khair Khaneh, and the inscription of Queen Kāmēśvarī.

Existence of the famous sun temple at Mulasthānapura (Multan) in a nearby area of Gandhāra throughout the period under consideration, another image of sun with his shrine at Khair Khaneh (Afghanistan) assigned to 6th-7th centuries A.D. and a number of plaques and the fresco of sun-god at Bamian, and other places indicate its popularity in the region concerned.

Inscription of Mahārājī Kāmēśvarī, definitely called two people as Sūrya-ḍvīja or sun-worshippers. To Jayantarāja, an inhabitant of Avantī, she assigned the task of supervising the construction of the temple and to Śrī Bhogika son of Śrī-Vihinda, she bestowed the work of scribe who composed and wrote the inscription.

From the Kṛihat Samhītā and from the Purāṇas written during the period under survey and also from Al-bārubī we know that Śakadvīpi or Maga Brahmanas, i.e. Iranians became the priests of the Sun. Like Indian Solar cult, it was well-known in Iran from the ancient period. Possibly solar cult of this area was influenced by that of Iran.
Fire worship, was another faith which influenced the religious life of the people of this area from ancient times. In a large number of Indo-Sasanian coins of this region, fire-altar and attendants became the principal coin device. The coins of NSK MALKA show a deity with flames issuing from his shoulders and hair. This divinity is identified with the fire God of Iran. Hsüan-tsang and Al-būrūnī noticed the prevalence of fire worship in the neighbouring countries of Kapiša and Gandhāra. According to Hsüan-tsang kings punished followers of other faiths except fire-worshippers in Central Asian countries. Moreover, Al-būrūnī observed that the Shamanas were ousted from the neighbouring countries of the regions concerned due to re-emergence of fire-worship. Specially, the Sasanid kings patronised the cult of fire.

Therefore, we can at least state that fire worship is another common cult in the regions concerned during the period under review.

Jainism was never very popular in this area. However, its existence in certain areas, is perhaps indicated by the statement of Hsüan-tsang. The Chinese pilgrim located Digambara Jainas at Kapiša and Svētāmbaras
in Simhapura. But, it appears from the references preserved in the Jaina texts, that Taxila must have been a famous centre of Jainism in the period concerned with vast number of Jaina edifices, some of which were no doubt, of considerable magnificence. According to Cunningham, shrines 'F' and 'G' at Sirkap represents the Jaina establishments of Taxila.

Thus from the above account we can conclude that Buddhism as well as Jainism and fire-worship existed here side by side with Brahmanism at the same time until coming of the Islam which gradually at first and speedily in the eleventh century changed altogether this condition.

India, (also the regions of Laghman-Gandhāra at that time known as a part of Hind or India) land of infidels and polytheists, attracted attention of the Arabs from the time of Caliph Omar. It is the sacred duty of every Muslim ruler to make war upon them. To them, war against infidels means opening up of new territory for Islam and Allah. To achieve this they followed three paths, viz. (1) the conquest of the land and forcible conversion of people, (2) to make a treaty with the people exacting tribute from them and left them to follow their own calling or to invite them to embrace Islam and peaceful penetration, i.e. through the saints and preachers who propagated their faiths.

All these policies were followed in propagating
Islam in the regions concerned from the middle of the 7th century up to first two decades of 11th century A.D. We could trace three stages in their attempt. In the first stage, the policy of fire and sword was applied, sometimes along with the second method described above. As already stated above, Arabs lodged two pronged attacks in the surrounding kingdoms of Kapisa and Gandhāra. One was made by way of Seistan, Zabolistan, Kabul and another was made through Khurasan-Balkh-Panjshir. Whenever possible, they converted people forcibly. The people in their turn ousted the Muslims as soon as possible and returned to their former faith. The Arabs made treaty with a number of kingdoms and cities in and around the regions concerned. In return of a land tax Kharaj and Jiniya they were left alone to follow their own faiths like Christians etc. If, they failed to pay the tax or if they revolted, the invading army, if possible, occupied the land and forcibly converted them to Islam and carried on a large scale massacre, and looting of property and people. This stage can be noticed from 7th to 9th centuries A.D. The second phase began after the fall of Kabul Shah Maharaj Bani Dumi in 815 A.D. The king and his subjects were invited by the Caliph to embrace Islam. The king himself accepted Islam on certain conditions and professed Islam. He visited the Caliph in Merv in person. Islam was propagated and pulpits were raised. In this connection mention may be made of Caliph Omar II.
who invited the people of Khurasan to accept Islam. According to Baladhuri, those people who accepted Islam were exempted from Kharaj (land tax) and Jizya. Mosques and pulpits were raised for the benefit of the new converts and the city of Balkh was rebuilt. Possibly this step on the part of Omar II made the task of propagating Islam in Kabul and nearby areas easier. In the end of the 10th century Muslim merchants resided peacefully in the cities of Kabul, Panjshir, Laghman and Dynpur. The king of Laghman was a Muslim ruler who made show of Islam and had many wives. Even in the Shahi capital Und, Muslim merchants lived amicably with others. Muslims were allowed to carry on their religion without any hindrance.

The third policy was used during the end of the period when the Shahi empire came under Sultan Mahmud's occupation. The Sultan appointed teachers for new converts and built mosques.

Very little is known about the general condition and development of this particular faith in the ages concerned. As it appears from the description of Baladhuri and other annalists, these regions came into contact with Islam within the first few decades of its birth. It is likely that the simple faith of prophet was propagated here. The conflict between Ali and Muwaiyah had its impact on it. The Khajirites equally influenced it. With the rise of the Abbasid, Islam's hand on this area became stronger.
and during Al-Mansur's reign, a number of works on medicine, astronomy, philosophy were translated into Arabic. Strong Indian influence was deeply felt on all these subjects. Even, influence of Buddhist philosophy and Vedanta are noticeable in the "religious ideas, notably in the growth and development of Islamic mysticism or Sufism. An earlier form of such influence is manifested in "zuhd" or asceticism which is not identical with Sufism."

That is to say, the latter were forerunner of the Sufis. Thus, the work of preaching Islam to the idolators started by Sultan Mahmud, was carried on by the Sufis, saints who flourished here in the end of 11th and beginning of 12th centuries A.D.

Above account indicates that different religions like Buddhism, Brahmanism, Jainism, worship of fire and Islam flourished side by side in the regions of Kapisa and Gandhāra during the period under consideration. This shows the catholocity of spirit of the people during early medieval period. Even the Muslims who invaded Kapisa and Gandhāra and neighbouring countries again and again were allowed to live in peace and harmony with others in the earlier part of the period. Thus, the religious life of Kapisa and Gandhāra during the period under survey was expressed in a number of faiths and beliefs differing from each other in points of philosophy and rituals. Therefore, it seems that the spirit of toleration prevalent elsewhere
in India is also in practice here.

Al-būrūnī has put forward the view that a spirit of animosity existed between the Buddhists and Brahmanas here. But he himself admits that Buddhists are more akin to the Brahmanas than any other religionists of this area.

We find from Hsüan-tsang’s account that the Brahmanas served as the custodian of several sacred relics in the shrines of Nagarahāra.

If there existed any enmity of feeling or hatred between the Buddhists and Brahmanas, it would not have been possible for the Brahmanas to serve in these capacities. Moreover, we find in this age several cases of conversion to Buddhism. Viradeva, son of the court priests and chief minister of Nagarahāra was initiated into Buddhism. Another Brahmana also accepted Buddhism and went to China. In China he translated several Sanskrit treatises into Chinese.

Al-būrūnī, also mentioned that there was little disputing about theological topics and people did not stake their life or property for this. Therefore, it appears that there may exist some form of animosity between the two sects in some areas, but in general, policy of toleration was followed.
According to the evidence of Chinese texts, the Huns followed the policy of religious persecution in the previous centuries. This is evidenced by the large number of stupas and monasteries of Kapisa and Gandhara and in the neighboring countries, which showed signs of burning and vandalism.

In the period under survey, we find no such cases except the Muslims. Muslims followed this policy from the very beginning and up to the end of our time.

As already mentioned above, they attacked, looted and destroyed the people and property of this area for the only reason that they were infidels and idolators. They exacted tribute and imposed Ziyāya on the people of this area. They forcibly converted a large number of inhabitants of the area concerned.

According to Al-Biruni, Prince Nasir-Addaula Sabuktigin, of the Samani dynasty of Ghazna, chose the holy war as his calling and styled himself Al-Ghazni, i.e. warring in the road of Allah. In his opinion, Sultan Mahmud followed in his father's footsteps and "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and formed their wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became atoms of dust scattered in all directions and like a tell of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish
the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. And their antagonism receives more and more nourishments from both the political and the religious sources afterwards."

This description shows how far the policy of persecution was followed by the Muslims in this region. The ruins of cities, temples, and monasteries bear mute testimony to such an act.
Notes and References

1. R.V. I, p. 126, 7; Aitariya Brahman, VII, p. 34; Satapatha Brahman, VII, 1, 4, 10.

2. As on No. 1; Select Inscription, Book II, Besenagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodorus, pp. 88-89; R.E. Whitehead, P.M.C., Vima, pp. 183ff., pl. xvii, fig. 31, 33, 36; pp. 187, pl. XVII, fig. 65; p. 189, pl. XIX, fig. 151, pp. 208, pl. XIX, fig. 209-210.

3. CII, Vol. II, Pt. I, Swat Relic vase Inscription of the Meridarkh Theodorus, pp. 1-4; Taxila C.P. Inscription of a Meridarkh, pp. 4-6; Tirath Rock Inscription, pp. 8-9; Taxila C.P. Inscription of Patika of the year 78, pp. 22-29; Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription, p. 77; Peshawar Museum, No. 20, pp. 79ff.

4. Coins of Sasanians, Kushanas, amply demonstrated this prevalence of fire worship in the regions concerned. R.B. Whitehead, P.M.C., pp. 187, pl. xvii, fig. 63, 64; p. 190, pl. XVIII, fig. 92; p. 195, fig. 117, pl. XVIII.

5. Coinage of Indo-Greeks, Scythians, Parthaians, Kushanas illustrated the prevalence of this Hellenistic cult here. Ibid., pp. 9-10, pl. I, fig. 1, 4, 6; p. 13, pl. I, fig. 22; p. 16, pl. II, fig. 41; p. 18, pl. II, fig. 54; p. 38, pl. X, fig. 1-2; pl. X, fig. 4; p. 186, pl. XVII, fig. 53, p. 201, pl. XIX, fig. 162.

12. Ibid.
16. Life, p. 56. "In that temple" (of the Great Vehicle) there was (a Doctor) of the three Pitakas, called Manojaghosha (Mo-nu-jo-kiu-sha), and also a Sa-po-ta, contd ......
A-liye-fa-ma (i.e. Arya varama of the Sarvāstivādins school) and also a priest of the Mi-sha-sha (Mahisasakas) named Ku-na-po-ta." Also see Watters, Vol.I, p.226; J.N. Banerjea, Schools of Buddhism in Early Indian Inscriptions, I.H.Q., Vol.XXIV, 1948, No. 4, p.251ff.

17. G.I.I., Vol.II, pt. I. As on No.3. Most of the inscriptions record gifts to the Sarvāstivādins. Some of them refers to the establishment of stupas on relics of the Buddha. The donors made a gift of these stupas to the Sarvāstivādins.

18. Life, 54-56.


22. Life, p. 56.

23. Ibid.


26. Life, pp. 54-55.

27. Ibid., pp. 56-57.


29. Life, pp. 54-55.


31. Ibid. All these divinities are represented by the sculptures recovered from Gandhāra — ASTAR, VII, p.145; Charsada — ASTAR, II, p.165, 167ff.; Sahr-i-Bahlol — ASTAR, VI, p. 37, 38, 105, 115, pls. 32, 33, IX, p. 54, 55, pls. 19, 20, 21, XI, contd ....
y.106, pl. 40; Taxila — ASIAR, XII, PI. 11, 13, pls. 50, 70, 80, VII, 145; Sahr-i-bahlol, ASIAR, IX, #55, pl. 21b.

32. See Watters, pp. 126, 128, 129, 183-84, 196, 202, 205, 208.
40. Ibid., Life, p. 59.
41. Ibid., p. 59.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 184, 196-98.
47. Ibid.
51. Ibid., II, p. 325.
53. Ibid. Life, pp. 60-63.
54. As on No. 31.
55. See Chapter on Social Condition, Note 130; also see Watters, Vol. I, p. 216; The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 386.
59. Ibid.
63. Berthaux, Les Fouilles De Hadda, Vol.III, pl. 99, figs. a, b, c, d, f, g (Demons grotesque), pl. 100, figs. a-g, pl. 101, figs. a-f, and pl. 102.
67. Ibid., pp. 123, 344.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid.
70. Life, pp. 56-57, 193.
72. Ibid., p. 208.
73. Ibid., pp. 206-14, 217.
74. Life, pp. 56-57.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.

81. The Age of Imperial Kanauj, pp. 259-75; Struggle for Empire, pp. 404-26.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. The Age of Imperial Kanauj, pp. 262-63.


87. As on No. 80 above; also MMK, Vol.II, Ch.26, pp. 293ff.

88. Ibid., Vol.II, p. 325.

89. The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 259.


91. Ibid., pp. 259ff; Agni Purāṇa, Ch.133, sl. 27-41; 134-135 - 1-6; 137 - 1-18; 138 - 8-14; 143 - 1-17; Ch. 144-147.

92. Ibid. MMK, Vol.I, Ch.2; II, Ch.26, p. 293.

94. Sachau, Ch. I, p. 21.
95. Ibid.
96. Sachau, Ch. I, p. 23.
97. Coins of the Turki and Hindu Shahis reveal their beliefs in fire worship and Brahmamism instead of Buddhism, though according to Wu-ku-oung, 'Hye Chao, a few of them patronised the later. Later Indoscythians, pl. X, 3-5, 7, 9, 10, 11; Coins of Medieval India, pp. 62-66; pl. VII, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Instances of Brahmanas acting as guards and door-keepers of sacred relics also points to this fact, Life, p. 59; Watters, Vol. I, p. 128.
98. As on No. 94.
99. As stated above coins and inscriptions of Turki and Hindu Shahis bear testimony to this fact, see Note 97.
101. R. B. Whitehead, P.M.C., pp. 183ff., pl. XVII, figs. 31, 33, 36; pp. 208, pl. XIX, figs. 209, 210; p. 4, pl. IV, pp. 231,
283, p. 127; pl. XII, pp. 288, pl. XVI, 84; later Indo-Scythians, p. 256, pl. VII, 1, 2, 4; also see 100.

102. Ibid.


104. Ibid.


111. Ibid.

112. ASIAR, 1923-24, p. 69. As on note 100.


114. As on 99 above.

115. Ibid.

116. As on note 99 above.


120. Well illustrated by the sculptures of the region and period concerned, Barrett, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 54-59.


122. \textit{Ibid.}


125. As on note 113.


127. As on note 124.

128. Vayu — 17th Ch., Sl.49; 30th, pp. 285-316, 166, 318-320; Agni, Ch. 95, Sl. 53-60.

129. \textit{Ibid.}


134. Ibid.


136. Mark. Pr. Ch. 91, 46, 47.

137. As on note 133.


139. As on note 133.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid.

142. As on note 131.

143. Ibid.


145. Ibid.

146. H. Hargreaves, Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum, p. 57, Table Case No. M.

147. The Age of Imperial Unity, Ch. XIX, pp. 468-69; The Classical Age, Ch. XVII, p. 444.

148. Ibid.
149. Mats, Ch.168, Sl. 20-24; 169, Sl. 1-18, pp. 5 and 6 - 89. Kasyapa Samhita, The Classical Age, p. 444.

150. Ibid.


152. I.M.C. Goins of Gupta DynasMes., Allan.


154. Coins of Medieval India, p.64, pl.vii, 15, 16.

155. ASIAR, 1934-35, pl.VIII(f); A. Foucher, L'Art Grec-Bouddhique de Gandhara, Paris, 1905, Tome II, Fig. 372; M. Taddie, "An interesting relief from Swat Valley," E & W. N.S. 16, No. 1-2, pp. 84-88, fig. 2. Fig. 4 - Sun.

156. Ibid.


161. ASIAR, XV, 76; Raj., p. 249, n. 177-78.
162. Ibid.
163. Sachau, Ch. VII, pp. 79-82.
164. As on note 156.
165. See note 151, p. 55, figs. 1a, 1b.
166. Ibid. ASIAR, Vol. XIII, 50, 51, 52, 53; SV. 66.
167. RV, X, 37; I. 50; I - 115; Vishnu, i, 154; i-155, 'Sun-worship - Aryans The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 465-66; The Classical Age, pp. 487-89.
168. Ibid. Dr. Sam., Ch. LIX, 19.
170. Ibid. B. Rowland, Art & Architecture of India, pl. 57.
172. B.I., Vol. XXII, 1933-34, pl. 97-98.
174. See note 170.
175. B. Rowland, Art & Architecture of India, pl. 57.
176. As on note 172.
177. Ibid.
178. Br. Sam. - Sakadvipi Brahmanas - Ch. LIX, 19; Ajay Mitra, Sastri, India as Seen in the Brihat Samhita, Delhi, Patna, Varanasi, 1969, 139-140.
179. The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 465-466.

181. Representation of Aths, God of fire in Kanishka's coins and the Surkh Kotal Inscription well illustrates this point.

182. As on note 4.

183. Later Indo-Scythians, pp. 276-177-78, pl. VII, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9; pp. 281-82, 283, pl. VIII, figs. 3, 4, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17; pp. 284-85, 286, pl. IX, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17; Linga — Ch. 84 - 1-10; 11-22, 23-25; Ch. 87 — 11-25, 1-72.

184. Ibid., NSK MALKA, p. 287, pl. IX, 18, 19, 20, 22.


188. Sachau, Vol.I, Ch.1, p.21; "Another circumstances which increased the already existing antagonism between Hindus and foreigners is that so-called Shahaniiya (Buddhists), though they cordially hate the Brahmanas still are nearer akin to them than to the others. In former times Khurasan, Persia, Iran, Mosul, the country upto the Frontiers of Syria was Buddhistic, but then Zarathrustra went forth from Adhrabaijan and preached magism in Balkh (Bactria). His doctrine came into favour with king Chushtasp, and his son Isfediyads spread new faith both in east and west, both by force and by treatise. He founded fire temples through his whole empire from the frontiers of China to contd ....
those of the Greek empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state religion for Persia and Iran. In consequence Buddhists were banished from those countries and had to migrate to the countries east of Balkh."

189. F.D.J. Paruck, Sasanian Coins, p. 51; Ardashir, II, pl. I, figs. 13-22; pl. II, figs. 1-44, pl. III, 1-2; pl. IV, figs. 1-3; pl. VI, 1-5, 12; pl. VII, 10; pl. X, fig. 1; pl. XI, fig. 1; pl. XIV, fig. 1; pl. XVII, fig. 1, pl. XXVIII, figs. 1-5, 43.


191. Ibid., pp. 123, 251.

192. Samarică kahā, 36, 3-45, 13; Intro., pp. XXXIV.


196. Ibid., pt. XIX, pp. 166, 189.


199. Ibid.


201. See notes 195, 196, 197, 198 and 200.

202. See chapter on Political Background; Baladhuri, Vol. II, Ch. XVIII, pp. 141-155.

203. Ibid., Ch. XIX, pp. 159-214.

204. See notes 201 and 202.
207. Ibid.
208. Ibid.
209. As on notes 201, 202, 203.
211. Ibid., p. 6.
212. Ibid., p. 10.
213. Ibid., p. 6.
215. Ibid.
216. See notes 211 and 212; op. cit., pp. 200-201.
217. MINORSKY, op. cit., § 10, 54, p. 91f.
219. Ibid., § 10, 56.
220. Stud. in Ind. Mid. Hist., Ch. III, p. 25; Ch. IV, p. 49.
220A. The Age of Imperial Kanauj, Ch. XIV, p. 452.
220B. This was carried on by the Sufi saints, "the first of whom was Shaikh Ismail of Lahore. He was followed by Shaikh 'Ali-bin Usman-al Hujwarri, better known under his sobriquet of Data Gang Baksh who died in A.D. 1072 and whose tomb at Lahore is one of the most popular Muslim shrines in the Punjab." — The Struggle for Empire, Ch. XVI, p. 467.
221. Sachau, Ch. I, p. 21ff.
222. Ibid.
223. Life, pp. 59, 62.
225. Watters, p. 182.
226. Ibid.
229. ASIAR, 1895, Vol. V.
230. Baladkuri, K xiv, a I, 143-198; ob. ii, 150-151; ft. vi, a I, 159-166; b, 152-157, 197-204
231. As on notes 200 and also see Stud. in Mid. Ind. Hist., Ch. III, IV.
232. Ibid.
233. As on note 21.
234. Ibid.