EPILOGUE

An academic study has to come to an end though the queries might be everlasting. It is with this feeling that I am winding up my work but I am sure I will very soon start digging again into the ravages of past for more.

Each and every chapter that I have discussed in my study can be elaborated into a separate study in itself. For me the most enlightening aspect has been the links that I could manage to find and establish between Lakulisa-Pasupata order and other such esoteric orders like Siddhayogesvarimata, Kaula tradition, Natha Sampradaya and Vajrayana Buddhism to mention a few important ones.

Though the initial intention of this thesis was to study the dichotomy between ritual and philosophy but the examination of varied data led to interesting revelations which prove that the dichotomy is only apparent and does not really exist. On closer observation one finds that this idea of dichotomy with which I started emerges out of ignorance and lack of understanding of the system. The so called 'wild and horrid practices' possess a logic of their own and are not 'Pre Aryan' aberrations as many scholars would like us to believe. As I tracked the antiquity of such practices interestingly while on one hand I was directed to various tantric texts it also led to various Vedic texts too. Same is true also for the inquiry into the nature of Siva-linga which again lead to Vedic precedents. This knowledge has greatly contributed to my understanding of the said system and also opened up various novel possibilities of looking into the system with renewed interest.

Dealing with texts originals, translations and adaptations helped me contextualize the thoughts and beliefs of this order into the larger body of Saivite thought. In this process the the early Saivite imagery and its iconological import proved to be very helpful. Visiting sites like Karvan, Elephanta, Jogesvari, Jagesvara and Ellora helped me see the visuals in the new light. Earlier during study tours I had seen and understood the panels in these sites from an iconographical perspective but now I could see them as didactic panels trying to popularize a certain line of thought. The interesting link between theology and literature is represented in the most apparent manner in the panels seen at all the temples dedicated to Lakulisa-Pasupata order. The impact of Kalidasa's writings on art brings the point home completely.

The query started when I read about the extremely irrational sounding rituals prescribed for the aspirant of this order. Moreover I was agitated by the antifeminist declarations in PS where it asks aspirants to shun women. Left at that the study would not have progressed further and like most people the order would have appeared as a male chauvinistic one to me. understanding the nature of the sutras I realized that these injunctions were meant for young male aspirants who had to follow brahmacarya and interaction with a woman would have meant losing all the concentration and dedication that this order demands. I could find parallel between such suggestions and Plato's banning of artist from Utopia on the pretext that they can delude people. This idea of 'possible delusion' and to keep their precious disciples under control seems to have been the reason for such harsh words against women.

Philosophically the concept of mukhlingas and pancmukhalinga has been very important for LP order. It is clear that the narrative panels were meant for the laity but a true ascetic had to concentrate on the Sadasiva aspect, pancavaktramurti of Siva which is much more abstract. This idea has been discussed at length by Maxwell and Kramrisch in their papers and in this context two images 'Nand Linga' and 'Saiva heptad from Parel' comes across as interesting examples of Saiva images as 'meditational constructs'

The imposing image of Sadasiva seen at Elephanta too falls in the same category and so do mukhlingas from various parts of the country and beyond.

The detailed study on ling and linga worship opened new vistas for me. The juncture at which this term started to be used as a phallic symbol was interesting to figure out. The erotic symbolism in Vedas as presented by Dange helped me better in understanding this potent symbol.

Seeing Vedic and Tantric thought not as two antagonistic streams but two different methods addressing the same query shattered many a myths that I had been taking for granted. I am greatly indebted to insightful writings by Pt.Gopinath Kaviraj whose words for the first time made me see this connection and which I hope to carry further in my future research.

SOME MYSTICAL ASPECTS OF THE KASHMIRI FOLKTALE AKANANDUN

Geetika Kaw Kher

Folklore reflects folk values and folk beliefs which are interactive and integral components of culture and ethos of a people. Various genres of folklore like folktales, folksongs, ballads, oral epic, folk theatre and other forms essentially contain features that enrich social life with all their vivacity and variety. Kashmir has rich folkloric traditions that go back to centuries, sharing many pan-Indian traits and characteristics and yet retaining a distinct regional flavour. Today origins of several themes that appear in Kashmiri folklore forms have totally faded away from folk memory, while some themes have not survived in their original form, having undergone mutations and variations due to a number of undetermined factors.

While magic, mystery and the supernatural element form inseparable aspects of folklore, there are several folktales in Kashmiri, as in other Indian languages, which have themes and structures permeated by elements that lend themselves easily to allegorical interpretations and reveal a vast potential for "atemporal- mystical" meaning. Not the surface or literal meaning that can be baffling and confusing at times as it defies logical thinking, but the deeper message that may need semiotic tools to decode it. One such tale from Kashmir which has terribly fascinated me with its intriguing central motif of mystical restoration to life or renewal of life is the story of Akanandun. The story, which has a didactic aspect, has been told, retold, presented many times, hence I am focusing on the core of the story rather than the details which might have been added later.

Apart from the central motif the other recognizable one with which the story starts is that of an intense desire that people have for a male child. The anxiety to have a male heir to perpetuate the ancestral lineage is a most commonly discerned trait in patriarchal communities. There are stories about the absurd lengths that parents go to in order to have this desire fulfilled. In the story of *Akanandun* too we find Akanandun's parents, who happen to be a king and a queen, desperate to have a son

although they already have seven daughters, the number seven not being without symbolical significance. On their part, the daughters too are shown filled with intense longing to have a brother. It is at this psychological moment that the Jogi appears as if out of nowhere and making his crucial entry in the story, offers to grant them their wish, though not without a condition. They are unable to believe their ears, with the prospect of having a son so overwhelming them that they are prepared to do anything to have him. The Jogi knows their weaknesses, the intensity of their desperation, and elicits from them the promise that they will return the child bestowed on them through his miraculous powers, exactly twelve years after his birth. Without giving a second thought to the implication this could actually have, Akanandun's parents, accept the Jogi's condition. Delirious with joy at his birth, they rejoice and bring him up offering all the pleasures that they can provide, imagining the period of twelve years to be an eternity away.

Lost completely in the flow of happiness that the presence of their son brings to them, the royal couple tries to wish away the future. Probably the fear of losing the child may have lurked somewhere in their subconscious, but they do not let that come to the surface and hamper their joy. Once engrossed in the pleasures that they experience in boy's company, they totally lose sight of the threat that looms over them because of the promise. But the Jogi does not forget; he remembers the promise very well and returns exactly at the stipulated time, demanding that the boy be returned to him. Suddenly they wake up as though from a dream. The reality of the Jogi's appearance shatters their reverie and they beg the Jogi to spare the child and take whatever else he wants.

Here the story seems to highlight the aspect of 'moha'. The couple and their seven daughters have grown extremely fond of the boy and they weep, wail and use every stratagem to invoke the Jogi's sympathy. But the latter has given up the world and along with it all materialistic concerns. He remains unmoved, untouched by the extreme emotions displayed by the family and makes it plain that he will have nothing but the child. He harshly reminds them of their fateful promise. As the moment of realization of the actual implication of the promise dawns, gloom descends upon the minds of Akanandun's parents. It is a state of unmitigated despair.

Greatly aggrieved and pained, the parents oblige with a heavy heart and call Akanandun, a young, energetic and handsome lad of 12 who has shown great promise in all the fields, asking him to go with the hard-hearted ascetic. But what follows is unimaginable horror, something worse than the worst of nightmares. The Jogi instead of taking the boy with him commands that he be cleansed and draped in new clothes. And when the child is ready, he takes him to a side and axes him in full view of his parents. How terrible it must have been for them to witness the gory act! But their horror does not end here. The Jogi starts cutting the boy's body in small pieces and nonchalantly separates the flesh from the bones. This leaves the parents shell shocked but helpless. In front of them is their dear son, killed and chopped into pieces. Imagine the condition of the mother who was then ordered by the Jogi to wash the pieces of the meat and cook them as a dish. The fact that she is shown complying with such a gruesome order cannot be explained except in terms of faith and points to the awe and reverence with which such ascetics were held. Fear of a curse or the demonstration of his tremendous supernatural powers by the Jogi can be of course a plausible cause, but it is not out of fear alone that a mother can force herself to take such a horrible step. Somewhere, it implies a trust in the spiritual prowess of the Jogi who had given her the greatest happiness of her life. But he is shown going a step further in this drama of horrors. Crossing all limits, he commands her to taste the flesh to see if it is properly cooked and also to serve the dish in seven vessels and cover them with a white cloth. Again she complies, almost mechanically. But she can control her feelings no more when the ascetic asks her to call Akanandun to partake of his share of the horrible meal. She bursts into tears and says that in no way can this be possible for her. She cries her heart out, but the Jogi does not relent. There must have been something in the Jogi's voice that makes her call her son, but she does so in most pitiful a voice --a wail of a lamenting mother on whom the extent of her loss has just dawned. But even as she is undergoing these extreme emotions, Akanandun comes rushing into the room and takes his place, ready to have the meal. Dazed and bewildered, the family can believe their eyes no more. They turn their questioning glances towards the Jogi, only to find no one there. The holy man has disappeared along with the seven vessels. There is nothing which can remind them of the dreadful act they had witnessed only moments back. Was it all unreal, an illusion, maya? Who was the Jogi in reality and what was the purpose of his testing them in this manner?

The story is full of macabre and violent imagery, suffused to the core with bibhatsa rasa, arousing tremendous jugupsa (disgust), yet I feel that somewhere it has a cleansing power. A catharsis of sorts is achieved by reading and sure enough by watching the story being enacted. The narrative takes us through different planes of emotion, increases our heartbeats, purges us of the emotions of pity and fear embedded in our psyche. On one hand it has its own value as a moving human story; on the other it offers us an outlet into the realm of the mysterious, of supernatural powers and miracles accessible only through faith. Probably this is why the narrative has had a great appeal for Kashmiri Sufi poets like Samad Mir, Ahad Zargar and others who have used it to illustrate their concept of tawakkul or submission before God's wish – an important stage in their spiritual practice.

As it emerges, the Jogi is a central character in the story of *Akanadun*. What is of great significance is that he connects the folktale unmistakably with the pan-Indian tradition of a sect of renouncer ascetics who have passed into folklore from their origins as followers of the Nath *sampradaya* that was founded by the legendary Gorakh Nath or Gorakshanatha, probably in the 10th century. Their beliefs and practices are largely associated with Shaivite asceticism and Buddhist Tantrik ideology, the word *jogi* being a derivative of Skt. *yogi*. Following Gorakh Nath's teachings, the *jogis* practice various meditative and physical techniques to achieve self-realization. About Gorakh Nath, to whom these *jogis* trace their lineage, the legend goes as follows:

Once a devotee of Shiva desired offspring, so the god, at Parvati's intercession, gave him some ashes from his *dhuni* or fire and told him to make his wife eat them. His wife, however, was incredulous and did not comply but let the ashes fall on a heap of cow dung. Eventually the devotee found a child where the ashes had been thrown, and took it to Shiva, who said that the child will grow up to be a yogi, a great spiritual soul and will return back to him.

Jogi is the popular designation of Gorakh Nath's followers, the adherents of the Nath cult. Their cult spread rapidly through many parts of India, especially in the north, and in popular thought they came to be associated with certain external trappings and peculiarities of behavior. Smeared with sacred ashes and wearing ochre robes and

large earrings in split ears with a begging bowl in hand they went from village to village and town to town to beg for alms, fervently making utterances like "Alakh Niranjan" or invoking the name of Shiva. Stories and tales of their extraordinary spiritual powers and secret knowledge, believed to have been acquired by them through rigorous cultic practices and strict self-discipline, gathered volume and became a remarkable part of popular lore over time. The figure of the jogi with all his idiosyncrasies appeared persistently and ubiquitously in Sanskrit as well as regional literatures and various folklore genres of India. Although a renouncer of the world and worldly pleasures, he often interfered in the affairs of the householders to whom he went for alms, helping them to solve their problems or to have their mundane wishes fulfilled through his mysterious supernatural powers. These included, among other things, the powers to bestow a child, more often a son, to infertile couples and to restore the dead to life. In many folktales related to the Jogis, we see them performing miraculous feats in a matter of fact manner, which made them favourite characters of the common people.

Our Jogi in the Kashmiri tale of Akanandun too is endowed with these extraordinary powers and fits well with the general character of such ascetics in the pan-Indian Nath traditions. The tale has survived from submergence under the flood of Islamic religio-historical themes probably because of its popularization by the Sufi poets, for whom, as pointed out earlier, it served as an illustration of concepts related to their spiritual practice. The Jogi features as a character in a few other Kashmiri folktales as well, but with only minor and peripheral roles to play. The power of restoration to or renewal of life that the Jogi demonstrates in the Akanadun story is its main motif. This motif is not, however, confined to the jogi lore alone, but is a cross-cultural one. It can be seen, for instance, in the well known Biblical story of Abraham and Isaac as the motif of resurrection. Gen 22 NIV states that God ordered Abraham to take his only son, Isaac, to the region of Mariah and sacrifice him as a burnt offering to Him.

A story related to the myth of resurrection is also found in Egyptian Myth of Osiris, the god of afterlife who was cut into pieces by his arch enemy Set and was brought back to life by his wife Isis. Isis collected all the body parts and arranged them in order and started singing a song while going around the pieces until her husband came back to life and later on came to be known as the 'god of afterlife'.

One finds in these different stories a stress on faith and trust, which appears to be their point of intersection. Somewhere in our story of Akanandun too it is faith and trust of the family, especially the mother, in the Jogi that seem to have been tested. One sees here a willing submission to the wishes of someone who has blessed her with a son. But the story appears to go even beyond that. What the Jogi wants to demonstrate through his act of disappearance towards the end is that the nature of both life and death is illusory.

As Subhash Kak observes, the idea of *paroksha* or paradox, in Epic myths can be extended to folk literature too. In such narratives the moral ambiguity works like the hubris of Greek myth and drama, creating a space that is not quite in the realm of gods, although it is superhuman. The story of Akanandun has definitely a mystical message to convey at the allegorical level. This can be decoded only after studying the violent imageries in the tale in the light of their motivational factors and the elements it has in common with the popular lore related to the Jogi tradition in other regional languages of India.

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE SECTARIAN AFFILIATION OF THE RUINS AT *HARWAN*

Geetika Kaw Kher

This paper seeks to address questions of representation and interpretation of the monuments unearthed at Harwan, Kashmir. These days, strenuous efforts are being made to project Harwan as an unproblematic Buddhist site and promote it as a destination for cultural tourism by linking it with the great Central Asian tradition. In this effort, scholars have deliberately underplayed facts and attributed all monuments found in the area to Buddhists, ignoring any other cultic possibility.

Stein identifies 'Harwan' with Shadarhadvana (grove of six saints), a locality mentioned in Rajatarangini [Stein M.A., 'Kalhana's Rajatarangini,' Vol. II, p. 455 & Vol. I, Book I, p. 31, Delhi 1989]. According to Kalhana, the great Buddhist thinker Nagarjuna belonged to this place; hence the Buddhist connection is inevitable.

Following a chance discovery of few moulded brick tiles at the beginning of the 20th century, the importance of the site was realized, though it took another 10-15 years to seriously survey it. The area was filled with cornfields, but interestingly, there was a square patch of land which had no cultivation and was covered by turf only. This aroused interest and the area was excavated to reveal the ruins of a Buddhist site situated halfway up the slope of a mountain bordering a lateral branch of the main valley. These walls were constructed in what has been called "diaper rubble style," wherein a number of large undressed boulders are placed in one row with intervening spaces filled with smaller stones, so that the entire façade presents a diaper effect, hence the name. Among the buildings constructed in this style were found

- 1] The triple base of a medium sized stupa
- 2] A set of rooms which might have been Buddhist viharas

The stupa is built in the middle of a rectangular courtyard facing north. Digging under its foundations revealed a copper coin of Toramana, the White Hun ruler who flourished around the 5th century AD. His monuments at Eran (Madhya Pradesh) dated around the same time point to his peak period of activity. Hence the stupa could not have been constructed earlier than the 5th century AD. The viharas surrounding the stupa must have been constructed after or simultaneously with the stupa, hence whatever proof we find of Buddhist activity is all post 5th century AD.

Apart from these structures there were excavated some more walls in crude pebble style (still seen in many village temples in Kashmir) and in a style which can be called a cross between pebble style and diaper style.

Immediately around the stupa is a narrow fringe of figured tile pavement. Closer examination showed that nearly all pieces were fragmentary and no group of adjacent pieces completed a motif. Such incoherence is usually seen in monuments which are constructed using fragments of existing monuments, such as the Quwat-ul-Islam mosque in the Qutb complex, made from the remains of 22 Jaina and Hindu temples.

The tile pavement thus raises interesting questions regarding the original monument to which the tiles belonged. Closer scrutiny of the hillside revealed that the ruins were arranged in level terraces, on each of which stood several buildings. On the highest terrace was excavated a large apsidal temple built in picturesque diaper-pebble style masonry. The temple consists of a spacious rectangular antechamber with a circular sanctum covered with a terracotta tiled floor with various motifs. The plan of the temple is very similar to Lomas Rsi cave in Barabar hills (Bihar) and the early chaitya at Kondivite near Bombay.

There is no trace of a stupa, while what remains at the site is a low section of the wall and original floor of the courtyard, which were faced with stamped terracotta tiles. The floor tiles were arranged to suggest the form of an enormous open lotus, possibly representing the cosmic lotus. The lotus symbology pervades all Indian art, whether Hindu, Buddhist or Jaina. Similarly, the motifs found on these floor tiles do not point towards any sectarian affiliation. That these tiles occupied exactly the position they were laid in by ancient workmen is borne but by the fact that each one bears a number in Kharoshthi script, the order of the tiles in a series being in strict accordance with their consecutive numeral order. The existence of Kharoshthi numerals also more or less allows one to tentatively date the tiles. According to R.C. Kak, by the 5th century AD Kharoshthi ceased to be the main language in the area and the fact that even a common labourer was expected to know the language points to the time when the language was at its peak popularity; hence he suggests 3rd-4th century as the date of the structure [Kak R.C, 'Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,' p. 109-110, Srinagar, Kashmir, 2002].

Most curious and interesting are the tiles running all around the temple, depicting three naked ascetics in the central band with a row of geese holding half blown lotus in their bill in the lower band.

The upper band portrays figures conversing above a railing. The division of space as well as the conversing figures on the top band is very similar to Kusana Mathura sculptures the second century AD. On the basis of the script and style, the tiles can be dated to 3rd-4th century AD. The facial features resemble faces found at Ushkur and Akhnur regions.

Most interesting here is the **posture and the nakedness of the ascetic figures** – both unseen in Buddhist representations. Hence one cannot club them together with the stupa and vihara ruins. This shows that before the Buddhist monuments were constructed, a part of the site or the whole site was dedicated to some other sect or cult. The ascetics are shown seated in 'kakasana' and seem to be in meditation.

Sastri in his work on **Ajivikas** states: "...The Ajivikas covered their bodies with dust and ate ordure of a calf. Other austerities they practiced were painful squatting on heels, swinging in the air like bats, reclining on thorns and scorching themselves with five fire (panchagni tapas). These mendicants roamed about the country propagating their mysterious themes... Their love of solitude, disdain of comfort, even of decencies, performing penances which almost broke their mortal frame attracted the society" [Sastri N., Ajivikas (from Tamil Sources), Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Rao Institute, p. 419-422, 1941]

The possibility of the monument being dedicated to Ajivikas seems probable, because the ascetic figure seems to fit the description of an Ajivika ascetic. Plan-wise also, it has similarity with Lomas Rsi cave which along with Sudama cave have been dedicated to Ajivika monks.

Unfortunately none of the original works of Ajivikas survives, though we know of their existence through various Buddhist and Jaina sources. Asoka's Pillar Edict VII mentions Ajivikas, and Barabar hills have a dedicatory inscription clearly mentioning that the cave was dedicated to this sect.

It is believed the original Ajivika texts were written in an eastern Prakrit, perhaps similar to the Jaina Prakrit Ardhamagadhi. Quotations and adaptations from these texts appear to have been inserted into Jaina and Buddhist accounts of the Ajivikas. Makkhali Gosala is regarded as the founder leader of the Ajivikas, and one source of his teachings is the Buddhist Digha Nikaya.

Three Tamil texts, the Manimakalai of the Buddhists, the Nilakesi of the Jainas, and the Sivajnanasiddhiyar of the Saivites, all contain outlines of Ajivika doctrine. The stories of the origin of Ajivika leader Makkhali Gosala are to be found in the Bhagwati Sutra and in Buddhaghosa's

commentary on the Samanna-phala-sutta. As Basham points out, both these texts clearly show dislike and scorn felt by both Jainas and Buddhists for Makkhali Gosala [Basham A.L., 'History and Doctrine of Ajivikas; a vanished Indian religion,' 1951].

Bhagvati sutra states that Gosala was a slave who, while walking over a patch of muddy ground holding a pot of oil, was hailed by his master with words 'don't stumble old fellow' (tata makhal iti). Despite the warning, he carelessly tripped and spilt the oil. Fearing his master's anger, he tried to run away, but his master chased him and managed to catch the edge of his robe. Leaving his garment behind, Gosala escaped in the state of nudity and hence he became a naked mendicant and acquired the name of Mankhali. These and several other such statements clearly point towards an abhorrence of nudity, while on the other hand come across as fabrications of people who want to put down another cult or sect.

Jainas and Buddhists, considering Ajivikas their most dangerous rivals, show how popular the sect was, especially in the 5th -4th centuries BC when the different sects were forming. Asoka in his Seventh Pillar Edict ranks Ajivikas third in importance among the religious groups he patronized after Buddhists and Brahmans. They were thus ahead of the Jainas. After this period the Ajivikas declined and the main references to them are found only in Tamil literature; there is evidence they survived in South India until the fourteenth century.

Gosala started his ascetic life as a mankha, an ancient class of mendicants, whose symbol was the carrying of a bamboo staff. Scholars differ regarding the religious leanings of Ajivikas. Kern considers them a sub-division of Vaisnavas, worshipping Narayana. Bhandarkar opines that the Ajivikas or a section of them were the predecessors of Lakulisa Pasupatas or even Sivabhagvatas of Patanjali [Bhandarkar D.R., 'Ajivikas,' Indian Antiquity, p. 286-290, 1912]

This can be collated with the fact that Kalkacharya, a fifth century Jaina astrologer, calls Ajivikas as bhagvatas. Danielou goes further and calls Lakulisa an Ajivika ascetic. "It was an Ajivika called Lakulisa, one of those wandering monks who maintained the heritage of the ancient knowledge in an occult tradition, who judged the moment opportune to reveal it, causing a great revolution in society. This corresponds to the greatest period in Indian civilization, which was to last for more than a millennium. Lakulisa (the name means "Club-bearing Lord") restored an extraordinary impetus to Saivism, reestablished the pre-Aryan culture, and united, under the name of the Pashupata(s) (followers of Pashupati, Lord of Animals), the different sects that had survived in semi-secrecy for centuries."

The similarities one comes across in the practices of Ajivika and Laulisa-Pasupata order are too many to be just coincidence. To start with, ascetics following both orders carry a bamboo lance (danda), perform panchagni tapas, move around naked and resort to song and dance as a medium to reach ultimate reality. During his last years, Gosala observed a vow of silence (vacam pahaya) and lived in a state of trance. He practiced dance and drunkenness and like certain Saivite saints pondered upon the mysterious term 'Halla', to invoke the Supreme Being during ecstatic dances. All Ajivika(s) used music and dance as ecstatic media and knew the secret of the technique of resuscitating the dead by the transfer of their own vital energy, one of the Siddhi(s) (powers) obtained through Yoga. This power was called pautta parihara by the disciples of Gosala. Hence the connection of Ajivikas with Saivas seems quite plausible.

Nevertheless, the philosophy of both orders is drastically different. While Ajivikas believed in Niyativada, Lakulisa seems to have formulated a school of thought which bridged the gap between early dualistic Saiva philosophy and later monistic school of Kashmir Saivism. Unfortunately not much has survived to suggest the importance and extent of Lakulisa order in Kashmir,

but the fact that Abhinavagupta, the 10th century AD philosophical giant, grants the school a position next only to his highly evolved system, speaks of its importance [Pandey K.C., 'Abhinavagupta, A historical and philosophical study,' 2000].

A tradition in the Agama, quoted by Abhinavagupta, records the receiving of the doctrine by Lakula from Swachchhanda, thus linking the system with much complicated and curious Bhairava tradition of Kashmir. Moreover, the images of Lakulisa seen on Pandrethan and Payar temples point towards its worship in the valley somewhere in the seventh and eighth centuries.

It is beyond our scope to dig into the antiquity of Lakulisa-Pasupata order, but one has attempted to show that cultural and artistic heritage never perishes but only transforms from one form to another. Though iconoclasts in their zeal to ravage whatever is left of the past try their best to eradicate proof of its existence, there are always some clues, some hints hidden at deeper levels, and it is for the discerning eye and questing mind to locate them.

Paper Published in:

Heritage of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh, Edited by G.L. Badam and K.K. Chakravarty, Research India Press, 2010