

COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY IN PAKISTAN:
THREE SITES IN GANDHARA AS A CASE STUDY

A Master's Thesis



by
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Ankara
May 2018

To my family



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THREE SITES IN GANDHARA AS A CASE STUDY

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University



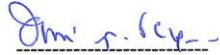
by
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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARCHAEOLOGY

THE DEPARTMENT OF
ARCHAEOLOGY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

MAY 2018

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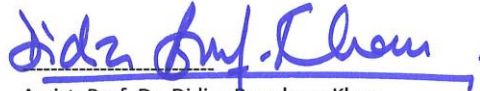
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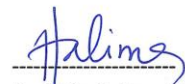
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ABSTRACT

COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY IN PAKISTAN: THREE SITES IN GANDHARA AS A CASE STUDY

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This thesis examines the scope of conducting a community archaeology project at three archaeological sites from Gandhara, Pakistan; Mankiala, Mohra Muradu and Jandial. In analyzing this possibility, the context in which such a project would be conducted is presented through a look at Pakistan's history of archaeological research, as well as a variety of factors that have contributed to the decrepit state of Pakistan's cultural heritage, today. Community archaeology as a method of archaeological research is discussed in detail, along with its meaning as understood by various scholars, and its importance within archaeological research today. The proposed methodology is then presented; the Community Archaeology Project Quseir (CAPQ) methodology, devised for a project in Quseir, Egypt, has become a primary guiding principle for community archaeology projects worldwide. Its applicability in Pakistan is examined in this study through fieldwork conducted in the form of one-on-one interviews with people residing around the three selected sites, as well as external observations made during site visits. This anthropological fieldwork aimed to explore how interviewees perceived the sites they live around, through conversations about their knowledge regarding the respective sites, and their views on tourism, archaeological research, and possible educational interventions which can aid in enhancing their knowledge, experience and interpretation of archaeological sites. The results of this fieldwork display, amongst other findings, a heightened interest in the aforementioned educational interventions, a positive sign for future archaeological research in the country.

Keywords: Archaeological Research, Community Archaeology, Cultural Heritage, Pakistan.

ÖZET

PAKİSTAN'DA TOPLUMSAL ARKEOLOJİ: GANDHARA'DAKİ ÜÇ YERLEŞİMİN DURUM ÇALIŞMASI

Siddiqui, Rida A.

Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Dominique Kassab Tezgör

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Bu tez, Pakistan'daki Mankiala, Mohra Muradu ve Jandial isimli üç ayrı arkeolojik sit alanında gerçekleştirilebilecek olası bir toplumsal arkeoloji projesinin kapsamını incelemektedir. Bu olasılık, projenin içinde bulunması gereken bağlam üzerinden, Pakistan'ın arkeolojik araştırma tarihine bir bakış içerisinden ve aynı zamanda Pakistan'ın kültürel mirasının şu anda içinde olduğu çöküşte etkisi olan nedenler üzerinden anlatılacaktır. Bir arkeolojik araştırma yöntemi olarak toplumsal arkeoloji, farklı araştırmacılar tarafından nasıl anlaşıldığına ve bugünkü arkeolojik araştırmadaki yerine bakılarak ayrıntıyla tartışılacaktır. Ardından, Mısır'da bulunan Quseir için tasarlanan ve dünya çapında toplumsal arkeoloji projeleri için temel başvuru niteliğinde olan Quseir Toplumsal Arkeoloji Projesi'nin yöntemi önerilen yöntem olarak sunulacaktır. Bu yöntemin Pakistan'da uygulanabilirliği, seçilen üç arkeolojik alanın çevresinde yaşayan insanlar ile birebir mülakatlar gerçekleştirilerek ve ziyaretler sırasında yapılan gözlemler üzerinden incelenecektir. Bu antropolojik saha çalışması ile kişilerin çevresinde yaşadıkları arkeolojik alanları nasıl algıladıklarını; bu alanlar hakkında ne kadar bilgili olduklarını; turizm ve arkeolojik araştırma üzerine görüşlerinin ve arkeolojik alanları anlamaya, deneyimlemeye ve yorumlamaya yönelik eğitimsel müdahalelere nasıl baktıklarını sohbetler üzerinden tespit etmek amaçlanmaktadır. Diğer bulguların yanı sıra, saha çalışmasının sonuçları göstermektedir ki yukarıda bahsedilen eğitimsel müdahaleler olumlu karşılanmaktadır ve bu ülkedeki arkeolojik araştırmaların geleceği için olumlu bir işarettir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Arkeolojik Araştırma, Kültürel Miras, Pakistan, Toplumsal Arkeoloji.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Pakistan was born as a modern nation on August 14, 1947. However, its history stretches back thousands of years. With the land having housed Paleolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age settlements, the earliest remains dating to Lower Paleolithic (ca. 700,000 to 400,000 BC) (Rendell & Dennell, 1985: 393) and having been part of the Persian, Macedonian, Afghan, Turkic, Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh, Mughal and British Empires, its history and heritage consists of some extremely diverse sites that have contributed to the identity of the region.

This thesis will focus on a people-centered approach to the problem of the preservation of cultural heritage in Pakistan. It aims to assess, through fieldwork conducted at three sites, whether a community archaeology project using the Community Archaeology Project Quseir (CAPQ) methodology¹ is applicable in the context of Pakistan.

¹ The CAPQ methodology was developed by Stephanie Moser et al. (2002) and Gemma Tully (2007) to provide a structural framework through which community archaeology projects could be designed and implemented by archaeologists. Discussed at length in 4.5, page 42.

The involvement of communities, or people other than skilled archaeologists, can lead to the establishment of good support networks that result in increased social inclusion, a reduction in anti-social behavior such as vandalism, and bring important advantages to heritage. Heritage thus has the potential to play an active role in communities and brings benefits to people, which results in the demonstration that heritage is meaningful to society, and in return, the support of the society in its protection.

Engaging communities can strengthen their ability to meaningfully participate in the process of making conservation and management decisions for themselves and their heritage, as heritage belongs not to archaeologists, but to everybody. This important recognition has often been overlooked by those skilled to study the human past, resulting in losing the chance to gain vital knowledge from those who may have had a connection to our areas of study for much longer periods of time than we have. This has been recognized by UNESCO, the leading international organization dedicated to the promotion of international collaboration through scientific, educational and cultural reforms, which will lead to an increased respect for human rights, and the rule of law. The 1972 World Heritage Convention presented by UNESCO and ratified by 197 countries in the world is totally recognized as the leading legal document in heritage conservation. In 2007, an important amendment to the Convention was made, recognizing the very crucial role played by local communities in the process of protecting heritage sites². Pakistan was one of the countries that ratified this Convention in 1976, although

² Details on the decision can be found here: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/5197/>.

efforts to incorporate communities in archaeological research and preservation remained negligible until recently. This thesis will analyze whether such integration is possible in the form of a community archaeology project in Pakistan today.

In order to understand the condition of archaeological research and preservation in Pakistan, it is important to first understand how archaeology is perceived in the country. The introductory chapter thus contains a detailed look at the varying factors that contribute to this perception, taking into account its historical aspects³.

Keeping this comprehension in mind, chapter 2 looks at the history of archaeology in Pakistan, crediting its pre-independence British colonizers for firmly bringing archaeology to South Asia in the late 19th century. The chapter will also discuss the legal state of affairs regarding archaeology in Pakistan. The author also gives a brief overview of archaeological and historical sites and their explorations conducted by researchers over the past few decades, including those studied for this research, with the aim to highlight the country's rich, vibrant and varied heritage.

The following chapter will be a discussion on various factors, or motivations that are assessed by the author to be playing a role in the destruction and negligence of Pakistan's heritage. The first section of this chapter looks at four types of motivations developed as a general typology by Brosché, Legnér, Kreutrz, & Ijla (2017), established as a result of analysis of various sites throughout the world. The second part of the chapter will be a discussion on additional motivations that have

³ See 1.4 "Archaeology in the Developing World", page 6.

been identified by the author through her research, which are specific to the case of Pakistan.

Chapter 4 of this thesis contains an extensive discussion on community archaeology. Topics ranging from the history and context of community archaeology to the actual meaning of the word 'community' as debated by various scholars will be discussed, coupled with their arguments on what community archaeology means, and why archaeological research projects focused on communities should be initiated and implemented. The chapter will also consist of a point-by-point explanation of the CAPQ methodology as proposed by Gemma Tully (Tully, 2007: 174).

The next chapter will be a description of fieldwork conducted by the author at three archaeological sites in Pakistan. The fieldwork, consisting primarily of interviews coupled with observations made at the sites, provided essential data required to assess CAPQ's possible implementation in Pakistan. This anthropological research allowed the author of this study to better comprehend various aspects of the interaction of people with the selected sites. The three sites will be described, followed by an explanation of the qualitative data collection methodology employed by the author. This will be followed by an account of the data acquired, followed by its extensive analysis.

The final chapter of this thesis will look the possible implementation of the CAPQ methodology in view of the data that has been described in the previous chapter.

The author will also note several scattered efforts that have been made in Pakistan, that cover varying aspects of the methodology under study, and will conclude this study with her thoughts on the future of community archaeology in Pakistan.

1.2 History of Pakistan

On a hot summer evening in 1947, the atmosphere was abuzz with excitement about the future of the British Raj in India. At approximately 7 pm, Indian Standard Time, on 3 June, 1947, an announcement was made on the national radio broadcaster, known as All India Radio's evening broadcast (Khan, 2007: 1). People anxiously grouped themselves around wireless sets in their homes, or in shops, markets or government houses. The fate of the British Indian empire was revealed on this evening, where it was announced that the empire would be partitioned, just seventy one days before the event took place. The plan for the transfer of power from the British back into the hands of the Indians was called the '3 June Plan'. The next day, on 4 June, the Viceroy of India, Louis Mountbatten, held a press conference where he declared 15 August 1947 to be the tentative date for the transfer of power (Aziz, 1990: 295). Pakistan was thus born on August 14, 1947, as a result of efforts of the leader of the Muslim majority in India, and later the founder of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and after months of violence leading to nearly two million deaths, and over fifteen million people getting displaced, moving in both directions into and outside of Pakistan, to their new home – a home unknown to them, and one they had never stepped foot onto ever before.

1.3 Administrative Divisions and Geography

Today, the country is made up of four provinces, namely Balochistan, Sindh, Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, with the capital of the country, Islamabad, lying on the northern border of Punjab with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Figure 1). It also consists of two disputed territories, Pakistan-administered Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan, and a semi-autonomous territory on its western border, known as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA). Geographically, the country is very rich, with three of the world's highest mountain ranges lying in the north of the country, namely the Karakoram, Himalayas and the Hindu Kush (Figure 2). Out of these three mountain ranges originate five large rivers, the Indus, Jhelum, Ravi, Chenab and Sutlej, which flow south through the country, and merge into the Indus that falls into the Arabian Sea. The central part of the country consists of rich agricultural plains due to the presence of these five, as well as several other smaller rivers, making it ideal for settlers. The province of Balochistan in the southwestern part of the country has natural resources in abundance, ranging from natural gas reserves to precious and semi-precious stones and metals. The southern part of the country is bordered by the Arabian Sea, and has historically been active as an important sea-trading region.

1.4 Archaeology in the Developing World

In order to understand the current scenario of archaeological research and preservation in Pakistan, it is vital to first understand how the discipline is perceived in the country. A major difference in the way archaeology in developed countries

versus developing countries is understood stems from its origin. A large number of modern countries falling into the bracket of developing countries have amongst them a common element of being former colonies. Historically, archaeology was imposed from 'above', where either the colonizers would be genuinely curious to learn about the history of the area, or in other cases, they would be obliged by the government to look after and research the monuments that were under their care. Chakrabarti (2012) notes that along with these reasons was also the underlying feeling that by understanding the area's past, the colonizers would be able to exert a better control over the minds of the natives (Chakrabarti, 2012: 117). The situation in pre-Partition India, which included the territory of what is modern day Pakistan, was precisely the same. There was no interest on the part of the local population to investigate their history, or their antiquity. It was only with the arrival of the British, that archaeology gained an existence in what was the largest colony of the British in the 19th century.

Another glaring difference in the way archaeology is treated here is how local people look at archaeological sites. As evidenced by the results of research conducted for this thesis, it is evident that people look at these sites with references to folklore or oral traditions narrated to them by their elders, whereas the 'elite', or those educated in history and archaeology will look at these places as archaeological sites.

A third factor that differentiates archaeology in the two worlds is the fact that developing countries often have major economic problems that have led to

poverty. Therefore, in universities at these countries, as well as at homes by families, social sciences and arts are not encouraged as subjects or areas of research that should be pursued by young people, as they do not pay well. It is for this reason that archaeology, as a subject has not picked up much of a following, or popularity in countries like Pakistan.

It is in situations like this where archaeology can benefit the public greatly. This study will reveal aspects of Pakistani society, such as tense relations between members of different religious, sectarian and cultural groups that have had a negative impact on the country's heritage. In such a context, cultural heritage can often become a weapon in the process of identity construction, with identity being tied to the material record at a very personal level (Pyburn, 2007: 173). For this reason, there is a growing need for archaeologists to promote collaborative strategies to change the negative interactions, and prevent site destruction. Therefore public, or community archaeology today includes collaborations of archaeologists with communities and activities that support education, civic renewal, peace and justice (Little, 2012: 395).

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN PAKISTAN

2.1 Background

Historians and travellers, such as Chinese pilgrims from the early 1st millennium AD, have narrated South Asia's history for centuries, through various finds of a textual nature, originating from Indian, Western and Chinese sources. As with the general treatment of textual evidence, archaeologists over the past century have made an effort to correlate that information with finds from archaeological excavations. In the nineteenth century, the British Empire declared that it was the duty of the Empire to protect and preserve its Indian Empire's history, which resulted in the creation of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861. The British Viceroy Lord Lytton is famously recorded as saying that it is the imperial duty of the British Government to protect monuments and sites that came under its protection, as they were "for variety, extent, completeness and beauty unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled in the world" (Mughal, 2011: 121).

Organized archaeological explorations began in pre-Partition India, which included the present day region of Pakistan, in 1861, when a retired British General, Sir Alexander Cunningham was appointed the first Director General of the

Archaeological Survey of India (Ahmed, 2014: 48). Although not a trained archaeologist, he had a strong interest in the region's past. After his retirement in 1885, the Archaeological Survey of India remained in disarray for several years, before Sir John Marshall became the next Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1902. He was succeeded by noted archaeologist Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who aimed to conduct systematic excavations in the general region of pre-Partition India in 1944, but had to leave the country amongst rising tensions and unrest ahead of the Partition in 1947. Another important figure in the development of the understanding of ancient sites in modern day Pakistan is the great British explorer of Western Asia known as Sir Aurel Stein, who arrived in the 1920's, and undertook two important surveys in Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa⁴ that led to the discovery of countless historic sites (Ahmed, 2014: 55).

After the birth of Pakistan, an Archaeological Department was hastily set up by the new government, in an attempt to help organize the archaeological research that had to be continued in the new country. After the formation of the Archaeology Department, Sir Mortimer Wheeler's determination for conducting systematic excavations were recognized, and taken up by various archaeological missions that became active in Pakistan in the 1950's, including the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO), which continue to conduct archaeological research in Pakistan till today. Its chairman at the time, Guiseppe Tucci, signed an agreement

⁴ See pages 14, 18 and 21.

with the Pakistani government in 1955 that permitted foreign excavations to be conducted in the country.

The Archaeology Department fell under the federal government of the country until 2010, where responsibility of the upkeep and excavation activities at archaeological sites was transferred to the provincial governments under the 18th Amendment of the Constitution of Pakistan. Today, every province and territory of Pakistan, barring Kashmir, is responsible for implementing the 1975 Antiquities Act, which is essentially a revision of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act from 1904, implemented by the British to protect all categories of monuments and sites that fell under the British Indian Empire (Mughal, 2011: 105). In addition to this federal law, all provinces, except for Balochistan, have created their own legislation about archaeological work and preservation efforts conducted within their respective borders.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has also had a presence in the country since 1958, with its cultural office working to promote and preserve tangible and intangible cultural heritage in partnership with the Pakistani government and other national and international organizations.

Pakistan has six properties inscribed on the World Heritage List (Figure 3), namely the Archaeological Ruins at Mohenjo Daro, Buddhist ruins of Takht-i-Bahi and neighboring city remains at Sahr-i-Bahlol, Fort and Shalamar Gardens in Lahore, Historical monuments at Makli in Thatta, Rohtas Fort, and Taxila.

This chapter will introduce some sites from the region of Gandhara, explained in detail in Chapter 5, from where the sites selected for this research belong. Sites belonging to the Gandhara civilization spread from today's northern Pakistan all the way into southeastern Afghanistan. In Pakistan, Gandharan sites are spread across Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Lying on the historic Silk Route (Figure 4), it witnessed some high profile invasions, such as those from the Achaemenids under Cyrus and Darius in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, respectively. It is also one of several regions Alexander the Great is claimed to have visited during his conquest of India in 327 BC. The region became a stronghold of Buddhism towards the turn of the 1st millennium BC. Additionally, this chapter does not cover every archaeological and historical site that has been explored and studied in Pakistan⁵. The purpose of this brief look at each of the four provinces, and two territories of the country is to explain the history of research of archaeological, and where information was available, for historical sites in these areas with diverse landscapes and cultures from varying eras in antiquity. It also helps to contextualize the condition of Pakistan's tangible heritage, described in detail in Chapter 3, as being a consequence of this diversity throughout the country's past.

2.2 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa lies in the northwestern part of Pakistan, bordering with Afghanistan. Having been part of the historic Silk Route and other important trade routes in antiquity, this region of Pakistan has a rich heritage (Figure 5).

⁵ Some of the information about excavations and other research presented here is not from first-hand sources, i.e., excavation and survey reports, and publications. Instead, it has been sourced from various publications that provide an overview of archaeological research in Pakistan over the years.

Since the 1950's, it has seen several archaeological excavations take place, as a result of Guiseppe Tucci's effort to establish the Italian Archaeological Mission, which aims to study the history of Buddhism, as well as discover the sequence of Hellenized Buddhist art in Gandhara, in the modern day Swat valley (Fussman, 1996: 244). The first site to be excavated was Butkara I, by Domenico Faccenna from 1956 to 1962. This large-scale excavation was conducted with great care by very skilled workers in the field, and has therefore become the best-recorded Buddhist site in northwestern Pakistan to date (Fussman, 1996: 244).

The first decade of research focused on the archaeology of civil and military settlements of both the protohistoric and historic phases of Gandharan Swat (Olivieri 2006: 30). Excavated material from Ghalegay allowed archaeologists to develop the sequence of pre- to proto-historic phases of occupation, resulting in the formation of chronology from the Neolithic to the Early Iron Age in this area (Olivieri, 2006: 34).

The year 1966 saw the beginning of several new excavations, all conducted under the patronage of the Italian Archaeological Mission. Amongst these were the excavations of the Buddhist sacred area and monastery at Saidu Sharif I under the direction of Domenico Faccenna. Gogdara III was excavated under the direction of Chiara Silvi Antonini, and Aligrama was excavated by G. Stacul (Olivieri, 2006: 33). Aligrama was a very important prehistoric site, where excavations continued under the leadership of S. Tusa, Inayat-ur-Rahman and A. Ghafur in the 1970's followed by M. Seddiq, K. Mohammad and N. A. Khan in the 1980's (Olivieri, 2006: 34). In the

1980s, salvage excavations were conducted by the Italian Archaeological Mission at Bir-kot-ghwandai, which was being threatened due to a building activity in the vicinity. The Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi mosque, the oldest in the northern part of the country and the finest proof of the Islamization of the Swat Valley at the beginning of the second millennium, was also excavated by U. Scerrato (Olivieri, 2006: 36). All of these sites are located in or around the Swat Valley.

Rehman Dheri was also first surveyed by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1882, and then by Sir Aurel Stein in 1929 (Durrani & Wright, 1993: 146). Sir John Marshall excavated the Buddhist site of Pushkalavati (Charsadda) along with P. Vogel, followed by excavations at other Buddhist sites including Kasia. More excavations by him included those at the site of Shahji-ki-Dheri near Peshawar, and the Dharmarajika and Jaulian stupas (Arif & Hassan, 2014: 78). Along with archaeological research beginning in Swat in the 1950's, as mentioned above, the first Japanese researchers also arrived in Pakistan, excavating around the city of Mardan, at Mekha Sandha. German researchers focused their research on the petroglyphs along the Karakoram Road, which connects Pakistan with China (Arif & Hassan, 2014: 79). The archaeology of this region of Pakistan also spiked the interest of the Koreans. Archaeologists from South Korea excavated the Jaulian-II stupa and monastery in Taxila in 2004 (Arif & Hassan, 2014: 80). Ashraf Khan excavated the Buddhist sanctuary known as Gumbatona, as well as the archaeological remains at Jinnan Wali Dheri. Other excavated sanctuaries included Dadhara, Kandaro and Nawagi. In the Swabi region, Buddhist remains of Takht-i-Bahi were excavated. Additionally, the Department of Archaeology at the University

of Peshawar conducted excavations at Chat Pat in Dir, Gor Khattree in Peshawar, Shaikhan Dheri in Charsadda, and Sangao Cave in Mardan (Arif & Hassan, 2014: 80).

2.3 Punjab

Located in the northeastern part of Pakistan, Punjab is a province that has a rich history dating back thousands of years. Its name dates back to the Persian period, with reference to the five large rivers that flow through it; *punj* means five, and *ab* refers to water in Persian. It is for this reason that this part of the country has been home to various civilizations throughout history. From the Indus Valley Civilization dating to the Bronze Age, to its capital city Lahore being a capital for the mighty Mughal Empire from 1670, and being the birthplace of Sikhism, Punjab has a diverse history (Figure 6).

2.3.1 Archaeological Sites

Sir Alexander Cunningham discovered several Buddhist sites in the Taxila Valley belonging to the Gandhara civilization in the middle of the nineteenth century; Later, Sir John Marshall excavated several sites in Taxila, from 1913 to 1934. Some important sites in the Valley are Dharmarajika, Jandial and Mohra Muradu. The Mankiala Stupa, another Gandharan site lies just south of the Taxila Valley, and belongs to the same period. These three aforementioned sites, namely Jandial, Mohra Muradu and Mankiala have been selected by the author to conduct fieldwork for this research⁶.

⁶ See Chapter 5 Fieldwork, page 44 for a detailed description of the sites and fieldwork.

In 1920, the Harappan Civilization was discovered by R.E. M. Wheeler and Sir John Marshall. The important sites of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro (in Sindh, see 2.4) were located by them during their archaeological explorations of the region (Siddiqi, 1994: 9). In his review of archaeological work conducted on the Indus Valley since the beginning of the 20th century, B. K. Thapar reveals that Harappa was first excavated in 1921 and 1922 by Daya Ram Sahni (Thapar, 1984: 1), and later continued by Sir Mortimer Wheeler. The site of Jalilpur, located 74 km southwest of Harappa, was excavated under the direction of M. R. Mughal from 1971 to 1974. This site produced remains from the second half of the fourth and first half of the third millennium BC (Meadow, 1986: 45). S. R. Dar of the Lahore Museum excavated the site of Khadinwala, from the Kot Diji Period of the mid-fourth millennium BC, located near Nankana in the Sheikhupura district. Jhang was also excavated in the 1970's, along with Musa Khel in the Mianwali district. (Dani, 1988: 35-36).

2.3.2 Historical Sites

The Badshahi Mosque, commissioned by Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1673, is located next to the Lahore Fort, in the old part of the city of Lahore. Punjab also houses many sites that are of religious importance to Hindus and Sikhs. Nankana Sahib, the birthplace of the first Guru of the Sikhs, Guru Nanak, is located in the province. The Katas Raj temples, located near the city of Chakwal, are a group of temples surrounding a turquoise pond. This complex is of religious importance to Hindus, and dates back to the middle of the first millennium BC.

2.4 Sindh

The province of Sindh lies in the southeastern part of the country, bordering with India on the east, the Arabian Sea to the south, Balochistan to its west and Punjab to the north. This part of Pakistan is home to some of the most important archaeological sites in the country, including several from the Indus Valley Civilization dating to the Bronze Age (Figure 7).

Mohenjo Daro, one of the great cities from the Indus Valley Civilization located on the banks of the Indus River, was first excavated in 1922 by R. D. Banerjee (Thapar, 1984: 1), followed by Ernest J. H. Mackay in 1928, who also excavated Chanhudaro in 1935-6 (Ahmed, 2014: 55). After the creation of Pakistan, Sir Mortimer Wheeler excavated Mohenjo Daro in 1950, followed by George Dales in 1964. The site of Balakot is located approximately 90 km north-northwest of Karachi, off the southeastern corner of the Lasbela Plain. Excavations began here in 1973, continuing for four seasons under the directorship of G. F. Dales of University of California, Berkeley (Meadow, 1986: 46). Kot Diji is an important site in the province of Sindh, located to the south of the modern city of Sukkur. It was excavated by F. A. Khan in the 1960's up until the 1980's, and has revealed remarkable archaeological remains that are believed to be the forerunners of the Indus Valley Civilization (Dani, 1988: 30). Allahdino, another Harappan site, located 25 miles northeast of Karachi, was also excavated in the early 1970's (Dani, 1988: 59-60). B. K. Thapar mentions the work of N. G. Majumdar, who excavated at Jhukar near Larkana and at Amri (Thapar, 1984: 1).

2.5 Balochistan

The province of Balochistan lies in the southwestern part of Pakistan. Being an area extremely rich in minerals and natural resources, it housed several settlements that were involved in coal, copper, tin and gold mining in antiquity (Figure 8).

2.5.1 Archaeological Sites

Renowned explorer, Sir Aurel Stein, first surveyed the southwestern region of Balochistan in the 1920's (de Cardi, 1983: 1). Harold Hargreaves conducted extensive excavations at Nal in 1925-26 (Thapar, 1984: 2). Beatrice de Cardi conducted careful excavations in the region after the birth of Pakistan in 1947. She conducted a survey in 1948 in Quetta, along with excavations at Anjira and Siah-damb, Surab in 1957, and in the region of Kalat in 1964 and 1965 (de Cardi, 1983: 1). The French Archaeological Mission in cooperation with the Government of Pakistan's Department of Archaeology, beginning in 1974, excavated the Neolithic site of Mehrgarh. This site produced remains from the aceramic Neolithic Age (sixth millennium BC) up until the mid-third millennium BC. Another site called Pirak, located 20 km east of Mehrgarh was also excavated between 1968 and 1974, also by the French Archaeological Mission (Meadow, 1986: 44). Walter Fairervis excavated at Quetta, Zhob and Loralai in the mid-1950's (Durrani & Wright, 1993: 146; Fairervis, 1959: 287). In his review of the history of archaeology in Balochistan, Fairervis mentions the contributions of Robert Raikes, whose important surveys in Sarawan-Jhalawan and Las Bela added to the previously incomplete archaeological knowledge about this area (Fairervis, 1984: 280). More surveys in the region included those by George Dales from the University of

Pennsylvania of the coastal regions, resulting in the discovery of the site of Sotka Koh (Fairservis, 1984: 280).

2.5.2 Historical Sites

Balochistan houses a landmark that is very important to modern Pakistani history.

The Quaid-e-Azam Residency, also known as the Ziarat Residency, is located a few hours away from the provincial capital, Quetta. It is an iconic building, as this is where Muhammad Ali Jinnah spent the final few months of his life.

2.6 Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan

Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan are both disputed territories in the northern part of the country, administered and controlled by Pakistan.

The picturesque area of Kashmir lies in the northern part of Pakistan, bordering with China to the north and Afghanistan to the northwest. The valley sits in the lap of the mighty Himalaya, Karakoram and Hindu Kush mountains. Kashmir is divided into two territories; one is under Pakistani control, known as Azad or Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, while the other is under Indian control, called Indian-occupied, or Jammu and Kashmir. The topography of the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir valley allowed for three major passageways in antiquity, one leading to the region of Gilgit-Baltistan in the north, another leading to Tibet in the east, and a third leading to the region of Gandhara in the southwest.

Gilgit-Baltistan, in the northern extremes of the country, consists of the Himalaya, Karakoram and Hindu Kush mountain ranges, and is also home to some of the highest mountains in the world. Because of the presence of several mountain passes in the area, travellers have visited this area from India, China as well as Central Asia (Figure 9).

2.6.1 Archaeological Sites

Soon after the Partition in 1947, the Germans led the first archaeological mission to Kashmir and Gilgit Baltistan in 1955. Several seasons of surveys and explorations revealed archaeological remains in sites such as Darel, which belonged to the Bronze Age (Jettmar, 1961: 100). In the southern part of Azad Kashmir, east of the city of Rawalpindi, in a district known as Sehnsa, the Bhrund Temple Complex was excavated by the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations⁷. Another site known as the Sharda Temple, located in the Neelum Valley was also excavated at the same time, in 2012 and 2013 (Khan & Rahman, 2016: 221).

In Gilgit-Baltistan, the earliest archaeological evidences date back to the Holocene Period, dating to 10,000 BC. Remains from later on in history, mostly dating to the end of the first millennium BC, have allowed archaeologists to estimate a massive figure of over 45,000 figural drawings and 5,000 inscriptions left behind by travellers who crossed the area in antiquity. Most of these engravings are from Chilas, and relate to Buddhist themes. Khan & Rahman (2016), while detailing

⁷ The Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations is an institute at the Quaid e Azam University in Islamabad, which carries out surveys and excavations at various archaeological sites in the country.

archaeological expeditions conducted in the area, note that they were first explored by a Hungarian traveler known as Karl Eugen von Ujfalvy in 1884. This was followed by work on the engravings by British archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein as well as several German expeditions led by Karl Jettmar and Gerard Fussman. More recently, documentation of the petroglyphs has been undertaken in Ghizer (Khan & Rahman, 2016: 234). The Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations has also conducted surveys in Gilgit Baltistan, documenting inscriptions at the sites of Haldi, Talis, and Yugu (Khan & Rahman, 2016: 256).

2.6.2 Historical Sites

As a result of it being a center of a conflict zone since the Partition of India in 1947, extensive explorations by archaeologists and historians have not been undertaken in the region of Kashmir. Nonetheless, because of its rich Hindu history, the valley of Azad Kashmir is dotted with Hindu forts and temples dating back to the early and mid 2nd millennium AD, often located at hilltops for strategic or spiritual purposes. Several of these structures have been identified as a result of an extensive survey undertaken recently by the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations. Hindu temples in this region include the Banganga, Dera, Devi Gali and Seri temples. Forts include the Burjun, Mangla and Ramkot forts (Khan & Rahman, 2016: 115). During Sikh rule in the early 19th century, several Sikh buildings were also constructed here, including *gurdwaras*⁸ such as the Ali Baig *gurdwara* in Mirpur.

⁸ Gurdwaras are places of worship for members of the Sikh religion.

CHAPTER 3

MOTIVATIONS BEHIND THE NEGLIGENCE AND DESTRUCTION OF HERITAGE

3.1 Introduction

In order to study the destruction of cultural and archaeological heritage, it is important to study the motivations behind such actions. Brosché et al. (2017), after studying the destruction of cultural heritage in various locations throughout the world, have developed a typology to help understand the possible motivations behind such destruction. Their typology can be applied to the case of Pakistan as well. It consists of four motivations, which will be analyzed keeping the situation in Pakistan in mind. These motivations are conflict goals, military-strategic, signaling and economic.

Aside from these motivations, there are other reasons that can account for the destruction of heritage in Pakistan, assessed by the author and discussed in 3.3. Since its inception, the country has suffered greatly from interreligious and intercultural conflict, which is characterized by the attacks against people and places that are motivated by hostility against another religious group. Here, conflict refers not only to an armed or military conflict, but also ideological. Therefore,

heritage may be destroyed in a manner where the actor or group may be seeking to express their views on pre-existing tensions between groups by damaging or decimating a site, and the ideological values it may represent (Shahab & Isakhan, 2018: 6). In Pakistan, victims of such attacks are not limited to various Islamic sects, such as Shi'ite Muslims, who remain a minority in the majority Sunni nation, but Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Ahmadis suffer from these attacks as well.

3.2 Typology as per Brosché et al. (2017)

The following section is a description of the typology developed by Brosché et al. (2017), which consists of four primary reasons behind the destruction of heritage. The authors used case studies from various countries and contexts to justify the typology, whereas the author of this thesis has applied the proposed typology to incidents of negligence and destruction of heritage within Pakistan.

3.2.1 Conflict Goals

Conflict goals refers to a situation where ethnic and religious divisions constitute a prominent part of the conflict, therefore cultural property may be destroyed as it may represent a symbol of identity and collective memory for the people who identify themselves as part of a group. In the case of Pakistan, the Taliban bombing of the Buddha rock carving in Jahanabad in Swat is relevant. This act of destruction was similar to the one carried out by the Taliban in Afghanistan, in the summer of 2001, where the twin Buddhas in the Bamiyan Valley of the Hindu Kush mountains were destroyed (Huyssen, 2002: 11; Stein, 2015: 188). The Taliban had claimed in 1997 that they would destroy the Bamiyan Buddhas, as icons and religious imagery

were forbidden according to Islamic law (Harrison, 2010: 160). The Jahanabad rock carving, the second largest in the region after the Bamiyan Buddhas in Afghanistan, also bombed by the Taliban, was destroyed in 2007, an act motivated by same ideology described above, in which Islam forbids the existence and worship of idols. The Jahanabad Buddha was restored by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan in 2016, a major act of defiance and regaining of power by the Pakistani state.

3.2.2 Military-Strategic

The second motivation is military-strategic, which refers to a scenario where cultural property is attacked to win a tactical or strategic advantage because several times, historic sites are located along mountainsides or along main thoroughfares. In Pakistan, the Badshahi Mosque's case is relevant. The Badshahi Mosque⁹ is one of the largest mosques constructed by Mughal emperor Aurangzeb in 1673 in the city of Lahore, which was the capital of the Mughal Empire. During the Sikh civil war in 1841, the son of Ranjit Singh, a prominent Sikh leader, Sher Singh, used the large minarets of the mosque to place guns to bombard the opposition. When the British took control of India, they continued the Sikh practice and used the Mosque along with the adjoining Lahore Fort as a military garrison. Eighty rooms constructed around the courtyard of the mosque, initially used as study rooms, were converted into storage rooms, and housing for troops. A similar example can be the Lahore Fort, where several of its sections had been reconstituted by the British for their use of the Fort as a military garrison and storage area.

⁹ See 2.3.2 on page 16, and Figure 6.

3.2.3 Signaling

The third motivation is signaling, which is for participants of a conflict to showcase or signal their capabilities and commitment in the dispute. The events of 1992 match this possibility. In December 1992, the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya, India, belonging to the 16th century, was demolished as a result of a political rally in the area turning violent. In retaliation, mass anti-Hindu protests in Pakistan took place. Thirty Hindu temples were attacked by mobs. Several were demolished, while others were vandalized, bulldozed and set on fire. Later, in 2013, assailants bombed the home of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Ziarat, Balochistan. The assailants were part of a large group of people in the province of Balochistan that have demanded a separate state for Balochis since the inception of Pakistan. Once again, the bombing of the Jahanabad Buddha in Swat could be considered as a method of signaling the might of the Taliban in the Valley.

3.2.4 Economic Incentives

The last motivation in the typology presented by Brosché et al. is economic incentives. Cultural property may be destroyed or looted to aid groups of people in activities that are likely to be illegal, or frowned upon. Hundreds of sculptures and other artifacts have been looted from Gandharan sites, as well as from Indus Valley Civilization sites and are sold in the black market, especially by militant groups like the Taliban, to fund their activities. Additionally, large cities in and around the Gandharan sites, such as Peshawar and Charsadda, have people who are actively involved in illegal trafficking of archaeological finds. One person involved in such a trade noted how it is easy to procure such artifacts, and sculptures of the

Gandharan period, by bribing the police station in whose jurisdiction the respective site falls, with approximately \$100, in order to conduct illegal excavations without being disturbed (AFP, 2012).

3.3 Additional Motivations

This section of the chapter examines other reasons for the negligence and destruction of heritage as identified by the author. These motivations apply specifically to the case of Pakistan, and helps to better comprehend the condition of cultural heritage in the country.

3.3.1 Interreligious and Intercultural Conflicts

Cultural and archaeological heritage is also destroyed as a result of interreligious and intercultural conflicts. Pakistan's heritage is a prime example of such suffering. In the modern world of today, one way of reigning terror is to erase any trace of heritage of religious diversity, a practice that has also been employed by the Islamic State, where artifacts and sites that represent the pre-monotheistic religions and practices, such as those of Mesopotamia and the Greco-Roman world, were destroyed (Shahab & Isakhan, 2018: 3).

According to Pakistan's Bureau of Statistics's 2017 report, only 3.7% of Pakistan's 193 million population is non-Muslim. The Human Rights Watch Report of 2017 highlights some of the atrocities religious minorities have faced in the country over the past year. An important mention in this report remains the horrifying blast that occurred in Lahore in March 2017, targeting Christians who were celebrating Easter

with their families in a public park. 74 people were killed, and another 338 were injured in this attack (Human Rights Watch, 2017). A single mention of this attack brings to light the plight of the non-Muslims in Pakistan, who are unable to celebrate a religious holiday with their families in a public space. In September 2013, the All-Saints Church in Peshawar was bombed after a Sunday Service, in which 127 people were killed.

3.3.1.1 Negligence of Non-Muslim Heritage

Mistreatment of non-Muslim sites, however, cannot be limited to blatant and deadly attacks at sites of non-Muslim religious importance. There is a rampant attitude of negligence towards such sites. The general rule of thumb in Pakistan is that all non-Muslim heritage in Pakistan is largely neglected, while sites or architecture with Muslim histories are exceptionally well kept. Such treatment is evident across the country. Large mosques, elaborate gardens and lavish forts were greatly liked by the Mughals, so both Pakistan and India have such architectural remains in great quantity. The mosques are exceptionally well kept – one cannot find a single scratch on the walls. There is no graffiti, no looting of bricks, and they remain a part of several restoration efforts. The mosques also receive donations in large amounts, which help in the upkeep of the space.

Other sites that are badly neglected by the general public as well as the authorities include Harappa¹⁰, another important town of the Indus Valley Civilization. Here, despite being in a better state of preservation than Mohenjo Daro, one can walk amongst and on top of the ruins. On weekends and holidays in the winter, when the

¹⁰ See 2.3.1 on page 16, and Figure 7.

sun is not too harsh, large families from nearby towns and villages can be seen picnicking on the ruins. This site is extremely important for learning about the lives of the Indus peoples, and most of it remains unexcavated. However, those eager to return to their homes with ancient pottery shards as souvenirs from the site (no other souvenirs are sold) can pay the guards Rs. 400-500 (USD 4-5) for assistance in finding the best remains, another violation of the Antiquities Act 1975, an important legislation that deals with cultural and archaeological heritage management in Pakistan.

Further north, near the city of Islamabad, is the Gandharan stronghold of Taxila. The site consisted of numerous monasteries that played a key role in spreading Buddhism to the world after it was adopted by Ashoka, the young emperor of the Maurya Empire¹¹, in the 3rd century BC. Today, it is one of six UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Pakistan¹². A visit to the site, however, does not reveal much as the information boards at the site are completely rusted out. The entire Gandharan civilization produced marvelous art and sculpture, which was a combination of Hellenistic and Indian art styles. Most of the sculptures are either in British or French museums¹³, like the British Museum in London and the Guimet Museum in Paris, or in various museums in Pakistan, such as the Taxila and Lahore museums. The very minute amount of sculpture that does remain at the sites, however, is

¹¹ The Maurya Empire was an extensive empire that dominated ancient India, including modern Pakistan, from the late 4th century to the early 2nd century BC.

¹² All six UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Pakistan are mentioned in 2.1 on page 11, and marked on Figure 3.

¹³ While pre-Partition India was under colonial rule, it was common for travellers and explorers from the West to acquire archaeological and historic artifacts, that later became part of collections of major museums.

badly damaged and vandalized by visitors, so much so that it is now kept hidden from view. If one wishes to view these sculptures, which are of immense religious importance to Buddhists in particular, a request needs to be made to the caretaker of the site to show the remains, which are concealed in locked areas of the sites.

3.3.1.2 Sectarian Conflicts

This intolerance, however, cannot be limited to interreligious issues. According to the Human Rights Watch's 2017 Country Report, 96.3% of Pakistan's population of 193 million people is Muslim (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017), of which approximately 75% belong to the Sunni sect of Islam, while the remaining 25% are Shi'ite. In Pakistan, conflict between various sects of Islam continues to thrive. Groups involved in this conflict are Sunnis, Shias and Sufis. Every major Sufi shrine in the country has been bombed by Islamic fundamentalists with a strict Sunni ideology inspired by Wahabism originating in Saudi Arabia, where any form of Islam other than that practiced by Sunni Muslims is considered incorrect, and must be curbed. Hundreds of people have died in attacks on shrines, where devotees come from throughout the country to pay their respects. The most recent bombing of a major Sufi shrine occurred in 2017, where 88 died as a massive bomb ripped through the packed shrine (Khan, 2017).

3.3.2 Political Exploitation

Political exploitation of archaeological sites has occurred on a huge scale in countries throughout the world, as well as in Pakistan. In 2014, a concert was held

in Mohenjo Daro¹⁴, one of the two most important sites belonging to the Indus Valley Civilization. This concert was organized by the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), a leading political party of Pakistan, to promote the culture of Sindh, the province in which Mohenjo Daro is located. The leader of the PPP, Bilawal Bhutto, wanted to tap into the indigenous culture of Sindh, as represented by Mohenjo Daro, to present himself as well as his Party in opposition to religious fundamentalism and conservatism, a growing concern in the Pakistani society. For contextual purposes, it must be mentioned that the site of Mohenjo Daro is in such a decrepit state that excavations were banned here in the 1960's, as they threaten to lead to the collapse of the remaining structures. The PPP chose to ignore this fact, along with the country's regulations in the Antiquities Act that do not allow any event to happen within 200 meters of a historical site. A very large stage was set up directly above the ruins, and the concert was held, consisting of dances and singing performances by leading artists of the country. This was a classic example of the political leaders using history for their own agenda.

Another form of political exploitation can be observed at Katas Raj¹⁵, an ancient Hindu temple complex near Chakwal in Punjab. It consists of seven temples surrounded by a pond with turquoise water, and according to Hindu mythology, the site is said to have existed since the days of the Mahabharata¹⁶, in 400 BC. The temples are dedicated to the Hindu god Shiva, and are undoubtedly one of the holiest sites for Hindus in the subcontinent (Khalid (b), 2017). Each year, thousands

¹⁴ See 2.4 on page 17, and Figure 7.

¹⁵ See 2.3.2 on page 16, and Figure 6.

¹⁶ The Mahabharata is an ancient Indian epic, believed to have been narrated in the 4th century BC.

of pilgrims visit the temples on the holy night of Shivratri, and marriages are held in pitch-dark temples, only lit up by torches from phones, as there is no electricity connection. After the killing of Salman Taseer, the Governor of the province of Punjab and other high profile killings of people who spoke up for the rights of minorities, the present government of the Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), despite being a right-wing political party, decided to restore the temples to present a softer image of itself. The Katas Raj temples finally received an electricity connection. The floors were lined with white marble, and adjacent to the temple complex, a large building was constructed to house the pilgrims that visited each year. Earlier in 2017, the leader of the Party as well as the Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif, gave a fiery and powerful speech during a visit to the temple complex, emphasizing tolerance and the importance of coexistence, and preservation of non-Islamic sites. However, a few months later, in May 2017, pictures surfacing on social media of the sacred pond shocked those who were familiar with the site. Water from the pond had been pumped out by a cement factory located nearby, as it was the closest source of water. Nawaz Sharif's promises to protect this site were in vain, and the site's condition continued to deteriorate.

3.3.3 The Role of Idolatry

A major factor that dictates the way non-Muslim sites, especially those with any relations to idols are treated, is the idea behind idolatry. In Islam, idolatry is a *shirk*, which is the sin of practicing anything other than the singular God. At the time of the conquest of Mecca, the idols present there were smashed by the new converts to Islam, and this practice remains a symbolic one. It is for this reason that many

conservative Muslims believe that destroying idols actually brings them closer to Allah.

As mentioned above, Gandharan sculptures have suffered greatly due to this aggressive sentiment, which is rampant across the country. Guides appointed by the government at sites like Harappa¹⁷, where idol worship was also practiced, are told to condemn this practice during their tours. Haroon Khalid, a Pakistani anthropologist, in his latest book recalls one such incident during his visit to Harappa. The government appointed guide told him “this city was destroyed by God for their sins. They were a proud people, who worshipped idols. God took away their ignorance and reduced their fabulous civilization to the ground. This is the reality of human civilization” (Khalid (a), 2017: 20). Idols have also been destroyed at other Hindu sites. At one of only three Hindu temples in the city of Rawalpindi (a city neighboring Islamabad, where no Hindu temples exist), Krishna Mandir, the idol of Shiva remains locked inside the main prayer room in order to avoid being destructed or harmed, and is only opened and revealed on special occasions and celebrations such as Diwali or Holi.

3.3.4 The Role of Education

Another factor that contributes to the destruction of heritage in Pakistan is the role played by state institutions, such as the Ministry of Education. In the Pakistani curriculum, Pakistan’s history is taught in a manner which focuses on events after the arrival of Islam in the subcontinent; thousands of years of the history of the land

¹⁷ See 2.3.1 on page 16, and 3.3.1.1 on page 28, and Figure 6.

is deleted from the curriculum in an attempt to highlight its Islamic history. The subject, known as Pakistan Studies, is a compulsory course for all Pakistani students in high school as well as in colleges and universities. The tragedy is that despite the richness of the non-Islamic history of Pakistan, there is no sign of such sites or civilizations or this aspect of the country's history in the Pakistani curriculum. The educational system became hooked onto the officially created state narratives just after the birth of the country. The rewriting of history from an Islamic point of view became the highest priority by the managers of the state very early on, with central or provincial textbook boards created to write books on the state-controlled curriculum (Jalal, 1995: 77). Students are encouraged to rote learn, and with help from the state-controlled media, the lessons learnt from these books in school become part of the psyche of the national ideology that has been carefully crafted.

One history book, called 'An Introduction to Pakistan Studies' by M. I. Rabbani and M. A. Sayyid, is a compulsory read for all Pakistani college students. The first chapter of the book is on the establishment of Pakistan based on a concept of Islamic sovereignty. Ayesha Jalal (1995: 78) quotes in her book:

Allah alone is sovereign and the ruler of the Islamic State does not possess any authority of his own. The coming of Islam to the Indian subcontinent was a blessing because Hinduism was based on an unethical caste system.

Once the boundaries of 'us' and 'them' are drawn, the history of the subcontinent is transformed into a battle of the spiritual and the profane, of the righteous Muslim and the idolatrous Hindu.

The impact of such deplorable language, as one may imagine, remains profoundly dangerous for children who begin to absorb this ideology through their textbooks at a very early age.

3.4 Conclusion

It seems clear from the examples mentioned above that Pakistan's archaeological and cultural heritage has suffered greatly as a result of various issues that have plagued the country since its birth. The language used to refer to the country's non-Muslim heritage is repulsive, demeaning and disrespectful not only to its non-Muslim inhabitants and visitors, but it completely undermines the history of the region before the advent of Islam. The situation therefore remains concerning, and as archaeologists who are deeply involved in the exploration of a past with many cultural, social and religious facets, action must be encouraged to be spearheaded, for the safeguarding of heritage for future generations.

CHAPTER 4

COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

Community Archaeology is an area of archaeological research where a methodology is developed, on a case-by-case basis, which facilitates mutual education about archaeological heritage between archaeologists and communities, often being those that surround archaeological sites. It is based on the proposition that better archaeological research and results can be achieved when more diverse voices are involved in the interpretation and preservation of the past. This does not mean that the scientific nature of archaeology is disturbed or compromised, but instead, it is an attempt to understand how research integrates with human societies.

Having picked up momentum in the field of archaeological research over the past decade, community archaeologists all over the world engage with different members of a society, employing a number of varying methods, and conceptual frameworks to execute projects and achieve the purpose of community archaeology as incorporating local populations in archaeological research. This method, however, initially lacked a clear methodology, because it depends heavily on the relationship of people with their surroundings, and there is no set way in

which human beings interact with spaces and places around them. Therefore, the intriguing aspect of community archaeology lies in the diversity of its methodology and applicability. Because of this, community archaeology is practiced in various forms. It does, however, contain a shared underlying community approach, with a purpose. It has been evolving since the 1970's and 1980's, but until recently, it lacked a sound methodological structure, and a set of interpretive strategies.

Gemma Tully speaks about how it is not necessary that community archaeology needs to justify its methodology to gain mainstream respect as a field of archaeological research, but instead, it needs to display consistency in implementation practices (Tully, 2007: 157).

Community archaeology is greatly affected by the social, cultural, legislative and economic setting in which it takes place (Thomas, 2017: 16). This thesis aims to understand which of these factors can contribute to the success as well as the failure of a community archaeology project at three archaeological sites in Pakistan. The selection of these sites may be perceived as a stepping-stone, which will lead to an understanding the dynamics of its possible applicability in the country, and which can then be applied to various other sites in Pakistan.

4.2 History and context of community archaeology

Community archaeology emerged in the 1970's and 1980's as a result of the political action of many post-colonial, indigenous communities, especially in Australia, as well as the appearance of critical theory in archaeology, and the continued increase in socio-political discussions within archaeological research. This

gave rise to indigenous, community, or postcolonial archaeology, which was essentially a way of collaborating with local communities at all stages of the processes involved in research, beginning from planning an excavation, and to facilitate effective involvement in the 'investigation and presentation of the past' (Moser et al., 2002: 220).

As the field has developed, and interest in collaborations with locals has increased, a sense of caution has been observed amongst archaeologists, who fear that the professional skill and input of an archaeologist at an archaeological site may be hindered with the involvement of the community, leading to a debate regarding the extent of this involvement (Thomas, 2017: 16). Therefore, work has been done in countries such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia to develop a code of ethics regarding this matter. The development of the codes of ethics defined the legalities of consultation, which meant that the incorporation of communities could only be taken as far as the law allowed. However, as time went on, many initiatives were developed which encouraged more organic and holistic forms of collaboration and today, the importance of the involvement of the communities at *all* stages of archaeological work is recognized, in return leading to a spiked interest by the public itself in involvement in archaeological activities, specially in the United Kingdom.

It is important to note that in the modern world, archaeological discoveries are highly relevant to numerous social and political situations, where archaeological data is used to corroborate unequal ideologies of control and authority of the past

(Tully, 2007: 158). An example of this comes from Pakistan, where the state pushes a narrative, through history books and national museums that romanticizes the country's Muslim past, while proactively disregarding its non-Muslim history¹⁸.

Community archaeology is also important in the general process of social cohesion, where inhabitants of modern towns and villages can be brought together through a sense of ownership of their local heritage. A widely accepted understanding now exists within archaeologists, coupled with the post-processual approach of interdisciplinary and post-modern work in recent times, that it is inappropriate to reap the 'material and intellectual benefits' of another society's heritage without that society being involved to benefit equally from the project as well (Moser et al., 2002: 221). Efforts have been made by archaeological teams to incorporate community engagement in their work at sites. In Turkey, some sites that have witnessed such efforts include Çatalhöyük (Farid, 2011: 42) and Kaman-Kalehöyük (Omura, 2010).

4.3 Why Community Archaeology?

Archaeology is a field of research that has, over the past several decades, continued to become more and more exclusive. Archaeological research is produced by archaeologists, for archaeologists. Archaeological research is produced in journals that are easy to access for those in academia, and in books that are sometimes obnoxiously priced. In such a scenario, it is fairly obvious to understand why interest in archaeology has not risen as much as archaeologists had hoped,

¹⁸ This point is discussed in more detail in 3.3, on page 26.

especially in countries like Pakistan, where other factors have also led to a diminished interest in the subject¹⁹.

As skilled professionals who study the human past, we as archaeologists must acknowledge that we are interested in this subject and that we have dedicated our lives to this otherwise less financially lucrative field of study because we have a strong interest in the history and the development of human societies. An awareness of the past is an essential part of human nature, and each one of us has an innate sense of connection to the past. However, as Tripp (2012: 28) notes in his chapter, if interpretation of the past is left to a narrow stratum of our society, such as skilled archaeologists, it will skew our already unclear and hazy views and understanding of the early development of human communities. This is not to undermine the importance of academic research, but that this academic research must run parallel to informed public discourse.

The involvement of the community is also important as it allows questions to be asked and debates to be had between everyone involved, about images or concepts we as archaeologists may have about some aspect of the past. This allows those images and concepts to be fluid and modified, and not set in stone. This plays a hugely important role in the hegemony of one 'truth' determined by the archaeologists.

¹⁹ See 1.4 Archaeology in the Developing World, on page 6, for a detailed discussion on this matter.

It must also be acknowledged that this kind of an intervention may be of a politically engaged form, with Gould (2016: 7) describing it as ‘an approach to archaeological practice that engaged directly on behalf of disenfranchised communities’, especially in countries like Australia, leading community archaeology to also be known as ‘activist’, ‘action’, or ‘civically engaged’ archaeology, where using archaeology to achieve and promoted broader economic, social and political purposes is gradually becoming common in the discipline.

4.4 Understanding ‘community’ and ‘community archaeology’

When discussing the methodology for a community archaeology project, it is vital to understand the meaning of the word ‘community’ first. Although being debated for decades now, there still remains little consensus on the meaning of the actual term. For example, Dhanjal and Moshenska (2012: 1) note that besides location, the term community can be based on class, interests, ethnicity, hobbies, language, and many other factors, including religion. Watson & Waterton (2011) emphasize on the fact that communities may also be seen as ‘owners’ or ‘stakeholders’ in, or of a particular heritage. As Isherwood (2012: 7) points out, it is clear that the link between social identity and space can be problematic, and one which archaeologists must tread carefully. For the author, the simplest definition of the term ‘community archaeology’ therefore becomes ‘archaeology for the people by the people’.

It can therefore be said that instead of looking at community archaeology as a single entity or unit, it is perhaps more helpful to perceive it as a set of relations, as

Isherwood (2012: 14) has presented in his article. He describes the framework for community archaeology as a set of relations consisting of three primary components; the communities, heritage professionals including archaeologists and museologists, and archaeological remains, encompassing the notion of place. In order to best understand and explore the relations between these key components of communities, archaeological remains and heritage professionals, ethnographic studies can be conducted to get a good sense of the relationships between the three actors. It is essential to note, however, that this explanation may be invalid in certain cases, as all three components may not be present in every situation.

Other scholars such as Tully recommend the term 'community' to be used as a reference to a group of individuals living within the vicinity of the area being investigated (Tully, 2007: 158). The term suggests that there is a sense of cohesion and solidarity in a shared setting. However it is important to acknowledge that communities are not homogenous, but are multifaceted with internal differences along with similarities in their outlooks. Therefore, homogenization should not be enforced, but the inclusion of dissenting voices should be encouraged to emphasize differences and disparity. Tully's interpretation of the term has been applied in this research.

4.5 The CAPQ Methodology

As defined above, the purpose of community archaeology projects is to facilitate effective community involvement in the study of archaeological resources, and the presentation of the past. One such project is The Community Archaeology Project at

Quseir (CAPQ) in Egypt, which was conducted by Stephanie Moser, and its explicit aim was to determine a methodological strategy for community archaeology. So, this project provides the most functional and applicable community archaeology methodology published until now, and which has been replicated and modified in various community-focused projects. This has enabled community practice to work within the established scientific framework of archaeology and anthropology.

Gemma Tully (2007) has proposed seven key components as part of a methodology for a community archaeology project (Appendix A), which will be discussed in this section, and on the basis on which, a methodology for more inclusive archaeological research and preservation for archaeological sites in Pakistan will be devised.

Before the methodology is explained, it is important to note that the way people respond to, and perceive a particular heritage depend on several factors, including its religious and cultural significance and place in the context being studied. This will be elaborated upon in detail, in the final chapter that will discuss the applicability of this methodology at the selected sites for this study.

- The first component of the methodology is communication and collaboration between the archaeological and/or museological team and the local community at all stages of the research being conducted. This includes a continuous dialogue between the two parties that will facilitate interpretation and presentation, which respecting the varying opinions and perspectives of all involved. It can also include partnership with local organizations for the management and presentation of the archaeological

material being studied or presented, and can be streamlined by the production of documentations regarding the proposed strategy. It is extremely important to keep all parties informed on all aspects of the project, including but not limited to its goals and limitations. Social interactions are also given importance, such as living within the community, and learning its language can help to enhance a level of trust and camaraderie. Project members can also put local people in charge, and give them authority and say in terms of presentation and display of archaeological information. Collaborative work can also include academic publications that are produced as a collaborative effort between researchers and local community members, giving them a position in the academic world and enhancing the importance and authority of local perspectives.

- The second component of Tully's methodology deals with employment, training as well as volunteering of local people in all parts of the project. This is important as it allows the maintenance of the central role of the local community, and it also helps to develop their skillset. Members of the community can also volunteer for various aspects of the project, and archaeologists working on the site should be making an effort to help both employees and volunteers with regards to future employment. Training the local community also allows its members to learn skills and knowledge that can be passed on to future generations.
- Archaeological research is of no use if it is not disseminated to the public. Therefore, Tully's third component deals with public presentation, that aims to pass on information not only to the local community, but also to other

visitors. Tully speaks of *traditional care*, referring to finding appropriate forms and methods of presentation, such as providing bilingual or even trilingual text where needed. A heritage center could be developed, showing the ties between local traditions and recent history, instead of focusing strictly on the past. Community members should also be involved in all stages of the museum or exhibition center design and development, as well as its future functioning.

- The fourth component from the CAPQ methodology discusses interviews and oral histories, to understand how local people respond to archaeological excavations, as well as to the development and management of an archaeological site. It can also help to understand how members of the local community think about the past, based on their experiences with past archaeological research teams. This information can be analyzed to discover local thoughts on the project and the past.
- The fifth component from Tully's methodology is about educational resources to introduce people from all generations to their cultural heritage. Site visits for children must be encouraged, and books and kits can be designed specifically for such a purpose. Archaeologists and educationists must remain sensitive about cultural norms in the creation of such material. Information about archaeological discoveries can be disseminated through an artifact database, and people of all ages can be encouraged to learn about the site through workshops, seminars, and other activities.
- The sixth component highlights the importance of creating a record of the archaeological work and experiences linked to it through a photographic and

video archive. The collaboration between researchers and the local community can be documented as tangible enhancement of local empowerment, which can be shared with the locals. Video recordings can be made to document the daily activities at the excavations, as well as interviews with the community members.

- The seventh and last aspect of Tully's methodology refers to community controlled merchandising for a tourist market, where quality alternatives can be offered to the typical souvenirs one may get at an archaeological site, such as mass-produced and generic magnets and t-shirts. Local community members can be directly involved in the design and decision-making, production as well as sale of souvenirs, and will thus be contributing to the local economy.

The seven components discuss above give a solid methodological structure to any community archaeology project. Tully (2007), however, notes that each one of these components may not be applicable at every site (Tully, 2007: 165). The research conducted for this thesis will therefore determine, through interviews conducted at three Gandharan sites, which of these factors are applicable to the context of Pakistan.

CHAPTER 5

FIELDWORK

5.1 Introduction

For the purpose of conducting research to investigate whether a community archaeology project can be successful in Pakistan, fieldwork was conducted at three sites in the country. The aim of this fieldwork was to determine, through oral histories and interviews, as well as observations made on the field, the overall sentiments of people living within geographical vicinity of sites with regards to the archaeological sites present around them. For this purpose, a questionnaire was designed keeping in view the methodology presented by G. Tully and discussed above, in order to conduct a successful community archaeology project. Questions were therefore created in a way that allowed to author to analyze the responses of interviewees to assess whether the CAPQ methodology could be implemented in this particular context.

A total of nine audio interviews were conducted. Four interviewees from Mankiala, three from Mohra Muradu, and two from Jandial participated in the fieldwork.

5.2 Interviewing as a technique

Interviewing as a technique for gathering information has, for a long time, been considered an effective and successful social science method for collecting qualitative data about complex and abstract relations, thoughts and feelings (Sorensen, 2009: 164). The aim of the fieldwork conducted for this thesis, discussed below, was precisely this; to understand the complex and abstract relations, feelings and thoughts of the interviewees with regards to the archaeological sites. This is achieved through anthropological research, where ethnography is applied to understand the ways in which individuals make sense of one, or many aspects of their daily lives (Palmer, 2009: 125). Interviews, coupled with external observation²⁰ on the three selected sites, were therefore considered to be the ideal method by the author, to determine and understand this relationship in the best possible way.

The author chose this social anthropological approach because it allows the interviewer to become an unobtrusive listener, by actively avoiding participating, influencing or biasing the conversation (Sorensen, 2009: 165). This open-ended approach also allowed interviewees to speak up, beyond just answering a question (Godoy, 2012: 53). A questionnaire was designed in a manner that allowed the author to probe for responses that would help with the assessment of the CAPQ methodology's application in Pakistan, however it was lightly structured because it allowed interviewees to express in their own ways and pace. The author allowed all the interviewees to open up and express themselves fully, even if they sometimes

²⁰ External, or nonparticipant observation is a method of conducting anthropological research where the observer views a group of people, but does not take part in their activities (Liu & Maitlis, 2010, 610).

went off-topic. This allowed for a greater level of trust and understanding between the author and interviewees.

Understanding people's attitudes to the past remains a very abstract area of study, therefore a qualitative interviewing technique was employed with the purpose of understanding the actor's views and thoughts. These in depth interviews therefore allowed qualitative results to be produced, that characterized their evolving relationship with the built heritage that surrounds them, instead of capturing a snapshot of a moment in time, something that would be a result of statistical and quantitative data. As Simpson & Williams (2008: 70) note, quantitative methodologies have their limitations – they tend to be restricted by the structure of a formal questionnaire, which can elicit formal and abbreviated responses, losing much-needed nuanced and contextual data, and simplifying and obscuring the complex relationship of human beings with their surroundings.

5.3 Site Selection

All three sites are located near the capital city of Islamabad. The sites selected for fieldwork, conducted by the author in January and February 2018, were Mankiala, Mohra Muradu and Jandial, and all of them are Buddhist sites from the Gandhara Civilization (Figure 10). Although the sites have ceased to function as active religious sites, Buddhists, mostly from East Asia, often visit them and perform religious rituals, highlighting the importance of this area as an important religious center for Buddhists.

These sites were selected for three reasons. Firstly, the vicinity of the sites played an important role, as they were close to the residence of the author in Islamabad, which allowed for frequent travelling to these sites to make external observations not just about the archaeological remains, but also how people interacted with them. Secondly, these sites were selected because of security reasons. Earlier, another site in the city of Peshawar was planned to be studied, however frequent terrorist attacks in Peshawar in the two months preceding the fieldwork made it an extremely dangerous choice of site, because of which it was dropped from the study. Thirdly, the language barrier was an important reason for choosing sites closer to Islamabad²¹. Because of the vicinity of these sites to the capital city of Islamabad, where Urdu is commonly spoken, the interviewees were well versed in Urdu. However, the further one travels from larger cities, the lesser the chance of people knowing Urdu, which creates a huge problem in fieldwork that depends largely on conversations with people.

5.4 Historical Context and Information on Selected Sites

The three selected sites belong to the Gandhara Civilization, which thrived in this part of the world from the middle of the 1st millennium BC. The ancient region of Gandhara was surrounded by agricultural plains of the Peshawar basin, in the foothills of the Himalayas. Today, this region forms part of northwest Pakistan.

²¹ See 5.5 Interviews on page 56 for a detailed account of language barriers in this fieldwork.

Because of its strategic location along the Silk Route, Gandhara was a commercially rich entity as a result of trade on this ancient trade route, but it also attracted foreign invaders. At its peak, between the fourth century BC and seventh century AD, it was controlled by the Greeks, Indo-Greeks, Shakas, Parthians, Scythians, Kushans, Sasanians, Huns and other political entities. In the second half of the 6th century BC, Gandhara became a satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire, as attested by inscriptions during the period of Darius (Karttunen, 2009: 131). After the arrival of Alexander the Great in Gandhara through Sogdiana in 327 BC, the region came under heavy influence of the Greeks, particularly in the arts. By the third century BC, Buddhism had arrived in Gandhara (Rosenfield, 2006:11). Towards the turn of the millennium, Gandhara prospered greatly because the ruler of the region, the Mauryan king Asoka, became a patron of Buddhism in the third century BC. Later on, in the first century AD, the Kushan²² occupation further encouraged the growth of that faith.

Buddhism grew as a religion because of the teachings of one figure from the 6th century BC known as Siddhartha Gautama. He was a north Indian prince who gave up his luxurious lifestyle and lived as an ascetic. Upon his death, his body was cremated and his remains were distributed amongst nine ruling clans, becoming 'relics' and objects of worship. These relics were enshrined in architectural structures known as *stupas* (Barnes, 1995: 166), and the Dharmarajika Stupa in

²² The Kushan Empire was formed in the 1st century AD, and lasted until the 4th century AD. It expanded in these years to cover a large part of ancient India, including modern day Pakistan, spreading north into China.

Taxila is one of the nine stupas that contained these relics²³; the remaining stupas contain relics that are linked to important Buddhist religious personalities. The religion therefore thrived in Gandhara for many centuries, with numerous Buddhist monasteries being founded because of Gandhara's role in the spread of Buddhist scripture and knowledge, especially to East Asia. With the arrival of Islam in the subcontinent in the ninth century AD, Buddhism decreased in popularity, and Buddhist monasteries, sanctuaries and settlements ceased to exist (Behrendt, 2007: 5).

5.4.1 Mankiala

Mankiala is the name given to a Buddhist stupa, which is located at the center of a modern village, also with the same name, just outside the capital city of Pakistan, Islamabad, in the vicinity of the town of Rawat (Figure 11). It is located approximately 25 km southeast of Rawalpindi, and is in the south of the Taxila valley. Considered one of the largest Buddhist stupas from the Gandhara Civilization in Pakistan, A. Kumar in his article (2015) mentions it as having appeared in the literary records of Chinese pilgrims to Taxila, and he notes that the stupa was also described by a British traveler, Mountstuart Elphinstone in his writings from 1808. It was first explored by Jean-Baptiste Ventura, an Italian General who served the Maharaja of Punjab in the early 19th century, Ranjit Singh, in 1830 (Kumar, 2015: 439). Later on in the 19th century, it was studied by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who

²³ Relics from Dharmarajika and other Buddhist stupas were excavated and moved to the British Museum upon their discovery by British archaeologists in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

identified it as the place of the 'body sacrifice' of Buddha²⁴, however no archaeological evidence has been unearthed to prove this speculation as true (Dani, 1986: 12). The site and its surroundings were later excavated by Saifur Rahman Dar in 1968, who described it as an important and flourishing religious center that dates back to the 2nd century AD (Mughal, 1990: 269). The archaeological remains indicate that the site was set on fire in the 5th century AD, after which it was reoccupied before being abandoned in the 8th century AD (Dani, 1988: 80).

Today, the stupa lies in a decrepit state, with the northern section of its façade destroyed by looters (Figure 12). The area immediately surrounding the stupa consists of overgrown grass and weeds, and is home to many street dogs from the village. Rising 30m high, with a 40m diameter, the stupa forms a central landmark, and is the main bus stop for the village as well. Recently enclosed in an iron grill, it is surrounded by the main commercial area of the surrounding villages, which include metal workshops, tea stalls, a slaughterhouse and a tailor's workshop on its eastern and southern sides, while the rest of the area is surrounded by agricultural fields, and some scattered residential buildings. The archaeological evidence from this site does not indicate the presence of a large settlement at the time the stupa was constructed under orders by Kanishka, the Kushan emperor in the second century AD (Cunningham, 1871: 122). Therefore, the area immediately around the structure was settled much later, and this information from the archaeological record is corroborated by oral tradition, as according to the local villagers, the area became a

²⁴ According to the legendary Jataka Tales, written in Sanskrit and documenting Gautama Buddha's births in both animal and human form, Mankiala Stupa is believed to be the site where Buddha sacrificed some of his body parts to feed seven hungry tigers cubs (Hassan 2014).

settlement only a few generations ago, and has faced little development in terms of its infrastructure.

5.4.2 Mohra Muradu

The site of Mohra Muradu is located at the back of a modern village with the same name. Lying at the edge of a glen, surrounded by hills covered with shrubs, it consists of a stupa that takes up its western part, while the monastery takes up the eastern part (Figure 13). It was constructed in the 2nd century AD. Archaeological remains at the site, particularly numismatic evidence, suggest that the site remained active until the end of the first millennium AD. The stupa here stands on a rectangular surface, and is decorated with stucco reliefs depicting scenes of Buddha and Bodhisattvas in various poses (Dani, 1986: 142). The monastery consists of a court of cells for monks, with additional halls built to serve various purposes. Six niches in this monastery consist of remains of Buddha sculptures in varying poses. A remarkable feature of this site is a smaller stupa that was found inside one of the cells in the monastery, almost complete in its detail. It is 12ft high, with stucco decorations all across the five tiers (Marshall, 1975: 361).

Unlike Mankiala, the archaeological site of Mohra Muradu is not at the center of the village, therefore the interaction of local villagers with the site is comparatively low. Added to this is the factor of the site being off of the main road of Taxila, which contributes to the decreased number of visitors to the site. Nonetheless, it remains one of the most significant archaeological sites in the area, and is particularly well known locally for being one of the best-kept sites, thanks to its caretaker who

informed the author that he sweeps the entire site every morning. The stupa itself is partially damaged because of attempts by looters to find Buddhist relics at the site to sell off in the antiquities black trade, but the government has recently made efforts to protect the remains, and has created a wooden canopy above the smaller stupas that surround the main structure. The Mohra Muradu stupa and monastery, just like the Mankiala stupa, had earlier been open to access, however an iron grill has also recently been erected along the boundary of the site to safeguard it. Important to note, however, is that the entrance to the site remains unguarded, and the grill itself has been cut from various parts, leaving the protection of the site against looters in jeopardy. Residents of the village of Mohra Muradu are mostly involved with agricultural farming in the surrounding fields.

5.4.3 Jandial

The temple at Jandial is one of the most intriguing monuments that was unearthed when excavations began in Taxila in the 19th century. It was first excavated by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1863-4, and stands atop an artificial mound that is directly north of the ancient city of Sirkap²⁵, prompting archaeologists to propose that it may have had a connection to the city (Figure 14) (Marshall, 1975: 222). The plan of the temple is strikingly similar to Classical temples from Ancient Greece, consisting of a *pronaos*, *naos*, and *opisthodomos* (Figure 15). According to Sir John Marshall's observations of the plan, the plan is also identically the same as that of several large temples such as the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus and the Parthenon

²⁵ Sir John Marshall identified three cities in Taxila, namely Bhir, Sirkap and Sirsukh, which were constructed after the subsequent destruction of the earlier site (Dani 1986: 4). Sirkap is the name of the second city in Taxila, which was founded by the Greco-Bactrian king Demetrius, who invaded India in 180 BC.

at Athens, as well as many others found throughout Greece, which consisted of an extra chamber between the sanctuary and the back porch. On the sides of the temple, instead of a peristyle of columns, there stands a wall with windows at intervals, to let light pour into the structure. At the entrance to the temple are massive column bases of ionic style, belonging to the *pronaos*. The dating of the structure remains debatable, with archaeologists suggesting that the strong Greek character of the plan, as well as the ionic pillars indicating that it was constructed under the rule of Bactrian Greek kings.

Archaeological remains uncovered from the site have had archaeologists embroiled in a heated debate about the temple's dating, ever since research on the structure began over a century ago. Popular belief amongst archaeologists has been that because of its strikingly similar plan to other Greek temples, a result of Greek influence on the local art and architecture, it was constructed as a Buddhist temple during or immediately after Graeco-Bactrian rule. Other scholars, such as Sir John Marshall and Rowland Jr. point to the possibility of it not being a Buddhist structure, and instead suggest that it was a Zoroastrian temple with Mesopotamian influence, brought to Taxila by the Persians. (Rowland Jr., 1935: 496).

Today, agricultural land and a small residential area surround the remains of the temple. Conversations with locals revealed that most of the residents are involved in agricultural farming, a setting similar to that of the remaining two sites of Mankiala and Mohra Muradu.

5.5 Interviews

Nine people from the local communities around the archaeological sites of Mankiala, Mohra Muradu and Jandial were interviewed (Appendix C), following a questionnaire designed by the author that aimed to evaluate what these individuals knew about the site, how they interacted with it, their thoughts on archaeological work conducted at this site, and their views on interventions that could help them and their future generations understand, interpret and assess these sites in a more effective manner. Eight out of the nine interviewees were men, with only one woman willing to speak to the author. This is due to various reasons. Firstly and most importantly, the language barrier in this region creates a challenge in research of this kind, because the language spoken in this general area is Hindko²⁶. Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, is not understood or spoken by most women, as they remain inside their houses and do not have the need to interact with outsiders, thereby being discouraged to learn the country's lingua franca. This is why a majority of the men understand and speak the language, as they interact with outsiders for work-related matters. Secondly, this region of northern Punjab and southern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is quite conservative compared to other parts of the province, resulting in women staying indoors and observing *pardah*, a state where women are secluded from interactions with males or strangers. For this reason, access to women interviewees was hindered greatly as well.

²⁶ Hindko is the name given to various West Punjabi dialects spoken by people of different ethnic backgrounds in the region surrounding Taxila.

A conversation was had with all interviewees, based loosely on the questionnaire (Appendix B) to assess the dynamics of people's relationships to these sites. For this purpose, the interview consisted of four sections:

- The first section aimed to understand what knowledge interviewees had about the sites, and what their source of information was. They were also asked about any tales, myths or legends they had heard from their elders regarding the sites.
- The second section was aimed at learning people's views on tourism in these areas, and whether they would be interested in benefiting from touristic activities financially.
- The third section was designed to learn about their views on archaeologists and archaeological activity – whether they or their families had been involved in any work that had been conducted on the sites, and if they would be interested in having their future generations work at the sites.
- The last section was aimed at understanding views of local community members regarding educational interventions with school children as well as adults, to help them appreciate, understand and protect the sites in a better manner.

Audio recordings of all nine interviews were made, lasting between 30 to 45 minutes each. These conversations are analyzed below.

5.5.1 Information about the site

At Mankiala, the interviewees narrated stories passed on to them from their elders about the large structure. According to them, the stupa is approximately 300 years

old and was created overnight by a giant and fairies, although they noted that these stories are dismissible because they do not understand why a giant would want to create a structure like this. Another interviewee, a tailor whose shop is located opposite the stupa spoke about how the structure was built over a grave.

At the site of Jandial, which is a Greek-style temple located in Taxila, both interviewees said that it is a little over 300 years old, and was a temple for fire-worshippers, referring to Zoroastrians. All three of the sites, namely Mankiala, Jandial and Mohra Muradu appear to be known by these names, however none of the interviewees knew the origins of the names.

When asked how they have seen the site change and evolve over time, the four interviewees from Mankiala noted that the stupa, which is located at a crossroads, was earlier fully exposed. It was only seven or eight years ago that an iron grill was erected around the stupa compound, as a result of funds provided by the Chinese government²⁷. All three interviewees from Mohra Muradu spoke about how similar changes have occurred at the site – an iron grill enclosing the compound was recently erected. The interviewees from Jandial reported seeing no change in the site for as long as they could remember.

All nine interviewees spoke about how the archaeological sites were of great importance to them because they felt honored to be living near a place that both local people as well as foreigners enjoy visiting. They also noted how they have

²⁷ The Chinese government has provided monetary contribution to the protection of these sites because of their religious affiliation with Buddhist sites in Taxila, as this is the region from where Buddhism spread to China and other parts of East Asia.

observed people from East Asian countries like China, Japan, Thailand and Korea as they offer prayers and conduct rituals at these sites, though all interviewees except for the teacher from Mohra Muradu were unaware of the religion these visitors belonged to, which is Buddhism.

5.5.2 Tourism

All nine interviewees noted the importance of tourism not just in Taxila but also to Pakistan, and its contributions to the country's economy and image in front of the foreign world, as a country with a pluralistic heritage. Being residents of the surrounding area for several decades, all of them reported no untoward incidents resulting from tourism, as far as they could recall. They explained how equal numbers of Pakistanis as well as foreigners visit, although locals visit with the purpose of taking a break from their daily routines and an outing for their children, and foreigners visit to admire the ancient structures and are eager to learn more about the site. Foreigners also include Buddhists who regularly visit these sites; the interviewees from Mankiala noted that foreigners visited as often as every week. All interviewees were thus in favor of tourism continuing and flourishing in the region.

When asked whether they would consider benefiting from touristic activity in any way, such as setting up businesses targeting tourists as buyers, the interviewees were doubtful of such a proposal. They shared several reasons for this reaction. Firstly, they noted that the government has banned them from selling anything at or near the archaeological sites, perhaps in an attempt to curb sales of illegally excavated objects from the sites. Secondly, Taxila is part of an area that has an

agrarian economy; Taxila's blood-oranges are famous all across the country, and most of Taxila's male population is already involved in agricultural farming. Therefore, they expressed a disinterest in the possibility of being part of new business enterprises related to archaeological sites that could contribute to their income, and appeared satisfied with their current incomes. Thirdly, when the author proposed the prospect of perhaps selling locally created handicrafts, such as embroidery by women, one of the interviewees at Mankiala, the owner of a tea stall, remarked that visitors to the stupa were 'VIPs', indicating that they were of a different social class and would not be interested in buying locally produced goods.

5.5.3 Archaeological Research

None of the nine interviewees had ever witnessed any excavations take place at the three sites. The four interviewees from Mankiala mentioned witnessing workers who appeared to be working on restoration efforts in 2017. When asked whether they, or anyone from their families had ever worked on the sites, two of the interviewees spoke about how several generations of their families had been involved in working for the Taxila Museum or for the Pakistani government's archaeology department. However, they described their work as being restricted to looking after the sites' security, cleanliness, and for one interviewee, supplying food to the excavators at a recently excavated site nearby called Jinnan Wali Dheri. They made it clear that they did not learn anything about the site during their work.

Upon inquiring whether they would be interested in having their children work at excavations, the interviewees responded positively and said they would encourage

participation in archaeological and preservation activities. The five interviewees from Mohra Muradu and Jandial explained how the local museum, known as the Taxila Museum, does not have any activities for local residents or children. They described taking their children to the museum as a fun family outing, not because of the information one could learn from the museum, but because of a park at the premises that had space for children to play. All nine interviewees stressed on the need for a local visitor center which could be located at each site, explaining to locals and visitors alike, in meaningful and interactive ways, the important characteristics of the concerned site.

5.5.4 Educational Interventions

All nine interviewees expressed great interest in interventions that could help not only them but also their children understand the sites better. They complained about how people keep coming to interview them, but they go on to write books and make documentaries about the sites for TV, but no one is interested in working to create a useful product for them, in helping them to not just understand, but also protect the site better. They noted how it is important for children to learn about these sites, so that they can feel a sense of ownership towards these sites, and can learn to protect and take care of them now, and in the future.

5.6 Analysis

Conversations held with these nine interviewees, coupled with external observations made during several visits to the three selected sites have brought to light several vital issues that pertain to the condition of archaeological sites in

Pakistan. The most important and urgent problem appears to be a serious level of ignorance and negligence about the value of these sites, more so by the authorities than by local communities living around them. The results and a discussion of observations made from the research is as follows.

5.6.1 An Increased Interest in Heritage

A striking observation from the fieldwork was an elevated interest in the people for the built heritage that surrounds them. Every interviewee spoke at length about how they had a desire to learn more about these archaeological sites that are seemingly very important for 'the educated' and 'upper class' that constantly visit these sites and admire them. It seemed as if they were clueless and lost about what exactly was there to admire, and to appreciate, and this was confirmed when the interviewees were unclear about the origins of the sites. In terms of understanding the archaeological value of these ruins, there appears to be a glaring disconnect between the archaeological remains, and those who live in their immediate proximity. Many of the interviewees therefore seemed to have come to terms with the idea that this scenario will remain the same, and that archaeological sites, for them, will continue to simply be a good place for family outings, where their children could play in the open spaces. While the interviewees were discussing with the author their desire to understand and appreciate the respective site better, those listening to the conversation would often interject, and support the idea of providing more information to them about the site in question. This immediately provides a direct opportunity and demand for a possible educational intervention, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

5.6.2 The Role of the Local Museum

It also became apparent that the role played by the local museum for Jandial and Mohra Muradu, the Taxila Museum, in order to disseminate information about surrounding archaeological sites amongst local communities is nonexistent²⁸. The interviewees noted how there had never been any activity conducted by the Museum where local residents were invited to participate in any talks, workshops and exhibitions. It is important to note here, however, that an initiative to create activities for children at the Taxila Museum was recently introduced in the form of a collaboration between UNESCO Pakistan and The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC)²⁹. Although details of this collaboration remained unavailable at the time of the writing of this research, it is certainly a step in the right direction on behalf of the Taxila Museum.

5.6.3 Format of Information Provided on Site

Multiple visits to the three sites by the author for observational purposes also brought to light a problem regarding the information provided by the authorities (the Directorate of Archaeology, Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa respectively) at the sites. While both Mohra Muradu and Jandial, which fall under the UNESCO World Heritage Site status of Taxila, contained information boards at the entrance to the site, the Mankiala stupa did not. In fact, the stupa was not even marked with any signboards. The information that was provided at the sites of Mohra Muradu and Jandial in both English and in Urdu, however, described the respective sites

²⁸ The site of Mankiala did not have any museum within its surroundings.

²⁹ <https://www.radiotnn.com/unesco-sdc-join-hands-to-improve-taxila-museums-educational-role/> and confirmed by UNESCO Pakistan office (personal communication, March 19, 2018).

using language that would be difficult to understand for those unfamiliar with Buddhist history, archaeology or architecture. The site of Mohra Muradu also consisted of a site plan that highlighted the location of the monastery, stupa and other features, however there was no explanation of these terms. Therefore, the importance of the site, its plan and its features remained obscure for many of its visitors.

5.6.4 'Us' vs 'Them'

The fieldwork also revealed another issue created by archaeologists who work in the area, viewed in regards to community involvement in their project implementation. The interviewees revealed that they are not consulted, or involved in any way by archaeologists during excavations at these three sites, or at any others that are carried out in the wider area of Taxila. Two of the interviewees mentioned being part of excavation projects at Jinnan Wali Dheri³⁰, but only as labor or service providers. These two interviewees were involved to the extent of providing food and security at the site, and noted that they did not gain any knowledge about the site per se, neither were they encouraged by the archaeologists to do so.

5.6.5 Tourism

As described earlier, all interviewees were very pleased with the popularity of their local village because of the archaeological sites, and expressed a sense of pride for belonging to such a place. They stated that they did not benefit from the flow of

³⁰ See page 60.

tourists to the area, however, and did not express an interest in making any efforts to do so in the future as well. Their responses indicate how the local government and administration has not made any efforts to incorporate local businesses into the tourism industry, which will give a boost to the local economy and income. Because of this inaction by the government, the interviewers also expressed that they did not expect to benefit from tourism to the area economically.

5.6.6 The Role of Guides

Other external observations made at the three sites brought to light the role of guides, and this deserves a special mention. One of the interviewees at Mohra Muradu, who was the brother of the guide, described how the guide also acted as the caretaker and security personnel deployed at the site, and was registered with the local museum and the government. Indeed, this was also witnessed at other sites in Taxila, such as at the ancient city of Sirkap, as well as at Dharmarajika. It was observed that each of these sites had only one guide, barring Mankiala, which had none. Government workers in Pakistan are often not paid well, because of which these guides could be seen repeatedly requesting visitors to take them on a guided tour, at the end of which they could charge them any amount they desired. As an experiment, the author accepted the request of the guide at Dharmarajika for a tour. It was clear that the guide had rote-learned basic information the site, often narrating it so quickly that it was hard to comprehend his sentences and information. When the author asked more specific questions about certain areas of the site, he did not have answers to them, and each time the author stopped to take a detailed look anywhere on the site, he would say 'Come along, this is not

important'. The reason for this hurry to end the tour was that these guides wanted to move on to convince the next set of visitors for another tour. Although it states nowhere at the sites that the guides are to be paid a certain amount, they would often be unhappy with the amount most visitors gave to them (Rs. 200-300 on average), and would demand more money. They would also be careless about the treatment of the sites as well. The guide at the Mohra Muradu stupa encouraged the author to climb to the top of the already unsteady remains of the stupa 'to get the best view of the site', the author expressed hesitation to which he responded 'Don't worry, we do this every day with countless visitors'. Such attitudes of those present at the site specifically to take care of it are undoubtedly worrying.

The analysis of the fieldwork at these Gandharan sites reveals several areas of improvement with regards to not only the conditions of the sites, but also possible interventions that may be taken under a community archaeology project which will contribute to a better understanding and protection of the site by its surrounding residents. The conversations also uncovered an important observation, in which people living around these archaeological sites certainly appear to have a deep emotional connection to these places, which is specially expressed in their explicit interest to educate themselves about the sites they have seen since childhood. However, this connection to them can be described as 'hazy' and 'vague' at best, particularly because of their omission from archaeological activities, making them feel a sense of isolation on the part of authorities as well as scholars who work on these sites.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 The Way Forward

Fieldwork conducted for this thesis at Gandharan sites in Pakistan have revealed to archaeologists an opportunity to reconsider the methodology of archaeological work conducted in the country; as Waterton (2015: 59) notes, we must reconsider, and think seriously about becoming exploitative, and shift the approach from research ‘being *about* communities, to being *with* and *from* communities’ as well as *for* communities.

Keeping this aim firmly in focus, this concluding chapter discusses a possible future course of action, a way forward for the manner in which archaeology is conducted in Pakistan, to make it more inclusive, and dissolve and destruct the hierarchical approach often taken by archaeologists in the country³¹. Exceptions are present, of course, such as the ‘Archaeology’ Community Tourism (ACT)’ Project, created by the Italian Archaeological Mission working on Gandharan sites in the Swat Valley, and it will be discussed below.

³¹ Discussed in detail in 1.4 Archaeology in the Developing World, page 6.

6.2 Application of the CAPQ Methodology in Pakistan

As identified above in the analysis of the fieldwork³², several areas within archaeological research and preservation conducted in Pakistan need improvement, in efforts to make it more inclusive, and relevant to modern methods of archaeological research. Archaeologists in Pakistan can therefore create community outreach programs in the areas of research. The CAPQ methodology for community archaeology³³ provides a framework for such efforts that can be implemented in the context of Pakistan, to achieve this aim. The following section is an evaluation by the author of the possible implementation of the seven components of this methodology.

6.2.1 Communication and Collaboration

An essential component of conducting a community archaeology project is the involvement of the local residents that surround archaeological sites. The fieldwork conducted at the three sites, and detailed above, have brought forth an opportunity to collaborate with the local communities here, as witnessed by their responses to the questionnaire. Using the CAPQ methodology's component 1, collaborative efforts can be proposed. Archaeologists can begin by offering an open invitation to local community members to discuss a potential archaeological research or preservation project. As per the methodology's component 1D (Appendix A), this will encourage a sense of openness, and communicating and collaborating with the locals regarding the prospective project will encourage them to 'own' the project as well, and they can contribute to the protection and implementation of its aims. The

³² Discussed in 5.6 Analysis, page 62.

³³ Explained in 4.5 The CAPQ Methodology, page 42.

community can propose, within themselves, the names of certain people who may be able to take charge and responsibility, and facilitate the archaeologists on a local level – this can include any local groups or organizations including the youth who may be interested in taking part in an archaeological project. Those wishing to become involved with the archaeological teams may be encouraged to take on a more important role, perhaps as facilitators, imparting a sense of ownership, authority and decision-making and increasing their sense of responsibility towards the site, not only while the project is being conducted, but in the future as well. Such action was taken at the site of Blackfriary in Ireland, where a committee was established consisting of representatives from local residents, local businesses, authority and the archaeological team to take the lead in the planning and implementation of the various phases of the archaeological research and preservation work that was to be conducted at the site, including the responsibility to raise funds (Mandal & O’Carroll, 2011: 5).

Component 1 of the CAPQ methodology proposes involving locals at all stages of research. This may also include archaeologists including writers, bloggers, academics or scholars from the vicinity, who may be able to contribute to publications being produced to disseminate information from the research, in a way that is easy to understand and accessible for the wider community. The Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat, Pakistan has successfully conducted such activities, involving not just the Swat Museum’s curator in publications, but inviting local journalists on board to report on the Mission’s archaeological activities in local as well as national newspapers and magazines.

6.2.2 Employment, Training and Volunteering

Component 2 of the CAPQ methodology involves providing employment, and training and employment opportunities to those from the surrounding communities involved in the project. Admittedly, archaeology projects in Pakistan often face a severe shortage of funding, however if participants are trained to acquire archaeology-specific skills, such as surveying a potential archaeological site, mapping out an excavation trench, and excavating in a systematic manner that does not disturb the stratigraphy of the site, these valuable skills may be learnt and passed on to future generations. Because these skills are very specific in their implementation, it will make the trainees especially skilled, and they may be able to offer their skills to other archaeology projects as well.

This aspect of the CAPQ methodology is especially beneficial to a community archaeology project in Pakistan, where because of its economic situation, jobs are often particularly hard to find, so having specialized skills such as these can be advantageous for those looking for work. This, coupled with other skills participants can learn while being part of the project, such as management of the dig house, supervision of an excavated area, and safely cleaning and storing archaeological finds can be added skills learnt by members of the community from archaeologists.

If one is to view this scenario the other way around, it is also possible for archaeologists to learn a lot about archaeological finds, as well as the region of research, from local residents. In the case of Taxila, it was well known in ancient times for being the home of expert stonemasons (Asif and Rico, 2017: 110). Today,

over two thousand years later, it continues to be known for the same reason.

Taxila's stone-worked decorative and household items are well known throughout the country. Therefore, archaeologists can learn valuable knowledge from Taxila's stonemasons, incorporating an ethnoarchaeological angle to research as well, which could certainly contribute to the study of its archaeological remains.

Young people living around the three archaeological sites can also be encouraged to volunteer their time to the community archaeology project. One possibility is to educate volunteers in a way that they are able to provide guided tours to visitors, both to the sites as well as the Taxila Museum, adding their own twist of local knowledge to the information disseminated this way, by incorporating archaeological information with local tales about the sites, something they will be in a special position of having knowledge about.

6.2.3 Public Presentation

An essential element of conducting archaeological work is presenting it to the public, not just through site visits, but also through the information exhibited at visitor centers and museums.

At present, the three sites studied for this research, according to the author, do not contain adequate information that can guide visitors through the sites, providing an enriching and knowledgeable experience. As noted earlier³⁴, Mohra Muradu and Jandial do have information boards at the entrance to the site, however they do not

³⁴ See 5.6.3 Format of Information Provided on Site, page 63.

contain any guidance on how a visitor should visit the site. Here, a map could be helpful, which could guide the visitors in a way that helps them understand the site in the best possible way. Pathways could also be made at these sites, which could guide the visitors through the ruins, however none of the sites contain any such paths.

All three sites contain adequate space around them that could be used to create visitor centers. Here, before visiting the actual site, one should be able to understand the history of the site with the help of maps and images, and in language that is easy to understand for those who may not be familiar with academic terminologies. The space could also be utilized to exhibit the history of archaeological excavations and any restoration works conducted at these sites, so visitors may be able to appreciate the effort put in by archaeologists to understand the site they are about to view, better. Here, it is essential, according to the author, to incorporate local knowledge in a way that relates the site not only to its past, but also to its modern context. An example can be that of Taxila's stonework discussed in 6.2.2, which can be displayed as a skill that has been passed on through centuries to its modern inhabitants. This can allow visitors to Taxila to appreciate not just its history, but also its skilled craftsmen.

While working on developing the visitor center, archaeologists should incorporate the opinions and feedback of local residents, and involve them fully in the process. Bilingual, or even trilingual text should be used to explain displays, if needed. In the case of Taxila, besides English and Urdu, Hindko may be used to communicate with

the local residents better. Local sensitivities should be taken into account. For example, keeping the conservative environment of Taxila in mind, subjects that could prove to be provocative should be exhibited with caution.

6.2.4 Interviews and Oral Histories

Archaeologists sometimes tend to overlook the importance of local knowledge in the process of understanding a site's history and modern context better. For this purpose, the CAPQ methodology proposes a special emphasis on recording the opinions of local people about not just previous archaeological work they may have witnessed at the respective site, but also any tales, myths and legends relating to the site. This proves to be helpful in a community archaeology project as it allows archaeologists to understand how local residents view archaeological sites, and what their sources of information are with regards to the sites as well.

Additionally, interviews and oral histories allow local residents to feel included in the community archaeology project, and that their opinions and stories hold significance in such efforts. These conversations will also allow archaeologists to discover local thoughts on the project, providing some insight into how people may respond to their efforts, which should also be discussed. Fieldwork conducted at the three sites have shown that people living in the vicinity are willing to speak to archaeologists at length, which is certainly a positive sign, although it must be noted that access to women remains strictly guarded here, because of the conservative social dynamics in the region. It is also challenging for women to conduct interviews, as men are not too comfortable speaking to women they do not know

as family members; the author faced similar problems while conducting fieldwork. Also important to note is that although all those approached for interviews for this research agreed to speak with the interviewer, this may not always be the case, and certainly does not represent the willingness of a larger number of the population of Taxila to take part in such conversations.

6.2.5 Archaeology and Education

As the fieldwork results have shown, there is an urgent need for efforts to enhance the knowledge and experience of those who live around archaeological sites, as well as those who visit them. It has also become clear that local people had a strong interest in the archaeological heritage that surrounded them, and this automatically opens a door for archaeologists to proceed with a plan focused on educating them. A quick look at the history the relationship between archaeology and education shows that archaeologists began to produce resources for teachers in the 1970's and 1980's, about the same time the idea of archaeology becoming more 'open-minded' originated. In the context of Pakistan, teaching kits could be created for teachers of schools in the neighboring regions of the sites, outlining how they could approach the discussion regarding these sites in the classrooms. Learning kits could also be created for children, filled with activities that will encourage them to visit the sites, and make conscious observations in a way that will enhance their knowledge and understanding of the ruins.

As Moser et al. (2002: 222) note, it is our ethical and professional responsibility as 'outsiders' to convey the results of research to the community within which a

project may be based, as well as to the wider public. The participation of non-professionals is also believed to be beneficial as it fosters a respect for the value of the archaeological resources, thereby discouraging vandalism and the looting of sites.

For this purpose, scholars such as Corbishley (2011: 86) propose that teachers, children and families should be encouraged to visit archaeological sites on their own. However, keeping the realities of the conservative environment of Taxila in mind, local residents revealed that they were unwilling to allow their women and children to visit these sites without proper security, which is not present at the respective sites at the moment. Once authorities can beef up the security, as well as basic facilities such as toilets, visits to sites by children and teachers, who in Pakistan are mostly women, can increase.

The establishment of visitor centers, discussed above, can also help to house artifacts belonging to sites that may be safe for visitors to touch, and observe their production, allowing them to appreciate the skills and expertise of craftsmen in antiquity. Seminars, workshops, as well as site and museum visits can be arranged by local schools to educate local residents. Additionally, heritage kits could be designed and distributed to teachers as well as schoolchildren, which can be based on specific areas of archaeological importance. With the help of archaeologists, a national organization could be created which could be responsible for disseminating archaeological research amongst those who would perhaps not be able to access it directly. This could be achieved through the creation of a website and artifact

database with details about the archaeological material discovered at various Gandharan sites that can provide information about these sites to a much wider audience. Such efforts will require an immense amount of time to be thoroughly conducted and implemented, and dedicated volunteers, including students, could be involved in the process.

Another possible educational intervention could be for members of the community to 'Adopt A Monument'. A program with the same name was launched at Tampere, Finland, where volunteers, by adopting a monument, followed a process that included gathering information about the adopted monument or site, drawing up management plans, clearing the area of debris and trash, amongst others (Soininen, 2018: 58). A similar program may be implemented in Taxila, where local schools could be encouraged to facilitate and manage such a project.

6.2.6 Photographic and Video Archive

Activities at archaeological projects, as well as experiences of those working on the site can be documented in the form of a photographic and video archive. This can be done in collaboration with locals involved in the project, keeping in mind cultural sensitivities, and acquiring permission prior to recording and publishing, either in tangible printed form, or online. At Taxila, the involvement of local residents in archaeological projects has so far been negligible; therefore the possibility of creating a photographic and video archive cannot be pre-judged. However, at other places where community archaeology projects have been conducted, such as at Tell Akko in Israel, through the 'Tell Akko Total Archaeology Project', testimonials

recorded by the project developers provided valuable insights into the personal experiences of those involved, along with entry and exit interviews. Feedback from these interviews would be used to improve details of the program as well as the approach being employed by the archaeologists in carrying out the community archaeology project (Killebrew et al., 2017: 387).

6.2.7 Community-Controlled Merchandising

Lastly, the CAPQ methodology proposes that the local community be involved in creating merchandise for the tourist market. This involves complete control of the locals in the design, production and sale of meaningful and good quality souvenirs, which will allow them to contribute to the economy of the area, as well as improving their income. In the case of the three sites studied for this research, locals have not been involved in producing such material up until now, as the local authorities have not tried to generate such possible business ventures and opportunities. However, the author sees great potential in such ventures, which will allow local handicrafts to be appreciated by visitors to the site, a large number of which are often foreigners. Here, archaeologists can play the role of encouraging the local authorities to begin encouraging the sale of local and specialized crafts, emphasizing their importance in the cultural landscape of the region.

6.3 A Critical Analysis of CAPQ

An extensive look at the CAPQ methodology, coupled with its possible application at three archaeological sites in Pakistan, shows great potential in its position as a pioneering methodology for community archaeology projects in the modern

contexts. The analysis of its components in 6.2 has helped to outline, point by point, the practicality of its application. However, before the methodology is practically applied, a critical discussion based on its components is necessary, helping archaeologists to remain mindful of its characteristic features.

As the developers of the methodology have noted in their publications, every aspect of the CAPQ methodology may not be applicable at every site, or a set of sites where a community archaeology project is under consideration to be implemented. Tully (2007: 166) notes through the seven case studies presented in her article that interviews and oral history, and communication and collaboration have the most potential in terms of coverage of the proposed methodology. This can vary from one community project to another. The author of this thesis has been able to assess that for the three sites under study for this research, communication and collaboration as well as educational interventions are highest in demand.

Because of the conservative social dynamics in the area, interviews and oral histories may be easier to conduct with men, however women remain very hard to access³⁵. The interviewees especially stressed on the notion that they are eager to gain more knowledge about the sites, and beyond that, were keen to have the younger population become more involved with the sites, rather than simply passing by them each day, so that they could play a role in their protection for future generations. It is indeed encouraging to hear such thoughts, as they allow us, the outsiders, to see that there is a genuine sense of concern, which archaeologists and local authorities must use to their advantage.

³⁵ As mentioned in 6.2.4 Interviews and Oral Histories, page 74.

The author of this research has been able to observe that in the assessment of its applicability at the three sites, several of its components overlap, which have been noted in the discussion on possible applicability in 6.2. For example, public presentation of archaeological research overlaps with educational interventions, in the form of the proposed establishment of visitor centers. This must be taken as a positive aspect of the CAPQ methodology, which allows ideas through its components to merge and intertwine, making archaeological research much more accessible for the wider community.

6.4 Efforts in Pakistan

Although archaeological research generally conducted in Pakistan lacks a community-focused approach, as displayed by the results of this research, some efforts have recently been undertaken by organizations to make it more favorable for the future of the country. There is a growing concern within the Pakistani government to correct or negate the very negative reputation the country has earned over the past few decades as a nation that is brimming with radicalism and religious fundamentalism. For this purpose, some measures, discussed below, have been taken with the support of the government that is gradually realizing the importance of investing in, and supporting inclusive archaeological efforts in the country.

6.4.1 Archaeology – Community – Tourism (ACT) Field School

In 2011, the Italian Archaeological Mission in conjunction with the provincial government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, launched the 'Archaeology – Community –

Tourism Field School (ACT Field School)' in the Swat Valley. The Mission has been conducting archaeological research in the Valley since 1955, which in 2007 came under the rule of the Taliban, halting archaeological work for over three years. Once the Pakistan Army had neutralized the area after a massive operation against the Taliban, the ACT Field School Project was launched. The Mission encouraged voluntary trainees to enroll, on the condition that they belonged to the same village as the archaeological site, amongst others (Olivieri, 2018: 224). During the first year, 300 site keepers, restorers, and future local trainers were selected, and were given a daily wage. Although initially viewed by the community as a decent source of income, their relationship with the archaeological sites gradually led to them feeling a sense of belonging, and of shared responsibility, which is important in the 'self-protection' of the sites (Olivieri, 2018: 225). Those trained as workmen were closely involved in the evaluation and discussion of the stratigraphy of Barikot in Swat, a multi-period site where the training process was held. Trainees were also taught processes related to conservation, along with classes on occupational safety on site. The caretakers and guides on site were encouraged to create a private association, the Swat Archaeological Guides Association (SAGA) in which they could develop their skills. An archaeological mountain trail park was also created, connecting several sites within a 20 km circuit. By the time of the project's conclusion in 2016, the Italian Archaeological Mission had set the wheels in motion for more inclusive archaeological research at Pakistan.

6.4.2 Punjab Tourism for Economic Growth Project

Over the past few years, cultural heritage had now also begun to appear in the mission statements and project descriptions of major international donors in

Pakistan, such as the World Bank, which has recently launched a project titled 'Punjab Tourism for Economic Growth Project'³⁶. As part of this endeavor, the Bank aims to provide aid to the government of the Punjab province to increase and improve development efforts around sites with economic potential for tourism. One of their propositions includes improving access to the Mankiala Stupa, one of the sites studied for this research. The project proposal mentions community outreach at a later stage, however its detailed implementation plan could not be acquired at the time of writing this thesis.

6.4.3 Collaboration between UNESCO Pakistan and Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation

Another effort to note here comes as a result of a collaboration between UNESCO Pakistan and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC). In February 2018, both organizations collaborated to support the creation of interactive materials for children who visit the Taxila Museum, to increase their interest in, and knowledge of the Gandharan civilization³⁷ (personal communication, March 19, 2018).

The description of these efforts highlights a growing interest in the appreciation and celebration of Pakistan's unique heritage by both the government as well as international organizations. This indicates that a positive change is slowly taking

³⁶ Further details can be found here:

<http://projects.worldbank.org/P158099/?lang=en&tab=overview>.

³⁷ Details of the collaboration can be found here, and have been confirmed by UNESCO Pakistan:

<https://www.radiotnn.com/unesco-sdc-join-hands-to-improve-taxila-museums-educational-role/>.

place and picking up speed, and its results will be certainly be mirrored and felt in future generations.

6.5 Conclusion

This research, although limited in terms of the region it covers, the problems it addresses and the individuals it interacted with, has revealed that there is definite potential, demand, and a sense of receptivity for community archaeology to take a solid position within the methodology of archaeological research conducted in Pakistan.

In order to advance archaeological research and preservation in Pakistan, it is vital that we, as archaeologists, try to find way of increasing the value of archaeological sites for those who inhabit their surroundings. As various case studies cited in this dissertation have shown, the dialogue and collaboration between archaeologists, heritage professionals and communities is continuously increasing in frequency, and the results are inspiring and encouraging for each one of us with an interest in the human past.

Henson (2012: 122) writes in his article about how in order for archaeology to find its relevance in the modern world, and to successfully engage with the present, it will have to take notice of current political and social concerns, and become more inclusive in its application. He notes how physical or built heritage can be a powerful means of integrating people because heritage is strongly connected with a sense of belonging to a place or social group. In a place like Pakistan, where

conflicting religious, cultural, social, and political values have historically resulted in physical heritage having suffered (as discussed in Chapter 3), any discipline which teaches people to be tolerant and concerned towards others is a powerful source of good, and one of the outcomes of archaeology is precisely that. As Shanks & Tilley (1992: 25) note in their book that criticizes the traditional 'top-down' approach of archaeological research, *Reconstructing Archaeology*, 'the study and presentation of the past remains a mystery, isolated from the present in the hands of the professional elite'. Therefore, as archaeologists, we must realize that we are not part of an elite group that safeguards the past on behalf of the masses. The heritage we discover and understand is not ours; it belongs to everyone. We must play the role of the mediator between the past and present, helping communities to come to terms with their past and heritage, and learning to live in an ever-changing world.

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FIGURES



Figure 1. Map showing administrative divisions of Pakistan.

(http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/pakistan_admin-2010.jpg)



Figure 2. Map showing geographic features of Pakistan.
http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/pakistan_physio-2010.jpg.



Figure 3. Map showing the six Pakistani sites inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

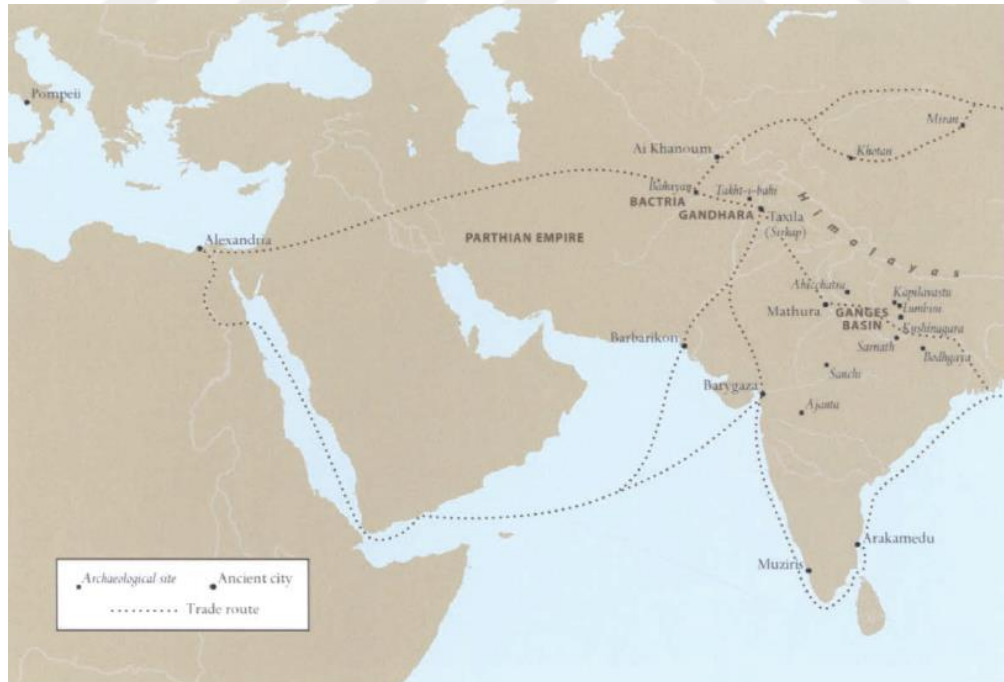


Figure 4. Map displaying Taxila's location on the Silk Route. (Behrendt 2007, 8).

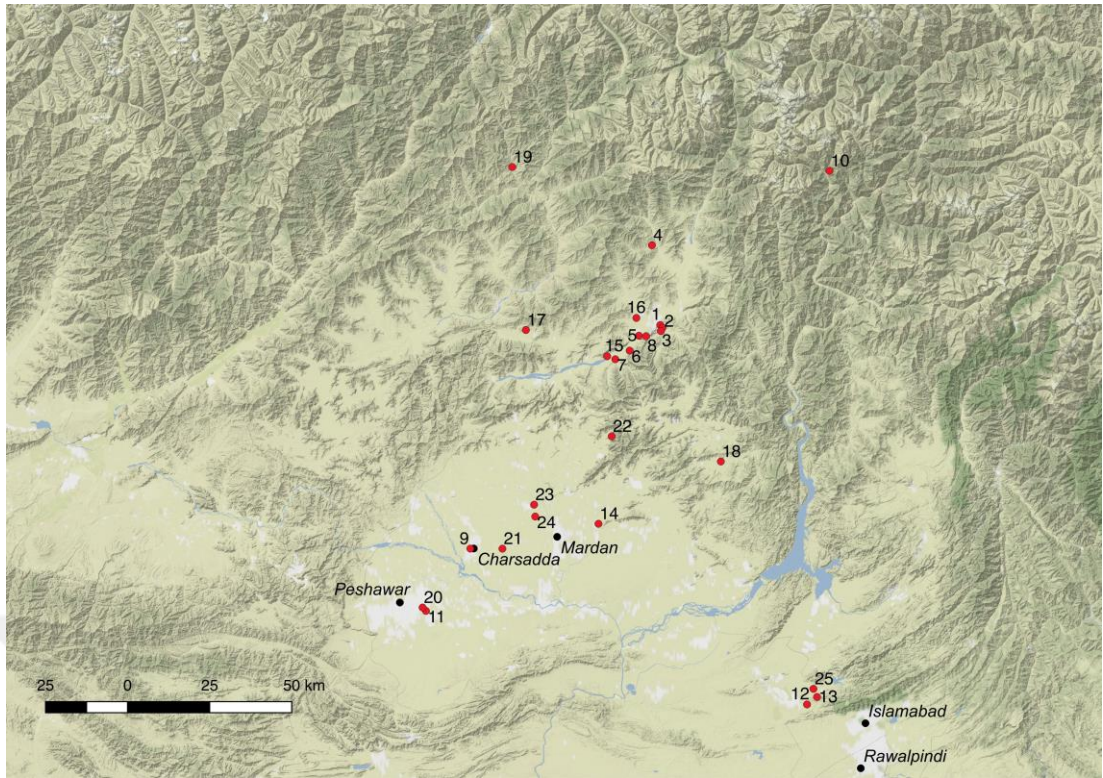


Figure 5. Map showing major cities and sites mentioned in the text, and located in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

1, Mingora. 2, Butkara I. 3, Saidu Sharif I. 4, Aligrama. 5, Gogdara III. 6, Ghalegay. 7, Bir-kot-ghwandai (Barikot). 8, Sultan Mahmood Ghaznavi Mosque. 9, Pushkalavati. 10, Kasia. 11, Shahji Ki Dheri. 12, Dharmarajika. 13, Jaulian. 14, Mekha Sandha. 15, Gumbatona. 16, Dadhara. 17, Kandaro. 18, Nawagi. 19, Chat Pat. 20, Gor Khatree. 21, Shaikhan Dheri. 22, Sangao Cave. 23, Takht-i-Bahi. 24, Sahr-i-Bahlol. 25, Jinnan Wali Dheri.

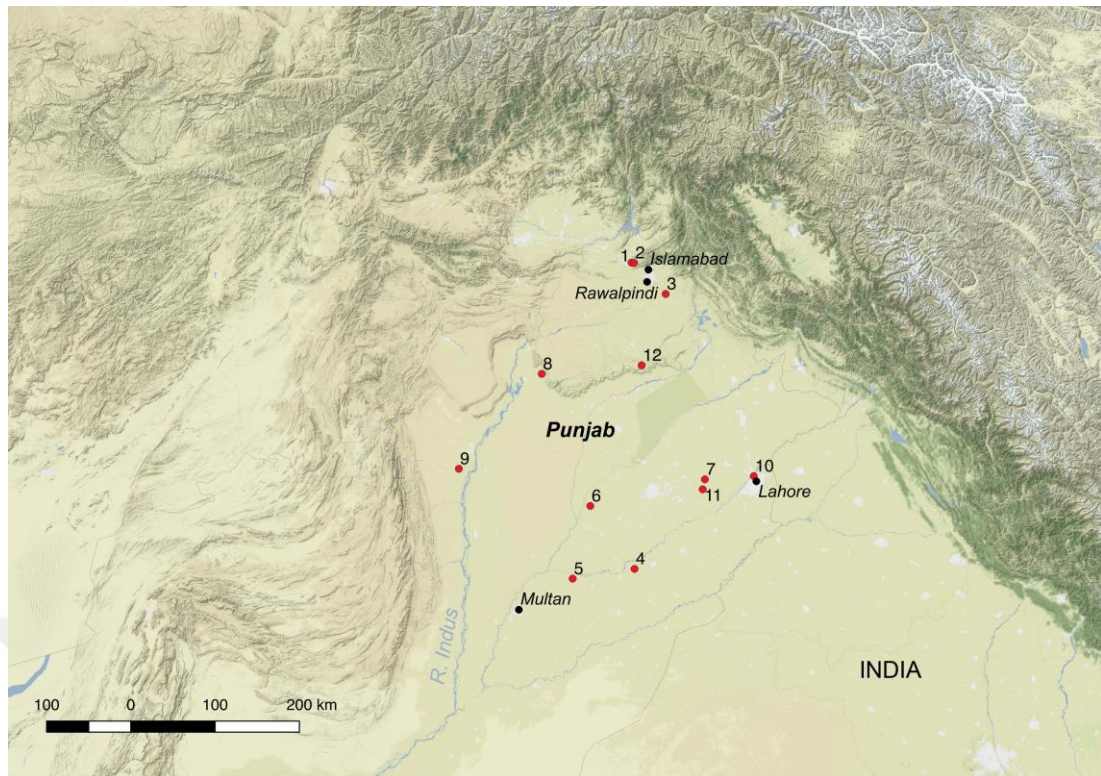


Figure 6. Map showing major cities and sites mentioned in the text, and located in Punjab.

1, Jandial. 2, Mohra Muradu. 3, Mankiala. 4, Harappa. 5, Jalilpur. 6, Jhang. 7, Khadinwala. 8, Musa Khel. 9, Rehman Dheri. 10, Badshahi Mosque. 11, Nankana Sahib. 12, Katas Raj Temples.

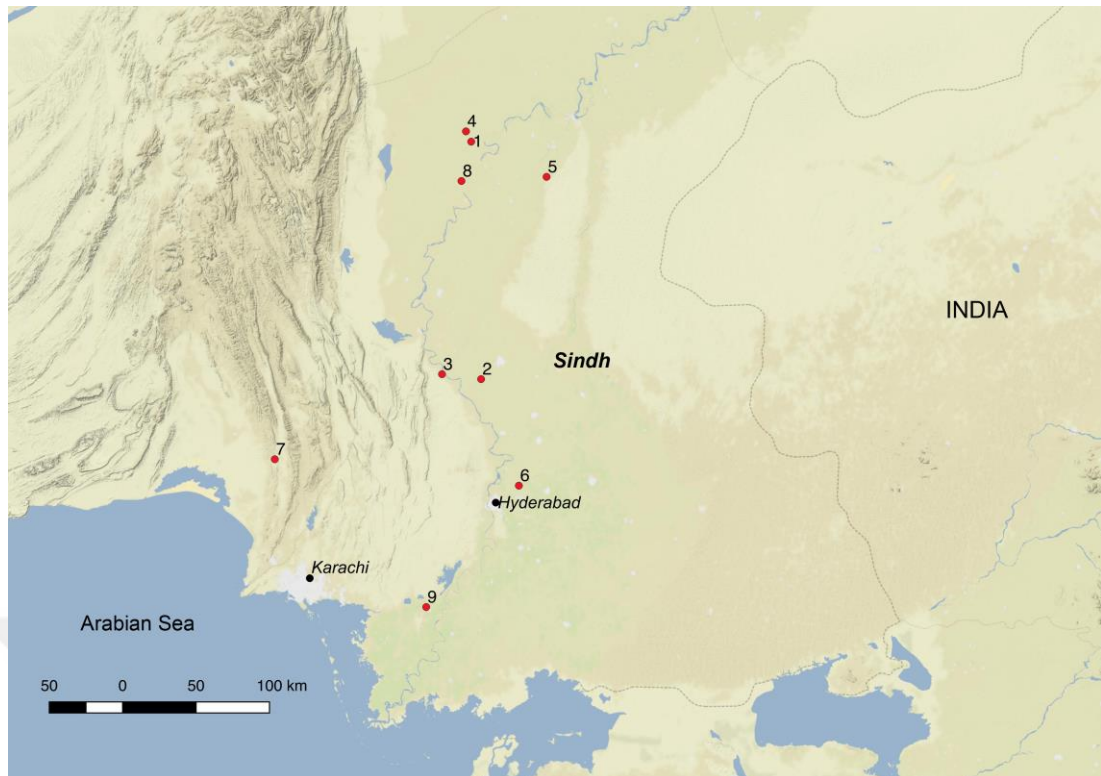


Figure 7. Map showing major cities and sites mentioned in the text, and located in Sindh.

1, Larkana. 2, Chanhu Daro. 3, Amri. 4, Jhukar. 5, Kot Diji. 6, Allahdino. 7, Balakot. 8, Mohenjo Daro. 9, Makli.

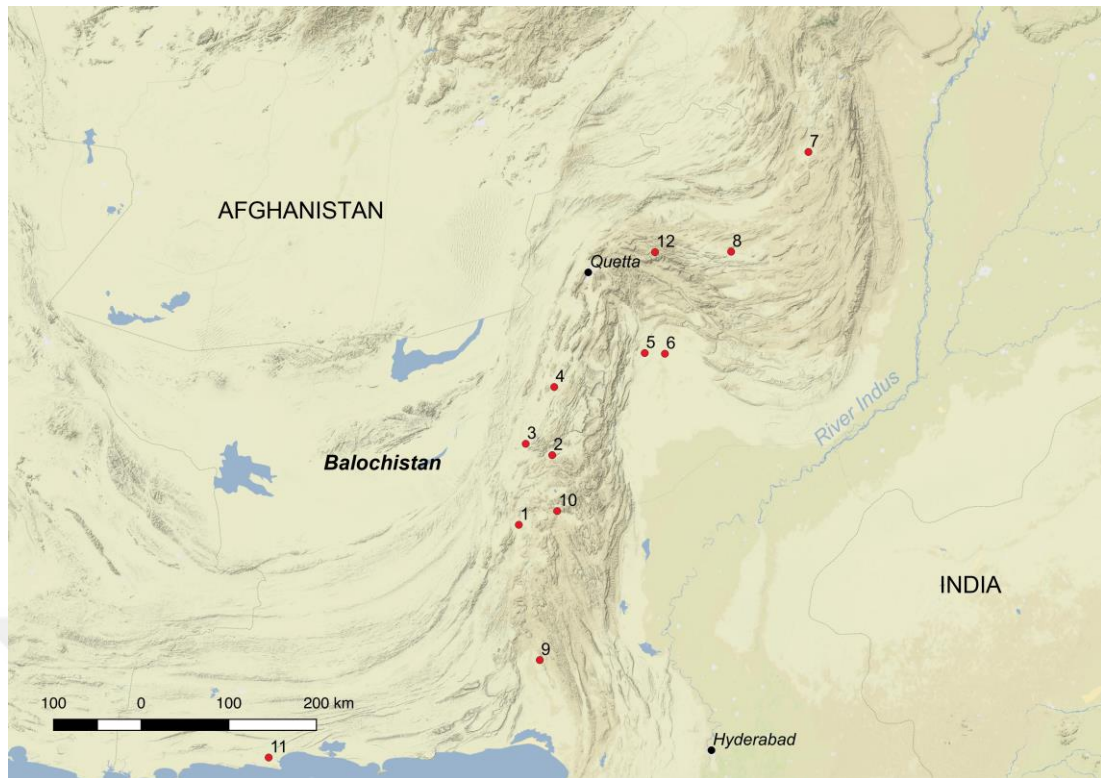


Figure 8. Map showing major cities and sites mentioned in the text, and located in Balochistan.

1, Nal. 2, Anjira. 3, Siah-Damb Surah. 4, Kalat. 5, Mehrgarh. 6, Pirak. 7, Zhob. 8, Loralai. 9, Las Bela. 10, Jhalawan. 11, Sotka Koh. 12, Ziarat Residency.

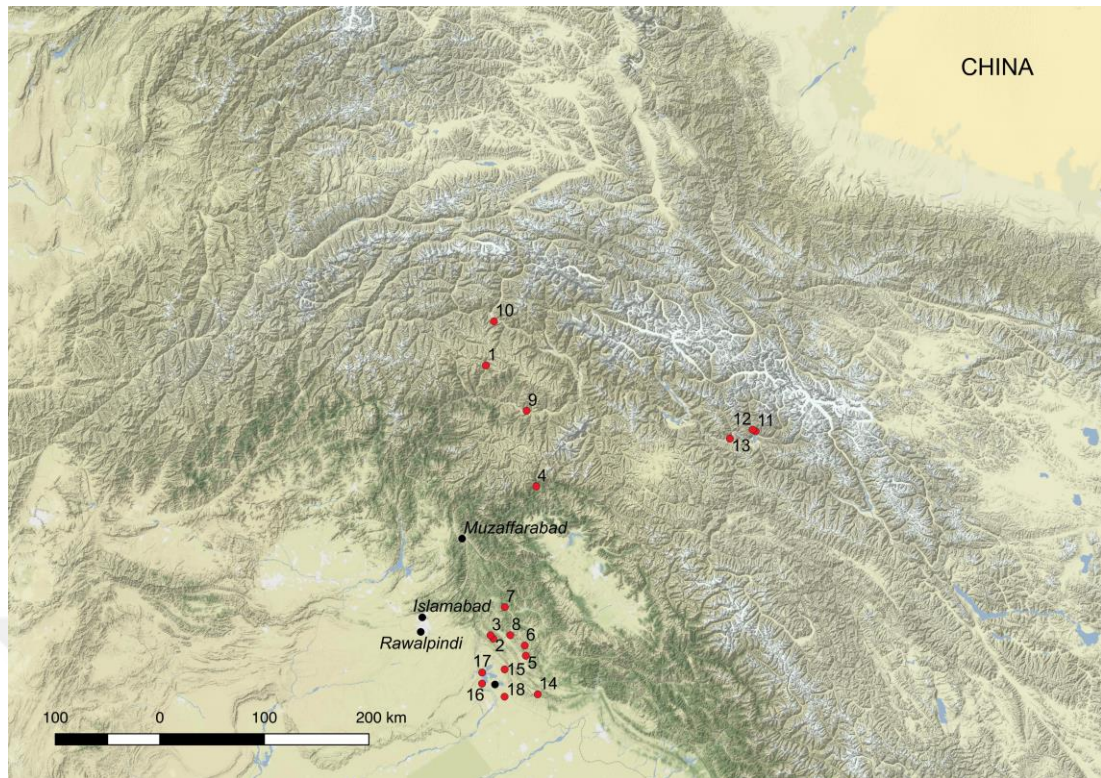


Figure 9. Map showing major cities and sites mentioned in the text, and located in Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan.

1, Darel. 2, Sehnsa. 3, Bhrund Temple Complex. 4, Sharda Temple. 5, Banganga Temple. 6, Dera Temple. 7, Devi Gali Temple. 8, Seri Temple. 9, Chilas. 10, Ghizer. 11, Haldi. 12, Talis. 13, Yugu. 14, Baghsar Fort. 15, Burjun Fort. 16, Mangla Fort. 17, Ramkot Fort. 18, Ali Baig Gurdwara.

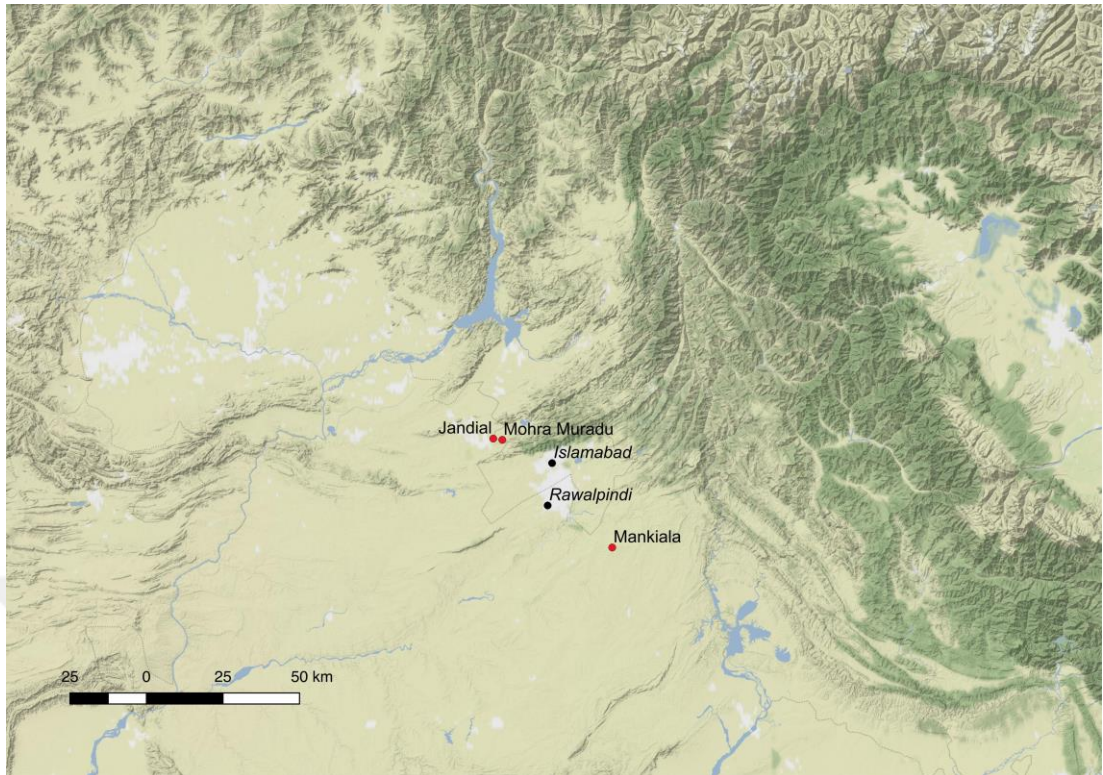


Figure 10. The three sites selected for this study; Mankiala, Mohra Muradu and Jandial.



Figure 11. Mankiala stupa.



Figure 12. Parts of the Mankiala stupa's structure has been destroyed as a result of looting.



Figure 13. A view of the entrance of Mohra Muradu.



Figure 14. A view of Jandial.

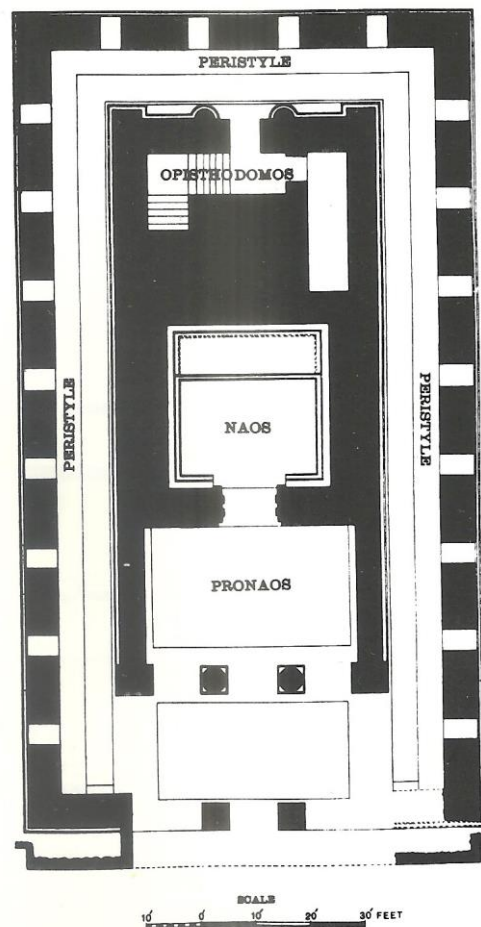


Figure 15. A plan of the temple at Jandial (Dani 1986: fig. 30)

APPENDIX A

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TABLE 3
PROPOSED GENERAL COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY METHODOLOGY

The seven key components remain consistent with the CAPQ methodology (Moser et al., 2002: 229–242). Additions and alterations are highlighted in *italics* for comparison with Table 1.

1. Communication and collaboration between the archaeological/*museological* team and the local community at all stages of research
 - A – Continuous two-way flow of dialogue to facilitate interpretation and presentation *acknowledging the fact that opinions are fluid and changing both within communities and between different interest groups.*
 - B – *Partnerships with local organizations* (councils and heritage organizations) to integrate results into local plans for the future management and presentation of the archaeological resource.
 - These organizations are likely to know other interest groups and therefore introduce new community members to the project.
 - C – *Work updates and strategy documents.* Regular reports for local organizations and other community groups informing them of developments, providing structure and an ‘official’ context for the project.
 - These are bilingual, plain language and compiled in collaboration with community members.
 - D – *Openness.* Keeping no secrets, making sure everyone is informed on all aspects of the project, *including the project’s initial goals and limitations, to develop a greater understanding when/if proposed or requested elements of a project cannot be achieved, i.e. ‘open communication’* (Moser et al, 2002: 231).
 - Doing all jobs together no matter how small, to build trust and ensure that local people feel included. Making it clear that the project is interested in the views of all members of the community.
 - *Attempting to learn the local language and living within the community to enhance levels of equality and further develop trust.*
 - Keeping in contact and informing community members of work in progress while the archaeological team is absent.
 - E – *Authority and ownership.* Putting local people in the role of facilitator, allowing for a full say in terms of presentation and display.
 - F – *Social interaction.* Developing friendships to show long-term interest as opposed to pure ‘business’.
 - This involves addressing issues of cultural difference and visiting the community when no work is being undertaken, *the acceptance by research teams of community beliefs at face value and willingness from all parties to compromise.*
 - G – *Acknowledging difficulties and considering feasibility.* Realizing that problems and disputes are inevitable *and that all goals may not come to fruition* making such problems easier to deal with when they do occur.
 - H – *Acknowledging successes and sharing them equally.*
 - I – *Acknowledging bias by maintaining self reflexivity at all times.*
 - J – *Academic publications involving both archaeologists/researchers and local community members to acknowledge and further promote the authority of local perspectives.*
2. Employment, training and volunteering of local people in all areas of the project
 - A – Helps maintain the central role of the local community and develop their skills.
 - B – Provides a continuity of decision-making by maintaining the same team even when the project archaeologists are absent.
 - C – *Volunteering to allow for the involvement of community members in diverse areas of the project which may not have the funds for employment.*

TABLE 3
CONTINUED

The seven key components remain consistent with the CAPQ methodology (Moser et al., 2002: 229–242). Additions and alterations are highlighted in *italics* for comparison with Table 1.

D – Benefits employees *and volunteers* in terms of future employment through the development of new skills.

E – Employees *and volunteers* can pass on ideas and knowledge to others.

F – Full-time employment rather than part-time to maintain the momentum of the project and show commitment.

G – Training to pass on formal qualifications and informal skills.

H – Community members as site and/or museum guides maintaining their control and authority over the heritage and encouraging different cultural groups to interact.

I – Community employed or 'invited' archaeologists acting as cultural brokers to enhance the equality of the collaboration and to develop the authority and power of local groups in the wider national and global arena.

3. Public presentation, a vital element in the passing on of information to the wider community *and other non-indigenous/ non-community members*

A – Communicating the results of work undertaken to show its significance to the region.

B – Finding appropriate forms and methods of presentation *and traditional care*.

- *Incorporating bilingual display text where requested.*

C – Development of a heritage centre which *ties together current traditions/recent history, rather than focusing purely on the past*.

D – Front end evaluation involving the community in the choice of themes and formats for presentation.

E – Consideration of the recent museological approaches in working with different cultural groups *as a starting point for exhibition development but an acceptance that it may not suit the requirements of the local community.*

- *Training up museum designers and educators, as well as curators, to ensure full museum involvement in the collaborative display process.*

F – Preparing the site for public presentation.

G – Exhibition strategies. Providing the community with regular reports and plans to encourage feedback and involvement.

H – The construction of temporary exhibitions while the permanent space is being constructed, to encourage feedback and provide information for local people *OR where permanent display is not possible (museum loans to communities etc.).*

I – International connections exchanging knowledge and experience to benefit all parties (e.g. Quseir and the Petrie Museum of Egyptology, London).

J – Summative evaluation to discover how effectively the museum/heritage centre communicates its intended message to both the community involved and outside visitors.

4. Interview and oral history to see how local people respond to the *archaeological excavation (if applicable), and the objects discovered/being presented* to see how this links into the communities traditional ideas about the past

A – Providing 'more diverse cultural interpretations of the evidence and facilitating the construction of a total life history of the site.'

B – Discovery of the community aims for the project and the development of involvement.

TABLE 3
CONTINUED

The seven key components remain consistent with the CAPQ methodology (Moser et al., 2002: 229–242). Additions and alterations are highlighted in *italics* for comparison with Table 1.

- *Discussions concerning previous encounters with archaeologists/anthropologists in the area, allowing for connections to be made between the past and present, helping reduce any negative views towards researchers that may have been created by previous projects.*

C – Interview questions. Investigation of significant, appropriate themes and interview techniques before hand.

- *Investigation of the appropriate methods for treating human remains and objects before work begins.*

D – Analysis to discover local thoughts on the project and their past while maintaining communication to ensure that the information is being used in the way that the community desires.

5. Educational resources to introduce *people from all generations to the cultural heritage*

A – Site visits for school children to build upon knowledge of the local heritage.

B – Children's books to develop their imagination in terms of the past *and to help fund projects/heritage centres.*

C – *Culturally appropriate* teaching materials for schools.

D – Artefact database. The creation of digital resources to allow wider community access to the archaeological discoveries and knowledge.

E – *Learning for all promoted through site and museum visits, workshops, seminars and other activities for both the community and visitors.*

- *This can be through more imaginative and culturally relevant means beyond the traditional didactic approach, to encourage the involvement of wider sections of the community.*

6. Photographic and video archive to create a record of the archaeological work and experiences of the project, *to enhance the visual element of local authority and knowledge production in site interpretation and for the development of exhibition centres.*

A – Photographic record. Documentation of collaboration with the local people to compliment the scientific archaeological photographs *and to act as something tangible to return to the community to enhance local empowerment and pride in their role through photographic ownership.*

- To show the importance of local involvement and to communicate the integration of the community within the project.

B – Video record to show the day-to-day activities of the excavation alongside video footage of community interviews.

7. Community controlled merchandising considering the tourist market (*where applicable*) and offering quality alternatives to the typical, *stereotyped* souvenirs on offer.

A – Local decision making in design, production and sale of souvenirs with the possibility of enhancing the local economy and sustaining the heritage centre.

B – Creation of a project logo and T-shirts in a collaborative effort to promote and establish an identity for the project *and to enhance local involvement.*

based upon the structure and points of the CAPQ (Table 1), as the research thus far clearly illustrates its relevance. However, I will adapt the language and add extra features to propose a less context-specific framework for collaborative practice. Obviously I am not suggesting that this is an explicit formula to be followed unconditionally, however I hope that it will provide a wider range of options for

APPENDIX B

Fieldwork Questionnaire

Date:

Interview Number:

Location of interview:

Name, residence, age, gender of interviewee:

Occupation of interviewee:

About the site:

- What do you know about the site?
- How is it known locally?
- How do the locals refer to it, or talk about it? Any myths, legends?
- Do you know about the site's importance? Why do you think it is/isn't important? Who is it important for?
- Do you know why the site is called what it is called? Does it have any other name?
- How do you feel about living so close to an important site?
- How often do you interact with the site?
- Has the site changed over time?
- Do you think this site is important to you, or to those living around it? (*ehmiyat*)

Tourism:

- What is your opinion of tourism in Taxila?
- Are there any problems with it? Do you get bothered by it?
- Has there ever been an incident with tourists?
- Do you think tourism here should continue?
- Does anyone in your family work at the site in any way?
- Do you want to benefit from it? How do you think you can benefit from it? Do you want to work in tourism in any way?
- Is there any tourism activity here? Who comes? Has it increased or decreased?
- Are local people also frequent visitors?
- Is there any guesthouse or hotel nearby for visitors?
- If you or your family gets a chance to create and sell something here, would you be interested?

Archaeology:

- What do you know about archaeology (*asaar e qadeema*) of Taxila? Is it important to excavate?
- Do you want to know more about the archaeology of Taxila, or of Pakistan?
- Do you visit Taxila or its museum (*ajaaib ghar*) often, to learn about its archaeology and history?
- Are there any events that occur at the museum for locals?
- If you want to find out something about the site, what is your primary source of information? Word of mouth? Guide? Museum? Site signage? Books?
- Do you think there should be a visitor center, or something that informs people about the site when they visit it? Or are the museum and the boards enough?
- Why should Taxila's archaeology be protected? Should it be?
- What is your opinion of the archaeologists who work at Taxila?
- Have you worked or participated in any excavations with them? What did you do? What did you learn about the archaeology of Taxila while working with them?
- Would you like to work with them again, or for someone in your family to work with them in the future?

Educational interventions:

- Would you like your children to know more about this site and where they live and its historic importance? What do you think about children doing school visits to these sites?
- What do you think of someone visiting the local schools and working with children on this?
- Who do you think should look after the site? Archaeologist? Local community? Government? Tourist?
- What role can the local community play in site preservation?
- What behaviors are harmful or harmless?
 - Walking outside the designated path
 - Walking on the walls
 - Graffiti
 - Digging at the site
 - Buying or selling objects from the site
 - Driving
 - Construction near the site
 - Reusing the stones found on the site
 - Using the site as a toilet
 - Littering at the site

Any other comments?

APPENDIX C

Profiles of Interviewees

No.	Age	Gender	Residence	Occupation
1.	65	Male	Mankiala	Owner of tea-stall
2.	70	Male	Mankiala	Retired
3.	33	Male	Mankiala	Businessman
4.	45	Male	Mankiala	Tailor
5.	36	Male	Mohra Muradu	Farmer
6.	34	Male	Mohra Muradu	Teacher
7.	29	Female	Mohra Muradu	Housewife
8.	40	Male	Jandial	Driver
9.	42	Male	Jandial	Farmer