

Journal of Asian Civilizations



Vol. 42, No. 2, December 2019

Journal of Asian Civilizations

**(Founded by Late Prof. Dr. Ahmad Hassan Dani in 1978
as
Journal of Central Asia)**

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**Vol. 42, No. 2
December 2019**

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The 'Persian dancer' from Butkara I (Swat). Saidu Sharif, Swat Museum
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Rs. 400.00 in Pakistan
U.S. \$ 40.00 outside Pakistan

ISSN 1993-4696

HEC recognized "X" category journal, since May 2015

Published by:

Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad (Pakistan).
Tel.: +92-51-90643118 – Fax: +92-51-9248127
E-mail: jac@qau.edu.pk

Printed at:

Sohail Altaf Printers, Rawalpindi – Pakistan
Ph: 051-5770388/ E-Mail: sohailaltaf1958@gmail.com

CONTENTS

Article	Author	Title	Page
1	Luca Colliva	<i>Barikot, Swat (1984-1992). Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects</i>	1
2	Antonio Amato	<i>The 'Cūḍā-chedana': A Gandharan Relief from Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan)</i>	77
3	Kiran Shahid Siddiqui	<i>Dance Scenes in The Panels of Gandhara Art: An Insight to the Recreational Activities of Ancient Gandhara</i>	89
4	Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro Farhad Nazir	<i>Cultural Tourism Sites as Cultural Identity Makers: A Case Study of District Swat</i>	113
5	Aisha Anees Malik	<i>Recreating Material Culture in Diaspora: The Private and Social Worlds of British-Pakistani Muslim Women</i>	145
6	Muhammad Anjum Saeed Rao Nadeem Alam	<i>Revisiting the Cultural Heritage Laws in Pakistan to Identify Policy Gaps</i>	159
Book Review			
-	Massimo Vidale Luca M. Olivieri	<i>A. Uesugi (ed.) Iron Age in South Asia. Research Group for South Asian Archaeology, Archaeological Research Institute, Kansai University, Osaka, 2018 [ISBN 978-4-9909150-1-8]</i>	185

Editorial Note

The authors are responsible for the linguistic and technical qualities of their texts. The editors only tried to ensure minimum coherence to the articles. The editors always reserve the right to make all the changes in the manuscripts to maintain the standards of the Journal. Papers under the serial numbers are evaluated internationally, with ensuring the controlled ethics of blind review, as per the guidelines of Higher Education Commission (HEC), Pakistan.

**Barikot, Swat (1984-1992).
Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects**

Luca Colliva

Abstract

The excavation of the urban site of Barikot (Swat, Pakistan), with its forty years of systematic archaeological activity and stratigraphic sequence from the Chalcolithic to the 20th century AD, provides a very fruitful harvest of stratigraphic data that currently has few comparisons in the subcontinent.

The cross-analysis of the artefacts and the stratigraphic data, although needing constant updating, provides crucial information on the material culture in the area and on its diachronic evolution. This article presents the taxonomic study of copper alloy objects found in Trenches BKG 1, 3 and 4-5 of the Barikot site cross-compared with the most updated chronological sequence proposed for the site and based on the recent archaeological excavations.

Keywords: Swat, Barikot, Copper alloy, Taxonomy, Metallurgy

0. Introduction

This article aims to present a taxonomic study of the copper alloy artefacts found in the urban site of Barikot (Bir-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat valley, Pakistan) in trenches BKG 1, BKG 3 and BKG 4-5, excavated under the direction of Pierfrancesco Callieri from 1984 to 1992.¹

The excavation of the Barikot site, which is still ongoing today, under the direction of L.M. Olivieri, has produced an imposing stratigraphic sequence that goes from the Chalcolithic to the 20th century AD and has few comparisons in the subcontinent. Due to these

¹ This article is a revised, translated and updated version of the chapters 3 and 6 of Colliva 2012. The artefacts from the other trenches of the site will be the subject of a subsequent study. The author would like to thank all the members of the ISMEO Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (or MAIP) and, in particular, the previous and current Directors, P. Callieri and L.M. Olivieri, for their constant help and support.

characteristics, the cross-study of the artefacts found in Barikot and the updated stratigraphic sequence of the site provides new crucial information on the material culture in the area and on its diachronic evolution. The excavation of the trenches BKG 1, BKG 3 BKG 4-5 has brought to light 211 objects in copper alloy.² The study of these objects was carried out by dividing the findings into eight categories in turn subdivided, when possible, into homogeneous groups and subgroups based on taxonomic characteristics; furthermore, within the groups, when needed, some significant variants have been identified.

The eight categories are “Rings and Earrings” (see § 1 and Tab. 2); “Bracelets and Necklaces” (see § 2 and Tab. 3); “Hairpins” (see § 3 and Tab. 4); “Cosmetic Tools” (see § 4 and Tab. 5); “Miscellaneous Tools” (see § 5 and Tab. 6); “Decorative Plaques and Foils” (see § 6 and Tab. 7); “Metal Vessels” (see § 7 and Tab. 8); “Miscellaneous and Unidentified objects” (see § 8 and Tab. 9). In the last category, we included all the objects for which it was not possible to identify a coherent category or not identifiable due to the scarcity or poor state of preservation. Finally, we recorded in a separate table, all the objects recognised as indicators of the presence of a metallurgical activity, even those already included in the previous categories: processing slags, prills, crucible and all the objects found folded and ready to be merged and re-wrought (see § 9 and Tab. 10).

For the selected categories, when useful, an alphanumeric code has been created in which capital letters and Roman numerals indicate respectively the group and the possible subgroup the object belongs to and

² The catalogue includes all the objects in copper alloy or somehow connected to this class excavated in Trenches BKG 1, BKG 3 and BKG 4-5 and registered between 1984 and 1992. Some of these objects, particularly significant and better preserved, have been inventoried, handed over to the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Pakistan, and are now kept at the Swat Museum of Saidu Sharif. The inventoried objects are identified by a progressive number (not related to the class of material) preceded by the initials BKG. A complete list of the inventoried objects is compiled at the end of each excavation campaign and handed over to the officials of the Department of Archaeology & Museums. The non-inventoried objects include all the materials that have been not taken over by department officials and are identified by a field number. These objects are temporarily in custody at the Mission headquarters in Saidu Sharif for study. The field number of the non-inventoried objects has been assigned in random order during the study of the material and it is not linked to the trench or to the stratigraphic unit of finding. The numbers marked as “bis” derive from misprints during the numbering: when a field number has been repeated twice, it was decided not to change the number, to avoid misunderstanding with previous documents but to add the suffix “bis” to one of the two field numbers.

the lowercase letters the possible variants.

All the objects have been linked, based on their context, to a cultural macrophases of the sites. The macrophases and the chronological sequences of the trenches are summarised in Tab. 1.³ The chronological sequence presented here, still to be considered preliminary and continuously updated based on the new excavations carried out by the Mission, shows all the macrophases identified at Barikot, including those poorly or not represented in the trenches discussed in this article.

1. Rings and Earrings

The objects belonging to this group have been divided into three main groups based on the body section:

- ◇ **Group A:** Body with circular or elliptical section.
- ◇ **Group B:** Body with quadrangular section (Fig. 1).
- ◇ **Group C:** Body with arc, planoconvex or rectangular-convex section (Figs 2-3).

The doubling of the first letter of the code indicates that the object has an open circumference.

Each group has been divided into two subgroups based on body width variation:

- I. Body with constant width.
- II. Body with variable width.

Furthermore, the following variants have also been identified:

- a. Presence of a simple bezel.
- b. Presence of a bezel decorated with engravings or applied decoration.
- c. Presence of a stone set.
- d. Presence of engraved or applied decoration.

³ For a more accurate description of the trenches, of their chronological sequences and the site cultural macrophases, see Colliva 2011; 2012; Olivieri and Colliva 2019 and related bibliography. Subphases, marked with lower case letters after the number, have been specified only for the trench BKG 4-5.

Group C is the most represented (9 out of 13); at the same time, it should be noted that there is, in this group, a wide variety in terms of shape and type of decorations (see Tab. 2). It is challenging, due to the limited number of objects and numerous differences, to highlight particular links between the identified groups and the cultural macrophases of the stratigraphic sequence; however, we can note that all the rings with a stone set (Variant “c”), BKG 839 (Fig. 2), No. 3 and No. 133, have been found in stratigraphic units belonging to the Macrophase 4 (see Tab. 2), dated to the 1st-2nd century AD (see Tab. 1).

A special mention deserves the ring No. 2 (Fig. 3), which presents, despite the poor state of preservation, an unexpected decoration engraved on the bezel. The analysis of some radiographs⁴ allowed the identification of a figurative decoration on the bezel of the ring: this decoration, totally invisible with unaided eyes, appears, albeit unclear, in the radiographs (Fig. 4). A subsequent increase in the contrast of the image made it possible to make this figure more visible and put forward a reconstructive hypothesis (Fig. 5). The proposed reconstruction of the decoration is hypothetical but suggests identifying the ring No. 2 as seal-rings with engraving decorated bezel (Variant “b”). This group is abundantly documented in Taxila (Marshall 1951: II, 647: Type e; III, Pl. 198); from which it also comes a possible iconographic comparison, although not perfectly coinciding (Marshall 1951: II, 645: No. 16; III, Pl. 197: No. 16; Fig. 4). The ring found in Taxila, in gold and not in copper alloy, was part of a hoard dated to the 1st century AD, but also containing older materials (1st century BC) (Marshall 1951: I, 158-159; II, 643). Unfortunately, the ring from Barikot was found on the surface and had no archaeological context.

⁴ During the 1999 archaeological campaign, some copper alloy objects were subjected to radiographic analysis to examine the state of preservation and the mineralization processes in progress (see also Fiori *et al.* 2002: 157). The analysed objects were: No. 2: ring; No. 4: antimony rod; No. 5: antimony rod; No. 6: antimony rod; No. 9: bracelet (?); No. 10: bracelet (?); No. 39: antimony rod; No. 109: bracelet; No. 110: prill; No. 111: bracelet; No. 112: antimony rod; No. 115: stem (?) for antimony; No. 168: stem (?). X-rays were taken in Saidu Sharif Swat X-Ray Laboratory with the help of technician Amjad Ali Khan. The machine was a 1965 Toshiba TF-6TL-6 (Colliva 2012: 159-164). Four different radiographs were taken: the first three radiographs had as subject the samples No. 2, No. 9, No. 10, No. 109, No. 110, No. 111 and No. 115; in the fourth one, a group of antimony rods or stems were analysed: No. 4, No. 5, No. 6, No. 39, No. 112 and No. 168. Radiographs were performed by varying the power and intensity of the emission: 55 kV, 300 mA; 70 kV, 300 mA; 90 kV, 300 mA; 95 kV, 250 mA; the 10 seconds exposure time, instead, remained constant.

2. Bracelets and Necklaces

The taxonomic subdivision for bracelets and necklaces mainly resumes that proposed for the previous category, with some necessary add-on:

- ◇ **Group A:** Body with circular or elliptical section (Fig. 7).
- ◇ **Group B:** Body with quadrangular section.
- ◇ **Group C:** Body with arc, planoconvex or rectangular-convex section (Figs 8, 10).
- ◇ **Group D:** Object composed of beads (Fig. 9).

The doubling of the capital letter indicates, also in this case, an open circumference of the body.

The two subgroups assigned based on body width are kept:

- I. Body with constant width.
- II. Body with variable width.

As for the variants we decided to keep the same subdivision for the previous category to which we added a fifth variant (Variant “e”) related to the presence of decorations on the ends of an open circumference body:⁵

- a. Presence of a simple bezel.
- b. Presence of a bezel decorated with engravings or applied decoration.
- c. Presence of a set stones.
- d. Presence of engraved or applied decoration on the body.
- e. Open circumference and decorated ends.

As for “Rings and Earrings”, in this case also, the typological variety is very high and no significant connections between identified groups and macrophases of the Barikot chronological sequence have been identified.

⁵ For completeness and to minimize errors and misunderstandings, we include in the taxonomic subdivision for the “Bracelets and Necklaces” category all the variants used for the “Rings and Earrings” category (see § 1) even if they are not attested, at least up to now, in this category.

The **Group C**, “Bracelets with arc, planoconvex or rectangular-convex section body” is the largest (10 out of 18) of this category.

Group B, “Bracelets with a quadrangular section body”, is represented by a single specimen, BKG 1707; moreover, its attribution to Group B is doubtful and we cannot exclude that it could be a bracelet with a rectangular-convex section body.⁶ This object is of particular interest because it is the only one bracelet so far found in these trenches showing traces of gilding.

Group D includes two objects: No. 96 and No. 97 (Fig. 9), both composed of disk or pseudo-rosette beads. The similarity between the beads of the two objects and the fact that they were found in the same *locus* (BKG 422) leads us to believe that these beads all belong to the same object. The excavation data, however, records that these beads were found in two different stratigraphic units (respectively SU 80 and SU 91) belonging to two distinct, although succeeding, macrophases (for No. 96 Period VII of BKG 4 belonging to Macrophase 5, subphase 5a, and for No. 97 Period VI of BKG 4, belonging to Macrophase 4, subphase 4b, see Tab. 3). Still, we cannot rule out a simple mistake during the excavation or the preliminary cataloguing of these objects. In this case, the Variant “d” assigned to objects No. 96 and No. 97 indicates the pseudo-rosette processing visible in some beads.⁷

3. Hairpins

The objects belonging to this category were divided into eight groups based on the shape of the head:

- ◇ **Group A:** Conical head (Fig. 11).
- ◇ **Group B:** Head consisting of a globular element.
- ◇ **Group C:** Head consisting of a disk (Fig. 12).

⁶ The object is currently kept in the warehouses of the Swat Museum; the author could not personally examine the object and was obliged to rely only on the brief description included in the preliminary reports prepared at the end of each excavation campaign.

⁷ A group of three beads belonging to the object No. 97 was taken to Italy for metallographic analysis and the results demonstrated that these beads are made of a copper and zinc alloy (Colliva 2012: 63, 102-127).

- ◇ **Group BC:** Head consisting of a globular element surmounted by a disk (Fig. 13).
- ◇ **Group D:** Composite head ending with a quadripartite element, perhaps phytomorphic (Fig. 14).⁸
- ◇ **Group E:** Head with animal figure decoration (Fig. 15).
- ◇ **Group F:** Head with phytomorphic decoration.
- ◇ **Group G:** Hairpin with two pointed ends.

No subgroups or variant have been identified for this category.

The objects belonging to **Group A** are three and have been found in different cultural macrophases: No. 114 in Macrophase 3b and BKG 1407 in Macrophase 5b (Fig. 11); the third one, No. 139, has been found in an uncertain context that has not been included in any cultural macrophase (see Tab. 4). Possible comparisons for this group have been found at Muzot (Nasim Khan 1999-2000: 112, 118: Pl. VIII) and, albeit in iron, at Saidu Sharif (Callieri 1989: 218-220: S2021).

Group B is well attested both at Taxila (Ghosh 1948: Pl. XVIII: No. 6; Marshall 1951: Pl. 173), Saidu Sharif (Callieri 1989: 186-188: S2001, 218-220: S1949, S2014) and also at Muzot (Nasim Khan 1999-2000: 112, 118: Pl. VIII.). However, at Barikot it is not clearly attested, at least as far as the trenches considered in this article are concerned.⁹

Group C is represented by two objects: No. 18 and No. 181 (Fig. 12), respectively belonging to Macrophase 5, dated to the 3rd century AD and Macrophase 4b, dated to the 2nd century AD. A possible comparison, also chronologically consistent at least with the second one, has been found at Saidu Sharif (Callieri 1989: 182, 184-185: S1953).

Group BC, instead, is represented by seven objects: No. 165, belonging to Macrophase 3a (Fig. 13); BKG 1096, BKG 1453 BKG1595 and BKG 1610, pertaining to Macrophase 5; No. 74, belonging to Macrophase 8 (?) and No. 31, relating to Macrophase 9. The number of objects belonging to

⁸ M. Nascari, in a preliminary study he carried out on these objects, describes the quadripartite element as a “lotus flower”. In other publications, this group was also called “cube and bead” (Marshall 1951: 586) or “pin with castellated head” (Stronach 1978: 213 No 13).

⁹ The attribution to Group B of No. 18, reported in Colliva 2012: 46-47, is an error.

this group is too low for any statistical analysis to have any probative value. It is, however, interesting to notice that more than half of the objects of this group come from stratigraphic units belonging to Macrophase 5, dated to the 3rd century AD (see Tab. 4). A possible comparison for this group, albeit not entirely consistent, comes from Taxila, but A. Ghosh dates it to the second half of the 1st century AD-early 2nd century AD (Ghosh 1948: 78, Pl. XVIII: No. 6).

Group D shows many variations of shape; the quadripartite element that distinguishes the head is always supported by globular or cubic elements and rounded bands or collars, but the number and order of these elements vary in each case. Comparisons for this group have been found at Saidu Sharif (Callieri 1989: 186-188: S2200), Taxila (Marshall 1951: II, 586: No. 237; III, Pl. 173: No. 237; Pl. 182: p 3), and also at Pasargadae (Iran) (Stronach 1978: 213, No. 13). Five elements belong to this group. Four have been found in stratigraphic units belonging to the Macrophase 4, dated between the 1st-2nd century AD: BKG 1213, BKG 1471 (Fig. 14), No. 142 and No. 189, and this dating is at least partially compatible with the possible comparison from Taxila that J.H. Marshall dated to the Śaka-Parthian period (Marshall 1951: II, 586: No. 237). Object BKG 1433, instead, has been found in stratigraphic units belonging to the Macrophase 5b, dated to the second half of the 3rd century AD.

The last groups are represented by a single object each.

Group E is represented by object No. BKG 1513 (Fig. 15), with a rooster (?) -shaped head, found in a stratigraphic unit of the Macrophase 4b, dated to the 2nd century AD. Comparisons with similar hairpins can be found at Shaikhan Dheri (Dani 1965-66: Pl. XLIX: No. 17), and at Ai Khanum (Guillaume and Rougeulle 1987: Pl. 3: No. 14), but also at Qasr-e Abu Nasr (Whitcomb 1985: 169, 174-175: Fig. 65 n-o).¹⁰

Group F includes only object BKG 1594, also found in stratigraphic unit belonging to the Macrophase 4b, dated to the 2nd century AD.

Object No. BKG 1288 deserves a separate discussion; the object has been identified, albeit with many doubts, like a hairpin with two pointed ends,

¹⁰ See Whitcomb 1985: 169 and related bibliography also for some other possible comparisons in Iran and western Asia.

Group G. Stressing the uncertainty, M. Nascari, in his preliminary studies,¹¹ does not exclude a different identification as a clamp. Still, the comparison brought (Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 167: No. 134) does not seem very convincing.

4. Cosmetic Tools

The objects of this category have been divided, according to the function of the preserved ends, into five groups:

- ◇ **Group A:** Antimony rod (Figs 16-18).
- ◇ **Group B:** Ear-cleaner (Fig. 19).
- ◇ **Group C:** Dispenser for cosmetics (Fig. 20).
- ◇ **Group D:** Toothpicks or pointed tip tool (Fig. 21).
- ◇ **Group E:** Mirror (Fig. 22).

Whenever possible, the attribution of both ends of the object has been indicated. On several occasions the two ends belong to different groups or subgroups, and the object can have different functions.

Possible variants are always indicated after the identification of the ends. Three variants have been distinguished for this category, based on the section of the body of the object and the presence of decorations:

- a. Body with a circular section.
- b. Body with a quadrangular section.
- c. Body with decorations.

Group A has two subgroups depending on the shape of the rod end: conical, Subgroup AI, or rounded, Subgroups AII. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between these subgroups, often due to the poor state of preservation of the objects. In some cases, the identification is limited to Group A.

An interpretative problem also exists for objects with an extremity possibly belonging to Group C: it is often difficult to distinguish the cosmetic dispenser of Group C from objects belonging other groups or even categories, in particular ear-cleaner or spoons. As regards the distinction between objects belonging to Group B and Group C, the

¹¹ Unpublished preliminary cataloguing for internal use of the Mission.

diameter, the composition of the object and the existence of decorations were taken into account to decide whether or not an object belongs to one of the two groups; the attribution of some objects remains, however, doubtful. Regarding the distinction between dispensers and the proper spoons (included in the category “Miscellaneous and Unidentified Objects”, see § 8 and Tab. 9), we decided to include in the last group all the objects that have only one functional end.

In Group C, two subgroups have been distinguished based on the size of the dispenser: Subgroups CI if the diameter is greater than 1.5 cm and Subgroups CII if the dispenser has a diameter equal to or less than 1.5 cm, CII Group.

Group D also has some identification problems: it is not always possible to understand when a pointed end has a purely decorative function or when it has been intentionally designed with functional purposes (i.e. toothpicks). For this reason, it was decided to divide Group D into two subgroups depending on whether the pointed end is more likely to be used as a tool (Group DI) or has a supposed purely aesthetic function (Group DII). To divide the objects into these two subgroups, the diameter of the end, the function of the other end and the presence of decorations on the body have been the mainly used parameters.

The antimony rods of **Group A** are widely attested from the Mediterranean to the Subcontinent,¹² and in this context, only the most significant comparisons for the area under study are reported (Ghosh 1948: 78, Pl. XVIII; Marshall 1951: II, 585-586; III, Pl. 173; Dani 1965-66: 133, Pl. XLIX: No. 20). The discovery of both subgroups AI and AII in the same macrophases and the existence of at least five objects that have an end belonging to a subgroup and one to the other, BKG 788, BKG 890 (Fig. 18), BKG 1163, BKG 1611 and No. 113, lead us to believe that the different shape of the extremity has a functional and not a stylistic origin. Some possible comparisons to support this hypothesis come from Taxila (Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 173: Nos 219-220)¹³ and Damkot (Rahman 1968-69: Pl. 91b: No. 4).

J.H. Marshall proposed for the objects with both ends belonging to Group A a dating starting from the Śaka-Parthian period (Marshall 1951: II,

¹² J.H. Marshall (1951: 585) suggests that antimony rods were introduced to Taxila, and probably all over the region, by the Greeks between the 4th or 3rd century BC.

¹³ Even if J.H. Marshall proposes for them an interpretation as “Antimony rod and toothpick combined” (Marshall 1951: II, 585-586), see below and fn. 14.

585);¹⁴ and if we exclude a single case, object No. 187 belonging to the Macrophase 1, data provided by the Barikot excavation seem to support this hypothesis. Unlike the excavations of Taxila (Marshall 1951: II, 585-586), none of the objects brought to light shows an antimony rod (Group A) together with other tools (Group B or D). This fact leads to questioning Marshall's proposed interpretation of at least some objects he identifies as "Antimony rod and ear-cleaner combined" or "Antimony rod and toothpick combined" (Marshall 1951: II, 585-586; III, Pl. 173).¹⁵

The objects belonging to **Group E** have been included in this category according to their use even if they differ substantially from the other objects presented here. Their inclusion in the category "Miscellaneous and Unidentified Objects" had been seriously considered.

5. Miscellaneous Tools

The number of objects belonging to this category and the problematic or doubtful interpretation of many of them make inadvisable a division into groups since nothing could be said about the recurrence of hypothetical groups in the macrophases of the chronological sequence.

Deserves special mention the lion's paw-shaped weight BKG 1359, found in SU 233 of Trench BKG 4, belonging to the Macrophase 5b, dated to the second half of the 3rd century AD. The fine workmanship certainly makes it one of the most beautiful copper alloy objects found so far in Barikot (Fig. 24).

The two blades found (BKG 830, Fig. 23, and No. 16) seem to belong, given the curved profile, to small sickles, but the fragments preserved are too small to be certain; some possible comparisons, mostly in iron, at Taxila (Marshall 1951: II, 554, 560-561: Nos 122-128, 203-207; III, Pls 166, 169: Nos 122-128, 203-207) and at Qasr-e Abu Nasr (Whitcomb 1985: 160-164: Fig. 60 a-e, 168-171: Fig. 63 ff-uu and related bibliography).

Of the two objects identified as nails, No.134 and No. 175, only the body is preserved but not the head and their identification is doubtful.

6. Decorative Plaques and Foils

In this category we included all the objects identified as foils, often with unidentified shape and uncertain function, or decorative plaques, these

¹⁴ Marshall does not make any distinction between the two subgroups proposed here.

¹⁵ See above on the issue of the correct interpretation of Group D.

latter usually characterised by the presence of fixing holes. Objects belonging to this category are attested in almost all the macrophases, and their number is significant. Still, the uncertainty regarding the interpretation of the foils, and in some cases also of the plaques, suggested not to divide the objects into groups that would necessarily be extremely unreliable.

7. Metal Vessels

All the metal vessels found at Barikot can be divided into two main groups:

- ◇ **Group A:** Bowls (Fig. 27).
- ◇ **Group B:** Ampoules or containers for cosmetics (Fig. 28).

Several bowls belonging to **Group A** have a truncated-conical profile (Fig. 27), a flat bottom and a slightly swollen edge. Still, in many cases, the preserved fragments are too small to allow an accurate description of the object.

It is possible to notice that the objects belonging to Group A have been found only in Macro-phases 4 and 5, and vessels belonging to Group B only in Macro-phases 3 and 4. However, the limited number of findings and the abundance of unidentified foils (see Tab. 6), which could be fragments of vessels, advise against speculation in this regard.

8. Miscellaneous and Unidentified Objects

In this category have been inserted all the objects that were not included in the previous ones. For these objects, also given the small number of similar findings, it was considered unnecessary to create taxonomic groups.

Among the objects included in this category, also given some useful chronological comparisons, two bells: BKG 844 (Fig. 29) and BKG 857 (Fig. 34) are particularly significant. BKG 844, belonging to Macro-phase 4, dated to the 1st-2nd century AD, shows a reliable comparison with a bell found in Taxila (Marshall 1951: II: 598; III: Pl. 176, No. 347) and similarly dated around the 1st century AD (Marshall 1951: I: 168-169); another possible comparison comes from Qasr-e Abu Nasr (Whitcomb 1985: 169, 174-175, 176: Fig. 65 ff).

The other bell found in Barikot, BKG 857, belonging to Macro-phase 8, dated to the 7th-10th century AD, shows a possible

comparison with two objects found again in Taxila and dated to the 5th century AD (Marshall 1951: II, 599: No 352; III, Pl. 176: No. 352). Other possible comparisons, even if geographically much more distant, can be done with some bells found at Qasr-e Abu Nasr (Whitcomb 1985: 169, 174-175, 176: Fig. 65 aa-cc and related bibliography).

All the objects that could not be identified due to the fragmentary or imperfect state of preservation have been also included in this category. In some cases, a possible interpretation and some comparisons have been suggested for them (see Tab. 9).

9. Prills, Processing Slags and Indicators of Metallurgical Activity

In this category are included prills¹⁶ and processing slag found during the excavations (see Tab. 10) together with all the objects that can be considered, for context, function or nature, indicators of the presence on the site of a more or less developed metallurgical activity. Slags, prills, crucible fragments and all the metal objects found bent and ready to be melted have been recognised as possible indicators of metallurgical activity. In the case of materials bent to be melted, the objects have been included in Tab. 10 even if already included in the table relating to the category to which the object belonged before the preparatory actions for the recycling of the metal (i.e. bending). In this case, the inventory or field number of the object is underlined in Tab. 10.

It should be noted that no indicator has been found in stratigraphic units belonging to macrophases prior to Macrophase 3, in particular sub-phases 3a3 and 3b, dated from the end of the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD. Moreover, only since Macrophase 4, dated to 1st-2nd century AD, we have direct indicators of metallurgical activity (in Macrophase 3 we have only objects possibly bent to be melted and reworked). The extent of the excavations, which is too limited compared to the actual extent of the site, forces us to consider these data to be extremely limited. If we can say that probably in the first century AD there were metallurgical activities at Barikot, it is not possible to exclude that even in previous periods this activity was already active on the site.

To prove the presence of a metallurgical activity at Barikot we also remember the finding in the trench BKG 4-5 of two *loci* (BKG 512 and BKG 428) used for ironworking. The metallurgical activity in these rooms

¹⁶ Prills, or drippings, are drops of molten metal that fall to the ground during the manufacturing processes.

is dated to Macrophase 4b for BKG 512 and to Macrophase 5a for BKG 428 (Callieri *et al.* 1982: 19-24; Colliva 2011: 162-164; 2012: 23-24, 61-62).

10. Some notes on the studied materials

Data obtained from crossing the taxonomic study of the identified categories with the chronological sequence of the site (Tabs 2-10) provided several confirmations for the macrophases proposed dating. This comparison also allowed to detect some chronological discrepancies (i.e. objects Nos 96-97 in § 3) which have to be clarified also comparing this information with data obtained by the studies of the other classes of materials and in particular the pottery.¹⁷

Besides, some concentrations of specific groups in certain Macrophases have been highlighted. In particular, as regards hairpins, it was noted that the BC Group (head composed of a globular element surmounted by a disk) is present in the Macrophase 5, dated to the 3rd century AD (see Tab. 4) and that the Group D (composite head ending with a quadripartite element) appears almost exclusively in the layers belonging to the Macrophase 4, dated to the 1st-2nd century AD (see Table 4). Once again, however, we must highlight how the small number of objects taken into consideration and the number and extent of the trenches analysed in this article, especially in relation to the extent of the site, make these data statistically unreliable. What is outlined here can only be the first step in a study that must necessarily be considerably expanded.

Despite these necessary premises, some of the data collected so far seem to suggest interesting trends. In addition to what has already been said about hairpins, the study of taxonomic data has confirmed the hypothesis that sees in the different shapes of the antimony-rods (Subgroups AI and AII,) a functional variation. The presence of both taxonomic subgroups in several macrophases and the existence of objects in which the two ends belong to both subgroups seem to exclude the

¹⁷ A similar problem, which goes beyond the topic of this article, but well testifies how necessary is a cross-comparison between the study of the materials and the stratigraphic data, is also evident with the findings of Kushano-Sasanid coins in layers of the Period VII of trench BKG 4-5, belonging to the Macrophase 5a, dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD (Callieri *et al.* 1982: 35; Colliva 2011: 163-164; 2012: 24; Olivieri and Colliva 2019 and related bibliography). I agree with L.M. Olivieri that the chronology of these latest phases may be slightly modified in future.

different shape of the ends is attributable to stylistic reasons (see § 4 and Tab. 5).

Concerning the presence of metallurgical activities in Barikot, at the present state of the studies, it can only be affirmed that the finding of a conspicuous number of objects ready to be melted and reused, the presence of objects recognised as indicators of a metallurgical activity, especially in Macrophases 3, 4 and 5 (see Tab. 10),¹⁸ and the existence in two of these periods, Macrophases 4 and 5, of two rooms, probably dedicated to ironworking, BKG 512 and BKG 428 (see § 9), seems to attest metallurgical activities at least from the 1st century AD. The dimensions of these activities and their development over time, however, still elude us. The extension of the site and the presence of large areas of the town not yet investigated make our data extremely partial.

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Table 1 - The Barikot chronological sequences with the identified cultural macrophases.

BKG Cultural MacroPhase	BKG 1	BKG 3	BKG 3 (outside the urban wall)	BKG 4-5	BKG 4-5 (outside the urban wall)	Absolute and relative chronology			
9b						16th-early 20th century AD Yusufzai			
						Per. X	Ph. 5	Per. VII	13th-15th century AD Dardic-Timurid
9a						11th-12th century AD Ghaznavid			
8	Per. IX?	Ph. 4?	Per. VI?			7th-10th century AD Shahi			
7						5th-7th century AD			
6	Per. VIII?	Ph. 3	Per. V	Per. X			4th century AD Kushano-Sasanian		
5 b		Ph. 2b		Per. IVB	Per. IX	Ph. 8	Second half of the 3rd century AD Kushano-Sasanian		
5 a	Per. VII				Per. VII			Ph. 7	First half of the 3rd century AD (?) Late Kushan
4 b	Per. VI	Ph. 2a	Per. IVA	Per. VI	Ph. 6	2nd century AD Kushan			
4 a	Per. V			Per. V	Ph. 5	1st-2nd century AD Early Kushan			
3 b	Per. IV	Ph. 1a	Per. III	Per. IV	Ph. 4	1st century BCE – 1st century AD Saka/Parthian			
3 a4	Per. III			Per. IIB	Per. III	Ph. 3	End 2nd century BC Indo-Greek		
3 a3	Per. II	Per. IIA	Ph. 3					End 2nd century BC Indo-Greek	
3 a2									
3 a1						Mid. 3rd-early 2nd century BC			
2 b						Ph. 2b	Mid. 4th-mid. 3rd century BC Mauryan		
2 a							6th-mid. 4th century BC		
1 c							Iron Age Period VIII of the Ghalegai sequence (?)		
1 b						Per. I	Per. II (?)	Ph. 1b (found only in BKG 12)	Iron Age Period VII of the Ghalegai sequence (1000-800 BC)
1 a								Ph. 1a (found only in BKG 12)	Late Bronze-Iron Age Periods V-VI of the Ghalegai sequence (end of the 2nd/beginning of the 1st millennium BC)
0						Per. 0	Per. I (?)	Ph. 0 (found only in BKG 12)	Chalcolithic Period IV of the Ghalegai sequence (1700-1400 BC)

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

Table 2 - Rings and earrings and their distribution in the macrophases of the BKG Cultural Sequence (below, on both pages, and on the following two pages [partial]).

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
3a	45	Ring with quadrangular section body and open	Copper alloy	BBI	BKG 4	429	736
3b	174	Ring with planoconvex section body of variable width.	Silver; copper alloy	CII.a	BKG 5	519	2773
4	BKG 839	Ring with planoconvex section body, elliptical bezel, and decorated body.	Copper alloy	CII.cd	BKG 1	109	152
4	3	Ring with planoconvex section body and raised edges rhomboid bezel.	Copper alloy	CI.c	BKG 1	108 - 112	131
4a	133	Ring with planoconvex section body and three bezels, (1 rhomboidal, 2 circular).	Copper alloy	CI.c	BKG 4	413	742
4	70 bis	Ring with circular section body and an almond bezel.	Copper alloy	AI.b	BKG 3	308 W	304
5a	BKG 1632	Ring with rectangular section body and overlapping ends.	Copper alloy	BI	BKG 5	501	2501
5a	46	Ring with planoconvex section body, oval bezel, and ovules on the body.	Copper alloy	CII.bd	BKG 4	426	444
5b	102	Ring with planoconvex section body and pseudo-spiral decoration; open body.	Copper alloy	CCLd	BKG 4	421	30
5	120	Ring with planoconvex section body.	Copper alloy	CI	BKG 3	303	50
9	1	Band ring with planoconvex section body and pseudo-trapezoidal bezel.	Copper alloy	CII.ad	BKG 1	1	4

Phase or period	Ring or earring diam. ¹⁹	Body width or diam.	Thickness	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
III	1.88	Width: 0.69	0.24	2.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
IV	1.8	0.2	0.07	0.5	Body max. width: 0.34	Incomplete; one fragment.
V	1.95	0.78	Min. body th: 0.16; max. body th: 0.27		Bezel major axis: 0.75; bezel minor axis: 0.65.	Incomplete; one fragment. Marshall 1951: III, Pl 197, No. 9, 11; Pl. 198: No. 37; Dani 1965-66: Pl. XLIX: No. 16; Rahman 1968-69: 165, Pl.92a: 1(?).
V	1.9		0.15	0.5	Bezel major axis: 0.8; bezel minor axis: 0.5.	Incomplete; four fragments.
V		0.1	0.05	0.5	Main bezel width: 0.3; side bezels diam: 0.1	Complete; two fragments.
IVA	1.1	0.16		< 0.5	Bezel length: 1.54; bezel width: 0.86	Incomplete; one fragment.
VII	1.9		0.13			Complete. See Fig. 1.
VII		0.34	0.16	< 0.5	Bezel length: 0.72; fragment length: 1.75	Incomplete; one fragment.
VIII	2.10	0.56	0.40	4.5		Complete (?); one fragment.
2b	1.3	0.4	0.2	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
X	1.52		0.1	1.0	Max. height: 0.79; min. height 0.43	Incomplete; one fragment.

¹⁹All measurements, unless otherwise indicated, are expressed in centimetres; the weight, if not otherwise indicated, is in grams rounding to the nearest half a gram.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
9	25	Metal wire hook with circular section body and a pointed end. The other end is flattened, and a second wire is wrapped three times around the hook creating a small decorative spiral.	Silver alloy	A.d	BKG 1	101	3
-	2	Ring with planoconvex section body and rectangular projecting bezel.	Copper alloy	CI.b	BKG 1	1b (109)	177 (1)

Table 2 - Rings and Earrings [do] (above, on both pages).

Table 3 - Bracelets and necklaces and their distribution in the macrophases of the BKG Cultural Sequence (below, on both pages, and on the following two pages).

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
1	109	Bracelet with planoconvex section body (flat side perpendicular to the wrist).	Copper alloy	CI	BKG 4	413	1540
3a	BKG 1548	Bracelet with circular section body and bud (?) ends.	Copper alloy	AAI.e	BKG 4	E. W.	781
3	BKG 1295	Bracelet with a planoconvex section body. Ovule decoration on the body.	Copper alloy	C.d	BKG 3	310	221
3b	BKG 1707	Slightly curved bracelet (?); traces of gilding.	Copper alloy; gold	B (?)	BKG 5	519	2773
3b	111	Bracelet with planoconvex section body and spiral decoration.	Copper alloy	CI.d	BKG 4	E. N.	483
4	BKG 1197	Bracelet (?) with planoconvex section body.	Copper alloy	CI	BKG 3	308	284
4	9	Bracelet (?) with circular section body. The preserved end is enlarged (bud decoration?).	Copper alloy	AAI.e (?)	BKG 1	109	138

Phase or period	Ring or earring diam.	Body width or diam.	Thickness	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
X	c. 1.0		0.05	0.5	Length: 2.17	Incomplete; one fragment. The silver alloy suggests a decorative function, perhaps an earring (?).
-	2.19		0.44	6.0	Bezel length: 1.98; bezel width: 1.49.	Complete. X-Ray. Marshall 1951: II, 647-648 (type e); III, Pl. 198. See Fig. 2.

Period or Phase	Bracelet Diameter	Width	Body thickness or diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
II		0.81	0.82	18.5	Preserved length: 5.8	Incomplete; two reassembled fragments. See Fig. 8.
III			0.3		Bud length: 1.5; max. bud diam: 0.5; fr. preserved length: 3.8	Incomplete; one fragment. See Fig. 7.
IIIB		0.6	0.2		Preserved length: 4.1	Incomplete; one fragment. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 171: No. 12.
IV			0.43		Preserved length: 4.15	Incomplete; one fragment.
IV		0.51	0.36	1.5	Preserved length: 3.15	Incomplete; one fragment.
IVA	c. 7.7		0.2		Preserved length: c. 23	Complete.
V			Between 0.90 and 0.40	4.0		Incomplete; one fragment. Poor state of preservation.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
4b	97	Bracelet or necklace beads (3 clusters and 2 single beads) with circular or irregular rosette shape.	Copper alloy; zinc	D.d	BKG 4	422	91
5	10	Bracelet (?) with a circular section body.	Copper alloy	AI (?)	BKG 1	104	113
5b	50	Bracelet with elliptical section bracelet; no visible decoration.	Copper alloy	AI	BKG 4	Ext. W.	843
5a	93	Bracelet with planoconvex section body and ovule decoration.	Copper alloy	CII.d	BKG 4	427	527
5a	96	Bracelet or necklace beads (5 clusters) with circular or irregular rosette shape.	Copper alloy; zinc	D.d	BKG 4	422	80
9	12	Band (bracelet?) with a planoconvex section body; the body has a variable width.	Copper alloy	CII	BKG 1	101	9
9	13	Band (bracelet?) with a planoconvex section body; traces of decoration (?) on the convex surface.	Copper alloy	CI.d	BKG 1	101	9
9	17	Band (bracelet?) with a planoconvex section body.	Copper alloy	CI	BKG 1	101	4
9	32	Bracelet with a planoconvex section body; bands decoration on the body.	Copper alloy	CI.d	BKG 1	101	3
-	61	Bracelet with elliptical section body. The body is flattened and has a diamond decoration.	Copper alloy	AI.d	BKG 4	427	N section
-	164	Bracelet with a planoconvex section body. The body has a twisted decoration.	Copper alloy	CI.d	BKG 4	Sporadic	-

Period or Phase	Bracelet Diameter	Width	Body thickness or diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
VI			Between 0.15 and 0.27		Beads diam: 0.4-0.5;	Incomplete (13 beads). Equal to No. 96. The hole for the setting is not always at the centre of the bead. See Fig. 9.
VII			Diam: 0.78	4.0	Preserved length: 2.88	Incomplete; one fragment.
VIII		0.41	0.35	1.0	Preserved length: 1.89	Incomplete; one fragment.
VII		Max: 0.45; min: 0.30	Max: 0.23; min: 0.16	0.5		Incomplete; one fragment. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 171: No. 12.
VII			Max: 0.27; min: 0.15		Beads diam. between 0.4 and 0.5;	Incomplete (32 beads). Equal to No. 97. The hole for the setting is not always at the centre of the bead.
X		Max: 0.41; min: 0.36.	0.13	0.5	Preserved length: 1.98	Incomplete; one fragment. See also No. 17.
X		0.54	0.16	1.0	Fragments length: 1.46, 1.36 and 0.75	Incomplete; three fragments.
X		0.45	0.19	0.5	Preserved length: 2.70	Incomplete; one fragment. Maybe part of No. 12.
X		0.45	0.30	1.5	Fragments length: 2.43, 1.18	Incomplete; two fragments.
-		0.61	0.24	7.0	Decoration thickness: 0.41; preserved length: 4.34	Incomplete; one fragment.
-	5.0 (reconstructed)	0.55	0.27	3.0	Fragments length: 5.17	Incomplete; one fragment. See Fig. 10.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

Table 4 - Hairpins and their distribution in the macrophases of the BKG Cultural Sequence (below, on both pages, and on the following four pages [partial]).

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
3b	114	Hairpin with circular section stem and a pseudo-conical head.	Copper alloy	A	BKG 5	519	2773
3a	165	Hairpin with circular section stem; head composed by a disk on a globular element.	Copper alloy	BC	BKG 4	451	1336
3b	168	Hair (?) pin with a circular section stem.	Copper alloy	-	BKG 5	519	2773
4	BKG 1213	Hairpin with circular section stem; head composed by a lotus element on two polygonal ones and two	Copper alloy	D	BKG 3	308	195
4 (?)	BKG 1288	Hairpin (?) with a possible "U" shape and a circular section stem.	Copper alloy	G (?)	BKG 3	304	435
4b	BKG 1471	Hairpin with circular section stem; head composed by a lotus element on a globular one and a low collar.	Copper alloy	D	BKG 4	422	91
4b	BKG 1513	Hairpin with circular section stem; head composed by a zoomorphic figure representing a bird (perhaps a rooster).	Copper alloy	E	BKG 4	419	763
4b	BKG 1594	Hairpin with circular section stem; phytomorphic head (hemispherical corolla and cylindrical pistil) on a collar.	Copper alloy	F	BKG 4	433	1273
4b	142	Hairpin with a circular-section stem; head composed by a lotus element (?) on a globular one.	Copper alloy	D (?)	BKG 5	503	2603
4b	173	Hairpin (?) with a circular section stem.	Copper alloy	-	BKG 4	433	1273

Phase or period	Stem diameter	Head size	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
IV	0.14	Diam: 0.34	1.5	Length: 7.35	Complete; two reassembled fragments. Callieri 1989: 218-220; S2021; Nasim Khan 1999-2000: 112, 118; Pl. VIII.
III	0.3	Globe diam: 0.6; disk diam: 0.8	1.5	Preserved length: 5.1	Incomplete; one fragment. See Fig. 13.
IV	0.25		3.5	Length: 7.1	Complete (?).
IVA	0.3			Length: 8.7	Complete. See also BKG 1433 and BKG 1471 Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 173: No. 237; Pl. 182: No. 224; Stronach 1978: 213: No. 13; Callieri 1989: 187; S2200.
1b	Max diameter: 0.9			Preserved length: 12.3	Incomplete; four reassembled fragments. Guillaume and Rougeulle 1987: Pl. 16: No. 2; uncertain Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 167: No. 134.
VI	0.35	Height: 1.28; max. diam: 0.59		Length: 6.3	Complete. See also BKG 1213 and BKG 1433 Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 173: No. 237; Pl. 182: No. 224; Stronach 1978: 213: No. 13; Callieri 1989: 187; S2200. See Fig. 14.
VI	Max. diam: 0.5			Length: 12.1	Complete. Dani 1965-66: Pl. XLIX: No. 17; Whitcomb 1985: 169, 174-175: Fig. 65 n-o; Guillaume and Rougeulle 1987: Pl. 3: No. 14. See Fig. 15.
VI	0.22	Height 0.88; collar diam: 0.38.		Length: 7.13	Complete.
VI	0.35 (?)	Height: 0.9		Preserved length: 4.1	Incomplete; two reassembled fragments. Poor state of preservation.
VI	0.2		0.5	Preserved length: 3.88	Incomplete; one fragment.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
4b	181	Hairpin with circular section stem and a planoconvex section disk head. Iron traces (decorative band?) on the stem.	Copper alloy; iron	C	BKG 4	422	1334
4b	189	Hairpin in with a circular section stem; head composed by a lotus element on two parallelepiped ones. The stem has an enlargement.	Copper alloy	D	BKG 5	514	2687
5	BKG 1096	Hairpin in with circular section stem and a disk head on a globular element and a band.	Copper alloy	BC	BKG 3	306	21
5b	BKG 1407	Hairpin with circular section stem and a conical head.	Copper alloy	A	BKG 4	422	48
5b	BKG 1433	Hairpin with a circular section stem; head composed by a lotus element (?) on two globular one.	Copper alloy	D	BKG 4	427	169
5a	BKG 1453	Hairpin with circular section body; head composed by an irregular disk on a globular element.	Copper alloy	BC	BKG 4	427	505
5b	BKG 1595	Hairpin with circular section stem; head composed by two flattened and overlapping globular elements of increasing dimensions. Surmounted by a disk with traces of incisions on the edge.	Copper alloy	BC	BKG 4	NW	30
5b	BKG 1610	Hairpin with circular section body; head composed by an irregular disk on a globular element. Radial incisions on the disk.	Copper alloy	BC	BKG 4	NW	30
5	18	Hairpin with circular section stem and disk head.	Copper alloy	C	BKG 1	116	263

Phase or period	Stem diameter	Head size	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
VI	0.3	Diam: 1.1	2.5		Incomplete; two reassembled fragments. Callieri 1989: 182, 184-185; S 1953. See Fig. 12.
VI	Max. 0.32; min.: 0.16	Height: 0.66; max width: 0.09	2.0	Pres. lgth: 4.15; stem enlarg. at 1.2 from the head.	Incomplete; one fragment.
2b				Length: 8.2	Complete. Ghosh 1948: 78, Pl. XVIII: No. 6.
VIII	0.33	Height: 0.96; max. diam: 1.31		Preserved length: 4.93	Incomplete; one fragment. Callieri 1989: 218-220; S2021; Nasim Khan 1999-2000: 112, 118; Pl. VIII. See Fig. 11.
VIII	0.35	Height: 0.98; max. diam: 0.62		Length: 13.95	Complete. See also BKG 1213 and BKG 1471. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 173: No. 237; Pl. 182: No. 224; Stronach 1978: 213: No. 13; Callieri 1989: 187: S2200.
VII	0.31	Height: 1.02; max. diam: 1.15		Preserved length: 8.33	Incomplete (almost complete); one fragment. Ghosh 1948: 78, Pl. XVIII: No. 6.
VIII	0.22	Height: 0.96; globular elements diam: 0.32, 0.56; disk diam: 0.94		Preserved length: 8.72	Complete. Ghosh 1948: 78, Pl. XVIII: No. 6.
VIII	0.27	Length: 0.84; disk diam: 1.07		Length: 8.15	Complete. Ghosh 1948: 78, Pl. XVIII: No. 6.
VII	0.26	Head diam: 1.49	0.5	Preserved length: 0.41	Incomplete; one fragment. Callieri 1989: 182, 184-185; S 1953.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
5a	155	Hairpin with a circular section stem and a disk head with planoconvex section.	Copper alloy	C	BKG 4-5	445-503	2528
8 (?)	74	Hairpin with a circular section stem and a disk head on two cones joined at the tip; disk decorated with an irregular radial pattern of lines.	Copper alloy	BC	BKG 3		1
9	14	Hairpin (?) with circular section stem.	Copper alloy	-	BKG 1	101	9
9	31	Hairpin with circular section stem and a disk head on a globular element and a rounded band; disk decorated with radial lines.	Copper alloy	BC	BKG 1	101	3
-	139	Hairpin with a circular section stem, conical head; a rounded band up on the stem.	Copper alloy	A	BKG 5	515	2677
-	199	Hairpin (?) with a circular section stem with variable diameter.	Copper alloy	-	Sporadic	-	-

Tables 4 - Hairpins [do] (above, on both pages, and previous four pages).

Table 5 – Cosmetic tools [do] (below, on both pages, and on the following six pages).

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
1	187	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends are rounded.	Copper alloy	AII-AII.a	BKG 4	413	1544
3	BKG 1291	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends seem rounded.	Copper alloy	AII?-AII.a	BKG 3	308	493
3b	BKG 1514	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends are rounded.	Copper alloy	AII-AII.a	BKG 4	412	768
3a	BKG 1611	Antimony rod with circular section body. One end is rounded, the other seems conical.	Copper alloy	AI?-AII.a	BKG 4	453	1451

Phase or period	Stem diameter	Head size	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
VII		Disk diam: 1.05	0.5	Preserved length: 0.35	Incomplete; one fragment.
VI	0.23	Diam: 0.88	3.0	Preserved length: 4.48	Incomplete; one fragment. Ghosh 1948: 78, Pl. XVIII: No. 6.
X	0.27		< 0.5	Preserved length: 1.30	Incomplete; one fragment. Perhaps part of the stem of No. 31.
X	0.27	Disk diam: 0.97	2.5	Preserved length: 2.18, 1.13	Incomplete; two fragments Ghosh 1948: 78, Pl. XVIII: No. 6. See also No. 14.
-	0.4	Max. diam: 0.7	8.5	Length: 13.2	Complete. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 173: t; Callieri 1989: 186-187; Nasim Khan 1999-2000: 118: Pl. VIII.
-	Max. diam: 0.32	-	4.0	Preserved length: 8.58	Incomplete; one fragment.

Phase or period	Length	Body thickness or diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
II	Preserved length: 9.7	0.4	5.5	Ends max diam: 0.55.	Incomplete; three fragments (two reassembled). Marshall 1951: Pl. 173: No. 212.
IIB	13.65	0.2			Complete. See also BKG 1163. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 173, Nos 212-213.
IV	11.80	0.20		Ends max. diam: 0.5	Complete. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 173: No. 212; Dani 1965-66: Pl. XLIX: No. 20.
III	14.9	0.28		Ends max diam: 0.46, 0.48	Complete.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
3a	BKG 1662	Toothpick () with circular section stem and two rounded tips. In the centre the body has a rectangular section twisted to form a decorative spiral.	Copper alloy	DI?-DI?.ac	BKG 5	501	1568
3a	39	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends are rounded.	Copper alloy	AII-AII.a	BKG 4	412	780
3a	113	Antimony rod with circular section body. One end is rounded, the other seems conical.	Copper alloy	AI?-AII.a	BKG 4	412	780
3	122	Toothpick with a circular section body.	Copper alloy	DI.a	BKG 3	311	662
4	BKG 1212	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends are rounded.	Copper alloy	AII-AII.a	BKG 3	308	293
4b	BKG 1492	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends are rounded.	Copper alloy	AII-AII.a	BKG 4	423	630
4b	BKG 1593	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends are conical.	Copper alloy	AI-AI.a	BKG 4	422	1317
4	5	Antimony rod with circular section body and a conical (?) end.	Copper alloy	AI?.a	BKG 1	109	138
4a	41	Toothpick (?) with circular section body and one pointed end (partially missing). The head is decorated with two cubic elements; the upper one has a possible bud shape.	Copper alloy	DI.a	BKG 4	433	1026
4b	59	Antimony rod with a circular section stem and a conical end.	Copper alloy/ Lead (?)	AI.a	BKG 5	423	93
4b	66	Antimony rod with circular section body and a rounded end (?).	Copper alloy	AII? a	BKG 4	423	622
4a	103	Antimony rod with circular section body and a rounded end.	Copper alloy	AII.a	BKG 4	422	1331

Phase or period	Length	Body thickness or diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
III	11.15	Max. stem thickness: 0.36			Complete. See Fig. 21.
III	9.40	0.34		Ends max. diam: 0.68, 0.46	Complete. Rydh 1959: Pl 83, No. 9.
III	9.39	0.29	5.5	Ends max. diam: 0.55, 0.45	Complete.
1a	Pres. lgth: 3.3, 1.8, 1.0, 0.7, 0.5	0.3	1.5		Incomplete; five reassembled fragments.
IVA	10.6	0.3			Complete. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 173: No. 212; Dani 1965-66: Pl. XLIX: No. 20. See Fig. 17.
VI	10.45	0.27		Ends max. diam: 0.37, 0.37	Complete.
VI	11.13	0.24		Ends max. diam: 0.39, 0.43	Complete.
V	Preserved length: 3.47	0.27	1.5	End max. diam: 0.35	Incomplete; one fragment.
V	Preserved length: 4.20	0.16	0.5	Head height: 0.78	Incomplete; one fragment. The identification of the object as a toothpick and not as a pin is due to the length and the stem diameter.
VI	Preserved length: 2.60	0.22	1.0	End max. diam: 0.35	Incomplete; one fragment. Ghosh 1948: Pl. XVIII: No. 4.
VI	Preserved length: 4.52	0.26	2.0	End max. diam: 0.43	Incomplete; one fragment. Ghosh 1948: Pl. XVIII: No. 5; Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 173: No. 214(?).
V	Preserved length: 5.53	0.29	3.0	End max. diam: 0.43	Incomplete; one fragment. Ghosh 1948: Pl. XVIII: No. 5.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
4a	106	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends are conical.	Copper alloy	AI-AI.a	BKG 4	413	742
4a	112	Antimony rod with circular section body. One end is rounded.	Copper alloy	AII-A.a	BKG 5	520	2762
4	159	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends are rounded.	Copper alloy	AII-AII.a	BKG 3	304	646
4b	177	Circular section body of a possible cosmetic tool (antimony rod?).	Copper alloy	?a	BKG 4	413	742
5	BKG 890	Antimony rod with circular section body. One end is rounded while the other is conical.	Copper alloy	AI-AII.a	BKG 1	118	383
5	BKG 1155	Double dispenser with circular section body. The main dispenser has a lanceolate shape around a hemispherical bowl; the smaller one has a circular shape. A twist decorates the body.	Copper alloy	CI-CII.ac	BKG 3	303	50
5	BKG 1163	Antimony rod with circular section body. One end is conical while the other seems rounded.	Copper alloy	AI-AII?.a	BKG 3	308	77
5	BKG 1181	Double dispenser with rectangular section body. The two dispensers, slightly concave, are both circular in shape but differ for the diameter.	Copper alloy	CII-CII.b	BKG 3	312	187
5b	BKG 1439	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends are rounded.	Copper alloy	AII-AII.a	BKG 4	427	169
5a	BKG 1452	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends seem conical.	Copper alloy	AI?-AI?.a	BKG 4	427	505
5a	BKG 1457	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends seem conical.	Copper alloy	AI?-AI?.a	BKG 4	427	517
5a	BKG 1658	Elliptical Mirror with rectangular section handle; The front is flat; the rear is concave.	Copper alloy	E.b	BKG 5	504	2616

Phase or period	Length	Body thickness or diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
V	8.29	0.29	5.5	Ends max. diam: 0.38, 0.34	Complete. Ghosh 1948: Pl. XVIII: No. 4.
V	Preserved length: 8.61	0.30	4.5	Ends max. diam: 0.43 (2nd end 0.40)	Incomplete (the second end is partially missing); one fragment. Ghosh 1948: Pl. XVIII: No. 5.
1b	11.0	0.35	6.5		Complete. Ghosh 1948: Pl. XVIII: No. 5.
V	Preserved length: 3.83	0.25	2.0		Incomplete; one fragment.
VII	9.3	0.22		Ends max. diam: 0.39, 0.41.	Complete. See Fig. 18.
2b	9.5	Diam: 0.2		Main dispenser max. width: 1.9; smaller dispenser max. diam: c. 0.7	Complete. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 176: No. 316. The smaller dispenser could also be identified as ear-cleaner, but its size and the instrument as a whole suggest its identification as a cosmetic dispenser. See Fig. 20.
IVB	12.7	0.3			Complete. Marshall 1951: III, Pl 173: No. 220; Pl. XVIII: No. 8; Rahman 1968-69: Pl. 91b: No. 4.
2b	16.1	Thickness: 0.8		Dispensers diam: 7.6, 2.7	Incomplete; several reassembled fragments. Marshall 1951: III, Pl 176: No. 316.
VIII	12.52	0.32		Ends max. diam: 0.67, 0.55	Complete.
VII	11.37	0.33		Ends max. diam: 0.50, 0.44	Complete.
VII	9.25	0.28		Ends max. diam: 0.36, 0.44	Complete.
VII		Handle width: 2.2; thickness: 0.5		Mirror max. width: 12.75	Incomplete; two reassembled fragments. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 182: No. 208. See Fig. 22.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
5	4	Antimony rod with circular section body and a rounded end.	Copper alloy	AII.a	BKG 1	104	87 f
5a	49	Antimony rod with circular section body and a rounded end.	Copper alloy	AII.a	BKG 4	413	461
5b	51	Tool (antimony rod?) with circular section body.	Copper alloy	?a	BKG 4	422	48
5a	88	Tool (antimony rod?) with circular section body.	Copper alloy	?a	BKG 4	303	40
6?	6	Antimony rod with circular section body and a conical end.	Copper alloy	AI.a	BKG 1	104	59
9	7	Antimony rod.	Copper alloy	A	BKG 1	102	75
9	8	Antimony rod.	Copper alloy	A	BKG 1	102	75
9	26	Oval dispenser with circular section body. Near the dispenser the body is flattened and twisted to create a decorative twisting. The other end is pointed.	Copper alloy	CII.a	BKG 1	101	1
-	BKG 1400	Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends seem rounded.	Copper alloy	AII-AII?.a	BKG 4	401	314
-	125	Toothpicks with circular section body; the body slightly enlarges at about 1.5 cm from one end.	Copper alloy	DI-DI.a	Spor.		-
-	137	Ear-cleaner with conical body. A circular section neck ending with a small elliptical slightly concave "spoon" protrudes from the body.	Copper alloy	B.a	BKG 5	Spor.	-

Phase or period	Length	Body thickness or diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
VII	Preserved length: 5.40	0.21	1.5	End max. diam: 0.32	Incomplete; one fragment.
VII	Preserved length: 5.08	0.23	2.5	End max. diam: 0.37	Incomplete; one fragment.
VIII	Preserved length: 3.91, 2.02	c. 0.31	2.0		Incomplete; two fragments.
VII					Incomplete; one fragment.
VIII	Preserved length: 3.72	0.30	2.5	End max. diam: 0.41	Incomplete; one fragment. See Fig. 16.
X					Recorded during the excavation, but now missing.
X					Recorded during the excavation, but now missing.
X	7.2	0.18.	1.0	Dispenser thickness: 0.19; dispenser max. width: 0.64	Complete. The object could also be interpreted as an ear-cleaner, but the decoration of the body suggests a different interpretation. The pointed end could also be interpreted as a toothpick, but the instrument as a whole suggests a different interpretation.
-	Preserved length: 7.6	0.31		End max. diam: 0.5	Incomplete; one fragment.
-	6.2	0.2			Complete.
-	8.05	Max. 0.38	3.0	Spoon width: 0.3; neck diameter: 0.2; neck length: 2.1	Complete. Marshall 1951, III, Pl. 173: Nos 222-225. The end of the conical body could be identified as a toothpick, but the instrument as a whole, the diameter and shape of the body suggest a different interpretation. See Fig. 19.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

Table 6 – Miscellaneous tools and their distribution in the macrophases of the BKG Cultural Sequence (below, on both pages).

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
1	BKG 1625	Large needle with a circular section body and flattened eye; the hole is elliptical. The object has no decorations except for two lines engraved about 3 cm from the tip.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	457	1583
4	BKG 830	Curved blade with triangular section. Perhaps a small sickle.	Copper alloy	BKG 1	108	131
4	11	Truncated pyramid-tool. Traces of primary striking at the base suggest the object was a tool (wedge?). Some secondary striking traces hint that later, perhaps following a break, the fragment was also used as a small anvil.	Copper alloy; lead	BKG 1	108	131
4a	134	Nail (?) with a circular section body.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	413	742
4b	183	Weight or spindle (?) with a bi-conical body (cones joined at the base).	Copper alloy	BKG 4	413	738
5b	BKG 1359	Weight in the shape of a lion's paw. The upper surface is flattened and has an irregular circular section and rounded rim; the lower one is also flattened but shows some irregularities.	Lead and copper alloy	BKG 4	403	233
5	16	Curved blade with triangular section. Perhaps a small sickle.	Copper alloy	BKG 1	104	71
-	169	Weight or spindle (?) with a bi-conical body (cones joined at the base).	Copper alloy	BKG 5	516	2768
-	175	Nail (?) with a circular section body.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	521	2736

Phase or period	Length	Body thickness or diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
I	9.85	Max. diam. of the stem: 0.29		Thickness of the eye: 0.15.	Complete. Marshall 1951, III, Pl. 173: Nos 370-372.
V	Preserved length: 3.93			Width: 1.01	Incomplete; one fragment. See No. 16 Whitcomb 1985: 160-164: Fig. 60 a-e, 168-171: Fig. 63 ff-uu. See Fig. 23.
V	Preserved length: 1.8	0.9		Max. width: 0.9	Incomplete; one fragment.
V	Preserved length: 2.9, 2.6	0.2	< 0.5		Incomplete; two fragments. The object could be identified as a pin, but the dimensions and the lack of decorations support its interpretation as a nail.
VI	4.0	Max. diam: 0.45	2.15		Complete. See No. 169.
VIII	Height: 4.5	Max. diam: 2.3			The object, probably a weight, appears to be made by bronze with a high lead content or, as suggested by some chippings, by a lead core covered by bronze. The object can maintain an upright position only if resting on the flattened end. See Fig. 24.
VII	Preserved length: 4.07	Max. thickness: 0.19	3.0	Width: 0.89	Incomplete; one fragment. See BKG 830. Whitcomb 1985: 160-164: Fig. 60 a-e, 168-171: Fig. 63 ff-uu.
-	4.25	Max. diam: 0.25	0.73		Complete. See No. 183.
-	Preserved length: 5.7				Incomplete; two reassembled fragments. The object could be identified as a pin, but the dimensions and the lack of decorations support its interpretation as a nail.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

Table 7 - Decorative plaques and foils and their distribution in the macrophases of the BKG Cultural Sequence (below, on both pages, and on the following six pages [partial]).

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
1	184	Round decorative plaque (?).	Copper alloy	BKG 4	413	1546
1	188	Round or semi-circular decorative plaque (?).	Copper alloy	BKG 4	413	1544
3b	BKG 1705	Decorative plaque or pendant with fixing holes.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	519	2773
3	91 bis	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	314	404
3	123	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	308	285
3b	156	Decorative plaque of unidentified shape. Traces of fixing holes are visible.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	523	2735
3a	179	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	453	1451
3b	186	Round or semi-circular (?) foil. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	449	1408
3	200	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The foil has a curvilinear profile.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	314	551
3b	211	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4-5	4W	2728
3a	212	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4-5	4W	2734
4	15	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 1	110	184
4	22	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 1	108	131
4a	44	Trapezoidal shape foil; traces of beating on the edges.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	419	804

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
II	4.3 (main frag.)	2.15 (main frag.)	0.15 (main frag.)	5.5 (all frags.)	Diam: 10.0 (reconstructed)	Incomplete; four fragments.
II	1.28	0.8		< 0.5	Diam: 3 (reconstructed)	Incomplete; one fragment.
IV	2.58	1.14	0.33		Holes max. diam: 0.15	Complete (?).
1a	3.95	2.10	0.09	2.0		Incomplete; one fragment.
III						Recorded during the excavation, but now missing.
IV	2.8, 2.6	3.2, 1.7		4.5		Incomplete; two fragments.
III	3.8 (main frag.)		0.1	4.0 (all frags.)		Incomplete; several very small fragments.
IV	4.3	1.66	0.2	2.5	Diam: 10 (reconstructed)	Incomplete; one fragment.
1a	3.32 (main frag.)	2.77 (main frag.)	0.12	3.0		Incomplete; two fragments (the second fragment has very small dimensions).
IV	2.2 (main frag.)	1.2 (main frag.)				Incomplete; five fragments (four fragments have very small dimensions).
III	3.3 (main frag.)	1.4 (main frag.)				Incomplete; nine fragments (eight fragments have very small dimensions).
V	3.14	1.41	0.35	1.5		Incomplete; two reassembled fragments.
V			0.12	0.5		Incomplete; four small fragments.
V	6.83	1.74	0.35			Incomplete; one fragment.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
4a	138	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	514	2697
4a	172	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	422	1376
4a	178	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	413	742
4a	191	Rectangular foil of uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	413	1333
4a	42	Repoussé decorative plaque representing a sea creature (dolphin?). The plaque shows traces of gilding.	Lead alloy; gold (?)	BKG 4	432	686
4b	60	Rectangular decorative plaque. The plaque has unaligned holes for fixing (2 preserved).	Copper alloy	BKG 4	423	622
4	75	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	308	260
4	95	Rectangular decorative plaque. Two fixing holes are about 0.31 cm from the edges.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	308	249
4	121	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	313	206
4b	143	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	503	2603
4b	150	Rectangular foil with uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	501	2618
4b	151	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	502	2618
4b	153	Rectangular (?) foil with uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	520	2741
4b	163	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	428	1253

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
V	2.7	2.7	0.2	3.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
V	2.3 (main frag.)		0.1 (main frag.)	3.0		Incomplete; two fragments.
V	0.95	0.75	0.1	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
V	1.36	0.95	0.1	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
V	4.47	3.72	0.08	4.5		Incomplete; one fragment. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 180: Nos 153-160. See Fig. 25.
VI	9.43	1.43	0.14			Incomplete; two reassembled fragments.
IVA	3.62	3.50	0.48	4.0		Incomplete; one fragment.
IVA	3.94	2.35	0.20			Incomplete; one fragment.
IVA				1.0		Incomplete; ten very small fragments.
VI	1.1, 0.9, 0.8	0.9, 0.7, 0.7	0.2, 0.3, 0.3	2.5 (total)		Incomplete; four fragments (one very small).
VI	3.4	1.4	0.1	3.0		Incomplete; one fragment.
VI	1.5	1.02	0.15	1.0		Incomplete; one fragment.
VI	1.72, 1.68	1.17, 1.20	0.61, 0.56	2.5		Incomplete; two fragments.
VI				2.5		Incomplete; six very small fragments.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
4b	185	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	519	2680
4b	190	Slightly curved foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	519	2724
4a-5a	182	Rectangular foil with uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	504	2595-2644 section
5	83	Slightly curved foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	302	104
5b	141	Slightly curved foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The foil shows hammering traces.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	448	1364
5a	152	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	519	2582
5a	154	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	504	2622
5a	193	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	413	738
5a	196	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	504	2562
5a	197	Slightly curved foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function; maybe vessel wall or plaque.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	456	1492
9	23	Semi-circular foil with irregular surfaces and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 1	101-102	4
9	24	Semi-circular (?) foil with a slightly convex surface and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 1	101	9
9	28	Circular plaque with a central circular hole. The surface, that the hole recess identifies as the back face, shows hammering traces.	Copper alloy	BKG 1	101	1
-	BKG 1356	Rosette-shaped decorative plaque with seven petals and a central hole; possibly a decorative plaque for door or jamb. Object made by forging; the hole shows signs of a broad-headed nail.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	403	277

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
VI	1.3	0.75	0.06	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
VI	1.2	0.85	0.08	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
VI-VII	5.4	1.08	0.1	5.0		Incomplete; two reassembled fragments.
2b	4.26	1.45	0.12	2.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
VIII	5.8	3.5	0.1	7.0		Incomplete; two reassembled fragments.
VII	1.8, 1.31, 1.90, 1.51	1.35, 0.81, 1.30, 0.72	0.32, 0.31, 0.38, 0.29	3.5		Incomplete; four fragments.
VII	2.50, 2.41, 1.21, 0.96	2.05, 2.80, 1.11, 0.85	0.12, 0.41, 0.37, 0.21	3.5		Incomplete; four fragments.
VII				2.5		Incomplete; several very small fragments.
VII	0.95	0.75	0.07	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
VII				0.5		Incomplete; three very small fragments.
X	1.67	1.29	0.09	0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
X	1.00	1.00	0.13	0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
X			0.13	1.5	Diam: 2.18	Incomplete; one fragment.
			0.14		Plaque max. diam: 4.9; diam. of the hole: 0.8	Almost complete; three reassembled fragments. Marshall 1951: II, 603-604; III, Pl. 178: i, k. See Fig. 26

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macro-phase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
-	70	Gold foil (for gilding?).	Gold	BKG 4	Sporadic	
-	108	Rectangular plaque. There are two fixing holes located along the major axis near the smaller sides.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	Sporadic	
-	126	Slightly curved pseudo-circular shaped foil; traces of incision on the concave face.	Copper alloy	Sporadic		
-	131	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The foil shows hammering traces.	Copper alloy	Sporadic		
-	157	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	503	2623
-	198	Gold foil of unidentified shape, perhaps for gilding. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Gold	BKG 4	434	1535

Table 7 - Decorative plaques and foils [do] (above, both pages, and previous six pages).

Table 8 - Metal vessels [do] (below, on both pages, and half of the next two).

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. N° or sequential N°	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
3	104	Circular section tube with everted rim; probably a cosmetic vial or a small water pipe.	Copper alloy	B(?)	BKG 4	449	1483
4a	105	Cosmetic vial with everted rim. The wall has an external octagonal section; the internal one is circular. Perhaps the lower part of the vial had a circular section on both surfaces, as suggest the progressive rounding of the external surface and the diameter reduction.	Copper alloy	B	BKG 4	413	742
4b	119	Bowl with thickened rim and slightly recessed straight lip.	Copper alloy	A	BKG 4	427	547

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
				< 0.5		Incomplete; several very small fragments.
	4.96	1.88	0.06	4.0		Complete.
					Max. preserved diam: 1.6	Incomplete; one fragment.
	1.1, 0.9	0.8, 0.8	0.4, 0.3	1.5		Incomplete; two fragments.
	7.08	4.45	0.12	8.5		Incomplete; three reassembled fragments.
	0.52	0.21	0.09	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.

Period or Phase	Height	Diameter	Thickness	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
III	Max preserved height: 1.73	Rim diam: 1.80; body diam: 1.53	0.17	2.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
V	Max preserved height: 3.19	Rim diam: 1.85	Wall thickness: 0.11; rim thickness: 0.37	6.0		Incomplete; one fragment. See Fig. 28.
VI	Max. preserved height: 3.3	Bowl diam: 6.8 (reconstructed)	Max thickness: 0.3			Incomplete; one fragment.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Taxonomy	Trench	Locus	SU
4b	166	Bowl with thickened rim.	Copper alloy	A	BKG 4	433	1261
5a	BKG 1462	Truncated cone bowl with thickened rim and flat base. Traces of a possible decoration on the base.	Copper alloy	A	BKG 4	422	79
5	118	Bowl (?)	Copper alloy	A(?)	BKG 3	312	132
5b	171	Bowl (?) with thickened rim. The bowl is decorated with a line engraved at 0.2 cm from the rim.	Copper alloy	A(?)	BKG 4	421	51

Table 9 - Miscellaneous and unidentified objects [do] (below, on both pages, and on the following eight [partial]).

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
3b	107	Metal bar with circular section body.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	519	2802
3b	140	Object of unidentified shape and function.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	519	2773
3b	147	Unidentified object with conical body and with a "C"-shaped bent tip. Probably a tool.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	519	2802
3b	194	Object with a circular section body (stem?).	Copper alloy	BKG 4	450	1406
3a	195	Object of unidentified shape and function.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	449	1483
4	BKG 844	Cone-shaped bell (?) with a flattened and pierced triangular-shaped tip, an inner iron knocker and a slightly thickened rim.	Copper alloy; iron	BKG 1	109	171

Period or Phase	Height	Diameter	Thickness	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
VI	Max. preserved height: 2.89	Bowl diam: 10.5 (reconstructed)		9.5		Incomplete; four fragments (three reassembled).
VII	Max. preserved height: 2.92	Rim diam: 7.60; base diam: 6.80	Max. body th: 0.15; base th: 0.10			Incomplete; one fragment. Possible decoration unidentifiable due to the poor state of preservation. See Fig. 27
2b	Max. preserved height: 2.3	-	0.3	2.0	Max length of the fr: 1.2	Incomplete; one fragment. Poor state of preservation.
VIII	Max. preserved height: 3.1	Bowl diam: 10 (reconstructed)	0.14	6.5	Max length of the fr: 2.8	Incomplete; one fragment.

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness or Diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
IV	15.64		Diam. 0.54			Complete; one fragment.
IV	Pres. lgth: 0.9	0.7	0.3	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
IV	Pres. lgth: 4.9		Max diam: c. 0.2	1.5		Incomplete; one fragment. Poor state of preservation. It is impossible to establish whether the fold is functional, or it is a later deformation.
IV	Pres. lgth: 2.54		Diam: c. 0.59	1.0		Incomplete; one fragment. Poor state of preservation.
III	Pres. lgth: 1.3	0.7	Thickness: 0.27	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.

V	Height: 3.53		Max. wall thickness: 0.52		Base diam: 1.96	Complete. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 176: No. 347; Whitcomb 1985: 169, 174-175, 176: Fig. 65 ff. See Fig. 29.
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Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
4b	BKG 1549	Support consisting of a circular foil with central hole and raised edge. From two opposing pierced wings on the edge, a circular section metal wire runs with a rectangular profile. In the centre, after a short neck, the wire forms a ring probably used to hang the object.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	427	554
4b	48	Unidentified object with a pseudo-drop shape (handle?).	Copper alloy; iron (?)	BKG 4	412	724
4b	69	Pendant (?). A gold sphere probably modelled on a core (wood or bitumen?) now disappeared. A copper alloy wire starts from the sphere and forms an eyelet.	Gold; copper alloy	BKG 4	423	633
4	94	Three unidentified irregular shape fragments.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	310	179
4a	101	Circular section metallic wire. One end shows traces of torsions; the other is cut transversely.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	442	1221
4a	192	Small hinge. There is a fragment of schist pintle inside one of the two holes.	Copper alloy; schist	BKG 5	522	2760
4b	167	Object of unidentified shape and function (stem?).	Copper alloy	BKG 4	433	1261
4b	176	Open ring with circular section body.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	433	1234
4	180	Metal band with planoconvex section body and variable width (ring?).	Copper alloy	BKG 4	441	1204
4	206	Metal band bent to form a ring. The width of the object, the lack of decorations and the closure, obtained by the simple overlapping of the two ends, suggest excluding a decorative function.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	304	435
4b	213	Small stud with traces of engraved decoration along the edges; on the back two eyelets for fixing.	Copper alloy	BKG 4-5	520	2747

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness or Diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
VI		Edge height: 0.7; wing height: 1.9	Wire diam: 0.2		Base diam: 5.6; central hole diam: 1.1;	Complete. See Fig. 30.
VI	2.32	1.33	0.64	5.0		Incomplete; one fragment. Traces of iron oxide.
VI	1.01		Wire thickness: 0.16	< 0.5	Sphere diam: 1.08	Incomplete; one fragment.
IV A	1.03; 1.05; 0.77	0.92; 0.71; 0.38	0.46; 0.64; 0.24	1.0 (total)		Incomplete; three fragments; perhaps belonging to different objects. Poor state of preservation.
V	9.50		Diam: 1.84	2.5		Complete (?). Impossible to determine whether deformations and cuts are functional or it is a later deformation.
V	0.96	0.89	Max. 0.5	0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
VI	1.51		Diam: c. 0.82	1.5		Incomplete; one fragment. Poor state of preservation.
VI			Body diam: 0.13	< 0.5	Ring diam: 1.38 (reconstructed)	Complete.
V-VI		Max. width: 1.05; min. width: 0.72		2.0	Diam: 1.8 (reconstructed)	Incomplete; one fragment. Poor state of preservation.
2a		Band width: 1.32	Band thickness: 0.04	2.0	Ring diam: 2.0 (reconstructed)	Complete.
VI			Max. th: 0.8		Stud diam: 1.2;	Almost complete (part of an eyelet is missing).

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
5	BKG 1126	Buckle with movable tip. Body decorated with a rampant embossed ram.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	303	50
5b	BKG 1361	Spoon with ovoid bowl and circular section handle; in correspondence with the attachment of the bowl the handle section becomes rectangular. The presence of a weld at about 2.0 cm. from the bowl suggests the circular section handle was made separately or, more probably, applied later, perhaps as a repair.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	403	233
5a	BKG 1375	Shield boss (?) with flat ring base and hemispherical central element. On the top of the hemispherical element and inside it traces of welding probably pertinent to the nail, now disappeared, used to fix the boss.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	413	279
5b	BKG 1408	U-shaped hook with quadrangular section body. The body has an irregular thickness and is tapered towards the pointed end.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	422	30
5a	40	Variable width metal band.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	427	517
5a	56	Hook with circular section body.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	423	78
5b	57	Object (handle?) with a rectangular-convex shape and a planoconvex section. The convex end is folded down.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	431	1
5b	58 bis	Band with trapezoidal section body and unidentified function.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	423	89
5	82	Circular plate (coin?), folded at the edges in order to contain an iron core; perhaps an amulet?	Iron; copper alloy	BKG 3	304	323
5a	100	Object of unidentified shape and function (stem?).	Copper alloy	BKG 4	432	1437

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness or Diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
2b	7.7	4.07	1.2			Incomplete; one fragment. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 172: No. 29. See Fig. 31.
VIII	8.13	Rectangular section handle width: 0.62;	Circular section handle diam: 0.4; rectangular section thickness: 0,35		Bowl length: 4.37; bowl width: 3.60	Incomplete; one fragment. Marshall 1951: II, 595; III, Pl. 175: Nos 312-313. See Fig 32.
VII	Height: 1.35		Base thickness: 0.23		Base diam: 3.65; hemispherical element diam: 2.28	Complete. Guillaume and Rougeulle 1987: Pl. 9: Nos 12-16. See Fig. 33.
VIII	8.83		Max. thickness: 0.33			Complete.
VII	6.60	Max. 0.48	0.07	2.0		Complete. Possibly used in metallurgical activities.
VII	1.61	1.17	Body diam: 0.20	0.5		Complete.
VIII	1.8	6.5	0.6			Incomplete; one fragment.
VII	2.67	0.48	0.16	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
2b			Max. thickness: 0.84		Object diam: 2.05	Complete (?). Poor state of preservation.
VII	2.87		Max. diam: 0.59	1.0		Incomplete; one fragment. Poor state of preservation.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
5b	170	Metal wire ring with circular section body; the body has a variable diameter. The ring is open, the two ends are superimposed and slightly flattened.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	Extension NW	30
6	78	Circular shaped stud with circular section stem.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	303	40
6	92	Chain composed by five "S" shaped elements. The elements consist of a folded rectangular section band.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	302	44
8	BKG 857	Globular bell with a free spherical clapper inside. An opening cut with slightly everted and thickened protruding rims crosses two-thirds of the body. The ends of the cut are decorated with globular elements; the body is decorated with a notched cornice. At the top of the bell there is a ring to hang the object.	Copper alloy	BKG 1	101	27
9	21	Pair of lead pseudo-spheres with an irregular surface and a flat base. The two spheres, probably two musket bullets, have different size.	Lead	BKG 1	101	3
9	27	Chain (?) ring with circular section body and slightly oval shape. The circumference is open probably to allow the insertion of the subsequent ring.	Copper alloy	BKG 1	101	1
9	73	Circular section wire bent up to "U" shape, probably a hook. The wire is thickened at the bending point.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	308	141
	72	Drop-shaped pendant (?) consisting of an iron body enclosed in a bronze frame. No trace of decorations.	Iron, copper alloy	BKG 3		1-2
-	BKG 1678	Circular spoon with a long handle. The handle has a rectangular section near the spoon and a circular section from the middle to the end; the latter is slightly rounded, and it is preceded by a small collar.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	515	2677

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness or Diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
VIII			Body max. diam: 0.19	1.0	Ring max diam: 1.9	Complete.
3			Head thickness: 0.12	< 0.5	Head diam: 0.80; stem diam: 0.31	Incomplete; one fragment.
3	6.17	0.70	Thickness: 0.2	3.5	Average length of an element: 1.5/1.6	Incomplete (five elements).
IX	5.95		4.1			Complete. Marshall 1951: III, Pl. 176: No. 352. See Fig. 34.
X			Max. diam: 1.74, 1.61	22.0, 18.0	Height from the base: 1.40, 1.28	Complete.
X			0.20		External diam: 1.40	Complete.
VII	2.41	1.78	Max. thickness: 0.31	1.5		Complete.
5	2.12	2.03	Max. thickness: 1.0			Incomplete; one fragment.
-	17.8		Handle max. diam: 0.5 handle max. width: 0.8		Spoon diam: 3.5; spoon thickness: 0.1;	Complete. See Fig. 35.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macro-phase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
-	BKG 1679	Gold leaf spherical bead (?).	Gold	BKG 5	516	2689
-	58	Circular section metallic tube (Bracelet?). The object is flattened and bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	430	961
-	85	Circular section wire with a variable diameter; the wire is folded to form a hook.	Copper alloy	Sporadic	-	-
-	85 bis	Hook linked to a foil.	Copper alloy	Sporadic	-	-

Table 9 – Miscellaneous and Unidentified objects [do] (on both pages and previous eight pages).

Table 10 - Indicators of metallurgical activities presence and their distribution in the macrophases of the BKG Cultural Sequence (below, on both pages, and on the following four [partial]).

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
3b	<u>186</u>	Round or semi-circular (?) foil. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	449	1408
3b	<u>211</u>	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4-5	4W	2728
3a	<u>212</u>	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4-5	4W	2734
4	<u>75</u>	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	308	260
4a	99	Furnace floor with metal traces. Outside traces of straw are visible; the innermost side is vitrified and shows metallic traces.	Clay; copper alloy	BKG 4	455	1398

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness or Diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
-		Bead diam: 0.36			Hole diam: 0.05	Incomplete; one fragment.
-	2.23			< 0.5	Diam. 0.39	Incomplete; one fragment.
-	1.27		Max: 0.39; min: 0.22.	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.
-	0.52	Foil width: 0.49	Hook body diam: 0.31	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.

[The underlined objects have been described in previous tables, but are reported also in Tab. 10 as they are considered indicators of the presence of metallurgical activity]

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness or Diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
IV	4.3	1.66	0.2	2.5	Diam: 10 (reconstructed)	Incomplete; one fragment.
IV	2.2 (main frag.)	1.2 (main frag.)				Incomplete; five fragments (four fragments have very small dimensions).
III	3.3 (main frag.)	1.4 (main frag.)				Incomplete; nine fragments (eight fragments have very small dimensions).
IVA	3.62	3.50	0.48	4.0		Incomplete; one fragment.
V	3.91	2.68	1.71	9.5		Incomplete; one fragment.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macrophase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
<u>4</u>	<u>121</u>	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 3	313	206
<u>4</u>	<u>160</u>	Crucible wall with traces of metal.	Clay, copper alloy	BKG 3	310	179
<u>4b</u>	<u>163</u>	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	428	1253
<u>4a</u>	<u>172</u>	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	422	1376
4a	203	Processing slag.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	442	1333
4b-5a?	110	Prill.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	413	738
<u>5a</u>	<u>40</u>	Variable width metal band.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	427	517
5a	52	Prill.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	422	611
<u>5a</u>	<u>152</u>	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	519	2582
5a	162	Irregularly shaped metal casting; maybe used as an ingot.	Copper alloy	BKG 5	504	2602
<u>5a</u>	<u>193</u>	Foil of unidentified shape and uncertain function. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	413	738
6	117	Prill (?).	Copper alloy	BKG 3	305	39
9	20	Prill.	Copper alloy	BKG 1	102	60
-	38	Processing slag.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	430	961

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness or Diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
IVA				1.0		Incomplete; ten very small fragments.
IVA				12.5		Incomplete; numerous (> 10) very small fragments (< 1.0).
VI				2.5		Incomplete; six very small fragments.
V	2.3 (main frag.)		0.1 (main frag.)	3.0		Incomplete; two fragments.
V	2.2 (main fr.)			8.0 (total)		Incomplete; six fragments.
VI	4.19	1.21	0.84	15.5		Complete.
VII	6.60	Max. 0.48	0.07	2.0		Complete. Possibly used in metallurgical activities.
VII	1.82	0.78	0.57	2.5		Complete.
VII	1.8, 1.31, 1.90, 1.51	1.35, 0.81, 1.30, 0.72	0.32, 0.31, 0.38, 0.29	3.5		Incomplete; four fragments.
VII	8.38	7.19	1.39	297.5		Complete.
VII				2.5		Incomplete; several very small fragments.
3	1.9	1.1	0.8			Complete.
X	1.90	1.68	1.17	7.0		Complete.
-	2.3	0.7	0.4			Complete.

Barikot. Taxonomic Study of the Copper Alloy Objects

BKG Cultural Macro-phase	Inv. or Field No.	Object	Material	Trench	Locus	SU
-	<u>58</u>	Circular section metallic tube (Bracelet?). The object is flattened and bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Copper alloy	BKG 4	430	961
-	124	Processing slag	Copper alloy	Sporadic		
-	127	Crucible bottom with traces of copper.		Sporadic		
-	128	Processing slag.	Clay; iron; copper	Sporadic		
-	<u>198</u>	Gold foil of unidentified shape, perhaps for gilding. The object has been bent, perhaps to be melted and reworked.	Gold	BKG 4	434	1535

Period or Phase	Length	Width	Thickness or Diameter	Weight	Additional measures	Notes and comparisons
-	2.23			< 0.5	Diam. 0.39	Incomplete; one fragment.
-	3.4	2.1	1.3			Complete.
-	4.7	3.5	1.5	14.71		Incomplete; one fragment.
-	5.5	4.9	1.6	27.74		Complete.
-	0.52	0.21	0.09	< 0.5		Incomplete; one fragment.



Fig. 1 - Ring with rectangular section body and overlapping ends, BKG 1632, Taxonomy BI, Trench BKG 5, SU 2501, Macrophase 5a (photo MAIP).

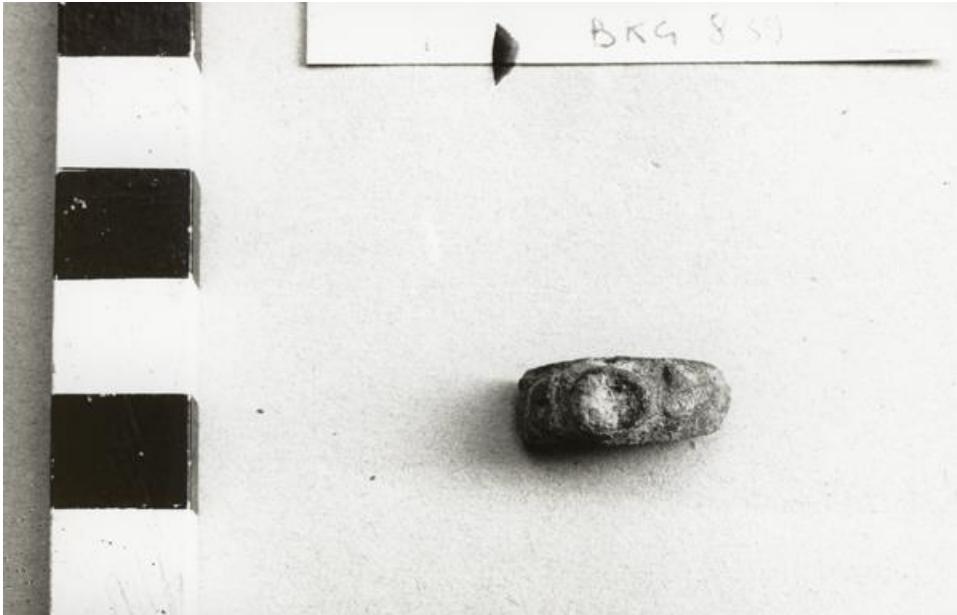


Fig. 2 - Ring with planoconvex section body, elliptical bezel and decorated body, BKG 839, Taxonomy CII.cd, Trench BKG 1, SU 152, Macrophase 4 (photo MAIP).



Fig 3 - Ring with planoconvex section body, No. 2, Taxonomy CI.b, Trench BKG 1, SU 177, no Macrophase (photo MAIP-LC).

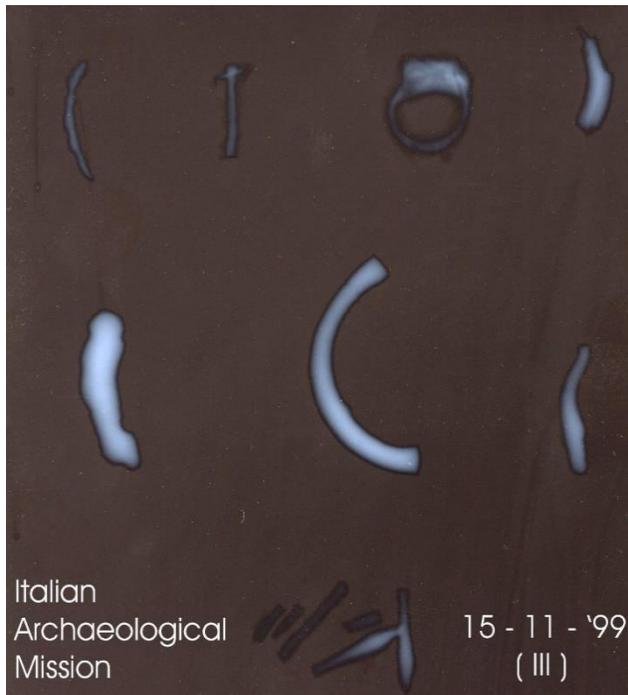


Fig 4 - X-Ray of the objects Nos 2, 9, 10, 109, 110, 111 and 115; 90 kV, 300 mA, 10 seconds of exposure (photo MAIP).

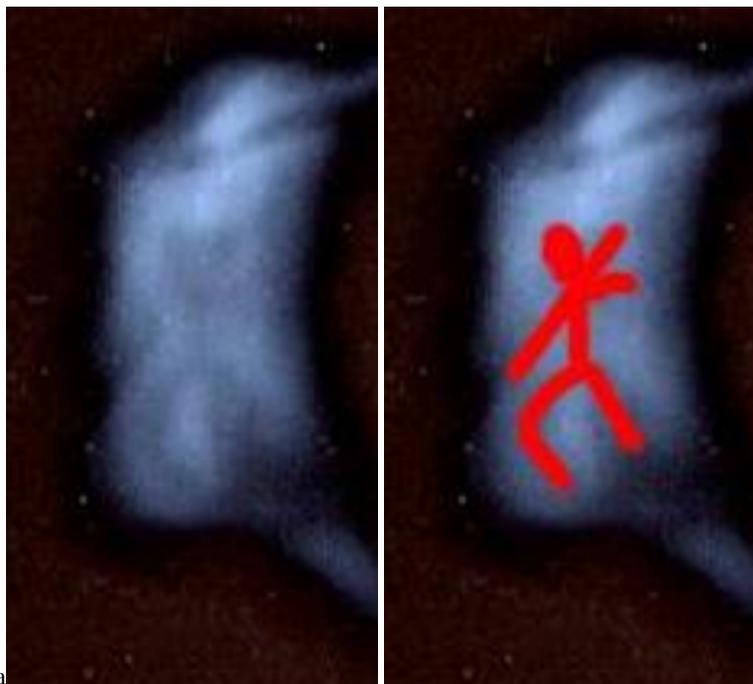


Fig. 5 - X-Ray of the Ring No. 2 with increased contrasts (a) and with a reconstructive hypotheses of the engraved figure (b) (photo MAIP; processing LC).

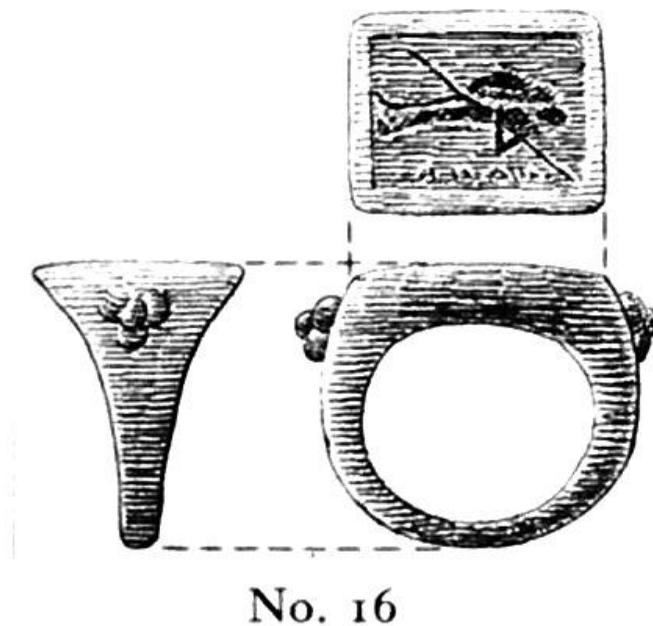


Fig. 6 - Gold ring from Sirkap (Marshall 1951, III, 197, No.16).

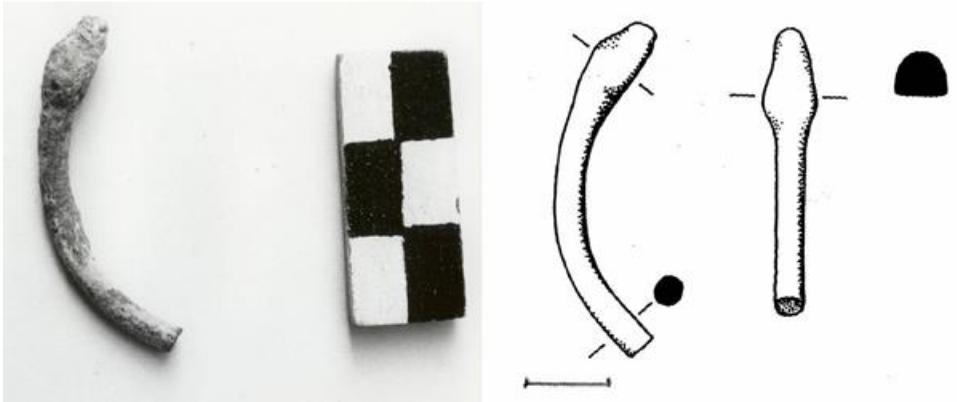


Fig. 7 - Bracelet with circular section body and bud (?) ends, BKG 1548, Taxonomy AAI.e, Trench BKG 4, SU 781, Macrophase 3a (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).

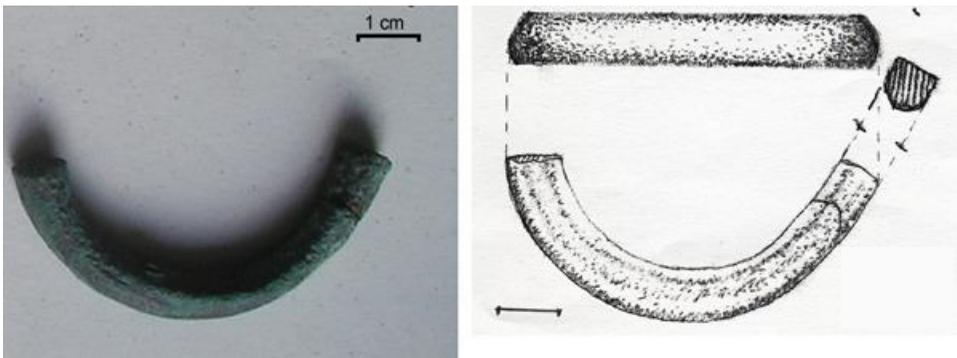


Fig. 8 - Bracelet with planoconvex section body, No. 109, Taxonomy CI, Trench BKG 4, SU 1540, Macrophase 1 (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).



Fig. 9 - Beads for bracelet or necklace with circular or irregular rosette shape, No. 97, Taxonomy D.d, Trench BKG 4, SU 91, Macrophase 4b (photo MAIP-LC).

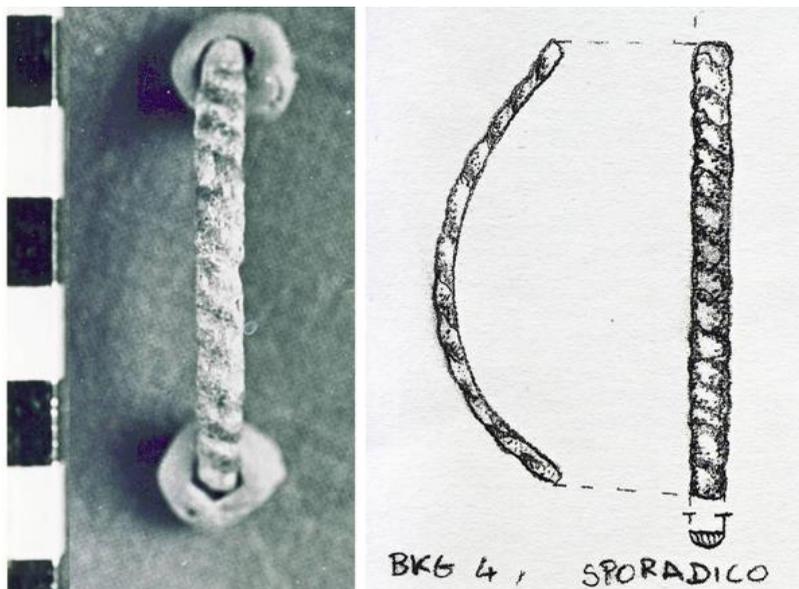


Fig. 10 - Bracelet with a planoconvex section body, No. 164, Taxonomy CI.d, Trench BKG 4, Sporadic, no Macrophase (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).

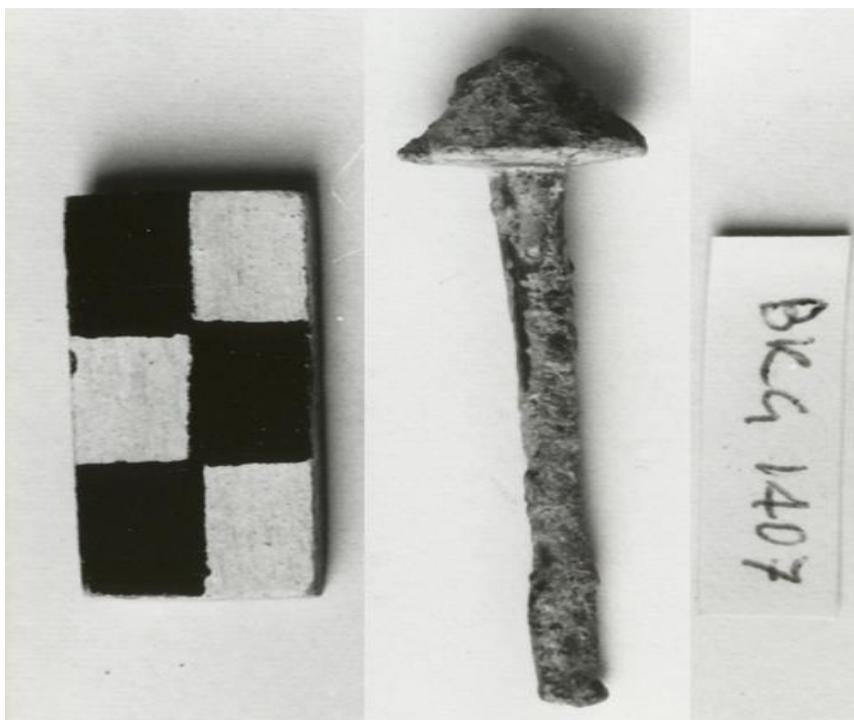


Fig. 11 - Hairpin with circular section stem and a conical head, BKG 1407, Taxonomy A, Trench BKG 4, SU 48, Macrophase 5b (photo MAIP).



Fig. 12 - Hairpin with circular section stem and planoconvex section disk head, No. 181, Taxonomy C, Trench BKG 4, SU 1334, Macrophase 4b (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).

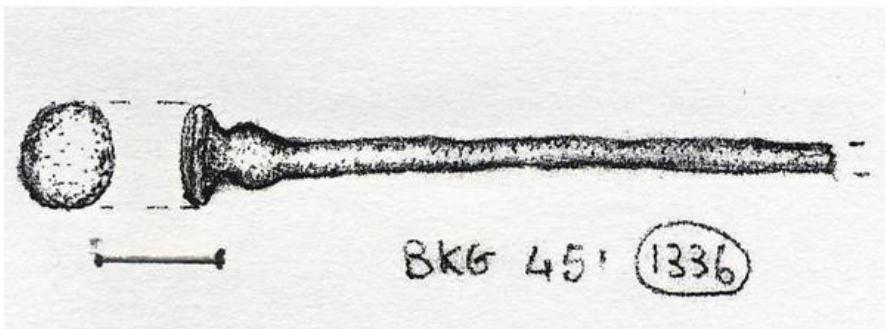
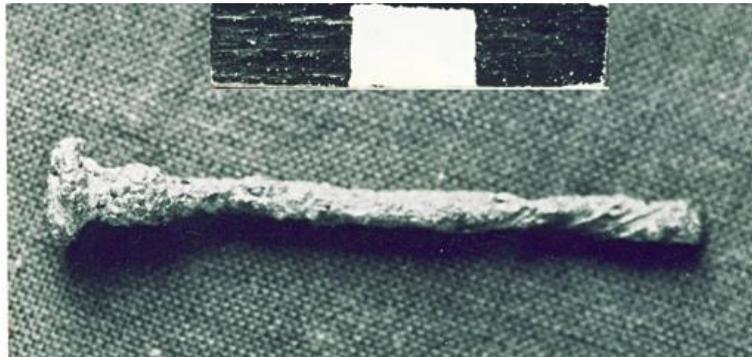


Fig. 13 - Hairpin with circular section stem; head composed by a disk on a globular element, No. 165, Taxonomy BC, Trench BKG 4, SU 1336, Macrophase 3a (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).

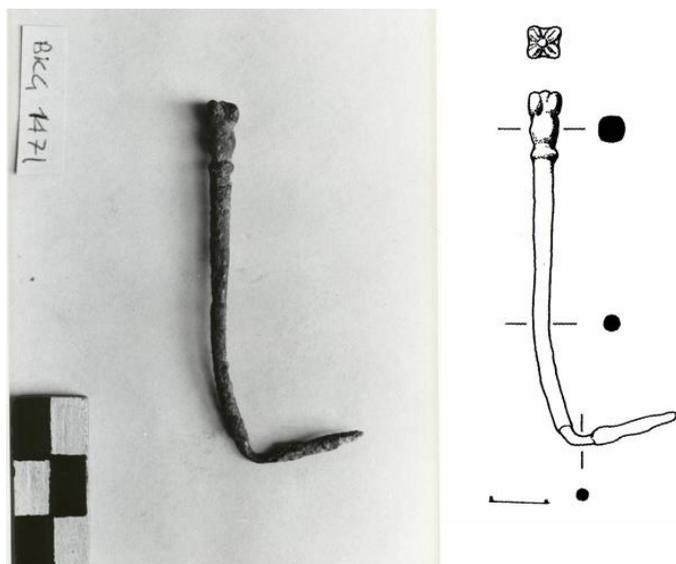


Fig. 14 - Hairpin with circular section stem and head composed by a lotus element on a globular one and a low collar, BKG 1471, Taxonomy D, Trench BKG 4, SU 91, Macrophase 4b (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).

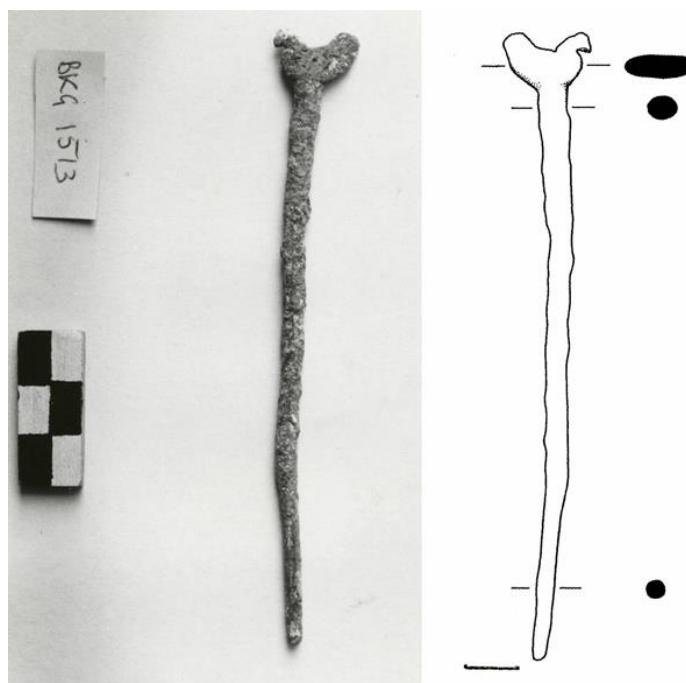


Fig. 15 - Hairpin with circular section stem; head composed by a zoomorphic figure representing a bird (rooster?), BKG 1513, Taxonomy E, Trench BKG 4, SU 763, Macrophase 4b (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).

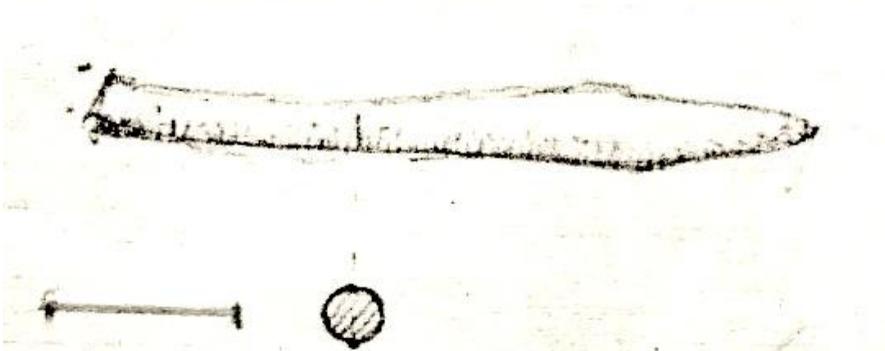


Fig. 16 - Antimony rod with circular section body and a conical end, No. 6, Taxonomy AI.a, Trench BKG 1, SU 59, Macrophase 6 (?) (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).

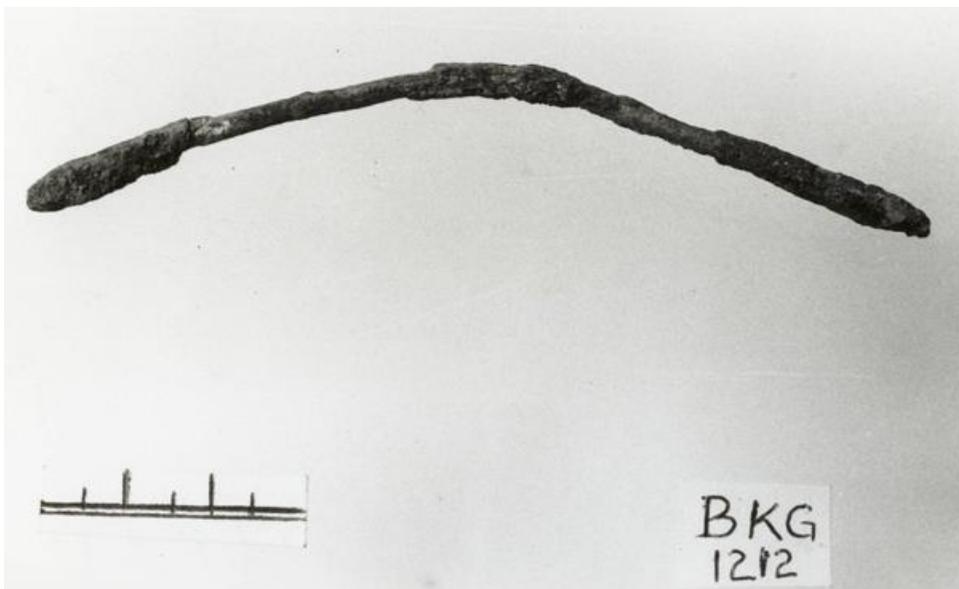


Fig. 17 - Antimony rod with circular section body. Both ends are rounded, BKG 1212, Taxonomy AII-AII.a, Trench BKG 3, SU 293, Macrophase 4 (photo MAIP).

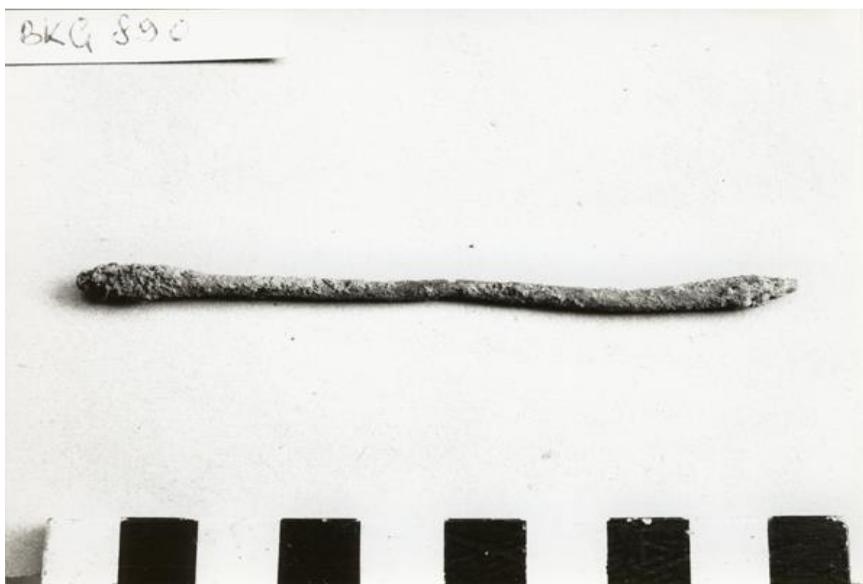


Fig. 18 - Antimony rod with circular section body, one end is rounded while the other is conical, BKG 890, Taxonomy AI-AII.a, Tr. BKG 1, SU 383, Macrophase 5 (photo MAIP).



Fig. 19 - Ear-cleaner with conical body, No. 137, Taxonomy B.a, Trench BKG 5, Sporadic, no Macrophase (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).



Fig. 20 - Double dispenser with circular section body. The main dispenser has a lanceolate shape, the smaller one has a circular shape; a twist decorates the body, BKG 1155, Taxonomy CI-CII.ac, Trench BKG 3, SU 50, Macrophase 5 (photo MAIP).



Fig. 21 - Toothpick (?) with circular section stem; in the centre the body has a rectangular section and it is twisted to form a decorative spiral BKG 1662, Taxonomy DI?-DI?.ac, Trench BKG 5, SU 1568, Macrophase 3a (photo MAIP).



Fig. 22 - Elliptical Mirror with rectangular section handle; the front is flat, the rear is concave, BKG 1658, Taxonomy E.b, Trench BKG 5, SU 2616, Macrophase 5a (photo MAIP).



Fig. 23 - Curved blade with triangular section; perhaps a small sickle, BKG 830, Trench BKG 1, SU 131, Macrophase 4 (photo MAIP).



Fig. 24 - Weight in the shape of a lion's paw; the upper surface is flattened and has an irregular circular section and rounded rim; the lower one is also flattened, but shows some irregularities, BKG 1359, Trench BKG 4, SU 233, Macrophase 5b (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).



Fig. 25: Repoussé decorative plaque representing a sea creature (dolphin?). The plaque shows traces of gilding, No. 42, Trench BKG 4, SU 686, Macrophase 4a (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).



Fig. 26: Rosette-shaped decorative plaque with seven petals and a central hole; possibly a decorative plaque for door or jamb, BKG 1356, Trench 4, SU 277, no Macrophase (photo MAIP).



Fig. 27 - Truncated cone bowl with thickened rim and flat base, BKG 1462, Taxonomy A, Trench BKG 4, SU 79, Macrophase 5a (photo MAIP).

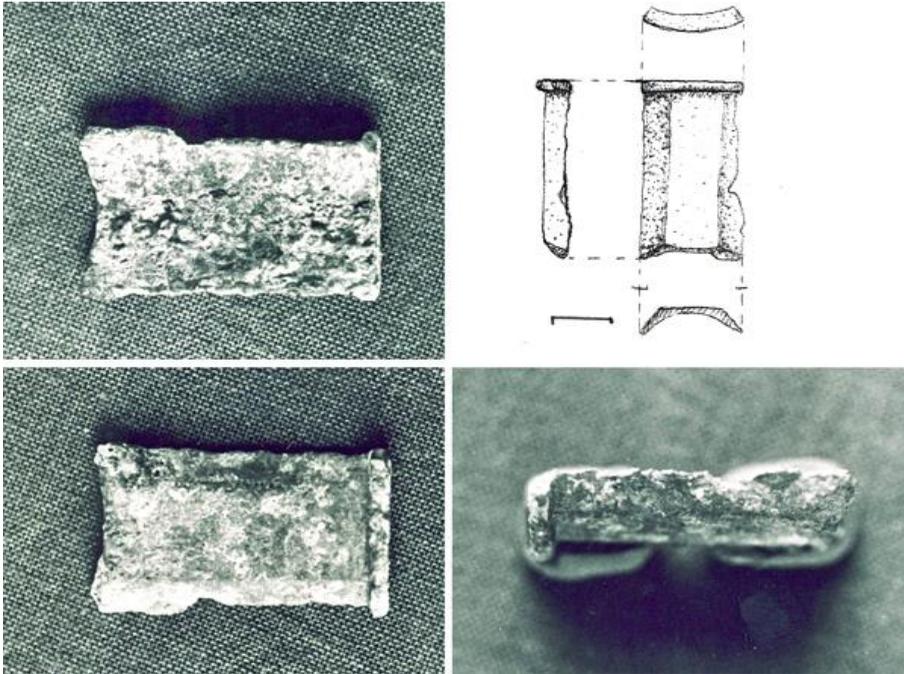


Fig 28 - Cosmetic vial with everted rim; the wall has an external octagonal section, No. 105, Taxonomy B, Trench BKG 4, SU 742, Macrophase 4a (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).



Fig. 29 - Cone-shaped bell (?) with a flattened and pierced triangular-shaped tip, an inner iron knocker and a slightly thickened rim, BKG 844, Trench BKG 1, SU 171, Macrophase 4 (photo MAIP).

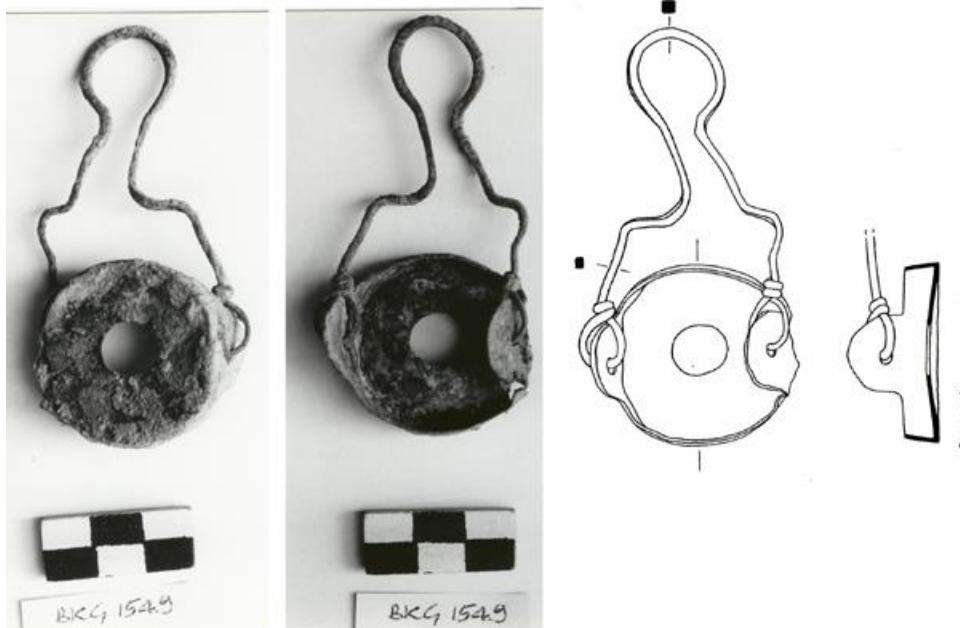


Fig. 30 - Support consisting of a circular foil with central hole and raised edge, BKG 1549, Trench BKG 4, SU 554, Macrophase 4b (photo MAIP, drawing MAIP-F. Martore).

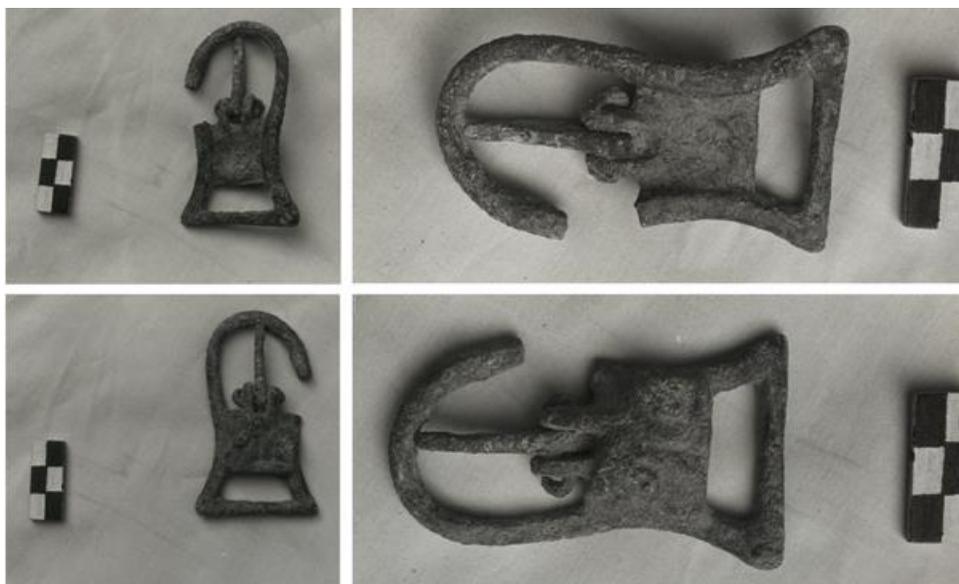


Fig. 31 - Buckle with movable tip. Body decorated with a rampant embossed ram, BKG 1126, Trench BKG 3, SU 50, Macrophase 5 (photo MAIP).



Fig. 32 - Spoon with ovoid bowl and circular section handle, BKG 1361, Trench BKG 4, SU 233, Macrophase 5b (photo MAIP).



Fig. 33 - Shield boss (?) with flat ring base and hemispherical central element, BKG 1375, Trench BKG 4, SU 279, Macrophase 5a (photo MAIP).



Fig. 34 - Globular bell with a free spherical clapper inside; an opening cut with slightly everted and thickened protruding rims crosses two-thirds of the body, BKG 857, Trench BKG 1, SU 27, Macrophase 8 (photo MAIP).

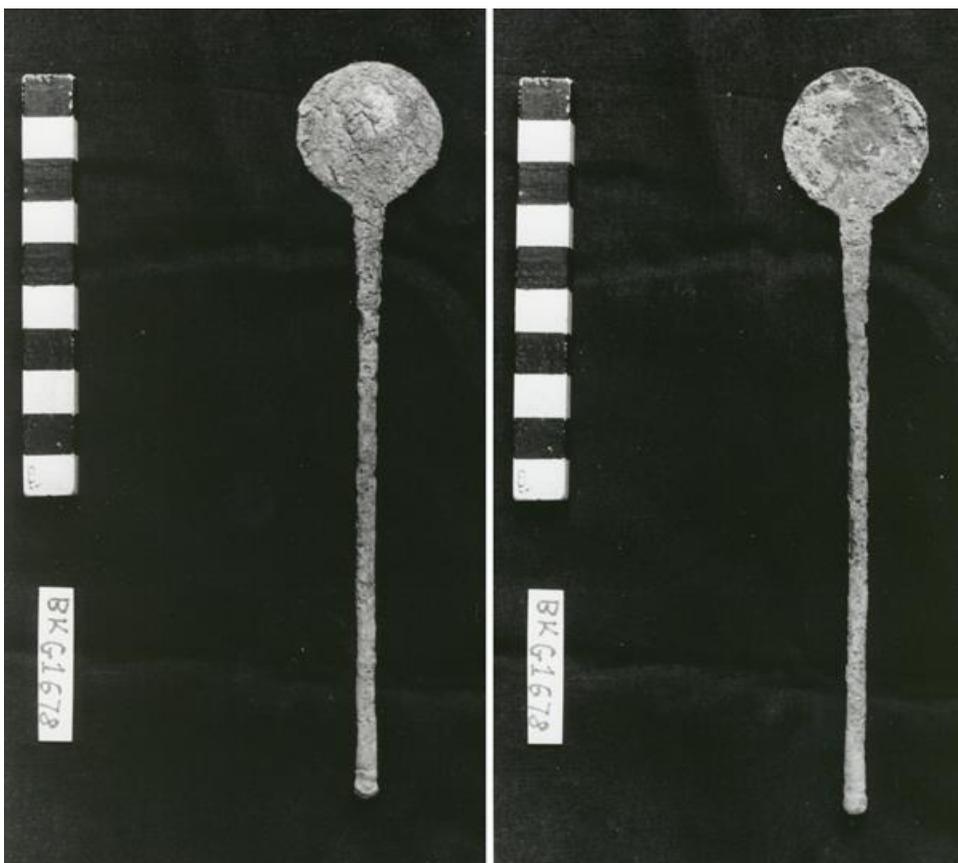


Fig. 35: Circular spoon with a long handle (rectangular and circular section), BKG 1678, Trench BKG 5, SU 2677, no Macrophase (photo MAIP).

The ‘*Cūḍā-chedana*’: A Gandharan Relief from Saidu Sharif I (Swāt, Pakistan)

Antonio Amato

Abstract

The following pages present a relief brought to light during the excavations of the Buddhist sacred area of Saidu Sharif I (Swāt, Pakistan) by the Italian Archaeological Mission and identified by the author during a survey in the Mission House. The relief represents the episode of cūḍā-chedana (the cutting of the hair), rarely depicted in Gandharan art. Apart from two reliefs (one from Kunduz and the other from uncertain provenance and kept at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford), the relief of Saidu Sharif I is the only one coming from a documented archaeological context. The discovery of this relief sheds new light on the contribution of Saidu Sharif’s workshop in the Gandharan artistic phenomenon, a subject that deserves further study.

Keywords: Gandharan Art, Saidu Sharif I, Swāt

Introduction

The relief discussed in the following pages was found by the Italian Archaeological Mission during the excavation of the Buddhist monastery of Saidu Sharif I (Swāt, Pakistan), now stored in the Swat Museum, in Saidu Sharif, with the Inv. No. SS I 66.¹

¹ I am grateful to Dr Luca Maria Olivieri, director of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (MAI), for allowing me to publish the relief I identified during a survey in the Mission House, in October 2017. The relief was in the *godown* (warehouse), along with other materials coming from the excavations of the monastery and the areas of the Stūpa Terrace left unexcavated by Domenico Faccenna. More articles on these materials are in preparation. This article is dedicated to Akhtar Munir known as Tota, the restorer of MAI, who took care of the relief and brought it back to its former glory with dedication and competence.

Although this note is devoted to the presentation of a single relief, it also aims to take stock of a rare iconographic representation in Gandharan artistic production: the cutting of the hair of Siddhārtha. So far very few examples of this iconography come from the Gandhāra region, to the point that one may wonder about the popularity or significance of the episode in Gandharan visual narrative tradition. However, minor this episode may be, it belongs to one of the most significant narrative cycles in the life of the Buddha, that of renunciation.

The sacred area of Saidu Sharif I is placed chronologically and stylistically in a rather early period of Gandharan art and it could be argued that this iconography reflects an experimental phase.



Fig. 1 – SS I 66: Siddhārtha cutting his hair, from Saidu Sharif I (Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif; photo by the author).

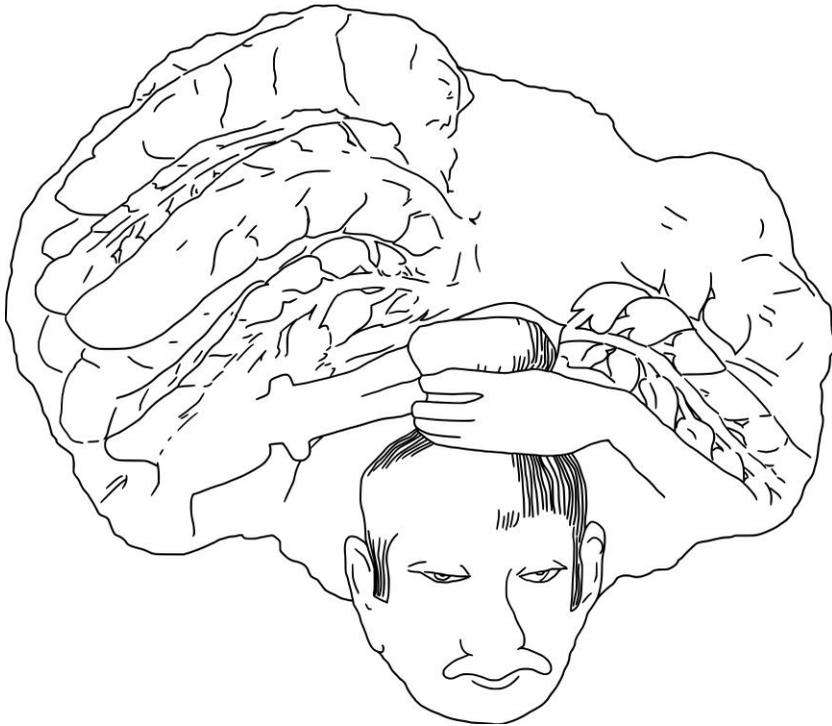


Fig. 2 – SS I 66: Siddhārtha cutting his hair, from Saidu Sharif I
(drawing by the author).

The *Cūḍā-chedana* Relief

The greenish grey schist relief illustrates an episode of the life of the Buddha rarely represented in Gandharan art: Siddhārtha in the act of *cūḍā-chedana* (the cutting of the hair), after leaving the palace of Kapilavastu.

Unfortunately, only a fragment remains of the upper part of the relief that presents Siddhārtha under a pipal tree crown raising his hair with the left hand and cutting them with a leaf-shaped short sword (Fig. 1 and 2). The figure has a plain nimbus, hair with vertical strands, long earlobes without earrings, half-closed eyes with incised iris and pupil, a wide nose, and a moustache. The fragment measures 15.2 x 18.6 x 4.4 cm. It is broken on all four sides, chipped and corroded, in particular where the arms, forehead, and nose of the figure are.

Due to the rarity of Gandharan reliefs depicting this subject, it is not possible to draw iconographic comparisons and reconstruct the scene in its entirety. It should be noted that the presence of the pipal tree crown is frequently associated with the seated posture of the Buddha. If we consider that Siddhārtha was sitting on a rectangular podium, as he usually does, we can deduce that the relief measured about three times the current height, namely approx. 40 cm. On either side of the figure of Siddhārtha were most likely the squire Chandaka and the horse Kanthaka, unless we assume the presence of other figures connected in some way to the celestial hosts.

With regards to the rendering of perspective, the head of Siddhārtha is turned a couple of degrees to the left in relation to the plane formed by the back face. The left side of the relief seems more protruding than the right one: the plane of the tree branches to the right seems to be downgraded compared to the branches to the left. In addition, the right ear of Siddhārtha is detached from the nimbus while the left one adheres to it (Fig. 3-5).



Fig. 3 – SS I 66, detail (photo by the author).



Fig. 4 – SS I 66, detail (photo by the author).



Fig. 5 – SS I 66, detail (photo by the author).

The 'Cūḍā-chedana': A Gandharan Relief from Saidu Sharif I

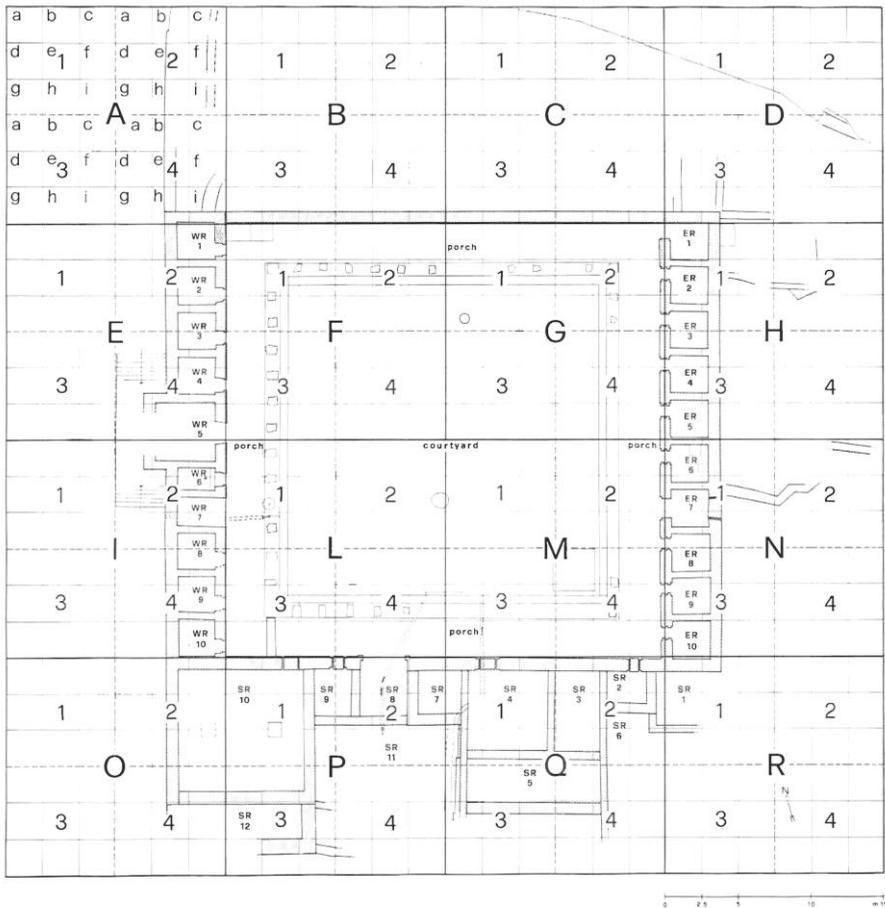


Fig. 6 – Saidu Sharif I, Monastery: excavation grid (after Callieri 1989).

The relief was found in a sector (A2) in between north-western monastery area and north-eastern stūpa terrace area (Fig. 6). According to the reports of excavations conducted by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (Callieri 1989), the fragment was discovered in a layer (2a) connected to the last phases of the sacred area.

It is however reasonable to assume that this was not the original location of the relief. In fact, the dimension of the fragment in comparison to other reliefs of the site support this hypothesis: the reconstructed height of the relief – approx. 40 cm – is on the one hand

compatible with the panels belonging to the frieze of the Main Stūpa (MS)² and, on the other hand, completely out of scale if compared with reliefs coming from minor stūpas; the thickness too matches that of panels of the frieze (4.4 cm).

Other elements corroborate the hypothesis that the fragment could belong to the frieze of MS. The sculptural style seems to be that of the Maestro of Saidu Sharif I: the rendering of the eyes (cfr. S 622; Faccenna 2001: 242-44) and hands (cfr. S 1102; Faccenna 2001: 260), most of all, but also the tree branches (cfr. S 1128; Faccenna 2001: 266-67). Stylistically speaking, the fragment fits nicely into the frieze: it provides no rupture were we to insert it in the sequence of panels depicting the scenes of Kanthaka's farewell (S 132; Faccenna 2001: 225-26) and of the meeting with the hunters (S 48; Faccenna 2001: 218-21), if not even among them.

Finally, the stone is the same type of chlorite schist used to produce the reliefs in Saidu Sharif I, although the colour turns more towards greenish grey rather than the sage green typical of the MS frieze. Only a petrographic analysis will remove any doubt.

The Scene in Gandharan Art

To my knowledge, only two examples of *cūḍā-chedana* were known in Gandharan art so far:³ the Kunduz frieze published by Klaus Fischer in 1958 (Fischer 1958) and the relief acquired by the Ashmolean Museum in 1997 and published posthumously by Maurizio Taddei in 2008 (Taddei 2008).

The frieze published by Fischer (Fischer 1958: 238, fig. 4, scene 10; 241) represents the Great Departure and was discovered in a ditch

² Each panel of the frieze measures approx. 45 cm in height; the probable width – according to Domenico Faccenna (Faccenna 2001: 35-36) – is 65 cm, while the thickness is about 4.5 cm.

³ Faced with the absence of the subject in Gandharan art, Alfred Foucher observed that this could not lead to the conclusion that the iconography of *cūḍā-chedana* was completely absent from the repertoire (Foucher 1905: 365-66). Fischer – after reporting some rumours about the presence of the subject in private collections of West Pakistan (Fischer 1958: 241, note 67) – cites an example of *cūḍā-chedana* from Khotan that, according to Stein, was produced in the Gandhāra region (Stein 1907: 858, pl. XLVIII Kh 003. g. obv.).

near the monastery of Kunduz together with two other reliefs depicting the youth of Siddhārtha and the episode of the Four Encounters. The Great Departure frieze shows a series of scenes, one of them is dedicated to the cutting of the hair: the Bodhisattva is standing while he cuts his unbound hair; Chandaka is right next to him, ready to receive the discarded memento. The scene is included in a continuous narrative of the life of the Buddha.

As for the relief belonging to the Ashmolean Museum (Taddei 2008: 5, fig. 1.3), Taddei reports that it was previously kept in a Japanese private collection (Taddei 2008: 4, note 7). The provenance of the relief is unknown, but Taddei had no doubt about its Gandharan origin (Taddei 2008: 3-4) and the Ashmolean Museum on its website reports the Swāt Valley as the probable place of creation.⁴ The scene is similar to that of the Kunduz frieze, even if with some differences: the seated posture of Siddhārtha and the depiction of the hair, no more unbound but tied in the usual Gandharan *chignon*. Therefore, iconographically speaking, the relief comes close to the one from Saidu Sharif I. It is indeed very likely that the latter could confirm the Gandharan origin of the relief preserved at the Ashmolean Museum.

Taddei concludes that it is possible to attribute some significance to the choice of the standing or the seated variant of the Buddha in this scene. While the standing variant is an understandable choice in a narrative context, the seated one raises the figure of Siddhārtha to an icon, transforming the *cūḍā-chedana* «into a founding episode in the Buddha's career» (Taddei 2008: 4).

The Scene in Texts

According to textual sources, the episode of the *cūḍā-chedana* took place just before the farewell of Siddhārtha to Chandaka and Kanthaka. Textual accounts generally agree on the main outline of the event, but present some variations with respect to what *precisely* the Bodhisattva cuts: the *Buddhacarita* designates the part that the Bodhisattva cuts as the *mukuṭa* (translated by Olivelle with the English word *headdress*), while the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara* use the Sanskrit word *cūḍā*

⁴ <http://jameelcentre.ashmolean.org/object/EA1997.246>

(translated respectively with the English word *tuft* and the French expression *touffe de cheveux*).

In the *Buddhacarita* (Aśvaghōṣa and Olivelle 2008: 178-79) we read as follows:

56. Then, from Chándakas hand the resolute prince took the sword with the hilt inlaid with gems; he then drew out the sword from its scabbard, with its blade streaked with gold, like a snake from its hole.

57. Unsheathing the sword, dark as a lotus petal, he cut his ornate head-dress along with the hair, and threw it in the air, the cloth trailing behind— it seemed he was throwing a swan into a lake.

58. As it was thrown up, heavenly beings caught it out of reverence so they may worship it; throngs of gods in heaven paid it homage with divine honors according to rule.

The *Mahāvastu* version (Jones 1949-56, II: 161) is concise and straight to the point:

The thought occurred to the Bodhisattva, “How can I become a wanderer with this tuft of hair on the crown of my head?” So the Bodhisattva cut off the tuft with his knife. And that tuft was taken up by Śakra, the lord of devas, and received worship in Trāyastriṃśa (166) where the *cūḍā* festival is observed.

The *Lalitavistara* (Foucaux 1884: 197) says:

Il vint encore à la pensée du Bodhisattva: “Comment donc (conserver) une touffe de cheveux, après être devenu religieux errant?” Et, coupant avec son épée, sa touffe de cheveux, il la jeta au vent. Elle fut recueillie par les dieux Trāyastriṃçats pour l’honorer; et, aujourd’hui encore a lieu, chez les dieux Trāyastriṃçats, la tête de la touffe de cheveux. Là aussi fut bâti un Tchàitya; aujourd’hui encore il est connu sous le nom de Tchûdâpratigrahana (touffe de cheveux recueillie).

Lexical ambiguities aside, what interests us about these textual accounts is the presence of some witnesses during the act of the cutting of the hair. Images cannot be considered as direct visual translations of a specific textual source; it is however interesting to note that texts refer to the presence of Chandaka and divine beings at the event. The former, according to the *Buddhacarita*, offers the sword to Siddhārtha who is determined to cut his hair. The gods, according to the three sources mentioned, collect the precious relic and make it the object of devotion.

Moreover, none of these texts refer to the delivery of the headdress to Yasodharā by Chandaka – a subject represented, for example, in one of the panels of the frieze of Saidu Sharif I: S 622 (Faccenna 2001: 242-44). On the contrary, the *Buddhacarita* and the *Mahāvastu* bear the words of the same Chandaka, according to whom the headdress was taken to heaven (*Buddhacarita* 8.48; Aśvaghōṣa and Olivelle 2008: 226-27) by the god Śakra himself (*Mahāvastu* 189; Jones 1949-56, II: 182).

Conclusion

At the end of this brief note presenting the relief with the *cūḍā-chedana* from Saidu Sharif I, I wish quote Maurizio Taddei's words to highlight the importance of this relief and identify future lines of research: «The very fact that Gandhāra preserves only one specimen of each variant [standing and seated] might be the witness of a great doctrinal incertitude in facing this episode – a subject to be dealt with in the future» (Taddei 2008: 4).

The discovery of the *cūḍā-chedana* subject in Saidu Sharif I, does not change the reality of the facts recorded by Taddei. Whether it was a matter of different threads of narrative traditions or an episode passed over in silence, there is no doubt that – faced with the spread of other subjects and iconographies – the *cūḍā-chedana* emerges as a minor subject in the Gandharan context.

It is also true, however, that the ascertained presence of the subject in Saidu Sharif I (regardless of the exact location of the fragment) lays the foundations for a more in-depth study of the diffusion of this subject and iconography. The relevance of Saidu Sharif I at an architectural and iconographic level is unquestionable: the artistic production of the Maestro was fundamental for the definition of some iconographies and for their diffusion to Central Asia (Filigenzi 2006). In the same way, perhaps because of its character as an early Gandharan Buddhist site, Saidu Sharif I has been a laboratory of ideas that have not always taken hold.

Therefore, looking at Saidu Sharif I – and at early or less known sites – is fundamental. This must be done not to identify its gaps or absences, but rather to enhance its original features. In conclusion, I would suggest to reverse the perspective: starting from Saidu Sharif I to follow the weak traces of some iconographic migrations, instead of approaching the study of the site to validate our scientific certainties.

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Dance Scenes in the Panels of Gandhara Art: An Insight to the Recreational Activities of Ancient Gandhara

Kiran Shahid Siddiqui

Abstract

In India, dance is connected with religion and dancers were considered as the servants of gods who performed to please them. There are few Gandhara reliefs which depict dance scenes signifying the popularity of this recreational art in the region. The present paper aims to reveal the fact that dance had been an essential attribute of the lives of the people of Gandhara region by exploring and exemplifying the Gandharan panels depicting dance scenes. The paper also analyses the dance scenes in terms of dance technical terminology.

Keywords: dance, music, Gandhara, Buddhism

1. Introduction

“Art is the epitome of human life, the truest record of insight and feeling, and that the strongest military or economic society without art is poor in comparison with the most primitive tribe of savage painters, dancers, or idol carvers (Langer 1966: 5-12).” The present-day world asserts to be extremely civilised, but since a long time our current methods of warfare, human exploitation, misuse of precious resources will undoubtedly be regarded cruel. It is hard to furnish an accurate explanation of civilisation, to mark the exact phase at which human culture passes from barbarian to civilisation. In general, it may be said that every civilisation develops its own culture and every culture develops some kind of art. Art, as a general term establishes itself in numerous ways - architecture, literature, painting, sculpture, dance, theatre, music, drama, film and other forms.

The growth of civilisation also means the advancement of artistic sense. In the Indian sub-continent, the essential inter-relationship of the

arts, is one of the basic traditions of classical aesthetics. Dance is a unique form of expression that includes movement, emotion, and symbolism. When the representation of dance is explored and confirmed in art, it is comprehended that dance is unavoidably connected with historicity and civilisation. Therefore, the question of how dance is placed and looked today in the regions that are known as Gandhara is of great significance, Sadly, nowadays, in the label of religion, dance and music are being criticised and all that is associated to this part of civilisation is being disregarded as not attribute of our culture, religion and our heritage. Dance has been very much part of this culture and civilisation, and the decay of this art form means the death of humanity.

The present paper will explore how Buddhist civilization has contributed in human growth by way of its art, specifically the noticeable forms of dance and music that have been discovered in architectural and sculptural masterpieces of Gandhara art. It is apparent that melody and rhythm played a momentous role in Buddhist Sangha (community). Music and dance offerings were made to stupa and reliquaries, not by the monks themselves but, by the lay people (Bareau 1962: 246). The chant of mantras and engaging in music by Buddhist devotees till these days continues to be the norm (Bhattacharyya 1980: 55-61). Buddhism has borrowed much from Hinduism, such as its rituals, god and goddesses, nevertheless Buddha has definitely never depicted dancing like his Hindu counterparts Vishnu, Indra and Shiva. It seems strange that, in Gandhara panels, the worshippers are depicted dancing in attendance of Buddha. The scenes are mostly of celebratory nature and numerous panels depict festive dancing events. The paper also briefly explores various steps, mudras and movements that compose dance.

Dance scenes are portrayed in the rock arts since prehistoric times. earliest representation of dance in South Asia hails from the rock shelters of Bhimbetka dating back to Mesolithic period. (Fig. 1). Sculptural reference of dancing, in South Asia, dates back to Mohenjo-Daro's Dancing Girl predating any literary evidence. (Fig. 2). Another significant sculpture is that of the broken male torso, of grey lime stone, discovered from Harappa indicating the prevalence of dance in protohistoric times (Fig. 3). It is comparable to Greek skill by its remarkable anatomical exactness, standing on his right leg, with left leg raised up and the waist turned to the left and both arms dropped out in the same direction in the swing of dance (Chakravarti 1986: 143). The specimen is assumed as

suggestive of a Siva Nataraja (Srinivasan 1984: 77). Marshall (1996/1931: 45-46) states:

“It is the figure of a dancer standing on his right leg, with the body from the waist upwards bent well round to the left, both arms thrown out in the same direction, and the left leg raised high in front ... Although its contours are soft and effeminate, the figure is that of a male, and it seems likely that it was ithyphallic, since the membrum virile was made in a separate piece. I infer, too, from the abnormal thickness of the neck, that the dancer was three-headed or at any rate three-faced, and I conjecture that he may represent the youthful Siva Nataraja.”

There are numerous other figurines which show that dance as an art began with the growth of human society and civilization. Indra, referred in Rig-Veda as a dancer delivering a speech, under the influence of the intoxicating Soma juice, in conversation with his wife Indrani and his pet monkey Vrishakapi (Varadpande 1983: 32). In the Puranic literature, Indra, is represented as a deity compassionate of singing and dancing.

The sacred custom of worship through dance and music has pervaded Indian life presenting a picturesque perspective on their culture. Dance, in South Asia, is considered as part of theater, both derived from divine inspiration. These rules are narrated in the *Nāṭyāśāstra*, formalized in 2nd century CE (Ghosh 1951: LXXXI-LXXXIII), and attributed to a mythical character Bharata-Muni. It is believed that classical Indian theatre originated in the recitation of the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, on religious occasions. According to Indian tradition, it was Brahma who presented *Nāṭyāśāstra* to Bharata by creating the science of drama with Shiva as the Lord of the Himalayas. Siva, the cosmic-dancer, performed the first dance and is called as Nataraja or the Lord of Dancers and Actors. His consort, Parvati embellished Shiva's performances with strong and delicate modes of dancing. God Vishnu created dramatic styles. *Apsarās*, the celestial dancers, graced the drama to perform female characters.

According to the *Nāṭyāśāstra*, there are four forms of *abhinaya* (“expression”) in Indian dance and drama, classified as: *vāchika*—speech (through song), *āṅgika*—bodily movement, mainly through mudras,

āhārya— through costume and makeup, *sātvika*—mood and sentiment, mainly expressed through the face (Carroll and Carroll 2013: 24).

The *Nāṭyāśāstra* describe classifications of dance gestures, postures and steps such as: ten modes of standing, six modes of resting, five kinds of leaps, seven kinds of spins, thirty-two kinds of steps that include the ground movements and movements with one or both legs (Narayan 2007: 12). *Abhinayadarpaṇa*¹ of Nandikeshvara², the first practical text exclusively dedicated to dance, extensively deals with the use of hand gestures for communication and expression. This text classifies twenty-eight single hand gestures, twenty-three combined hand gestures and thirteen ornate hand gestures for dance (Banerji 1942: p. 80).

Carvings on the Buddhist monuments like Bharhut, Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta indicate that music and dancing was part of stupa worship or Buddhist funeral rituals. Similarly, celebrations with dance and music at the event of consecration of a stupa is depicted on the western pillar of Northern gateway of Sanchi Stupa (Varadpande 1983: 107).

In *Nāṭyāśāstra*³ dance is described as comprising of two features, *natya* (expression or dance used in drama) and *nṛtya* (pure dance). Its idea expresses those emotions (*bhava*) which effectively articulate devotion of one's god achieved through initiating a strong *rasa* or mood, a reaction, containing components of both the emotion and the aesthete. With some powers of expression at its disposal, it was appropriate that dance should form an integral part of religious worship.

2. Dance in Buddhist Text

Buddhist texts, *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistāra*, *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the *Dīvyāvadana* frequently mention dance among the other performing and plastic arts. Dancing, music and drinking wine appears to be common in the early Buddhist centers and were tolerated in laity. However, these

¹ Its date range from 2nd to 5th century AD.

² According to Lingapurana, Nandikeshwara was the chief attendant of Shiva and was immortalized by him. He was the son of a blind woman, Silada, who prayed to gods for a son and was blessed with one by Shiva (Banerji 1942: 42).

³ *Nāṭyāśāstra* accounts how Sage Bharata, approached the gods to urge for the creation of dance and drama. Brahma handed him the skills and directed him to produce the dance and drama for the festival of the god Indra. Having ascertained the divine origins of the dance, the rest of the work is provided details of staging drama and dance techniques.

activities were prohibited for the monastic community by Buddha. According to the Mahīsāsaka⁴ and to the Dharmaguptaka⁵ schools, the monks did not perform music, singing or dancing themselves but they made them executed by the laity. In fact, in the texts of other schools, these particular offerings were never made by the monks and, in the few cases where the nature of their performers is specified, it is a matter of always lay people (Bureau 1962: 246).

Buddhist sacred literature frequently refers to the arts of music and dancing in a deferential manner considering it as sophisticated skill to be learnt and mastered. Nevertheless, these texts also emphasize the arts of dance and music as lure which should be resisted and overcome. Dancing peacocks and female dancers often occur in *Jātakas*. There are references of students in *Jātakas* who were sent to study in Banaras at king's expense: music and dancing was among the subjects taught (Fausboll 1880: p. 239).

Mahāvastu states that King Śuddhodana provided Prince Siddhartha with all the pleasures of royal court life to “keep him well entertained with dance and music and song, so he should not set his heart on leaving home (The Mahavastu 1952: 139).” But the prince could not be attracted to such entertainments.

The *Milīnapañha* provides information about “the tradition, secular law, arithmetic, music and military art”, except for dance, which is noticeably missing from this list (Vatsyayan 1977: 185). The classical tradition of dancing and music was maintained by the courtesans of the Buddhist folklores, Ambapāli and Sālavati. Both were “well-versed in dancing, singing and lute-playing much visited by desirous people (Davids and Oldenberg 1882: 171-2).” Lalita-Vistara mentions sixty-four *kalā* (arts) among the subjects which should be studied which include the arts of *nṛitya* (dancing) (Mitra 1882: 186).

The above-mentioned references from the sacred Buddhist texts indicate that dancing was widespread and eminent art of expression in the Buddhist society these sources leave no question about the prevalent acquaintance and performance of dance which is verified by the sculptural evidence from the Buddhist arts of Sanchi, Bharhut, and Amravati (Vatsyayan 1977: 185).

⁴Mahīsāsaka is one of the early Buddhist schools.

⁵The Dharmaguptaka are one of the eighteen or twenty early Buddhist schools. They are said to have originated from, the Mahīsāsakas.

Dance scenes are not infrequent in Gandhara school. The poses and the attitudes executed in Gandhara may not be astonishing, but when analysed carefully it is certain that “the basics ‘*hasta*’ (hand gesture) and the feet positions of the classical dance are not unknown to them, and there is a discernible Indianness in the movement (Vatsyayan 1977: 302).”

3. Gandhara panels with dance depiction

Numerous Gandhara narrative panels clearly reveal that dancing was an important part of Buddhist worship and devotion. Though dancers were an essential part of festive celebrations, both religious and secular occasions, depiction in Gandhara panels is not only connected with the events of joy but they are also shown enticing Siddhartha during his meditation. The birth of Siddhartha was celebrated by music, as was his wedding. Siddhartha’s father, Suddodhana, kept him in an environment surrounded by worldly pleasures to restrict him from his desire to renounce the world. Siddhartha married Yashodhara at the age of sixteen and his marriage was celebrated by drinking, dancing and singing. Mara sent his daughters to distract him with their beauty and amuse him through dancing when Siddhartha was about to attain enlightenment. Few sculptures also depict individuals in dancing poses. Few Gandhara panels with dance depictions, most of them ensemble dance and music, are chosen to carefully examine their context in which the activity is being performed.

Siddhartha’s Palace Life

Siddhartha lived within the palace with all the worldly pleasures which his father could provide for him to keep him away from the bitter truths of life. Lower most tier of a three-tiered panel from Peshawar Museum (Fig. 4) represents Bodhisattva in cross-legged ankle pose with both legs hanging off the couch and crossed at the ankle level. Two flanking male characters are depicted in similar posture with their hands in *añjalimudrā*⁶, a symbol of respect. One on his extreme right is standing in *añjalimudrā*. The middle tier of the panel contains a continuous band of pipal leaves. The upper tier depicts five dancers all in almost similar dance pose with their heads in *utkṣipta*⁷ signifying reverence. The first dancer, from left, is

⁶ Both the palms in *patākā* are joined together to perform *añjalimudrā*.

⁷ *Utkṣipta* head movement: turning the head aside and upwards.

facing her right, her right hand resting on her waist and left hanging loosely, in *ābhāṅga*⁸ pose. The second dancer is facing her left in almost the same pose as the previous one with left hand on her waist. The third one is also in similar pose with her right hand in *patāka hasta*⁹ extended above and away from her head. Left hand rests on her waist. The fifth dancer is holding a flower in her left hand and her right hand resting on waist is depicted in similar pose to the preceding ones. Facial expressions of first three dancers (from left) seems indistinct due to defacing of the panel. The other two can be noticed in an aggressive mood. Their eyes are in *ālokitā*¹⁰ *dr̥ṣṭi*¹¹.

A broken panel from National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi “dancer and musician in palace” (Fig. 5) depicts a male dancer, facing back, on the left, dancing with his head in *udvāhita*¹² right hand raised above his head probably in *uromaṇḍala*¹³. The feet position obliterated and cannot be ascertained.

Siddhartha's Marriage with Yashodhara

Prince Siddhartha was married to Yashodhara at the age of sixteen. In Gandhara art, panels associated with marriage ceremony are variously depicted including the introduction of bride, and walking of bride and bridegroom around the fire. Few panels, depicting post-marriage events show characters drinking, dancing and singing delightfully to celebrate the marriage occasion. A relief depicting “Life in Palace” in British Museum, London shows Siddhartha reclining on a couch with his wife. A female on their left is shown in dancing with her right leg raised. Her right hand is also raised above her head (Zwalf 1996: pl. 170).

⁸ *Ābhāṅga* is standing pose in which the plumb line or the center line from the crown of the head to a point midway between the heels passes slightly to the right of the navel. One hip is raised gracefully, the weight of the body is supported on one leg.

⁹ In *patākāhasta*, performed by single hand (*asamyuktahasta*). all the fingers are kept close to each other with the thumb finger kept bent.

¹⁰ *Ālokitā* (inspecting) is an eye gesture denoting keen glance (Banerji 1942: 102).

¹¹ In Indian dance, eye movements are equally important as the hand gestures.

¹² Head gesture in which it is turned upwards. “The *udvāhita* head is to be applied in pride, showing height, looking high up, self-esteem and the like (Banerji 1942: 95).

¹³ One of the 108 *kāraṇas* or minor dance movements mentioned in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. “A *kāraṇa* in dance is the co-ordination of the movements of the hands and feet (Banerji 1942: 88).”

The upper tier of the two-tiered relief in National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi depicts the palace life of Siddhartha with his wife Yashodhara entertained by the musicians and dancers (Fig. 6). Two dancers on the left side of couple are noticeable. One behind the seated musician is depicted with her head in *udvahita*¹⁴ and hands in *karkaṭa hasta*¹⁵. The other dancer, on extreme left of the couple, is in *tribhanga*¹⁶, left foot in *kuñcita*¹⁷ and her head in *parāvṛtta*¹⁸.

A relief showing “Yashodhara offering drink to Prince Siddhartha” in Islamabad Museum (Fig. 7) depict the couple seated on couch being entertained by female dancers and musicians. The dancer next to Yashodhara is in *svastika*¹⁹ - *cārī*²⁰ with her head in *parāvṛtta* and neck in *ancita*²¹. Her right-hand rests on her head and left is stretched above and away from her head. The female sitting next to her is playing drum with her left hand and rise in dancing pose with her right hand in *patāka hasta*.

The Great Departure

A relief displayed in Peshawar Museum depicting “the great departure (left) and Siddhartha in Meditation (right)” represents two female dancers along with three musicians (Fig. 8) in the right part of the panel. All five figures are richly bejeweled. The dancer on the right of Siddhartha is in *abhanga* pose with her neck in *ancita*. Facial features are not discernible. Her right arm stretched above her head. The *hasta* is indistinct due to defacing. Her left hand in *muṣṭi hasta*²², which denotes furious mood, is on her breast level. The right foot is in *ancita pada*²³. Dancer on the left of Bodhisattva Siddhartha, too is in *abhanga* pose. Her head in *parāvṛtta*, her

¹⁴ Head gesture in which it is turned upwards. “The *udvāhita* head is to be applied in pride, showing height, looking high up, self-esteem and the like”.

¹⁵ *Karkaṭa hasta* is a hand gesture of *saṃyuta-hasta* or combined hands in which the fingers of the hands are interlocked and stretched.

¹⁶ A triple bend pose with one hip raised, the torso curved to the opposite side and the head tilted at an angle.

¹⁷ Movement of the feet in which the heels are thrown up, toes all bent down.

¹⁸ Head gesture in which the head is turned aside towards shoulder.

¹⁹ The crossing of the limbs or the hands at the wrists (Devi 2002: 38).

²⁰ The movement with a single foot.

²¹ When the neck is slightly bent to one side (Nandikesvara 1917: 20).

²² When the four fingers are bent over the palm, and the thumb is set upon them.

²³ When the toe or toes are held up while the heels rest on the ground.

eyes in *avalokita dr̥ṣṭi*²⁴. Her right hand in *muṣṭi hasta*. Left hand raised above head. Both the dancers present *prasārita*²⁵ torso.

Siddhartha admired by Naga Kalika

Siddhartha was not charmed by the extravagant atmosphere provided to him by his father. He decided to abandon palace life and began to concentrate on the achievement of nirvana. He went through various austerities for the achievement of his goal after which he realized that no amount of austerities could lead him to reach his goal. Finally, after passing river Niranjana, on his way towards the sacred pipal tree, beneath which the enlightenment was to take place, he came across Naga Kalika, the serpent god. The Nagaraja praised Bodhisattva and foretold about his enlightenment.

An interesting panel “Naga Kalika with musicians and dancers”, in Musée Guimet, Paris (Fig. 9) depicts female dancers on either side of Naga Kalika. Both dancers elevate their hands over their heads in *uromaṇḍala* with their legs in *svastika* positions.

Attack of Mara

After meeting Naga Kalika, Siddhartha went towards Gaya ultimately reaching at the sacred tree, began to meditate to seek nirvana. Mara, the evil spirit with his hosts tried to keep him from his goal by producing a thunderstorm, a flood, and an earthquake. He also tried to frighten Siddhartha by sending demons and furious animals. Mara sent his daughters, either nude or semi-nude, to amuse him and distract him.

A broken panel “Attack of Mara and his hosts” in Peshawar Museum (Fig. 10) depicts Mara and his team of demons and beasts. He with his bejeweled dejected daughters are depicted in the lowermost row. One on extreme left faces the missing bodhisattva in dancing pose. Her right foot is in *agratalasañcara*²⁶ and her right hand in *ardhacandrahasta*²⁷. Her sister, next to her, is in *svastika cārī*. Her head is

²⁴ Looking down towards the ground

²⁵ stretching of the sides in their respective directions.

²⁶ the heels thrown up, the big toe put forward and the other toes bent.

²⁷ When four fingers are held together, vertical to the palm, with the thumb held rigidly away from them. To give a clear effect of a half moon, this gesture should be held at an

in *parāvṛtta* and hands in *karkaṭahasta* resting on the shoulder of previous figure.

Another panel showing “Temptation of Mara and his daughters” in Peshawar Museum (Fig. 11) depicts Mara’s daughter, on extreme right of meditating bodhisattva in *abhanga* pose in *svastika cārī* and head in *utksipta*. Her right foot can be noticed in *kuñcita*.

Musicians and Dancers

In a panel “Musicians and dancers” in Lahore Museum (Fig. 12) all characters are either *Nagas* or *Nagis* identified by the serpent headgear worn by some of them. The relief suggests the love *Nagas* had for dancing and music. The panel depicts the sacrificial scene in which the *Nagaraḥa* is standing on the extreme right in front of an incense altar with *Nagis* on his right. To their left, there is a group of two female dancers, in center, visible from the back, and six musicians, three on their either sides. Dancers performing on the music appear to be extremely energetic. Both the dancers are depicted in *kari hasta*²⁸. Dancer on the left is depicted with her left leg lifted up behind in *vriśchika*²⁹ *kāraṇa*, right foot in *agratalasañcara* and her head in *parāvṛtta*. Dancer on the right is shown with her right foot in *agratalasañcara*. It leaves no doubt that music and dance had an essential role in the religious ceremony performed at the extreme right.

A stair-raiser relief in Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (Fig. 13) depicts three male dancers flanked by two musicians wearing Parthian attire. The first dancer, from right to left, steps forward with his head in *parāvṛtta*, the left foot of the second dancer is in *agratalasañcara*. The third dancer stands with his knees bent and his torso bending forward. All three dancers are depicted with the fingers of hands interlocked. Lo Muzio (2019: 74) identifies this hand gesture as ‘Persian snap’³⁰. It is interesting to note that the dancers wearing Persian attire, mostly

angle and not flat (Banerji 1942: 132).

²⁸ *Karihasta* is performed when the left hand is held near the ear and the right hand is stretched out in the *Pataka* position and moves from side to side, this is the *Karihasta* hasta. The similar movement can be done vice versa i.e. with the right hand held near the ear (Banerji 1942: 135).

²⁹ *Vriśchika* (scorpion) resembling the tail of scorpion.

³⁰ With joined hands, with crossed fingers and wrists slightly bent downwards (Muizio 2019: 74).

discovered from Buner and Swat, are shown performing dance with the 'Persian Snap'. A broken panel from the Butkara I, Swat, now in Swat Museum, (Fig. 14) depicts a young dancer wearing tight-fitting tunic and trousers, and a 'Phrygian cap', performing the 'Persian snap' (Lo Muzio 2019: 77).

Besides the above-mentioned panels, there are several individual Gandhara sculptures which depict *yakshas*, *śālabhāñjikās* and other females in dancing poses. One such female dancer in Swat Museum (Fig. 15), bejeweled and elaborately dressed, is depicted in *svastika cārī* in *abhanga*. Right hand rests on her waist and left hand in *patākahasta* held near the head. Salabhanjika from the upper monastery Nathu, now in the IMC, Calcutta, India is depicted similarly.

4. Conclusions

Dance is entwined with other arts in the service of religion to communicate with the divine, ranging from instinctive individual movement, to symbolic movements performed as ritual in religious ceremonies. A study of the reliefs of Gandhara art, though selective, has revealed the important part played by dance in the lives of the people in Gandhara. The sculptures of sumptuous dancers indicate that dance was important for Buddhism, a predominant religion of Gandhara, in the past.

It is interesting to note that after the attainment of nirvana (enlightenment), Buddha was hardly depicted, in the panels of Gandhara art, with the musicians and dancers. It was only before this milestone of his life story that he was frequently depicted amongst the entertainers. It is but noteworthy that we find several Gandhara reliefs other than the life story of Buddha that depict dancers.

An effort is made to identify the various dance poses in Gandhara reliefs which were prevalent in India since the ancient times. The study revealed that the depiction of dance is not infrequent in Gandhara art and the artist seems well aware of the dance poses. They may not be remarkable, as depicted in other South Asian arts, but from minimal details, it can be determined that the basic knowledge of *hastas* and feet positions of classical dance was not unknown to the Gandhara artist and the Indianness in the dance movements is noticeable. However, few from Swat and Buner, add a foreign touch to it. It is obvious from the study of

Gandhara panels that the natives of this region enjoyed their lives to the fullest and celebrated their special events with dance and music. Dancers were an important part of festival celebrations, which combined religious and secular functions. Hence it can be established that a kind of ceremonial classical dance was prevalent in Gandhara during the heydays of civilization which perished with the decline of civilization itself.

The study of Gandhara reliefs depicting dance enables to reconstruct the missing links in history; through these examples of dance, one can maintain the idea of the growth and development of dance when no written history of this exists. The mentioned examples provide the impression of totality of a tradition, which marks that all arts are interlinked and utilize the technique of one art in the other. It is the product of encounters between artistic streams of embodied imagination in a civilization, which has had the scale, the wealth, in its broadest sense, and the technologies over millennia, at times only to preserve, at others to glimmer with new achievements. The aesthetic experience and its continuity have been lost, yet all these forms are but a fragment of an integrated whole as they belong to a glorious and grand heritage, a past where dance was not just fragment but a significant part in the total conception of a beautiful civilizations that could accommodate diversity.

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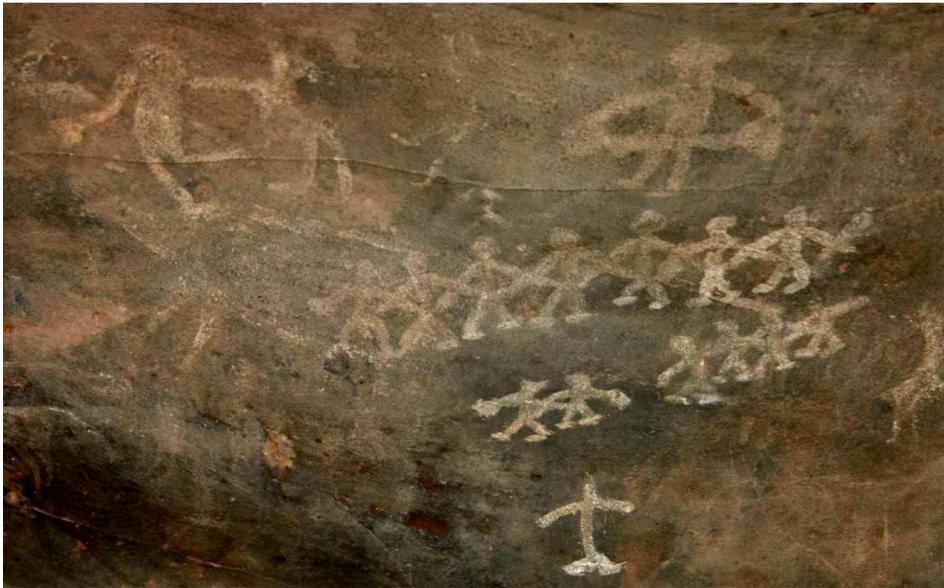


Fig. 1 - A group of dancers at Bhimbetka Rock Shelter, Madhya Pradesh (Photo taken by Worrel Kumar Bain, Faculty Member, Department of Anthropology, Gauhati University in 2014 during his MSc Dissertation fieldwork in Central Narmada Valley).



Fig. 2 – Th “Dancing Girl” from Mohenjo-daro, National Museum, New Delhi (Photo by the author).



Fig. 3 - Photographs of Male Dancing Figure from Harappa. Retrieved from <http://shorturl.at/cgxL9>



Fig. 4 - Panel showing “Bodhisattva Siddhartha in Palace”, Peshawar Museum. (Photo by the author).



Fig. 5 - Panel showing “Dancer and Musician”, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.
Retrieved from <http://shorturl.at/aix10> (permission taken to republish).

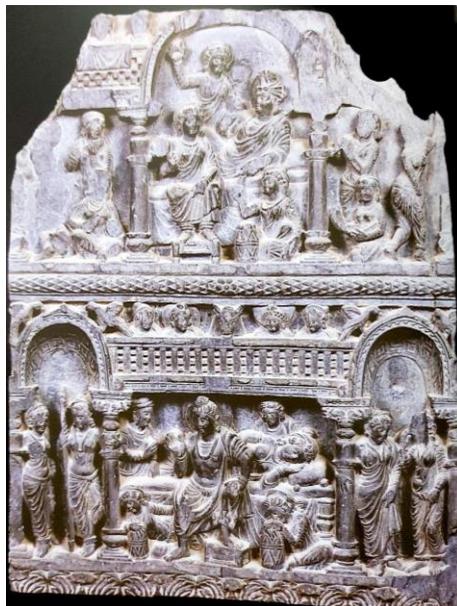


Fig. 6 - Panel showing “Life in the Palace”, National Museum Karachi (After Ingholt 39 A-B).



Fig. 7 - Panel showing “Yashodhara offering drink to Prince Siddhartha”, Islamabad Museum (Photo by the author).



Fig. 8 - Panel showing “The Great Departure and Siddhartha in Meditation”, Peshawar Museum (Photo by the author).

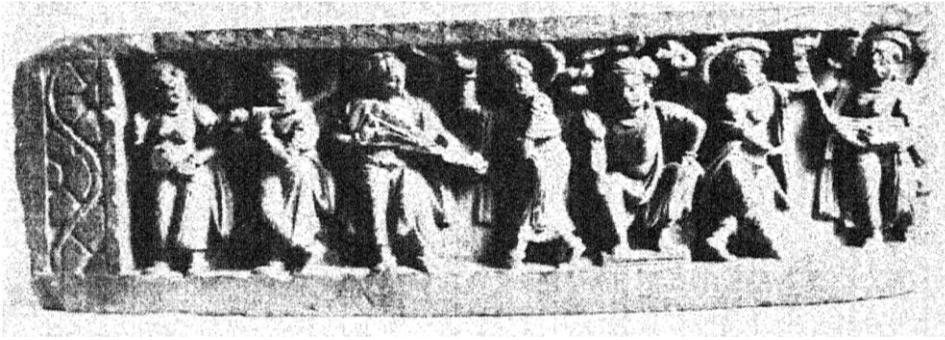


Fig. 9 - Panel showing “Naga Kalika with Musicians and dancers”, Musée Guimet (After Hackin, 1923, pl. III a).



Fig. 10 - Panel showing “Attack of Mara and his Host”, Peshawar Museum (Photo by the author).



Fig. 11 - Panel showing “Temptation of Mara and his daughters”, Peshawar Museum
(Photo by the author).



Fig. 12 - Stair-riser (?) showing “Musicians and Dancers”, Lahore Museum. Retrieved
from <http://shorturl.at/apDKR> (permission taken to republish).



Fig. 13 – Stair-raiser relief showing “Parthian dancers and musicians”, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. (after Lo Muzio 2019: fig. 4.1).



Fig. 14 - 'Persian dancer', Butkara I, Swat Museum (Photo by the author).



Fig. 15 - Female dancer, Butkara I, Swat Museum (Photo by the author).

Cultural Tourism Sites as Cultural Identity Makers: A Case Study of District Swat

Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro / Farhad Nazir

Abstract

Being recalled as heritage heaven i.e. Swat, attracts purposeful and casual cultural tourists both domestic and international. Eventually, tourists and host community face each other with respective cultures exposed as well. This study has been conducted to look at this relationship. Qualitative strategy has been adopted to get exhaustive perspectives from the local populace. Three sub-locales including Bazira of Barikot, the Ghaznavid Mosque of Udegram and Swat Museum of Saidu Sharif, have been selected to see that how local make and remake their cultural identities with respect to these cultural tourism sites. Findings of this study reveal that there is significant role of cultural tourism sites of Swat in shaping the cultural identity of the populace.

Keywords: Cultural Tourism, Cultural Identity, Museums, Local Community, Swat

1. Introduction

Undoubtedly the geographical disparity has a visible influence on culture in the form of variation in cuisines, different dressing styles and vernacular architecture s - to counter or balance the climatic and weather conditions. Similarly, the religion also influences the culture in shaping the architectural styles, rituals and traditions. Such dissimilarities among geographical and theological facets have made the 'culture' a distinctive and limbo term. However, for the sake of consolidated denotation, mostly the culture is defined as 'way of life' or 'lifestyle'. No doubt, diversity of mankind inhabiting the multiple regions is reason to produce and exhibit a distinctive cultural profile and cultural identity of every country. Having curiosity to know and experience this distinctiveness or otherness, bridges the tourists as visitors and local community as visited.



Fig.1 - Bazira: A view of architectural remains with Mt Ilam in the background (Photo by L.M. Olivieri).

Tourism in general and cultural tourism in particular assuages this curiosity and sum up heritage, culture and identity of tourist and host populace. However, there remain some pros and cons as a result of this overlapping. Particularly the cultural identity faces some development due to the activities of tourism (Verheijen and Putra 2019). In addition, the amalgamation of tourism and heritage further paves the way for creation of novel avenues of cultural identity. This making and remaking of identity entails social and economic gains as well (Qu, Timothy and Zhang 2019). On the other hand, the religious affiliation and belief systems do – play an important part in the identity creation and exhibition at a destination (Mu, Nepal and Lai 2019). Culture, heritage, tourism and identity are inseparably linked together due to recent shift of interest in culture particularly as a source of local identity in the face of globalization, the growth of tourism and easier accessibility of cultural assets and experiences (UNWTO 2018). This connectivity of culture, heritage, cultural tourism and identity also includes many elements regarding lifestyle and defines cultural tourism as “all aspects which represent over-arching, and clearly defining ways of life and lifestyle of a population both past and present, with implicit carry-forward into the future. Importantly, they go beyond the curio/arts and craft stereotypes to reflect aspects of identity, visible and invisible, daily and special occasion. Ultimately, they are aspects which give the people of a nation/region a sense of identity, community, belonging and pride” (UNWTO 2018: 44-45).

As conduits for the formation of cultural identity, these sites create a sense of belongingness, authenticity and meanings for the population residing in the close proximities. Moreover, one can evidently spot a significant relationship and inter-dependency of local’s cultural identity and these sites. Among other reasons, the connotations and narratives attached with tangible and intangible dimensions of these sites are the most fundamental ones. Nunez and Theron (1963) argued in similar way and describes such relationship as a ‘laboratory situation’ to experiment the cultures of host and tourists, eventually leading to cross cultural exposures, cultural shocks, cultural ethnocentrism and cultural harmony. Considering this importance of sentiments attached, this sensitizing issue has been extensively brainstormed and commented by the academicians and policy makers of developed countries, particularly the westerns. This hegemony of knowledge through western lens has made it quite hard to

address the cultural values and identities particularly in the orient. Moreover, in the Asia, culture has remained under the influence of religion and mystical pressure. The same can be observed in the country of Islamic Republic of Pakistan and more concisely in the area of Swat. In Swat, there exists visible influence of theological teachings of Islam on the Pakhtun culture. The population has identical religion, common language and shared traditions and customs. These features in a broad spectrum formulate the cultural identity of the people of this area (Rome 2008). On the tourism avenue, this area has opulent resources of cultural tourism with numerous archaeological sites, historical sites and a well-managed site i.e. Archaeological and Ethnological Swat museum. These sites are the remains of the ancient communities which belong to Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam. Such sites of cultural and historical importance attracted the attention of national and international archaeological bodies e.g. Directorate of Archaeology and Museums (DOAM), Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar and most importantly to mention Italian Archaeological Mission (IAM), to conserve these sites since 1955 (Olivieri 2006). So far, these bodies in joint collaborations and ventures have been quite successful to conserve, preserve, and hence sustain these cultural heritage and tourism assets for the present and future generations of Swat valley.

The contributions of these bodies, particularly the IAM in conserving and protecting the sites of Swat are way beyond the scope of current study. However, a brief consideration of these contributions has been discussed. The purpose of this conservation has been to protect this tangible heritage on the one hand and to sustain the intangible aspect of this heritage on the other. This conservation and protection of Tangible Cultural Heritage (TCH) and Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) highlighted the geography of Swat as an area rich in archaeological and historical resources. But the title given to this area i.e. “Switzerland of the East” was on the basis of its natural tourism sites rather than its rich cultural heritage leaving an open opportunity of using cultural heritage as new tourism product. This opportunity has been well-addressed by IAM and started Archaeology Community Tourism (ACT) phase II project in 2011 under the Pakistan–Italian Debt for Development Swap Agreement (Olivieri 2016). This project introduced the concept of using the cultural heritage assets as sustainable alternate to conventional nature-based tourism in Swat. As the sole reliance on specific resource of tourism to

attract the tourists could lead to ‘Mass Tourism’ and ‘Over- Tourism’, exceeding the carrying capacity and eventually affecting the physical and social environment at any destination. UNWTO in this regard urges the member states to ensure compliance with the ‘Goal 15’¹ of the Sustainable Development Goals hereafter SDGs to mitigate the negative consequences either physical or social. Similarly, in Pakistan, being a member state of UNWTO, IAM has been very active to practically diverge the nature-based tourism in Swat to heritage tourism through inaugural of the ACT Project. In addition, social mobilization and community empowerment was also ensured in this project to employ the local population as site watchmen and tour guides. Swat Archaeological Guide Association (SAGA) was formed comprising these site watchmen and guides to have a heritage consortium. On prominent heritage sites of Swat, the members of SAGA are performing assigned duties and motivated enough to impart the historical and cultural knowledge to incoming visitors.

Such looping of the local community not only provided financial assistances to its members, but also protected the tangibility of these sites. However, financial aspect alone, has limitation, for instance couldn’t address sense of belongingness by the locals with these sites. Moreover, the conventional short spans of every project, there remained, and are, challenges to these sites and locals there. One of the researchers also participated in the activities of IAM projects (Olivieri 2017) and identified the shortfalls, especially the gap of less emphasis on perception (community-oriented knowledge) with these cultural tourism sites. Having said that, the cultural disparities among ‘West’ and ‘Orient’ as mentioned earlier, needed a proper discussion. Moreover, unveiling of novel aspects of culture, based on emic grounds, particularly in an area like Swat, was also worthwhile to be debated in the academic discourse. In past, studies on Swat have been done primarily in archaeological, historical and economical fields but the cultural avenues predominantly under the domain of tourism were previously ignored. The current study besides some limitations was aimed at this under-researched area, and highlighted the neglected cultural perceptions of the host community in accordance with the tourism sites. The purpose of this study was to emphasize some of the novelty aspects of theoretical and practical connections between the cultural tourism sites (either their tangibility or intangibility) with the sense of belongingness by the locals i.e. cultural identity.

¹ For details please see: <http://www.tourism4sdgs.org>. (Accessed April 202019).

Embedded relationship of cultural identity and cultural tourism sites have remained a topic of debate in the scholarship. Even the cultural identity itself has been presented as ‘Identity Tourism’ to have a novel marketing strategy for attracting the tourists. Doing so resulted in the inclination towards the demand side of tourism solely, leaving an overlooked aspect of local’s perception having emic grounds incorporated. Identity tourism was backed by ‘Community Based Tourism’ and Eco-Tourism. But even still the local’s perspective and sense of belongingness was neglected in Swat having abundant sites of cultural tourism. The current study was centered on this under-theorized area. Here, cultural avenues through community lenses have been contended. This differentiates the said endeavor from the traditional ‘top to bottom’ financial oriented approach having less or no emphasis on social and cultural gains. Contrary to this approach, the current study has adopted ‘bottom to top’ approach, addressing the locals and ascribing their cultural identity relationship, has been followed.

Potential edges of this study are: Firstly, the population’s perceptive about these sites and relationship with the culture has been highlighted, doing so presents cultural identity towards the incoming tourists. Secondly, the stakeholders and experts of the field under study may take guidance from this research to have a glimpse of social stance and further inculcate this in the policies of cultural tourism. Thirdly, for the tourists visiting these sites, sense of regard for the cultural identity attached with the tangible and intangible heritage may be revitalized and source of respect for this belongingness and way forward for ethical considerations as well. Fourthly, the current study is an attempt to fill that vacuum in the literature about the indigenous community perspective generally Pakistan and more specifically Swat district. Fifth for industrial stakeholders, particularly the travel agencies, tour companies and tourism consultants, the current study is roadmap for organizing and executing the cultural tours in a more responsible and sustainable manner. Lastly, current study, particularly for interest based cultural tourists and stakeholders, offers a sustainable alternate to nature – based tourism in Swat, as the sole rely on nature – based tourism has already exceeded the carrying capacity of natural places of this area and have deteriorating impact of this over – tourism on the physical and social settings.

2. Objectives of the Study

This study, like other researches, has some inbuilt objectives-followed in the entire structure. Firstly, to describe the synergy between the cultural tourism sites and local cultural identity. Here at this level, the inter-relationship of cultural sites and formation of community's identities have been contended. Secondly, to signify the process entailing to designate cultural sites particularly the archaeological ones, as authentic with the cultural identity of local populace. To explain the importance of historical sites as maker of local community's cultural identity and as a source of commemoration act as third objective of this study. Fourthly, to explain the importance of collection in the museum for the locals in asserting their cultural identity. Here at this point, the role of artefacts in identification of tangible and intangible elements of local culture has been elaborated.

3. Review of Literature

As a matter of fact, cultural tourism is viewed as an opportunity for cross-exposure of host and tourist cultures simultaneously. Moreover, in the same way, the cultural identities of the both comes face to face. This moment of truth has some pros and cons urged the academicians to debate this multi – faceted phenomena entailing the cultural sentiments of the tourists and host community (Kim, Whitford and Arcodia 2019). While arguing the pros, community employment and empowerment seems to be most prominent ones (Puriri and McIntosh 2019). Cultural tourism and cultural identity in the scholarships are addressed by many scholars, but this linkage of cultural tourism is stated as inevitable (Uros`evic`2012). Uros`evic` (ibid.) conducted the study in the Pula city of Croatia, with a sound profile as familiar destination of tourism in the region. The impacts of cultural tourism particularly on the cultural identity of locals have been discussed by the author. She, in the same manner, highlighted some drastic impacts on the cultural identity due to activities of tourism. Locals, tourists and tourism stakeholders were consulted to have opinion over the subject. 'Creative Cultural Tourism' approach as a sustainable alternate to over cultural tourism or mass cultural tourism has been presented in this study. Hybrid methodological strategy including surveys and interviews were adopted in this study. Local population, tourists and organizational stakeholders in the city were consulted by administering surveys and

interviews from them. Findings of the study showed that majority of the respondents viewed that sustainable cultural tourism having cultural identity of locals inculcated may be more viable strategy to promote cultural tourism in the city. Deviation from the conventional cultural tourism activities both on the tourists' end and host end was emphasized as important.

It is safe to say that archaeology being the study of past has a close interconnectedness with the cultural identity at a specific landscape. Or in other words, the archaeological remains are and were considered a solid evidence of the ancient civilizations and their cultural arena. Sustainable cultural tourism, predominantly the indigenous – based, the cultural identity preservation should be a prime importance (McIntosh, Hinch and Ingram 2002). Three Maori attraction sites in New Zealand were selected in this qualitative study, i.e. Te Papa Tongarewa National Museum in Wellington, Tamaki Tours in Rotoura and Kaikooura Whale Watch. All these three sites were being run by Maori Community members and the National Museum has been displaying the Maori artifacts. The researchers conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews from the members of the Maori community, who were working as managers and staff members in the 'Tamaki Tours' and 'Whale Watch' and in National Museum of Te Papa. Findings of this study revealed that cultural identities were constructed in a conscious manner and commoditized in tourism and termed as "attraction-based identity". However, this commodification included the authenticity and meanings inside the presentation of cultural identity towards the tourists, hence a way forward for sustainable Maori tourism. Authenticity of the local cultural identity was emphasized as imperative for the promoting tourism. These findings were divided into two themes: heritage managers and local staff members who shared the multiple dimensions of cultural identity to incoming visitors. The authenticity maintenance in this context has been sought out. In sum, the cultural identity of the Maori community has been constructed depended upon the demand from the tourists and sometimes it was adopted in a more conscious manner for the vitality of sustainable Maori tourism.

Over (2016) contended that effective policy of tourism can contribute in managing the identity at national level. His study was conducted on the Armenian Akhtamar Church and its historical reopening after 95 years on September 19, 2010. Ethnographic study in a historical perspective has been carried out containing both the secondary and

primary data. For secondary data, the archives were consulted and for primary data, onsite interviews and participant observation conducted. Along with the church, other sites include Saint Pierre Church/Museum in Antioche, the Saint Paul Church/Museum in Mersin, Sard Syanagogoue in Manisa, the mosque of Haghia Sophia, Iznik, underground city in Nevsehir, Sumela Monastery in Trabzon and Armenian city in Kars. Findings of this study emphasized that from all other sites, the Akhtamar Church was opened by the Government of Turkey to portray the message of cultural cohesion and solidarity. The reopening of this place after nearly a century as a tourist destination showed the proactive approach of Turkish state. However, there were some narratives from the visitors in denial of this approach as there were some restrictions for the incoming tourists as well.

Museum are the places where cultural identities of both the visitors and locals intersects each other and a contest is formed. Theoretically approaches highlight the museums as an organizational principle for the content of cultural identity and scientific knowledge, and memory as ‘thinking of things in their absence’ (Crane 2000). Museums were considered as custodians of the archaeological, cultural and historical assets and they serve as foundation centers for construction of cultural identities (Newman and McLean 2006). This study was conducted in United Kingdom, two museums including Glasgow Museum and Tyne and Wear Museum, two exhibitions of Great City in Newcastle upon Tyne and Museum of Transport in Glasgow. In addition to these two museums and exhibitions, two community development projects were also analyzed in this study. These projects were ‘Making History Community Development Project, New Castle upon Tyne’ and ‘Greater Pollok Kist Community Development Project, Glasgow. Mixed method was used for collection of data in the form of interviews, focus groups discussions and questionnaires. The respondents were from both the community members and walk in visitors. The phenomenon of cultural identity construction through the perspectives of locals and visitors who were socially excluded in exhibitions and development projects were emphasized. The findings of the study on two museums, two exhibitions and two community development projects showed that defensive identity was the way out to minimize the exclusion experience of locals and visitors. Moreover, the respondents argued that they ascribed meanings from the exhibitions and community development projects and impact of two museums under

study, upon identity construction of respondents. The museums were denoted as places to construct social policies and social agents.

In the geographical and social contexts of Pakistan, there are quite few studies on the subject, which addressed the cultural identity. Pakistani community in Great Britain, first generation, has been observed to be more patriotic towards their indigenous homeland's culture and urged to visit back, as opposite to the second and third generation, having less interest in visiting their actual homeland (Ali and Holden 2006). Ali and Holden (ibid.) have conducted interpretive ethnographic study on first, second and third generation of Pakistani community in United Kingdom and used qualitative method. Semi-structured, unstructured and focus group discussions were utilized as method of data collection from the participants. Their conclusions reached a point that, second and third generations were on the brink of losing their homeland cultural values as they were born and raised in the UK, while the first generation was aware of their aboriginal cultural arena and their motivation to return to their own country also entailed.

4. Summary of Literature Review

The above discussions have enabled the authors to understand the importance of cultural heritage and cultural identity relationship. Embarking on the same, for instance, the study conducted by Kim, Whitford and Arcodia (2019) has highlighted the steps to achieve sustainable heritage tourism in the Republic of Korea (South). Interestingly, the roots of Buddhist heritage of Swat have a deep connection with the Buddhism in Korea and such connectivity allowed the researchers to gain insights on a broad level. The literature review done for this study also assisted the authors in selecting the qualitative research strategy, methods of data collection and sampling technique as well. Moreover, the study conducted by Puriri and McIntosh (2019) has provided the indigenous paradigm to operationalize the steps of sustainable heritage tourism in a specific cultural framework of Swat. With respect to Museum studies, the work of Newman and McLean (2006) has been primarily consulted to see how locals shape their cultural identity. In addition, the work of Crane, S, A (2000) about the cultural collectables being displayed in the galleries of Museum has been helpful in establishing the phenomena of memory revival by the locals of Swat

with respect to Swat Museum. On the avenue of religious sites and its affiliation with the community, the study of Over (2106) has provided assistance in measuring the sense of religious affinity of the peoples of Swat with the Udegram Mosque. In sum, the studies discussed in the literature review have been quite resourceful in aligning the authors to establish the relationship of cultural tourism sites and cultural identity.

5. Research Methodology

Qualitative research as a research strategy has been used in this research. In the scholarship of tourism, due to the importance of statistics and quantitative values, the preferred one is quantitative strategy. However, the current study was centered on cultural values and identities, hence qualitative research strategy has been adopted. Moreover, in Social Sciences, qualitative research strategy dominates over the quantitative because of its inductive approach and various studies like cultural studies, feminist studies and critical race theories are associated as qualitative research paradigms. Qualitative research enables the researcher to have empathetic understanding of any phenomenon (Dwyer, Gill, and Seetaram 2012). The qualitative strategy is mostly associated with emic approaches and provides in-depth knowledge about the issue being studied especially where interfaces of culture, tourism and identity occur (ibid.: 310). Dawyer, Gill and Seetaram (ibid.) viewed that, emic approach deals with experiences at insider level and expedites the interpretive process for the addition of deep and multifaceted interpretations. In sum, the usage of qualitative research strategy has enabled us to collect the insights of locals who are living near by the cultural tourism sites.

6. Research Design

Descriptive research design was used in this study. We have described the ongoing relationship between the tangibility and intangibility of cultural tourism sites with local cultural identity. Embarking on the same, the research questions (What and How) were constructed with the same intent, to give voices of the locals on descriptive level, avoiding unnecessary infiltration to the continuing phenomena. Descriptive research designs explore any phenomena related to life experiences in a narrative way with

reference to individual, group and condition (Edmonds and Kennedy 2017). The current study in this regard was oriented in the same direction, hence a reason to select descriptive design.

The units of data collection were the individuals from the target population and comprised of the following:

Table 1 - Number of Participants

S#	UDCs	Description	# of Interviews	of Focus Discussions	Group	Total
1	UDC 1	Locals	18		02	20
2	UDC 2	Heritage Managers	06		02	08
3	UDC 3	Civil Society Members	06		01	07
					Grand Total	35

The data for this study was collected from primary sources. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions have been conducted from local population. This study intended to get ideas of local community, their thoughts and experiences. Semi-structured interviews have been used to attain this task. Conventional quantitative methods of data collection i.e. closed ended questionnaires couldn't let the respondents to express their views over any subject openly and in a frank manner. Semi- structured interviews consist of both open-ended questions and theoretical oriented questions and draw the participant completely to the topic under probe (Galleta 2013). This gives respondents more room to express their thinking in a more extended and elaborated manner. Moreover, for understanding the on-ground reality while emphasizing the cultural narratives, semi-structured method has been accredited as more convenient (Grayman-Simpson 2017). Likewise, semi-structured interviews enable us to better understand and describe any societal phenomena (Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick 2008). Keeping in view this compatibility, semi-structured interviews as method of data collection has been used in the current study.

In addition, focus group discussions were also done in the similar fashion. Duration of interviews lasted between one to two hours.

7. Sampling Technique

Following the criterion of qualitative research strategy, the sampling technique has been formulated. Convenience sampling and purposive sampling techniques have been adopted in the current study, because in qualitative studies, particularly having large population where randomization is nearly impossible, and researcher has limited resources as well (Ilkar, Sulaiman and Alkassim 2016: 1). Keeping in view these virtues, convenience and purposive sampling have been utilized in this study. This sampling technique is being frequently used in qualitative studies, especially in those cases where the target population is subject to easier availability, their geographical proximities and willingness to participate (Dornyei 2007). In the same way, the current study was also oriented in the same direction having some financial, social and periodical constraints as well and convenience sampling has been selected in order to catalyze these barriers and streamline the data collection from the target population. For UDC 1, the convenience sampling technique has been used.

8. Results and Discussions

Architecture and masonry in living premises exhibits the aesthetic taste of the residents. Such structural styles have also been inherited by the upcoming generations. Most of the respondents have contended that there is match among the contemporary architectural styles and the ancient Buddhist and Hindu-Shahi settlements discovered. Moreover, dresses and jewelry, being first exhibition of culture, has been subject of debate while ascribing the relationship of their cultural identity and cultural tourism sites. Bangle styles, designs of rings and bracelets have been argued by the respondents as very similar with the ancient ones found during excavation and being displayed in the museums. One of the respondents shared his remarks as:

“The turban style of a Pakhtun man is similar to the turban style exhibited in the portrait of ‘Buddha’, also the old dressing style of Pakhtun people entails resemblance with those of Buddhists people. This shows that we have adopted the dressing styles from them and even it is possible that they were our ancestors as well”.

In addition to dresses and jewelry similarities, a comparison of agricultural products and food cuisines has been argued by the respondents and majority of them floated numberless likeness among the ancient and the contemporary ones. One of the respondents shared the following information in this regard's:

“From Bazira, the Italian Archaeological Mission has found the seed varieties being used by those people of ancient Bazira. We are using the same seeds to grow crops like bhegmai (rice) and saag (traditional dish comprised of eatable grass). It shows that there is a continual relation in agronomy field as well”.

There are some botanical plants, still being used by community members for curing certain disease. Respondents have debated that these plants have been inherited from the ancient civilizations of this region.

Beside to these tangible similarities, the intangible dimensions of the culture have also been discussed by the respondents which shows, sense of pride and recognition among the community residing near cultural sites. McIntosh, Hinch, and Ingram (2002) contended that this pride has prevailed reason of cultural authenticity created due to historical hierarchy of culture. Remarks of one of respondent on this subject were as:

“We feel pride that we have cultural connectivity with the inhabitants of the civilizations passed here. We feel pride to share with the people belonging to other cultural groups that our cultural chronology dates to Alexander the Great and even before him. We do not feel hesitation to say that our ancestors were following some other religion. Religion doesn't cost your ethnicity. These sites show absolute chronological order of ancient civilizations and we (Pakhtun) are part of this order”.

This sense of pride has some further ownership impressions on the community and our study shows this. Remarks of one community member in this regard were worthwhile as:

“I consider myself custodian of this site because it is our cultural legacy. The depletion of this site means my culture will be at stake. This site is my cultural asset and I will protect it from any threat”.

Lastly, social and financial farsightedness has also been emphasized by the respondents in connection to site’s safeguarding as:

“Although we feel pride, but these sites are at the list of treasure hunters and antiquity smugglers. These hunters and smugglers are also from the local population, but they do not respect these cultural sentiments attached and the dilemma is that they sold out any statue in less than 10,000PKR and if that statue is placed in museum, then it can earn millions of rupees from tourists’ arrival and also the cultural connectivity will be protected while doing so”.

9. Religious- Cultural Amalgamation

Culture is attributed as an umbrella to pool up peoples having different religions and beliefs. However, in many cases one can see the dominancy of religion on the culture and even shape the cultural practices. Ameli (2002) has argued such relationship and concluded that in case of Islam or Muslims being the followers of Islam, such hegemony was quite visible. The region of Swat, a place inhabited by Muslims may be counted as one of best examples of such religious-cultural mix. The respondents were asked to share their sentiments and remarks about the existence of historical mosque (Ghaznavid Mosque) with respect to their culture and its identity. One of the respondents shared his remarks on the said issue as:

“In our culture, Islam and its teachings have a decisive position. We respect and pay decorum to each aspect of this religion. Our lifestyle and interactions in and outside our homes are continuously dictated by Islam. Jamat (Mosque) is also very near to our heart and we construct and decorate it more than our homes and hujras. We also discuss our daily issues and matters in Jamat and most of the time the religious teachings of Islam come forward to resolve and consolidate these”.

It seems that mosque was very much valued by the locals and they consider an obligation to maintain and manage it. Another interviewee said about mosque in this regard as:

“We Pakhtuns give value to Jumat (Jammat), our every aspect of life like birth, marriage and even death is directly or indirectly related to Jammat. For us this building is representation of religion and culture also”.

Beside this religious and social connectedness of locals with this mosque, we do have divergent responses from the respondents. One of them shared as:

“In our Pakhtun social system, the Jumat is considered as a place to judge the character of any individual or group. If you are coming in Jammat to offer prayers on regular basis, then you are pious, and everyone will accept you openly. If not, then negative narratives are floated about you and your life in a society. It seems that people are using the premises of Jumat for their personal perception”.

Such remarks point that collective biased narrative particularly of religious sentiments may have caused social imbalances in the society. Sokhi (1992) contested that this collective narrative or commemoration was more strengthened when a historical event of religious affiliation has embedded roots in it. Further, the populace ascribes this narrative as one of constituents of their cultural identity. The remarks of one community member were:

“This Jumat is the third oldest Jamahat of Pakistan, its history is that the Mahmud Ghaznavi conquered the Raja Gira castle and this victory was the assumed as entry of Islam in Swat. So, first as Pakhtun, this Jumat is respectable for me, second the historical victory of Islam over Hinduism is also a source of pride for me. The whole population in a collective way remember this Jumat as a famous historical victory of Islam over the non-believers. And our culture and identity being Pakhtun, we have strong religious affiliation with Jumat, particularly with Ghaznavi Jumat which was the beginning of Islam in this region”.

The legend attached with the tangible and intangible aspect of Ghaznavid mosque has been equally remembered and shared by the respondents when they were asked to share their views. The historical triumph of forces of Mehmud Ghaznavi was considered as source of honor for the public at large. However, one respondent disagreed with the narrative and shared as:

“This Jumat is remembered by the people as a historical victory of Muslims, but in the written expeditions of Mahmud Ghaznavi, the region of Swat was not mentioned. So how come we can relate this settlement with him. Even I accept this legend, then how my cultural identity is associated with this site. Only the religious similarity couldn’t shape my cultural identity, my creed, my language, my lifestyle is different from those people of Ghazna, they were speaking Persian, I am speaking Pashto, and their way of life is also very much dissimilar with mine”.

10. Display in museum vs. Memory of culture

As a matter of fact, the establishment and function of museum has been a sustainability step for the conservation, preservation and protection of cultural heritage assets. Across the globe, the establishments of museums have been gaining popularity and they are viewed as efforts for the revitalization of cultures, in an era of abrupt urbanization and development. For communities, these museums have been a theatre to exhibit their cultures. One interviewee expressed as:

“The collection here in this museum is a cultural snapshot of our culture and we, while observing the antiquities, feel a close sense of relationship. This is even more interesting when we visit the ethnological galleries, where the art pieces like terracotta, wooden objects, ornaments, dresses and musical instruments are displayed. While standing in front of this collection, I imagine myself in a classical cultural arena having simple and traditional life. This credit goes to this museum because the development is erasing our every cultural object and even the cultural values”.

This virtual cultural snapshot also recalls their missing cultural elements and one of our respondents argues that:

“When roaming into the galleries of this museum, it seems that I can discover that missing link of my culture, because modernism has changed our culture. These galleries connect our cultural string to the civilizations once passed here in this area. And I appreciate the role of museum in this regard”.

Soon after the creation of this cultural snapshot, here in museums as well, cultural pride was described by the participants of our study. They were of the view that such display and its association with the cultural practices of contemporary times, acted as source of cultural pride for them. One member of community shared his opinion as:

“The display of museum and our cultural resemblance with it is a source of pride not for me but for the whole Pakhtun community. Because this display and its resemblance dates back to ancient times, and for any culture the classical roots are very important and a source of pride. That’s why I take pride in it”.

Though, critical remarks over the issue in hand have also been shared by the respondents as:

“Even there is similarity between this collection and our cultural identity, but I am not feeling any pride. The reason is that I am not following those traditional dresses, utensils and even those cultural values, norms and traditions. So how can I feel pride? First, I have to keep alive that culture, and then I will feel pride”.

For such pride, level of awareness about the culture was also argued as most important. One interviewee remarked as:

“The collection of museums is source of pride, but this depends on awareness level. I feel pride because I am aware of my culture and its connection with the objects displayed here, but for those who are unaware of their culture and its affiliation it is not a source of pride. They feel nothing about this collection”.

Keeping with the ongoing debate, among other functions of museum, it has been shared by the respondents that their cultural identities were being displayed in museum and they considered the museums as identity bunkers. Swat museum as believed by the locals is as a place for protection and safeguarding the Pakhtun cultural identity. One heritage manager shared his remarks in this regard as:

“The ethnological collection is very important for Pakhtun cultural identity because if this collection is not sustained and displayed, then we cannot relate ourselves with our elders. This museum is like a protective shield for our cultural identity”.

However, some flaws and loopholes were also discussed by some participants as:

“The collection which is displayed in this museum is only safeguarding the dominant culture (Pakhtun) of Swat. Other cultures are being ignored here. Also, the evolutionary stages of Pakhtun culture is not visible in display. It means that up to some extent this museum is protecting the Pakhtun culture”.

The intangible aspect was also debated by the community members and heritage managers and were of the view as:

“The collection in display is not protecting the culture or cultural identity because we cannot spot any intangible heritage display in any of galleries and to understand a cultural profile of any community, tangible and intangible elements of culture moves parallel. Due to the absence of intangible heritage galleries, I cannot say that museum is safeguarding the cultural identity of Pakhtun community”.

The role of museum in sustaining the culture was also debated by the community members and one interviewee shared as:

“The role being played by the Swat museum is worthy of appreciation, but there are some areas where the museum governing bodies should focus. The ethnological section should

also include the non – dominant cultures of Swat (Kohistani, Torwali and Gujjari). Also, this museum should have proper hospitality sector to offer services to the visitors. The galleries information should be in the form of booklets”.

Some future thoughts and suggestions were also contended by the participants about denoting the whole villages into “Eco-Museums”. One heritage manager shared as:

“Museums can be sustainable cultural tourism destinations, but total reliance on museums will not be good idea. Because you cannot construct museum when you have to represent many communities, and it will be very hard for governing bodies to do so. One option can be that in developed countries, the concept of “Eco-Museums” is in practice, so that idea can be applicable here. In this option, the whole village is converted into a living museum and visitors to allow to visit, spectate and experience their culture”.

A member of civil society shared over the same subject as:

“The Swat museum can be like such destination subject to the condition that the intangible heritage should be displayed as being displayed in ‘Bamburat Museum’ Chitral. At there the traditional festival (intangible heritage) is displayed with the help of dummies, even the burial style is explained by an artificial dead body. So, if those things are applied here, Swat museum can be a sustainable cultural tourist destination”.

11. Discussion

There were significant visible commonalities between the architecture and masonry styles of the ancient civilizations and the present Pakhtun society. In addition, they also designated the dressing and jewelry styles as almost similar with the existing ones in the society. However, modernity has been discussed as one of major barrier to adopt and continue these ancient styles. Because the majority of young generation has been more inclined towards adopting the modern styles of living. As a result, modernization is abruptly replacing the ancient styles of almost every material and non-

material form of culture. Agricultural and food cuisines were also debated by the respondents. Our research show that it was quite difficult to establish resemblance between the agriculture and food cuisines of those time with the existing. However, there were some evident examples like rice, *Saag* and excavated seeds, asserting a relationship between the agronomy and food as well. Cultural chronology and hierarchy of culture were also discussed with the respondents and they believed that this authentic and continuous relationship is a reason of pride for them. Such cultural pride and its contribution in the sustainable cultural tourism was also contested by McIntosh, Hinch, and Ingram (2002), and find out that cultural authenticity attained through cultural integrity was vital for cultural tourists experience as well. Gotham (2011) argued that in recent era, tourism discourses, practices and framings can act as mechanism for racial identity construction and authenticity of culture. This architectural heritage and its elemental role in cultural identity has also been argued by Blagojevich et al (2009). They emphasized that awareness of public to cater to the site's safeguarding or protection was deemed vital, and involvement and empowerment of local graduates in cultural sites may be novel approach for more social gains. Particularly for the young generations, such involvement may result in the inspiration and devotion with the sites and an urge for the revitalization of their culture.

Besides, the current study finds out that authenticity and continuity both were central to host and visitor. In addition, the site safeguarding was also denoted as conditional with the continuity of culture and majority of the discussants supported the argument that site's protection was mainly dependent on this. Moreover, connectivity, resemblance and pride, all these merge together to have sense of ownership at individual and group level. It was also found to be having more concern about this ownership and custody of this site. This sense of ownership may be tapped to conserve, preserve and sustain the cultural heritage assets, both the tangible and intangible one for the cultural pride of the existing community and for the prospective legacy of the coming generations as well.

The intersection of religion with culture was also discussed by the participants of the study. Majority of the respondents were in favor of argument that culture and religion particularly in Pakhtun society seemed to be inseparable. They elaborated that due to close affiliation of Pakhtun people with their religion and cultural identity both, in most of the cases was hard to bifurcate the boundaries between these two. In academia,

Ameli (2002) debated this influence of religion on identity construction and find out that Muslims identity in a cultural setting is subjective to faith. Sokhi (1992), in the same fashion viewed that collective memory or commemoration entailed in religious sentiments attached with historical event is more evident. Busted (2007) also contested the commemoration by the populace in a historical fashion, by quoting the Irish collective remembrance in memory of two executions back in 1888. However, current study further supported that community was having commemoration on behalf of historical triumph over Hindu Raja by forces of Mahmud Ghaznavi at Udegram site.

Cultural heritage being displayed in the galleries of the Swat museum was also debated by the respondents. Most of them shared their views and ascribed that this collection was source of memory revival for them. Museums studies and its associated scholarship has also argued about such role of galleries of museum in reviving the memory and enhancing self-identity (Crane 2000: 12-13). Alongside to this revival, this display was termed as snapshot of their culture. This become more interesting when the locals pay visit to these nearby museums and assign the collection as a snapshot of their passed or living culture (Whitehead 2009). Besides, locals blamed modernity as a threat to partially or completely vanish the traditional cultural values and their exhibition. Such important function of this museum is applauded by respondents and they designated this display as a major source of pride for them. For the host nation, displaying of heritage assets in the galleries of museum sketched a pride portrait as well (Catalani 2009). Heron (1991) also argued this pride due to heritage and suggested that locals due to this pride urged to protect their threatened culture.

12. Conclusion

The voices of the local community are unheeded in the fantasy of cultural tourism activities resulting in the hegemony of top to bottom financial oriented approach. Moreover, area like Swat having enough cultural tourism sites, the same can be observed having little emphasis on community's perspective particularly about these sites and cultural identity. Doing so leaves an unaddressed avenue, having sensitized cultural strings attached. One justification for this can be that as the area is in developing phase and priority on financial aspect is need of the time. However, equal consideration on cultural aspects, under any stretch of explanation, cannot be ignored. Findings of the study revealed that there is

significant relationship between the cultural tourism sites and cultural identity of community living in proximities. Cultural hierarchy has been established by the participants with respect to three sites of the study. Moreover, numerous commonalities in the tangible and intangible elements of existing culture and the passed ones are posed. Architectural, dressing and livelihood similarities are also shared by the community. The display of cultural heritage in museum is designated as source of memory revival and pride for the locals. In addition, the religious sentiments are also denoted as important in commemorating narratives attached with historical building. Moreover, some novice scopes are also originated due to this study including racial connectivity, religious commonalities and cultural cohesion. These scopes required some comprehensive study in future to have in depth understanding. Besides, the current study is applicable to other areas of Swat (particularly rural areas) and to urban areas subject to some modifications as well. Above all, it is safe to say here that bottom to top culturally oriented approach is quite need of time to mitigate the challenges to major cultures and their subgroups. Such approach initiates a sense of awareness and safeguarding in community about them and their culture. In sum, the cultural tourism sites in Swat have embedded values of cultural identity and community also exhibits such relationship in both letter and spirit. These values and its relationship with the existing community in Swat, requires consideration in the models of cultural tourism development and in tourism policies as well.

13. Suggestions

Based on the findings of the study, following are the major suggestions:

1. Community oriented approach on cultural tourism sites may be more productive to develop alternate tourism destinations in Swat.
2. The sub-cultural groups i.e. Kohistani, Torwali, and Gujjari may be given equal representation in museums and social arena, to overcome their exclusion experience from the cultural mainstream.
3. Inculcation of community perspectives in the policies of cultural tourism may be a novel and industrious strategy in Swat.
4. Educational and awareness campaigns in terms of culture for the illiterates may be a reason to create sense of knowing about own culture and its protection.

5. Deviation may be made from demand side of tourism to supply side, especially at the end of local community, stakeholders and experts of the field.
6. Projection of linkage of cultural identity and sites in print and electronic media on local level may be used to aware the public at large about the importance, connection and sustainability of these sites.
7. For incoming tourists, this perspective of the community may be utilized while formulating the ethical considerations which are necessary to follow while during activities of tour.
8. Establishment of tourist's information and facilitation center along with food and beverage sections on sites and museum can mentally and physically rejoice the visitors.
9. In depth study on the indigenous knowledge, in contrast to western lenses, may be more viable and acceptable approach in order to culturally recognize the communities and executing the cultural tourism practices.
10. Focus on intangible heritage at sites is also quite need of time as the tangible heritage has some physical structure but the intangible must be sustained. Digital section at sites and galleries of museum can represent the intangible heritage.
11. Courses of cultural tourism sites either short or degree programs at secondary and higher secondary level may create a sense of ownership in the students.
12. Cultural events and festivals like in Chitral, may be arranged round the year to showcase the Pakhtoon culture to the national and international tourists.
13. Establishment of ethnological museum with sufficient space to store and display the major and minor cultural groups of Swat may be culturally recognized.

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Fig. 2 - Bazira: Turki-Shahi Settlement, fortifications wall with bastion (Photo by the author).



Fig. 3 - Bazira: A view of Saka- Parthian period remains (Photo by ZK).



Fig. 5 - Udegram: Aerial view of Ghaznavid Mosque (Photo by FN).



Fig. 6 - Udegram: Close view of *Mehrab* in the Ghaznavid mosque (Photo by FN).



Fig. 7 - Udegram: Close view of paved floor with ablation tank of Ghaznavid mosque (Photo by FN).



Fig. 8 - Swat Museum: Buddhists sculptures in the Gandhara gallery (Photo by FN).



Fig. 9 - Swat Museum: Footprints of Buddha (Photo by FN).



Fig. 10 - Swat Museum: Display of local jewellery in ethnological gallery (Photo by FN).



Fig. 11 - Swat Museum: Local wooden architecture in ethnological gallery (Photo by FN).



Fig. 12 - Swat Museum: Display of household objects in ethnological gallery (Photo by FN).

Recreating Material Culture in Diaspora: The Private and Social Worlds of British-Pakistani Muslim Women¹

Aisha Anees Malik

Abstract

This article advances our understanding of material culture to include the everyday through an analysis of gendered cultural, religious and social practices as well as the physical spaces occupied by a diaspora community. The British-Pakistani Muslim women recreate their private and social worlds through remodelling their British (read alien) homes to accommodate their needs. They reclaim religious practices in mosques and celebrate weddings in ways that challenge patriarchal restrictions. They create special spaces through forming networks of help and advice. This allows them to not only preserve and promote their culture but also to negotiate oppressions. The result is the creation of private and social worlds that are unique to this diasporic community.

Keywords: British-Pakistani, diaspora, Islamic heritage

1. Introduction

Conventional understandings of material culture tend to focus on how objects are used to convey social messages, regulate relations and give symbolic meaning to human activity. Understanding material culture within diasporic communities provides a sense of how people within the community shape their lives to fit a broader structure. Most works on material culture tend to focus entirely on the tangible - objects, totems, buildings, architecture - but in studying a diasporic community, physical spaces and practices become the objects under study. Anna Pechurina's *Material Cultures, Migrations and Identities: What the Eye Cannot See*

¹ The data for this paper was generated using ethnographic methods during an 18-month long study conducted in Slough. Slough is a town in the south east of England known for its ethnically diverse population with a substantial British-Pakistani presence. The names of all respondents and some landmarks sites have been changed to ensure anonymity.

(2015) is a relevant starting point to address how migrant communities construct their physical worlds. Expanding on Benedict Anderson's idea of the nation as an "imagined community", she suggests that migrants construct their identities and relate to their home country through everyday cultural practices which include home decor and fashion. Practices and physical spaces are the units I address in this article, in order to understand how the women in a community reshapes their material world in the face of multiple structures of patriarchy.

2. Re-creating Private and Social Spaces through Material and Cultural Practices

A large majority of Pakistani families in Slough have rural origins. Migration to a foreign land is doubled with settlement in an urban environment. For the first-generation Pakistani women this called for adjustments at many fronts. Though chain migration and the trend of marriages within relatives meant that they were not alone in the new country, one of the effects of migration was to limit spaces where women got together. In Slough the British-Pakistani women are actively recreating those spaces outside their homes as well as within through re-modelling of their English homes, participating in religious and other social gatherings, and accessing social networks of help and advice.

2.1. Remodelling of English Homes

Woodward (2007) explains the centrality of home to people's lives but also its ability to transcend the private domain and become part of public domain. Remodelling of British home to accommodate Pakistani cultural values is then an exercise in creation of a specific material culture through cultural inscription of a physical space.

Extensions were very popular with British-Pakistanis in Slough. Before they buy a house, they always assess its prospects – whether a bedroom can be added to it, does it have enough space to build another toilet, if the kitchen can be enlarged to include a diner, and most importantly is there a possibility of a conservatory being constructed? All these options were crucial to house-buying choices. The local councillors were constantly approached for help and advice on how to obtain planning permission for extensions. This topped the list of demands community

members put on them. Even non-Pakistani councillors² were attuned to this need of the Pakistanis. Most of the Pakistanis had had their kitchens enlarged. Some had constructed conservatories that were larger than their front rooms. Where people could not construct conservatories they had made entire rooms in their back gardens in places where there would have been a garden shed in a typical English home. Some people had had the walls between rooms on the ground floor knocked out to create larger sitting rooms. Women, I found out, were major players in such decisions; wanting to mould their English houses to their Pakistani lifestyles.

Sons continued to live with their parents for the first few years of their marriage until they could buy their own house and move out. In case of a daughter if she married a British-born it was easy, she would move with her in-laws. But if the spouse came from Pakistan, he had to be housed as a *ghar-damad*³ (house son-in-law) until the time he established himself and he and his wife could afford a home of their own. Children rarely move out into rented accommodations. They only moved out when they could buy their own house.

Most of the older women, whose children had moved out still looked after their grandchildren as their daughters or daughters-in-law worked. For some the nature of kinship obligations meant a constant load of visitors and they needed the extra space. Mrs *Abrar Chaudry* had two rooms on the ground floor with a small kitchen. On the top floor she had three small rooms and a bath. Although she did not have any children of her own, her husband had two grown kids from a previous marriage who sometimes visited them. In addition, her elderly father in law lived with her. Their house was always full of guests. With the front room occupied by her father-in-law, the guests were received in the other room on the ground floor that they called their sitting room. Sometimes there would be five to six men sitting in this room, leaving no choice for her but to be cooped up in the kitchen. Although she did not cover up and easily chatted with the men visiting her husband, the norms of *pardah* demanded that she did not sit in these gatherings of unaccompanied men. She would stand in

² One of the councillors was of Caribbean ethnic origin

³ *Ghar* means home and *damad* means son-in-law. The term has derogatory connotations as no honourable son-in-law would live in the house of his in-laws and be dependent on them. It is considered a blow to the male ego to be termed as a *ghar-damad*. Katharine Charsley (2005); Malik (2016) discusses some of the social, cultural, and economic difficulties faced by these migrant husbands

the small kitchen for hours on end serving these endless gathering with tea, *samosas*, *kebabs* and even dinner depending on the time of the day. If these men would come with their wives, the women would sit in the upstairs bedroom and she would have to run upstairs and downstairs serving her guests. Her predicament was a constant source of squabbling with her husband. She convinced her husband to build a conservatory in front of this room with a door opening out on the side of the house. They finally had a conservatory built that was larger than their sitting room. The conservatory turned into a proper *mardan khana* (mens' quarters) where unaccompanied men were received and Mrs Chaudry had the inner sitting room all to herself as her *zenaan khana* (women's quarters). She was very proud of her conservatory and claimed that the whole of Slough turned up to see how it had been built - many wishing to replicate her design.

Sometimes women cleverly had these extensions done in a way to get their dominating husbands out of the way. They felt that in these small English houses, the husbands were always prying into their affairs, challenging their control and keeping an eye on their social circle.

'These English homes are so cramped you can never have any privacy when your *sahailian* visit,' declared *Sughra*. Instead of having a conservatory made, she opted for a separate room at the end of the garden. She had come round many times to inspect Mrs *Chaudry's* conservatory with her husband. She was trying to convince him to have one built in their house too. After the husband agreed to a conservatory, allocated the budget and hired the same builder as Mrs *Chaudry*, the finer details were left to *Sughra*. I was surprised to find a separate room at the end of garden instead of a conservatory when I visited to interview her and enquired how her reluctant husband had agreed to this major change. She owed it to a little *chalaaki* (cleverness) on her part. She had managed to convince her husband that Mrs *Chaudry's* type of conservatory was structurally not possible in their home. Her husband was away at work in the mornings when the builder came to make estimate. She managed to solicit the help of the builder to convince her husband with technical jargon as she feared that her pleas alone may not be sufficient. The builder Mr. *Kamran* had worked in Slough for the last sixteen years. He worked *desi* (ethnic; traditional) style. Used to this type of manoeuvring he was happy to go along. He spent hours in these homes and was well served with tea and food by the housewives, developing brotherly relations to most of these women who called him *Kamran Bhai* (*Kamran* brother). According to him

it didn't hurt his business and most women were happy. This way he got more work as well. It was a win win situation for all. *Sughra's* husband was happy that he had a place where he peacefully studied in the afternoons, watched television or entertained his friends. *Sughra* was happy that she had control over the living room where her friends could come and go and they could discuss whatever they liked.

2.2 Religious Gatherings and Weddings

Decorating houses with particular objects, displaying of calligraphy, taking out public processions, constructing mosques and performing certain rituals allow Muslims in diaspora to construct a specifically 'Muslim' space (Metcalf, 1996). Familiar shapes and practices are an effort to personalize the foreign, in the process creating and re-creating material culture. Mosque is the most visual expression of Muslim diaspora identity (Farrag, 2017) but what is more central is its role in the creation of material culture through human interactions. These human-object relations expand our understanding of material culture to accommodate human agency along with material objects (Khan, 2017).

There are a total of four mosques in Slough. The first one of these called the Montem Lane mosque is the oldest and was established in a terraced house in 1969. The second one, *Jamia Masjid Ghausia*, locally known as the Diamond Road Mosque, is the first purpose built mosque in Slough. Both Montem Lane and Diamond Road Mosques are run by the same administration and are of *Barelwi*⁴ orientation. The third major mosque is the *Jamia Masjid Islamic Centre* or the Stoke Poges Lane Mosque. The fourth mosque is the Ragstone Road Mosque or *Jamia Masjid Hazrat Sultan Bahu*, again of *Barelwi* orientation. There is a general perception that the *Jamia Masjid Islamic Centre* (Stoke Poges Mosque) is of *wahabi*⁵ orientation. Although the trustees of the mosque

⁴ Pakistani Muslims in Britain largely follow the *Barelwi* tradition within *sunni* Islam. The 19th century *Barelwi* school was greatly influenced by the writings of Ahmad Raza Khan who belonged to *Bareilly* in India and hence the name of the tradition. It is tolerant of practices of praying at shrines and the love of the prophet expressed by celebrating his birth and singing *naat* (poetry recitation in the praise of Prophet Muhammad) and *qawwali* (sufi devotional songs). Since Punjabis in Pakistan are mostly *Barelwi*, it has a strong presence amongst British Muslims. Also See Metcalf 2003.

⁵ *Wahabi* school of thought traces its origin to its founding father, religious revivalist

categorically refuted this when interviewed, most older Pakistanis called it as such. The deputy Mayor in his interview alluded that they had received funding from rich Saudi donors who even gave the trustees of the mosque a Rado⁶ watch each on its inauguration. In addition to the homes of Pakistanis, mosques were also among the sites of analysis during the study. I regularly performed my *namaz-e-jumma* (Friday prayers) in the two big mosques on Stoke Poges Lane and the Diamond Road with a considerable number of women attending. During my stay two religious festivals were celebrated which involved gatherings of women attended by over five hundred women. These were the *Eid Milaad-un-Nabi* (festival celebrating the birth of Prophet Mohammad) and the spiritual gathering conducted on the 11th of the Islamic month *Rabi-us-Saanni*, *Ghiyirvin Sharif*, in the honour of a saint Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani commemorating his *urs* (the day he passed away)⁷.

The first time I visited Diamond Road Mosque was to attend a gathering of women celebrating *Ghiyirvin Sharif*. It was a Sunday afternoon. The hall at Diamond Road Mosque was bustling with over five-hundred women and children. There was a general mood of festivity about the gathering. Most women were dressed up as if for a wedding party: women in bright coloured *shalwar kameez*, in *hijabs* and flowing *duppattas*⁸. Despite the commotion that comes with having over five-hundred women in one place and in a festive mood, it was a very organised affair. There was an organising committee of women who could be easily seen owing to the bright yellow sashes worn across their shoulders.

Mohammed bin Abdul Wahab. This tradition has been the bedrock of Saudi Arabian practice of Islam since the pact between the founder of the Saud family, Mohammed Ibne Saud with Addul Wahab about two hundred and fifty years ago (Masoud 1999). *Wahabism*, a radical Unitarian doctrine, has gained influence all over the Muslim world due to the backing of the oil rich Saudis. *Wahabis* are categorically against introducing innovations in Islam and consider Muslims who visit graves as *kafirs* (non-believers).

⁶ A Rado watch is a symbol of opulent wealth in rural Pakistani culture. Gulf migrant workers would bring back a Rado watch for a family member in the 1980s and that would be showed off to the entire village, hence the Rado/Saudi connection.

⁷ *Ghiyarvin Sharif* is a spiritual gathering conducted on the 11th of every Islamic month commemorating the day of his passing away. *Ghiyarvin* means eleventh in the Urdu language.

⁸ *Dupatta* is not the same as a headscarf as it may or may not be used to cover the head. It is a rectangular piece of cloth usually one metre wide and two and a half metres to three metres long.

They were helping women get seated as well as asking them to stay quiet from time to time; there was another lady conducting the whole programme making announcements on a dais with the PA system. And there was a team of female *naat khawaan* (singers of *naat*) who sang *naat*, *hamd*⁹ and devotional songs in the honour of the saint in Urdu as well as Punjabi.

Everyone sat on the floor which had been covered with white sheets and a table and chair had been placed at the centre of the gathering. There was no one seated there at the beginning of the programme - it was reserved for *Bibi Jaan*, who I found out was the guest of honour, and was supposed to make a speech. I enquired about *Bibi Jan* from the woman seated next to me and was told that *Bibi Jan* was a religious woman who could trace her lineage to *Silsila-e-Qadria*¹⁰. Her father had come to England in the 1960s and had settled down in Blackburn. He made a name for himself when he bravely stood up to a group of skinheads and was much admired and respected for that. She gave spiritual guidance to women just as her ancestors had done back in Pakistan.

During the gathering, women chatted with each other non-stop and had to be hushed by the organisers again and again. Some even preferred to sit as far away from the centre as possible, near the entrance/exit which made chatting easier. They would only go silent at the end of each *naat* when all joined in the singing of *durood*¹¹.

The announcement of *Bibi Jaan's* arrival caused a bit of a stir. Announcements were being made again and again on the loudspeaker not to approach *Bibi Jan* and try to hug her. However, keeping in view how much women revered *Bibi Jan*, permission to kiss her hand was granted. As *Bibi Jan* came in, women sang *durood* fervently. *Bibi Jan* sat down on the podium. A *naat* was sung by a young girl in a very melodious voice. At the end of it, *Bibi Jan* made a speech which highlighted the importance of such religious festivals. She warned her audience against the propaganda of certain Muslims who downplayed the importance of *auliyaah* (saints). She also mentioned women approaching her repeatedly with the complaint of having no *sukoon* (peace) in their lives. She roared:

⁹ A *hamd* is a poem or song in praise of Allah.

¹⁰ *Sufi* chain leading to *Sheik Abdul Qadir Jilani*.

¹¹ Invoking blessing on Prophet Muhammad

*'I ask you why is there no sukoon in your lives? You are standing at the tills of Tescos, driving around in cars, then why is it that you are besukoon?'*¹²

Coming up with the answer herself, she asked women to do some soul searching and realise that running after material gains in Britain had taken them farther away from their religion and traditional values.

BibiJan's speech was interspersed with women chanting slogans. One woman would take the lead and the others would chant back:

Narai Takbeer, Allah-o-Akbar! (The slogan of Allah's greatness, Allah is Great)

Naraee Risaalat, Yaa Rasul Allah! (The Slogan of Prophethood, O Prophet of Allah)

Nara-e- Haideri, Yaa Ali! (The slogan of Haider, O Ali)

At the end of the speech, there was a *dua* (calling out to Allah; supplication) after which food was served. Women mingled with each other and sat around the place for a long time. The entire event stretched over a good four hours or so.

This was not the only gathering of women that I attended during my fieldwork in Slough. I was part of other *Khatam-e-Quran* gatherings which were a regular feature. Fifteen or twenty women would get together in a house to read Quranic text. There would be recitation of *naats* after the Quranic reading and then a joint *dua* would be held. Food would be served at the end and women would lounge around chatting with their tea and *samosas*¹³. This was the part most women were interested in as these occasions were treated as get-togethers.

Most men I met were very disapproving of such gatherings. They openly complained against their wives who left homes for hours neglecting housework. They, however, found restraining their wives difficult as it was done in the name of religion. *Baji Kishwar* confided how her husband complained each time she went. She warned him against Allah's wrath on such occasions and that according to her would, '*shut him up.*' She was very proud of being a part of the organising committee

¹² Invoking blessing on Prophet Muhammad.

¹³ *Samosa* is a stuffed pastry with a variety of spicy fillings.

as it gave her something to important to do and allowed her time with her friends simultaneously.

Although such gatherings were quite common in Slough, and heavily attended, some young women I interviewed did say that they did not attend most of them. *Shehla* was one such young respondent. *Shehla's* mother was an active participant of such *Durse* and *Khatam-e-Quran* gatherings. Though I had seen *Shehla* on the *Eid Milaad-un-Nabi* celebration in the Diamond Road Mosque, she owned to attending it only because everyone in her family was going. According to her most of the women in such gatherings were either first-generation British-Pakistanis or spouses who had only recently come to this country. For women who were born and raised in Pakistan and then brought over to England as spouses, such gatherings were important as they allowed them to be part of social networks they lacked here.

When asked if there were any alternative religious groups of younger British-born women in Slough that she could go to, *Shehla* mentioned *Al-Nisa* but mused that most Pakistani women avoided it. *Al-Nisa* met in the Stoke Poges mosque – a mosque that was labelled as *wahabi* by many Pakistanis in Slough owing to the fact that it had been funded by some Saudis. *Al-Nisa* was not popular among the British-Pakistani women in Slough because they felt that you had to be the '*hijab* and *abayah*¹⁴' type to be part of it. Although *Shehla* considered herself to be religious, her conception of religiousness did not match with those at *Al-Nisa*. She felt that one had to be very devout to be included in that group. She was the only one of my respondents who actually mentioned *Al-Nisa*; none of the others even knew that it even existed. Whereas hundreds¹⁵ of women turned up for the festive occasions in Diamond road mosque, only a handful were members of *Al-Nisa*. The religiousness expressed by *Bibi Jan* and displayed at the *khatam-e-Quran mehfil*

¹⁴ Long black cloak worn on top of garments.

¹⁵ While I was writing the thesis, I found out that the number of women attending *Khatam-Quran mehfil* organised by British-Pakistani women in Slough increased to an extent that the hall in the Diamond Road mosque was insufficient to accommodate them. To celebrate *EidMilad-un-Nabi* in March 2009, the women gathered money and paid around £3000 to rent a private hall. Reportedly 1500 women attended. This time the popularity of the event had spread beyond their town and its neighbouring places. *Baji Tazeem* reported that three coaches full of women came from Manchester and one from Birmingham only to attend.

allowed women to create social spaces outside their homes that gave them a chance to express themselves and therefore were more popular.

Religious gatherings were not the only occasions that provided women with a chance to get together in Slough. Pakistani weddings in Britain are becoming as elaborate affairs as they were back home. A typical Pakistani wedding has three main functions – *mehndi*¹⁶, *baraat* and *waleema*. But women start getting together for *dholki* sessions days before the main function days. *Wajeeha's* wedding was one such affair. She had come to Britain as a visitor. During her stay she was proposed to by a British-Pakistani. The proposal was accepted with the joint consultation of her maternal Uncle in Slough, her maternal Aunt in Bolton and her sister who also lived in Slough. It was decided that the wedding should take place here in Slough before *Wajeeha* leaves for Pakistan. Despite the fact that her immediate family was not here in the UK, her extended family got together to arrange a grand wedding befitting their *gujjar baraderi*.

Women gathered at *Wajeeha's* sister, *Tasneem's*, house after dinner each day two weeks before the wedding. Songs were sung on a *dholak*¹⁷. An all-women's affair, teenage girls, nieces, daughters of neighbours and friends practiced dance routines on popular Hindi songs. Menfolk sat in a separate room. Sometimes boys were allowed in to provide technical support such as help with the audio system. *Tasneem* and her daughters merrily served women with tea and sweet meats. On most days, as the evening would start to die and women and young girls would tire of singing and dancing they would form groups of two to three and engage in chit chat. Sometimes items of *Wajeeha's* trousseau would be brought out and elaborate discussions would follow like where to shop on the Oxford street for the perfect *lehnga*¹⁸, trips to South Hall, which beautician to be employed for her make-up etc. Serious subjects other than the forthcoming wedding would also be usually discussed especially by older women. Most of these women had had pretty long days and would have to get up early morning next day but they were not willing to let a chance of getting together go by.

¹⁶ *Mehndi* is henna ceremony, *baraat* is the main wedding day on which the *nikah* is performed and *waleema* is a reception given by the groom's family to mark the consummation of the marriage. Details follow in chapter 6.

¹⁷ *Dohlki* or *dholak* is a small drum beaten with hands.

¹⁸ It's a full-length skirt type of garment worn with a short shirt. A bridal *lehnga* is heavily embroidered.

2.3 Networks of Help and Advice - Dress makers and Beauticians

In Slough many Asian-women had opened dress-making shops within their homes. Such places were frequented by women to socialize, discuss their problems and seek advice from other women. Mrs *Husnain* was one of the three such women I interviewed. She stitched *shalwar kameez* for £20 pounds a *jora* (a pair). Many women visited her house. She not only sat and chatted with them but also provided counselling. On one occasion, one of her customers complained about her husband sponsoring a family of relatives to come and visit. The wife suspected that they would not go back and would stay on as illegal immigrants. She was not as worried about the illegality of the issue as, of the fact that it would be an added burden on her in terms of house-work. She would have to feed these guests and wash for them. She complained that whenever any of her in-laws turned up they would not even move a dirty plate from the dinner table to the wash basin let alone help her wash it. She also complained that her husband was very stingy when it came to giving her any extra money but would spend lavishly on setting these relatives of his up in England. Mrs *Husnain* advised her to look into her husband's papers and get hold of the names and passport numbers of the prospective visitors to call the home office anonymously asking them to scrutinize the case more carefully. The visa applications of those relatives were turned down, though it is unknown if the call was ever made.

Local Asian beauticians were a source of such advice as well. *Anjum*, a 40-year old Pakistani-spouse who ran a successful beauty salon in her home, advised a customer to call 999 when she complained about her abusive husband. When the woman said it was impossible to call from home, she told her to inform her GP about it. *Anjum* seemed to be advising women on all issues, from securing council housing to immigration problems. She would also pass on phone numbers of 'women-friendly' and helpful councillors and other resourceful persons from the Asian community.

She also seemed to be a valuable source of advice on another important issue – how to pass your driving test. Learning how to drive and then successfully securing the full driver's license was very important for women in Slough. For spouses from Pakistan, getting the license was deemed as important as getting a British citizenship. Women felt that learning to drive was their first step towards independence and freedom. They encouraged other women to learn how to drive and passed on useful tips such as easy tactics to get permission from the men of the house,

which driving school to go to, when and where to book a test, and even common errors that led to a failure in the test. *Anjum* had the number of a Pakistani female driving instructor in case you were from a conservative family, instructors who charged less and were flexible on lesson timings, instructors who had a 100% success rate of passed in first attempt students etc. I too, thanks to the assistance of my Pakistani respondents, passed my driving test for a full driver's license in Slough. The number of people who turned up to congratulate me rivalled those who had turned up for the *mubarki*¹⁹ (congratulatory visit) of my first born, bringing home to me the importance of this achievement for Pakistani women in Slough.

3. Conclusion

This article demonstrates how material and cultural practices among the Pakistan women of Slough, serve as more than just a means of preserving a sense of cultural identity. For these women, attending religious gatherings and weddings, subscribing to traditional dress codes, and remodelling English homes to suit the needs of a Pakistani family serve as a means to negotiate spaces that would otherwise not be available to them. The spatial reorganization of their realities along the lines of social networks enables Pakistani women to deal with everyday manifestations of systematic hurdles. What results is women constructing material and social worlds that are unique to their positions within a larger diaspora community.

¹⁹ The two most important kinship rituals considered obligatory within the Pakistani community were *afsos* (condolence) and *mubarki*(congratulations). In Slough, condolatory visits were paid to people who had lost a family member in Britain/Pakistan to even a cow or goat in their village in Pakistan. They were extended for all major to trivial mishaps. *Baji Tehreem's* brother in law (husband's brother) passed away during my fieldwork. The deceased was also the father-in-law of her son. Sixteen members of their extended family immediately left for Pakistan the very day news reached England. Those who were left behind maintained a *phoorri* (a condolatory vigil) in *Baji Tehreem's* house for a period of ten days. During this time, her daughters received guests who had come to offer their condolences. These visits were renewed on *Baji Tehreem* and her husband's return from Pakistan. Similar is the case for *mubarki*. People were gravely offended if their far and near kin did not turn up for such offerings. *Zeenat*, a British-born, had bought new sofas for her house. She complained several times against some of her friends and relatives who had forgotten to congratulate her on this new addition to her home in her interview as an indication of the increasing loss of values amongst some people here.

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Revisiting the Cultural Heritage Laws in Pakistan to Identify Policy Gaps

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Abstract

This study provides a critical insight and identifies gaps in the contemporary cultural heritage laws in Pakistan. Apart from a quick historical review this study explores the push-factors on the lawmaking process, preferences and the connotation using the lens of culture. It is ontologically a reflective epistemology. It also argues that culture and economic conditions play a vital role in formulation and regulation of the cultural policies. The study highlights the role of UNESCO in promoting cultural heritage worldwide and its connectedness with the domestic evolution of cultural heritage laws in Pakistan. This paper is significant because the agency is renegotiated between the federating units and the federation after the 18th amendment in the constitution of Pakistan. However, it is significant for Pakistan to develop her image as a heritage loving nation in the comity of the nations. The social episteme to analyze the people's behaviors and it is a diverse process that may be categorized in different logical scenarios. Looking at the motivations or pull-factors may bring forth the significance of ideas for promoting and preservation of cultural heritage for the future. The data was collected by using ethnographic research methods and tools including participant observation, in-depth interviews and focused group discussion.

Keywords: cultural heritage, policy, UNESCO, 18th Amendment of Constitution of Pakistan

1. Introduction

Cultural Heritage is a complex idea that invokes multitude of meanings, embedded in a general idea of culture. Culture is geographical bonded and it cannot be mixed up by any religious philosophy or otherwise because it evolves from the soil and also belongs to the people and every country has

its own culture¹. Generally, the conquerors, invaders and rulers might have left their cultural influences through acculturation but often they are assimilated and acquired as part of the local culture. Cultural heritage is manifested through monuments, clusters of old buildings, historical sites and other forms of architecture and infrastructures. Cultural heritage provides the social capital for local communities through a shared understanding of the past which contributes to the social cohesion within the community².

The declaration on Cultural Heritage 2003 of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) explained that cultural heritage is a significant aspect of the cultural identity of the communities, groups and individuals and also a source of social amalgamation³. It has a significant role in every society for glorifying the past. However, many of the communities are incapable to protect, preserve or promote their valuable cultural heritage in the wake of contemporary modernization and technological advancement with climate change lead by the over consumption of fossil fuels. UNESCO is doing serious efforts for the protection and preservation of the evidence of the significant past; a past that is conceived through material cultural heritage that invokes a sense of socio-cultural belonging in the rapidly changing social arena of the globe⁴. In other words, heritage is a significant marker of identity. The destruction of cultural heritage may pose serious consequences for future generations; apart from the loss of connectivity with the cultural past.

The preventive role of UNESCO to protect cultural heritage is vital, since the establishment of the convention in 1972, it has effectively tried to the protection of the global heritage. The convention also proved to be the largest international treaty for securing and safeguarding the heritage of the world. The treaty has the salient features that it correlates

¹T.S. Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1973): 3-9.[N.B.: in this article the contributor was allowed to insert full citations in the footnotes instead of using the standard final bibliography (or "References"), which is customary in this Journal].

² M. Harris, *Culture, people, nature: An introduction to general anthropology* (New York: Longman, 1997): 57-63.

³ Draft UNESCO, Declaration concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage, Paris: UNESCO 2003.

⁴ UNESCO, Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Paris: UNESCO 1972.

the concepts of conservation and preservation of the world culture in a single agreement which makes this treaty more unique in nature. Under the UNESCO convention 2003, this treaty highlighted the growing threats to natural and cultural relics worldwide and doing necessary preemptive actions for mitigating the growing concerns⁵. Furthermore, it has reshaped the concept of collective efforts for the protection of the world heritage beyond the limits.

Despite the ancient roots of cultural history of the region, it is academically prudent to think of Pakistan's cultural heritage and its legislative and policy aspects from the partition of India and the inception of Pakistan as a new state in August, 1947. The main hypothesis of the creation of a separate state took place with claims of a distinct cultural heritage from the Hindus. The Muslims of India wanted a country in which they can live freely and manifest their cultural identity as a cultural entity⁶. The establishment of Pakistan was the advent evidence of a separate cultural heritage because Muslims were living together for centuries but they have not commonalities in food and others pattern of life with Hindus and other religious groups of the south-Asia. However, on the other hand, Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) was entirely different but considered to be a part of Pakistan. Both wings were unruffled on the name of Islam but in reality, no cultural similarities were found between them. Therefore, it is overt that we may observe a religious overtone to legislature and policy related to cultural heritage rather than culture per se in the case of Pakistan.

Six heritage sites from Pakistan are solicited on the UNESCO list of world heritage including the archaeological relics at Moenjodaro, the historical monuments of Thatta from Sindh, the Buddhist monuments of Takht-i-Bahi and Taxila from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the Rohtas Fort, the Lahore Fort and the Shalamar Gardens from Punjab⁷. These aforementioned historical sites are representing the three major provinces of Pakistan and another ruins of oldest civilization is found at Mehrgarh in Balochistan which is not included in the list of UNESCO world heritage sites yet.

⁵ UNESCO 2003.

⁶ S.M. Ikram, Percival Spear, eds, *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), pp. 16-25.

⁷ UNESCO, Country Programming Document for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Islamabad: UNESCO, 2008,

Furthermore, one drastic thing came into knowledge that the frail conditions of Lahore Fort and the Shalamar Gardens engendered alarming bell for the world heritage committee and both historical places have included in the list of 'World Heritage in Danger' in 2000. The apprehension is reflecting an overall lack of awareness, capacity, skills and public funding for the preservation of Pakistan's heritage⁸. Since 1976 to date, UNESCO has selected six historical sites in Pakistan which mentioned above as for World Heritage Sites and also eighteen sites have been nominated on the provisional list. Pakistan's heritage properties are the subject of periodic monitoring by the World Heritage Committee. Although mentioning of the cultural heritage sites among endangered ones in the UNESCO list is alarming, albeit; no legislative or policy level initiative reflects that it is taken as a serious issue. If compared to the steps taken by India regarding Taj Mahal; where the vicinity is cleared to avoid environmental and noise pollution by the transport vehicles. A greater 'walled city Lahore' project is initiated under walled city Lahore Authority that is a significant policy and practice advancement.

An important and positional aspect of the convention of 2005, the Article 02 'the protection, promotion and preservation of the diversity of cultural expression provided the guidelines that all properties enlisted on the world heritage list must have adequate long-term legislative, regulatory, institutional and/or traditional protection and management to ensure their safeguarding⁹. The article 04 of the Convention 2005 described that the 'Cultural Heritage' is an expression of the ways of living, developed by a group of people or community and passed through generation to generation which included cultural content, customs, practices, artistic expression and values¹⁰. According to UNESCO, it is often expressed as either tangible or intangible cultural heritage respectively. However inheritance is a broad concept that comprehends the natural and historic legacy of the nation.

The tangible cultural heritage covers with moveable cultural heritage (sculptures, paintings, manuscripts and coins), immovable cultural heritage (archaeological site and monuments). The intangible cultural heritage constructed on the bases of oral traditions, rituals and

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ UNESCO, *The Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, Paris: UNESCO, 2005,

¹⁰ Ibid.

performing arts¹¹. The fascination of heritage places can provide a helping hand in boosting country's tourism industry domestically in general and internationally in particular. The lucrativeness of the visiting heritage places, museums, events and cultural festivals can become a major source of revenue and also can assist in promoting the soft image a country to the world. There are pathways to protect intangible cultural heritage through legislative and policy measures but for tangible cultural heritage it is more important because at identity level an artifact may be an idiosyncratic to one community or culture, however, as shared heritage it is a global responsibility and legislative, regulatory and policy measures will ensure continuity of culture. There are challenges in post 18th amendment scenario regarding Pakistan; there are lacunas in policy and practices at provincial level hampering the potential of revenue and tourism synergy with cultural heritage.

UNESCO promotes 'Culture' as a key instrument for the development in its own rights. Cultural heritage, thus, a significant role in capacity building programs for communities and also an income generating potential for cross cultural events and activities¹². Another aspect of culture is to play an important role in initiating dialogue between the people and communities. It also displays the image of different perspectives that providing identity inside societies. In order to meet the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), then culture needs to be recognized as an important factor for sustainable development. Nevertheless, cultural heritage has a capacity to play a vital role for the nation building programs for the world including Pakistan. Thus, keeping in view of these dimensions of culture, it becomes more significant to facilitate any regulatory or grievances resolution mechanism for culture and heritage through legal and policy frameworks and actions.

Furthermore, cultural heritage has also been acknowledged as a driver of sustainable development, peace, stability and economic progress of the country because it brought societies and nations together. Keeping in mind, culture as a national priority, the government is developing a national policy on culture, working on the basis that the diversity of the country's rich cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible which is an essential requirement for sustainable development. This policy aims to

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² UNESCO, Country Programming Document for the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Islamabad: UNESCO, 2008,

define the cultural values with the strong participation of people and communities. Through this policy, a healthy environment for training, education and performance of different cultural activities on local level and nation level will strive the people to participate in cultural programs. In this regard, if this policy is implemented with its full essence, then, it would be able to support and strengthen the national solidarity. This policy can also create harmony in diverse religious and social-cultural points of view.

2. Definition of Culture

To understand cultural heritage and related laws it is of utmost importance to understand conceptual underpinnings of culture. The study of culture and its components have fascinated the attention of the contemporary researchers from its multi-dimensional aspects of study. Renowned anthropologists including Franz Boas¹³ (1940, 242), Ruth Benedict¹⁴ (1934[1959]: 29), Margaret Mead¹⁵ (1928:9), Edward Sapir¹⁶ (1949:79-84) and Benjamin Lee Whorf strongly advocating the argument that customs, social structure of the community, religious and social practices play a significant role for a society. Culture is defined as the socially transformed knowledge and behavior shared by the communities over generations¹⁷.

Culture denotes the learned and collective experiences and also socially transformed patterns of behaviors of a society or community¹⁸. Culture is a complex web and based upon the knowledge, art, moral values and customs of a society¹⁹. The culture of a society comprised of a

¹³ F. Boas, *Race, Language and Culture* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1940): 244

¹⁴ R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York: A Mentor Book – The New American Library, 1934 [1959]): 29

¹⁵ M. Mead, *An Inquiry into the Question of Cultural Stability in Polynesia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928): 9

¹⁶ E. Sapir, *Culture, Language and Personality: Selected essays edited by David G. Mandelbaum*, (California: University of California Press, 1949): 79-84

¹⁷ J.G. People, *Humanity: Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (California: Wadsworth Publishing, 2012): 97-105.

¹⁸ R.M. Keesing, *Cultural Anthropology: A Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Publishers, 1981): 4-11.

¹⁹ E.B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (London: J. Murray Publishers, 1871): 5.

collective ideas, emotional sentimental patterns and behaviors which they share on regular basis²⁰. Furthermore, culture is socially acquired patterns of life and bounds people together²¹. Culture is the multi-dimensional approach which consists of knowledge, belief, art, moral values, laws, customs and other practices or habit which a human being learned from the society²². It is more powerful than the religion, rather religion is subservient to culture. Every society has different levels of culture practices and rituals. More often, cultural activities are more desirable²³. Culture is the sharing and transmission of memory, ideology, emotions, life-styles, scholarly and artistic works, and other symbols²⁴. Moreover, Gusfield defined that cultures demonstrate modern societies at different levels either in uniformity or conflict²⁵. Culture is a systematic way of life which is based upon the traditions and environment that is effecting on human beings. Laws and religion bounded the human beings and culture is highly patterned and directed them through norms and value²⁶.

While defining the intangible aspect of culture, it is to be known as shared belief system, common norms and values, behaviors and languages of the society which hold them strongly together²⁷. UNESCO defined culture as the complex whole of distinctive spiritual, intellectual, material and emotional features which are categorized by a group of society²⁸. Thus, culture is a pattern of life of a society in which they perform certain

²⁰ R. Linton, *The study of man; an introduction* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co, 1936), 7.

²¹ M. Harris, *Culture, people, nature: An introduction to general anthropology* (New York: Longman, 1997): 11-15.

²² A. Blumenthal "A New Definition of Culture," *American Anthropological Association*, 42, 4 (1940): 572-573.

²³ T.S. Eliot, *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1973): 6-7.

²⁴ Akira Iriye "Culture," *The Journal of American History*, 77, 1 (1990): 100.

²⁵ J.R. Gusfield, "Culture," *American Sociological Association*, 5, 1 (2006): 43-44.

²⁶ C. Dawson, *Religion and Culture* (Washington D.C: The Catholic University of America Press, 2013): 5.

²⁷ A.-M. Deisser and Mugwima Njuguna, eds, *Conservation of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Kenya: A cross disciplinary approach* (London: UCL Press, 2016), pp. 6-12.

²⁸ UNESCO, Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies. Mexico: UNESCO, 1982.

socio-religious rituals together on the bases of common beliefs, behaviors and values, these activities are transformed from generation to generation. These definitions of the cultural heritage can be described in number of ways which is often subjective and at times idiosyncratic intangible part of culture. Keeping in mind the definition of UNESCO Convention of Cultural Heritage which inculcated with larger frame of cultural expressions, customs and social practices of the communities. However, Labadi expressed that heritage is an intertwined relation between nature and culture²⁹.

3. Locale and Methodology

This is a multi-sited research and conducted in different cities of Pakistan including Islamabad, Rawalpindi and Lahore. Qualitative research methodology was adopted to understand the socio-legal position on cultural heritage in Pakistan with a clear goal to identify the policy gaps that prevail in the existing situation. To critically examine the cultural heritage of Pakistan and the immensity of the study is attained through archival or secondary data in the form of books, documents, research articles from various journals, UNESCO reports, national policies on cultural heritage, different cultural institutions working inside the country and relevant documents from official records of Culture and Heritage Division of Pakistan. The secondary data lead to design questionnaire guides to collect primary data from different stakeholders through twenty interviews and four discussions. This research tried to clarify and examine the concepts of world cultural heritage laws and its implementation on Pakistan. Furthermore, the data is also taken from credible sources like periodicals of organizations such as American Anthropological Association, Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Asia Society, Asian American Arts Centre, Pakistan National Council for the Arts (PNCA), National College of Arts (NCA), Pakistan Academy of Letters, National Institute of Folk and Traditional Heritage, Lok Virsa and National Performing Art.

²⁹ S. Labadi, "A review of the Global Strategy for a balanced, representative and credible World Heritage List 1994–2004," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 7, 2 (2013): 97.

4. Research Questions

Research question that lead this enquiry are based on the principal observation of consistency of language, concepts and frameworks in national or provincial documents, laws and policy texts as continuity of international treaties and conventions related to culture and cultural heritage. Primary question is “*how state policies and laws can play an affective role in promoting heritage loving nation image to the world?*” Albeit, it is necessary to review the existing state of laws and policies or regulations and practices concerning Pakistan’s cultural heritage; in addition to the identification of lags and the causes of those lags between policies, laws and practices. An overview of issues that curtail protection, preservation, and promotion of Pakistani Cultural Heritage might not be possible within this paper’s scope but it will touch the matter from policy gap perspective.

5. Cultural Heritage as National Issue

Cultural Heritage is often ignored as the national issue or a national priority in almost the complete history of Pakistani politics. However, it is often prevailed as omnipotent category in national and provincial politics. Aitzaz Ahsan, a senior politician raised a pertinent question in his book the Indus Saga; “what, in essence, is Pakistani identity?”³⁰. This paper is a contribution to bring forth the cultural heritage as a central concern in national and provincial agenda. It describes the observed existing pathways to preserve, protect and promote cultural heritage of Pakistan and also provide suggestions for future. One major concern that regulates this study is to attempt to guide an inclusive cultural heritage policy from an anthropological perspective.

6. Overview of the Texts in the Context

The research is based on an extensive literature review. Firstly, it tried to elaborate the past and current discussions and positions on world culture and heritage. Second, it examined the cultural diversity of Pakistan and how laws and policies have been implemented for the protection of

³⁰ A. Aitzaz, *The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

cultural heritage. Thirdly, it reviewed new trends affecting cultural heritage and how local population perceive about it.

In today's scholarly world, the concepts of cultural heritage cannot be studied separately. In fact, the concepts developed alongside and closely linked with others. Prominent anthropologist including Margret Mead, Marvin Harris, Charles Wagely, Ruth Benedict, Levi-Strauss, Roger Callois and Lucien Bernot works and their efforts must be admirable for this field. Most of the existing literature relates to individual properties but not to how the world heritage system works or functional aspects in holistic terms. Publications that are widely accepted as impactful on the subject matter which directly related to this issue such as R. Jon McGee and Richard L. Warms *Anthropological Theory an Introductory History* (2008) captivated the characteristic of anthropological studies such as behavior, beliefs, and lifestyles of people in the context of cultural assimilation being adapted in the world. This is a great effort for knowing the history about the cultures of the past who disappeared a long time ago. Furthermore, it correlates the cultural acquaintances of the past with present in a decent way³¹.

Tim Ingold *Key Debates in Anthropology* (1996) concerns on the current theories which have been applied in anthropology for promoting a continuing dialogue process among cultural entities with divergent viewpoints in contemporary anthropology³². However, Paul Rabinow *Anthropos Today Reflection on Modern Equipment* (2003) describes that when someone wants to transform "logos" into "ethos" which equally required the explanation for understanding the culture of the society. Furthermore, he advocated the Foucault's concept of structuralism in which human indicating practices have been described that the rule of governed semiotic systems established subjects as a function of discourse, cultures infusion with deep meaning and the significance of interpretation which is required for understanding the cultural heritage³³.

Moreover, S.M Ikram and P. Spear's *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* (1955) focusing on the Islamic culture and heritage in Pakistan that has been existed after the attack of a Muslim Arab conquer Muhammad Bin Qasim on sub-continent in 712 A.D. Although, he also

³¹ ³¹ McGee, R. J. and R.L. Warms, *Anthropological Theory An Introductory History* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2008).

³² T. Ingold, *Key Debates in Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1996).

³³ P. Rabinow, *Anthropos Today Reflection on Modern Equipment* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003).

glorifies the significance of pre-Islamic cultural heritage in India³⁴. Furthermore, Aziz Ahmad *Cultural and Intellectual Trends in Pakistan (1965)* described the cultural diversity between Bangladesh (former East Pakistan) and West Pakistan. However, he lamented that after the creation of Pakistan, the great Urdu poets were ignored that's became the reason for the downfall in literature. The government failed to implement a unified policy for the protection of the national heritage of both wings of Pakistan³⁵.

Additionally, David Gilmartin *Partition, Pakistan, and South Asian History: In Search of a Narrative (1998)* explained that the Pakistan Movement had become a symbol of moral and cultural order in 1940s with the slogan of Muslim nationalism. As a result, sub-continent divided and Pakistan emerged on the map of the world in 1947, with integrating cultural and linguistic diversity, but rather one of imprinting its authority onto a new and intractable territory. Although, he remained quite skeptical about the political elite of Pakistan who failed to institute a common cultural policy for the Pakistani society³⁶. However, Syed Jalaluddin Haider *Archives in Pakistan (2004)* focused on the National Archives of Pakistan, he also argued the role of the archival collections at the provincial and district levels. Likewise, he identified different problems at different levels which create complications for knowing the history and culture of the country³⁷.

Saadia Toor, (*A National Culture for Pakistan: the Political Economy of a Debate, 2005*) defined that culture has immense importance in formulating national policy on cultural heritage. Furthermore, she explained that cultural nationalism can be seen as the outstanding form of nationalism in the 21st century, particularly within the concept of neo-colonial and globalization contexts. It has a way in which civic or political nationalisms go together for understanding the relationship of power for the formulation of state policies on culture³⁸. Ping Kong *Social Quality in*

³⁴ S.M. Ikram and P. Spear, *The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

³⁵ A.Ahmad, "Cultural and Intellectual Trends in Pakistan," *Middle East Journal*, 19, 1, (1965): 35-44.

³⁶ D. Gilmartin, "Partition, Pakistan, and South Asian History: In Search of a Narrative," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 57, (1998): 1068-1095.

³⁷ S.J. Haider, "Archives in Pakistan," *Journal of Archival Organization*, 2, 4 (2004): 29-52.

³⁸ S. Toor, "A National culture for Pakistan: the political economy of a debate" *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 6, 3 (2005): 318-340.

the Conservation Process of Living Heritage Sites (2008) described that the economic benefits and political prestige of the tourists destroys the social quality of the local community. Furthermore, he argued that the policies which have been implemented in living World Heritage sites carried negative impacts on the social quality of traditional communities. He also expounded to develop a policy which reduces the negative influences on the social quality although applying the UNESCO World Heritage conservation program³⁹.

Patty Gerstenblith *Cultural Heritage Legal Summary (2009)* explained the United States of America's efforts in depositing the ratification of Hague convention of 1954, which maintain the cultural heritage in the conflict zones. USA is the first country who ratified the Hague Convention on the protection of 'Cultural Property' during war or conflicted areas. However, USA signed MoU with China to impose restriction including archaeological materials of the Paleolithic (beginning 75,000 BC.) through the Tang Dynasty which aims to the protection of world heritage in genuine form⁴⁰. Furthermore, UNESCO World Heritage Convention (*Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)*) provides the basic guideline for the conservation of the cultural heritage and also provides policy and instructions for the preservation of world cultural heritage. This is a modern document which defines restriction and limitations of world culture heritage⁴¹. Likewise, Bart J.M. van der Aa *Preserving the heritage of humanity? Obtaining world heritage status and the impacts of listing (2005)*, explains the role of World Conservation Union or the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) for nominating the site for the World Heritage. Furthermore, it defines that the site is natural or cultural in character and how experts assess the quality of the site for World Heritage. It also elucidated the significance of cultural sites for cultural heritage⁴².

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³⁹ Ping Kong, *Social Quality in the Conservation Process of Living Heritage Sites* (Groningen, The Netherlands: International Forum on Urbanism, 2008)

⁴⁰ Patty Gerstenblith, "Cultural Heritage Legal Summary," *Journal of Field Archaeology*, vol. 35, no. 02 (2010): 237-243.

⁴¹ UNESCO, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. Paris: UNESCO, 1972,

⁴² Bart J.M. van der Aa, *Preserving the heritage of humanity? Obtaining world heritage status and the impacts of listing* (Groningen, Netherlands: University of Groningen/UMCG research database, 2005)

7. Identification of the problems for making heritage laws

7.1 Protection

A global study was conducted on the protection of cultural heritage from 1987-1993 that was a great initiative for understanding the dilemmas about the protection of heritage. The main purpose of conducting this research was to find out the gray areas for handling culture heritage. Moreover, the study suggested framework for addressing the mishandling issues related to the cultural heritage sites. The protection of the common heritage has become a global phenomenon and collective efforts are needed in this regard. The combined efforts of provincial and federal government can provide a mechanism for the protection of heritage for the future generations.

Personal interviewed with an official at Jaulian site part of the ruins of Taxila dated October 17, 2017, the interlocutor respondent's verbatim was:

“Chezo ka chori hona sb se bara masla hai aur baz okat logo ko purani chezain mil bhi jati hai lakin who unhain chupa lety hai ya phir thory paiso ki khater unhain bech dety hai.”

Translation: burglary has become a major concern for the protection of heritage, more often, people finds old relics but they conceal them or sold out at scantily amount of money.

For addressing these intricate manners, government should create awareness programs among the local communities adjacent with the heritage site for the protection of heritage remains.

Protection is a multifaceted task; it includes theft of relics and artefacts from the sites and surroundings. Smuggling cases are often reported but the laws are not ample to withhold the culprits. Policy need to focus on giving the ownership of cultural heritage to the local communities and plan assistance of the experts to be availed by the local communities. There is an often ignored aspect of making communities financial partners in an attempt to mitigate the threats of theft. A vigilant and aware domestic customs wing is mandatory for mitigating theft and

smuggling of material cultural heritage. In addition to this; policy shall suggest mechanisms for bilateral contact and contracts to keep a check on smuggling and to ease the return of any such artefacts. France returned terracotta ancient relics to Pakistan that were seized by the French customs a decade ago⁴³.

7.2 Compromised Protection (cutting off nose to Idols) under religious praxes

Protection of heritage relics are very important for preserving cultural heritage. The major issue is that idols and similar artefacts are metonyms of Hinduism that is constructed as foe or binary opposite in the two nation theory. That is a combination of opposition at two layers, one Islamic where religion is anti-idol worship; two, latent hate for Hinduism among Pakistani Muslims. The vernacular expressions of this alterity is a major threat to protection of cultural artifacts that are part of diverse religious traditions of Pakistan.

Personal interview with official at Taxila Museum dated October 19, 2017, *Log bouton (idols) kay kareeb jany se bhi darty hai, kyu kay Islami taleemat kay mutabik bout rakhna ya bout parasti krna haram hai. Ic liay ajaib ghar (museum) main jo bout hum daikhty hai aksar un ki naak (nose) kati hoti hai.*

(Translation: according to Islamic values, keeping idols are restricted and disallowed, therefore, people are afraid to touch them. When we see idols in museums, one thing comes to observation that their noses cut off.)

When societies turned intolerant, then, the understanding of the importance of cultural heritage and social history gets blurred or tainted. Unfortunately, Pakistan has passed through the intolerance phase of history where the promulgation of Islamic discourse in a wrong way has become a common practice. Personal interview with an expert on international relations gave an example of the discourse is found, when a gigantic statue of Buddha was destroyed by the Taliban in Bamiyan Afghanistan in 2001 and they justified this act by positioning Islam as

⁴³ <https://daillytimes.com.pk/422896/france-returns-stolen-relics-to-pakistan/>

anti-idolism. The international community raised their concerns over the annihilation of the largest statue of Buddha, and they strongly condemned this act and considered it a worse example of religious extremism against UNESCO world heritage. Another example can be seen in the Taxila Museum where most of the Buddha statues are found without noses.

7.3 Conservation (Provision of funds. Role of donors)

The execution of the conservation programmes for the protection of cultural heritage are based upon the interconnecting concepts of cultural diversity among different institutions for mitigating the risk of destruction. Conservation requires huge investments. It is not always possible, to feed in ample amount of money for the conservation purposes, for the government. The role of donor agencies is significant to keep things going. Apart from financial requirements; skills and expertise are required for conservation that may require international cooperation and sharing of personnel services. A more flexible framework to allow transnational cooperation in this regard is always required.

Personal interview with an official at the Ministry of Finance dated 10 April 2018, *the financial embezzlement, discrepancies and irregularities are creating an obstacle in the way of developing an adequate monitoring for the funds by the donors and financial institutions. Ironically, no serious efforts have been made for controlling the misuse the funds and thought-provoking ideas are still lag behind.* One of the interlocutors expressed his views on the issue that it's a two way approach *firstly, what are the priorities of the government for cultural heritage and secondly, the role of donor agencies cannot be ignored.* In addition, there is a dire need to constitute a framework in which a strong check and balance espoused for monitoring mechanism for judging the accurate use of funds given by the government financial institutions and donors agencies.

There is a possibility to explore alternatives to generate more revenue for conservation; one may be the involvement of different corporations through utilization a share of their corporate social responsibility (CSR) funds. Instead of working in isolation; governmental offices or departments concerned with culture shall involve local chambers of commerce. Conservation is a highly skilled task and this requires specialized manpower. Unfortunately, Pakistan lacks in such

manpower. If universities are involved more actively only then such skilled experts can be produced; not only to conserve the cultural heritage of Pakistan but could serve across the globe and contribute towards the national economy. This aspect of conservation requires more participatory academia for cultural heritage.

7.4 Transmission (To educate students, school trips. Gender equality)

Education can provide a better understanding related to civic engagement and it can bring awareness in societal issues related to the protection of heritage. One of the interlocutors, a CEO of the prestigious school system, is of the view that *educated youth can play a significant role in nation building process and promoting national heritage of Pakistan. In the age of globalization, technology has reduced the distance and every-thing has reached to your access. Pakistan is the unique undiscovered treasure that when traveling the other parts of the country it is not mesmerized the scenic beauty of the area but also meet the people and learn the knowledge about them.* More often presenting yourself as a participant observer because observing the behaviors and characteristics of the native people. However, a retired official of Lok Virsa is of the view that *we are not well aware about our country but we know much about the world. Despite the fact that Pakistan is facing many problems but our domestic tourism is flourishing and greater connectivity can play a vital role in promoting the local tourism.* Through heritage, one can understand the culture of others and it may provide a bond for connectivity.

Pakistan needs an integrated policy that can help educators and educational institutions to appreciate the cultural heritage and diversity in curricula at primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education. Information and communication technologies should be part of promotional agenda and policy for educating masses about rich cultural heritage of Pakistan.

7.5 Subaltern voices

In a scholarly interaction with a prominent anthropologist stated that *government and private led participation is very important for promoting the national cultural heritage. There is a reality, if a nation wants a thriving heritage then it must be transformed to the future generations*

otherwise, it will disappear. Antonio Gramsci a well-known scholar coined the term subaltern⁴⁴ while working on cultural hegemony. He defined that if a group is deliberately ignored from the society and denied to have limited means of representation in their society. It does not mean oppressed things but everything that has limited access to cultural domain of difference of space⁴⁵. The question arises that who controls and monitors the national heritage and laws which voices are silenced and how can we make control and monitoring an inclusive process? There should be unified cultural policy in which all the communities can take part effectively.

A social activist working on cultural heritage is of the view that *the government of Pakistan is unable to formulate the cultural policy of the country because they are more focused on Punjab and ignored the smaller provinces even they are rich in heritage and old site. Furthermore, the youth of Pakistan is not interested in learning and knowing about the culture and they are mesmerized to see the Bollywood movies. Those nations who forget their culture they lose their destinations.* On the other hand, young people across the globe are keenly involved in the promotion and protection of their heritage and recognize heritage as the identity of their nation. Pakistani policy and practice shows gap regarding involving nationals and local communities into the process of promotion and protection of the national cultural heritage, inclusive policy is the solution. Social innovation is required to include the subalterns and marginalized; subsequently policy requires a revision to make them beneficiaries of the incentives that could be materialized through cultural heritage.

8. Need for revisiting Cultural Heritage Laws under 18th Amendment

The parliament of Islamic Republic of Pakistan agreed upon to accept the 18th constitutional amendment for restoring country's constitution in its original form and decentralized federation of provinces as foretold in the constitution of 1956 and 1973. The dawn of April 20, 2010 was of great

⁴⁴ L. El Habib, "Retracting the Concept of the Subaltern from Gramsci to Spivak: Historical Development and New Applications", *African Journal of History and Culture (AJHC)*, 4, 1, (2012): 4-8.

⁴⁵ C. Swati, B. Sarkar, "Introduction: The Subaltern and the Popular," *Postcolonial Studies*, 8, 4 (2005): 357-359.

historic importance for Pakistan, then, the sitting government of Pakistan People's Party approved the 18th amendment in which federal government transferred more powers to provinces which is clearly admissible in the constitution of Pakistan 1973. For approval of the amendment, a committee was constituted which was comprised of 26 members from different major political parties and stakeholders of the government to create a consensus on the draft bill which was passed in National Assembly and Senate of Pakistan on April 8 and 15, 2010 respectively⁴⁶. However, this amendment has become law by the signature of the President of Pakistan on April 19, 2010. This political development has the potential to redesign the governance structure in Pakistan. However, it is generally agreed that provinces lack the preemptive homework to make full use of this progress regarding provincial autonomy. Arbitrary steps were taken by amending the existing federal laws and policies to adjust to the urgent needs of the provinces. A provincially relative and contextual body of legal frameworks, legislations, laws and policies was not prepared then and as of today the work on these lines is either at halt or very slow in progress.

The amendment has the capacity to change the functional responsibilities of the government at various levels and therefore, now more autonomies to be given to the provinces for increasing the capacity of own finances for setting up their developmental expenditure needs. Furthermore, National Finance Commission (NFC) award is renegotiated in the light of 18th amendment in which provinces are more eager to claim for their share, however, financial autonomy is a contested arena for the time being. However, the concurrent list has no more admissible and 47 items list has been transferred to the provinces but the question arises that how they are capable for handling and running them in an appropriate way⁴⁷. The nine ministries including Education, Human Rights, Inter-Provincial Coordination, Human Resource Development, National Heritage and Integration, National Harmony, National Food Security and Research, National Regulation and Services and Ministry of National

⁴⁶ K. Adeney, "A Step Towards Inclusive Federalism in Pakistan? The Politics of the 18th Amendment," *Publius: The journal of Federalism*, 42, 4 (2012): 539-565.

⁴⁷ C. Almeida, "Are you current with the concurrent list!," *Dawn*, April 8, 2010, <https://www.dawn.com/news/529445/are-you-current-with-the-concurrent-list>

Disaster Management were advised to be the subject of the provincial governments.

Although, as per the directions of the Amendment, 12 museums and libraries inside Pakistan including the birth place of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah at Wazir Mansion, Central Archaeological Library and museums at Mohenjodaro (Larkana), Umer Kot and Bhambore (near Thatta) in Sindh province, the birth place of Allama Muhammad Iqbal and his personal antiques in Sialkot, Javed Manzil in Lahore, Taxilla Museum, Harappa ruins in Shaiwal and Pakistan Institute of Archaeological Research and Training in Lahore in Punjab and the Swat Museum in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa has been shifted to the provincial governments⁴⁸. *An interview with a renowned legal expert is of the view that the handing over of federal government run museums and libraries to the provinces seems to be unconstitutional because this is the subject of the federal government.* The Article 15 of Fourth schedule of Legislative lists is, “Libraries, museums, and similar institutions controlled or financed by the Federation⁴⁹.” This is one of the major issues that financial aspects in design were not clearly understood by many stakeholders, they claimed for rights without realizing the responsibilities.

Subsequently, under the 18th amendment, certainly the formula of power sharing between the federal and provincial governments have been accepted which was unresolved for last four decades. The 18th amendment led provinces towards autonomy and adhering management of the problems at provincial level. The amendment is the first step towards larger frame of reforms for restructuring the multi-order public governance system in Pakistan.

UNESCO is given emphases on the legislation for the protection, promotion and preservation of the heritage and it also provides the mechanism for the protection of cultural heritage. Moreover, it is regulated the selected area of development, legal and management agreements in the surrounding fields. Keeping in mind the high speed of urbanization and development pressures which is affecting cultural heritage worldwide, it is

⁴⁸ A. Jawad, “Devolution under 18th amendment: Provincial govts handed over 12 museums, libraries,” *The Express Tribune*, April 25, 2011, <https://tribune.com.pk/story/156152/devolution-under-18th-amendment-provincial-govts-handed-over-12-museums-libraries/>

⁴⁹ National Assembly, *The Constitution Islamic Republic of Pakistan*, (Islamabad: The National Assembly of Pakistan, 2012), 202.

deemed to be taken serious efforts for the protection of heritage. Currently, the world is facing the wave of urbanization, the protection of the surroundings of the world heritage is solitary conceivable via establishing buffer zones. This notion was primarily developed for the protection of natural conservation areas. In this regard, a sensible connection may be created between heritage and human activities. Additionally, heritage conservation and protection can only be understood as a form of cultural politics and this effort must be reflected in heritage practice.

Pakistan is the signatory to the Convention on World Heritage that indicates its full commitment for ensuring heritage protection. Given UNESCO's expertise, the government of Pakistan is inevitably looking for developing a cultural policy that may help individuals for enhancing their quality of life with promoting and safeguarding the culture. The cultural sector, including cultural tourism and eco-tourism has a huge potential for generating services and job creation for the unemployed youth of Pakistan. The heritage protection is not only dependent alone on the interventions by the governments and the involvement of local communities are needed for better performances and through civic engagement it becomes easier and flexible in nature. User Experience (UX) and User Involved (UI) design strategists could be involved in the process to make policy innovative in its orientation.

The government of Pakistan passed an act on cultural heritage and archaeological remains called 'Antiquities Act, 1975' (Pakistan 1976). This act provides guidelines related to the preservation and protection of antiquities and cultural relics. According to the act, the federal government of Pakistan will establish a committee for the protection and promotion of cultural heritage. Furthermore, this act provides a guideline in any case if a conflict arises among the provinces and the last decision of the federal government will be acceptable for all disputed parties. Antiquities Act 1975 also deals with acquisition of land among the provinces, protection of immovable property, purchase of land and leasing agreement with federal government. Moreover, No one can damage or break the antiquities, if someone found guilty, a punishment of imprisonment for three years or with heavy fine, or both as defined in the act (Pakistan 1976). This act also provides the mechanism for the protection and preservation of the archaeological relics and heritage. In addition, the Sindh Cultural Heritage (preservation) Act 1994, Punjab special Premises

(Preservation) Ordinance 1985 and the Export of Antiquities Rule 2013 also define the jurisdictions of the provinces related to cultural heritage.

Pakistan's first film and cultural policy was announced in June 2018 at PNCA but it is limited in scope with a major focus on film production and visual arts. Aisa-Europe Foundation website reported in these words:

“Under the cultural policy, the focus would be on building cultural infrastructure, promotion of visual and performing arts and theatre, promotion of music and other arts development and preservation sites of folk and traditional culture as well as archaeological places, inculcating cultural principles and priorities into the younger generation and documentation of extraordinarily strong culture, literature and traditions. It also includes Film, Radio and TV as the mode of promoting cultural diversity.”⁵⁰

9. Recommendations

Some of the initiatives must be taken by the state for revisiting cultural heritage policy in the country to make it more effective and proficient. Some of the plausible measures and steps in this regard are mentioned below.

- ◇ A strong monitoring should be carried out at all heritage sites, federal and provincial governments take serious actions if misconduct found at any heritage site and also create awareness among different segments of societies for the protection of archaeological relics. This monitoring and vigilance should be participatory and internet of things could be used for a more prompt reporting and reaction.
- ◇ Both federal and provincial governments shall try to regenerate economic activities through engaging local people. This will be helpful in promoting tourism on heritage sites. It can also become a source of generating economic potential of heritage sites. Those involved as vendors should be trained in environmental and cultural heritage protection skills/education. A specific and relatively contextual awareness sessions with such vendors should be integrated at policy and practice level.

⁵⁰ <https://culture360.asef.org/news-events/first-film-and-cultural-policy-announced-pakistan/>

- ◇ The government must establish a national tourism guidelines for the promotion of cultural heritage at local and international levels. In this regard, foreign missions of Pakistan abroad can promote cultural heritage and spread knowledge about historical places of Pakistan. 'The magnificent Pakistan' promotion must be launched as soon as possible which will portray the soft image of the country to the world. Social media campaigns and internet based promotional strategies should be launched and linked with the pages of Pakistani Embassies abroad to facilitate the foreign tourist.
- ◇ A proactive approach is needed for securing the heritage and archaeological site in the conflict zones and try all possible means for protecting the heritage remains. This is very significant for a country like Pakistan who is facing the turmoil in many areas of cultural and archaeological significance.
- ◇ Government should adopt a friendly environment and policies for the protection of old building and heritage because pollution and degradation of environment causing harm for the durability of the relics. The afforestation policy around the historical places should be a paramount concern for the federal and provincial authorities. Surroundings of buildings of historical nature should be banned for vehicles using fossil fuel and special arrangement of electric vehicles shall be made convenient.
- ◇ Many buildings of historical nature are occupied and/or inhabited by different state institutions, such buildings may be given statutory protection so that amendments and restoration work shall be regulated.
- ◇ Through civic engagement, public participation activities for the protection and preservation of the cultural heritage should be started.
- ◇ The government of Pakistan shall define her policy goals and objectives for the promotion of cultural activities. The authorities review cultural policy according to the contemporary global scenario.
- ◇ With focusing on the employment of the local people in and around the heritage site and ensure that all activities at the local and provincial level permitted harmony with the history of the area.
- ◇ More research and development funds shall be allocated for researchers those are working in the field of culture and heritage.

- ◇ Guidance and counselling for the visitors and the local community shall be mandatory that will enhance cooperation between them. Cultural sensitivity shall be made part of the literature and promotional material to make visitors aware of cultural relative norms of the local communities who share the space of heritage sites.
- ◇ A proper safety and security arrangements must be provided for visitor and the protection of belongings also be the utmost concerns for promoting speedy tourism in the country.
- ◇ Government should take serious measures for the protection of heritage sites from sudden destruction by natural hazards such as flooding, abrupt fire and others. This unfortunate phenomena may damage the historical site and government should take proper arrangement for the protection. Preemptive preparation to counter natural and manmade hazards shall be addressed in policy and shall be allocated ample funds for the preparation.
- ◇ Being a signatory of the UNESCO convention of heritage, it is the responsibility of the government to take initiatives at bilateral and multilateral partnerships for the protection of enlisted world heritage sites of the country.
- ◇ The legal framework is needed for the protection of cultural landscapes and ministry of law in consultation with the line departments and ministries should participate in making certain laws for the cultural heritage and serious punishment should be suggested for the violators. Moreover, a phenomenon came into observation that cultural landscapes are in peril while degradation and destruction resulting of human actions at the sites.
- ◇ The role of media is significant in the promotion of cultural heritage of the country. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting should broadcast on-air and in print public service messages on the activities which are affecting the heritage site in the primetime slots. Social Media shall be fully utilized to protect and promote the cultural heritage.

10. Conclusion

Cultural heritage has a great potential to promote nation building and economic progress. Culture is defined as the collective beliefs and actions or practices idiosyncratic to a community which distinguishes from the one human group to another. So, culture is viewed as a phenomenon at the

group, institutional, or societal level, even though it has strong significance for predicting individuals' behaviors. The participation of all stakeholders of the country shall be ensured and cross-cultural events and activities shall be initiated to celebrate the richness of cultural heritage diversity of Pakistan on more regular basis. The focus on constituting socio-cultural centric policy for the country in which federation and provinces play collective role for achieving mutual goals. By using the tool of culture, a dialogue may be initiated among the people or the communities that can make the process more inclusive and will certainly provide the communities a chance to identify with the cultural heritage of their surroundings. In order to meet the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), then culture needs to be recognized as an important factor for sustainable development. Thus, it could be concluded that a revisit of cultural heritage laws and development of a national cultural heritage policy is the need of the time to overcome the domestic challenges and to address the global demands.

The major gaps that are identified are much rooted in the 18th amendment where the contested environment or lack of cooperation between the federal government and the provinces is a major challenge. Council of Common Interest (CCI) in the post 18th amendment scenario lacks the negotiations for the sake of cultural heritage at large. Federal body National Heritage and Culture Division (NH and CD) is the one that can play vital role in international agreements whereas the similar ministries at provincial level are not recognized by international bodies to get into bilateral agreements, therefore; a more cordial relationship based on procedural clarity is to be made part of policy. The intellectual confusion on taking Pakistan as a cultural entity at national level requires a broader vision that admires diversity across time and space, that could be realized if the 18th amendment is accepted in true letter and spirit with focus on cultural heritage literacy among masses and a participatory and shared ownership across state, federating units and communities. Plurality, particularly religious plurality requires tolerant acceptance of shared cultural heritage that need to mitigate religious extremism that harms cultural heritage.

Book Review

**A. Uesugi (ed.) *Iron Age in South Asia*.
B. Research Group for South Asian Archaeology, Archaeological
Research Institute, Kansai University, Osaka, 2018 [ISBN 978-
4-9909150-1-8]**

Massimo Vidale/Luca M. Olivieri

Introduction

More than 20 years ago, Gregory L. Possehl and Praavena Gullapalli, in an important review essay entitled “The Early Iron Age in South Asia” (1999: 153), part of an excellent general comparative volume on the archaeometallurgy of southern Eurasia (Piggot 1999) wrote what follows: “[...] regional manifestations [*like the late Bronze age cultures of Swat, the Painted Grey Ware, the Pirak assemblage, and the Megalithic complex: note by the authors*] are seen as possible outgrowths of a series of local Bronze Age traditions that seemed to have an awareness of iron. An adequate understanding of the technological processes involved in the production of early iron will yield much information regarding the transition to the Iron Age, but such an understanding has yet to be reached”.

These somehow prophetic words came to our mind when we read a recent contribution by Akinori Uesugi published in 2018. Uesugi’s rare attempt of combining holistically disparate source of evidence such as early iron production, beads and trade, terracotta figurines, urban patterns and variations of distinctive (if notoriously quite broad) ceramic classes, is quite commendable, as are the beautiful illustrations of his paper. A. Uesugi is a very active colleague, who was always extremely kind, and ready to exchange ideas and materials with his colleagues, including us. Some of the Pakistani colleagues, especially at the Peshawar University, will also remember him as one of the members of the team led by Prof. H. Kondo of Tokai University during the 2004-2005 joint fieldwork in the Gomal Plain. In following years, Uesugi extensively contributed to important archaeological research in the crucial site of Farmana, in Haryana.

The contribution in question is part of an edited e-book *Iron Age in South Asia* edited by the same A. Uesugi, which is the second volume of the «South Asian Archaeology Series» published in 2018 by the Research Group for South Asian

Archaeology of the Archaeological Research Institute of the Kansai University (Japan). The volumes of the series are all available in open access on academia.edu.¹

The contribution (or chapter) by A. Uesugi is the first of that volume, and it is titled “An Overview on the Iron Age in South Asia” (pp. 1-49). This is followed by five chapters, four of which, dedicated to the earliest evidence of iron metallurgy in specific geographical regions (North India, Central India, South India: Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, South India: Kerala) are authored by scholars from different Indian institutions.² The last contribution “On Base metals in Vedic Culture” is by Dr. T. Yamada (Osaka University).

The e-book is well composed, wonderfully illustrated, definitely a useful volume, and a necessary reading for all those interested in the crucial and debated matter of the introduction of early iron metallurgy in South Asia. There are some points of disagreement, though. Let us proceed point by point, moving from general to particular issues.

General issues

The first point is that there is no need of re-confuting the idea that iron technologies were brought to the Indo-Pakistani Subcontinent from abroad, quoting old outdated works such as Gordon 1950, Wheeler 1959 or Banerjee 1965, as Uesugi does at pages 1-2.³ Nobody believes anymore that Bronze age smiths of the lands of contemporary Pakistan and India died waiting for the superior input of Achaemenid craftsmen to learn from them about iron. The independent development of proto-historical iron metallurgy of the Subcontinent, luckily enough, is beyond question: the point has been clearly stated since long, as everybody can see from the above quote.

Another important terminological/chronological issue of disagreement is the use, in the author’s text and chronological tables of figs. 1 and 6, of a ‘North Indian Iron Age’ divided in six arbitrary chronological blocks (Period I = 1300-1000 BC; II = 1000-500 BC; III = 500-250 BC; IV = 250-0 BC; V = 0-300 AD; VI = 300-600 AD). In our opinion, such last-day expedient labeling might further blur the already fluid and still controversial periodization of the late prehistoric/early historic periodization of Punjab and Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, with little general gain.

¹ The first volume of the series was *Excavations at Madina, District Rohtak, Haryana, India* (2016; ed. by M. Kumar, A. Uesugi, V. Dangi). The third volume was *A Study of Animal Utilization Strategies from Early to Late Harappan Periods in Haryana* (2017; ed. by A. Uesugi). The fourth volume of the series (2018) is *Current Research on Indus Archaeology* (ed. by A. Uesugi).

² In order: Prof. (Asst) Vivek Dangi, Department of History, All India Jat Heroes’ Memorial College, Rohtak, Haryana; Dr V.G. Sontakke, Assistant Director, Department of Archaeology, Nagpur, Maharashtra; Prof. K.P. Rao, Professor, Department of History, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad, Telangana; Prof. (Asst) Abhayana G.S. [sic], Department of Archaeology, University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala.

³ See Kosambi 1963 (on the basis of written sources); the same point was raised by the authority of Chakrabarti 1977; and then, again and again, by Sahi 1980; Tripathi 2001; Tewari 2010; see also Prokop and Suliga 2013; Yattoo 2015, and also the broader discussion in Gullapalli 2009: 440-442.

A third issue is related to the very label of 'Iron Age'. One thing is to use it as a conventional term in the prehistory [of Europe and the Mediterranean], to indicate the age immediately after a specific *terminus post quem* which is conventionally seen as the introduction of iron metallurgy. Another thing is to use it to define the historical eras throughout which iron was extensively in use, as it were their peculiar marker. In that sense we should write a history per "mega-epochs" where that "Iron Age" is finally succeeded by a "Plastic Age" starting around the 1930s. If Iron Age is used in the sense of Uesugi, we should talk of Iron Age when dealing with the complexity of the economic production of the mid-2nd century CE Roman and Parthian empires, or the elaborated diplomatic relationship between the Byzantines, the Sasanians, the emerging Arab power and the early Slavic states. This is actually what is proposed here, when 'Iron Age Period VI' would describe the post-Kushan times and the *grandeur* of the Gupta cultural period. We witnessed something similar also in Iran, where archaeologists dealing with the phases corresponding to the times of the Achaemenid Empire, used to talk of a local "Iron Age". Maybe there is little sense in describing the Persian wars as a conflict between the two "Iron Age cultures": one of which, by the way, created the wonders of Persepolis, the other one the Acropolis of Athens and the Parthenon.

Taking into consideration Uesugi's 'Iron Age Period IV', this is nothing but a new label for the strictest interpretation of the "Early-Historic period" of the old South Asian historiography and archaeology. The complexity of the cultural differences and hybridization dynamics that occurred in the period marked by the "invisible visibility" of the Mauryas, the establishment of the Indo-Greek kingdoms, the monetary reforms of the Saka, cannot simply merged in one single period. In our excavations at Barikot we were trying to represent such complexity by avoiding even the obsolete term of "Early-Historic".

In fact, our temporary terminology follows and partly modifies the proposed sub-division of the "Early Historic" archaeological period in South Asia (Smith and Mohanty 2016: 688–689). The so far defined "proto-urban phase" in Swat (on the evidence from Barikot see below), overlaps the Swat Graves Complex (c. 1200–900 BCE), and conceptually corresponds to the "Regionalisation Era" of Coningham and Young 2015. The "initial urban phase" in Swat (500–200 BCE) can be associated to "the increased social complexity of cities and political entities (e.g. Mahājanapadas in Northern India)" (Smith and Mohanty 2016: 688) and is comparable to the term "Integration Era" (Coningham and Young 2015). Excavations at Barikot (see e.g. Olivieri and Iori 2020) prove that there is a real cultural/structural phase marked by cultural material associated to the Indo-Greeks (metrology, epigraphy, ceramics, technology, economy), then to the Saka princely states, and the establishment of the Kushana control and the expanded role of Buddhism.

Too much for a single term, too complex for associating all this only with "iron". Actually, if we were supposed to select a single word to indicate a material marker which - from the Northern Neolithic to the spread of Buddhism - really

reflected the complexity of two millennia of northern South-Asian history, that term rather than “iron”, would definitely be “rice”!

Other few untenable labels and omissions

It is quite peculiar that an important synthesis on early iron in India and Pakistan like Possehl and Gullapalli 1999, with a list of calibrated radiocarbon measurements (in many instances critically discussed) was not even mentioned in Uesugi's summary.⁴ But such absence gets a revealing light considering that the role of the so- and wrongly-called “Gandharan Grave Culture” in Possehl and Gullapalli's paper is discussed in three full pages (including the list of radiocarbon dates at p. 166), while in Uesugi's essay the same label only appears in form of dots on the corner of three maps (his fig. 7), never to be mentioned in the text. Swat and the nearby areas of the present-day Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, which had always been considered a nuclear area of early iron-working and metallurgic innovation (Chakrabarti 1977) simply has disappeared.⁵

“Gandharan Grave Culture” has never been an acceptable archaeological category. Once more, we repeat that the historical entity of Gandhara has no bearing for the late Bronze age/Iron Age cemeteries and settlement phases of the Swat, Buner, Dir and Chitral valleys and other regions of the lower Hindukush range, and attaching this label to an archaeology still under construction, in cultural regions which are largely unexplored and minimally published, is deeply misleading (Vidale and Micheli 2017; Zahir 2016).

Uesugi's map of fig. 4 summarizes a lot of information on the ‘Distribution of major iron ore sources in South Asia and chronometric dates for the early iron or early Iron Age sites’: graphically very appealing, it forms the core of the author's argument (the deep antiquity of the Subcontinent's transition to iron technologies), but it has its problems.⁶ R. Tewari (2003, 2010), building upon a painstakingly progressing recognition of the real antiquity of iron working in India (among others, Singh 1962; Kosambi 1963; Hegde 1973; Ray and Chakrabarti 1975; Chakrabarti 1977; Bhardwaj 1979; Gaur 1981; Rajan 1991; Tripathi 2001, 2014) notoriously proposed a groundbreaking view on metallurgical innovation and the introduction of iron technology in continental India, hypothesizing a long and slow process rooted in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC and spreading with accelerating speed after c. 1300 BC.

⁴ Even though now certainly outdated.

⁵ Tewari 2010 dedicated a whole page of his paper in *Man and Environment* to support the noticeable antiquity of iron working at Gufkral, Charsadda and Pirak, and the Swat valley. More recently, J.P. Upadhyaya (2019) excludes the north-western territories from the Indo-Pakistani Subcontinent.

⁶ Not less than 10 different early-iron sites (Lahuradeva, Abhaipur, Atkha, Malhar, Raja-Nala-Ka-Tila, Jushi, Mangalkot, Pandu Raja Dhibi, Eran, Ramapuram) are referred to “Tewari 2013”, but there is no such article in the references, nor we found mentions of it in the web; it must be a typing error. The mentioned article presumably should be the latest update quoted as Tewari 2010 (see at page 49).

This picture and changes obviously have opened very intriguing possibilities of research. In fact, as stated by Johansen (2014: 258) “The discovery of an increasing number of iron production sites from the Ganges-Vindhya region of North India, radiocarbon dated to the early 2nd millennium B.C. suggests that South Indian ironworking traditions may have their origins in the exchange of goods and knowledge between northern and southern India during the mid 2nd millennium B.C.” (so far, so good: even though Killick and Fenn 2012: 565, still, for caution, considered “controversial” the proposed evidence of iron working in India in the time frame 1800-1300 cal BC). In Uesugi’s fig. 4 some of the reported dates are very early. For example, Nagaraja Rao 1971 is reported as the ground on which the earliest iron-bearing context of Hallur, Karnataka is dated to 2153-1640 cal BC. In contrast, in the text the same evidence (like in Tewari 2010: 83 and in fig. 1) is dated to c. 1200 BC; while still in 2003 R. Tewari in Tab. 1 had envisaged a range between the 14th and the late 9th centuries BC (see also Possehl and Rissman 1992). Similarly, at Brahmagiri, other early dates (between 2140 and 1940 cal BC) “obtained from wood collected by Wheeler”, and published with great uncertainty in Morrison 2005, are reported without any comment. Even at Pirak, Baluchistan, the appearance of iron in Period III is dated *tout court* 1200 BC, while a more balanced evaluation of the stratigraphic and radiometric evidence rather suggested the 9th century BC (Possehl and Gullapalli 1999: 157; Kuz'mina 2007: 434; Chakrabarti 1977: 174). In the case of Gachbowli, Telangana, the author was more conservative and reported two dates obtained from pottery by the means of optical stimulated luminescence (OSL) - respectively 1975- 2315 BC (2145 BC) and 2605-2985 BC (2795 BC) - translating them, for some reason, as “2200 BC” (check Thomas et al. 2008).⁷

Such un-selective process resulted in pushing up the chronology of the onset of Indian iron metallurgy, maybe far beyond the objectivity of the data. By the way, most of the dates which appear in the map of his fig. 4 rather consistently seem to place a growing production and use of iron artifacts between the 15th and the 12th centuries BC (see also the dates for iron in megalithic South India in Tewari 2010: 84, and those obtained at Dadupur at p. 85; *contra*, Mandal 2009). It is in such framework, in evident course of consolidation, that the absence of the archaeological evidence we recently obtained in Swat makes a problem.

Early iron artifacts from the Swat valley

Most of the dates from Swat were presented (and preliminarily published as a poster) at the 14th International Congress on AMS Congress in Ottawa in August 2017 (Olivieri et al. 2019), and at the EASAA Conference in Naples in July 2018 (forth.). In detail, 26 samples of organics (94%: carbonized seeds) were taken from two

⁷ In Thomas et al. 2008 does not appear the site-name of Gachbowli, but rather the acronym GLBD 3 and 4, reportedly “[...] pottery samples excavated from a Megalithic burial ground located within the campus of the University of Hyderabad”. The authors further state that “Considering the scarcity of iron and absence of other metals in the burial pit and similarity of big pots to Neolithic types, the site appears to represent the early Megalithic phase and archaeologically it may be dated to BC 800 and BC 2000” (*ibid.*: 782).

nearby stratigraphic trenches and measured for ^{14}C isotopic ratio determination by AMS at the CIRCE laboratory, Caserta (Italy) under the direction of Filippo Terrasi and his team. This series of absolute dates adds to the very substantial sequence of new ^{14}C absolute dates obtained on human remains from the Swat late Bronze age graveyards excavated in the past (Silvi Antonini and Stacul 1972; Vidale et al. 2015, 2016; Vidale and Micheli 2017; Narasimhan et al. 2019, Supplementary materials).⁸

The solid framework thus obtained allows a new chronological definition of the earliest (at least, so far) appearance of iron in Swat. Fig. 1 illustrates some early iron objects from recent excavations (Trench BKG 12 W, near the Indo-Greek city wall, and Grave 19 of Udegram). The chronological range is between the 12th and the end of the 9th centuries BC.⁹ The objects are a fragment of a curved sickle (Fig. 1, 1), a well-shaped dagger with a short tang and central rounded rib (Fig. 1, 2), a piece of bangle (Fig. 1, 3), and three pins (Figs 1, 5-7). Other shapeless or badly preserved items are not illustrated. The dagger is quite similar to another iron dagger or knife blade found, together with another large iron axe-like tool, in the furnishings of a coeval grave urgently rescued in the 80s at Aligrama. The furnishings of this grave have been published in a previous issue of this Journal (Lant and Caldana 2019). Fig. 1, 5 is a perfect replica of a type of pin better known in copper and found in other graves of the same cemetery and chronological horizon (Vidale and Micheli 2017: 402).

The record of graveyards and settlements thus includes weapons, agricultural tools and personal ornaments, which gradually came to replicate their copper prototypes. G. Stacul had estimated that iron objects appeared in c. 7% of the graves he had excavated in Swat (1966: 60). In this light, Uesugi's statements that in the northern areas iron was exclusively utilitarian, while in southern India only it was deposited in graves as a mortuary offer (2018: 4), does not stand the test.

Thus, looking to Uesugi's fig. 2 ('Chronological developments of iron tools in North India') sickles, blades and flat axes should be moved backwards in time from c. 1000 BC to the upper threshold of the 12th century BC. The point is that the early iron objects of late Bronze age Swat witness a fully developed iron metallurgy (if apparently limited in scale of production) in the 12th century BC. This might give further credit to the quite early radiocarbon dates previously obtained for Gufkral in Kashmir (Sharma 1992; Possehl and Gullapalli 1999: Table 6.E; Yatoo 2015; Tewari 2010: 82).

New evidence from Swat and previous data from Kashmir, ultimately, at present question the old adage "Iron in inner India is earlier than that in the Indian borderlands" (Chakrabarti 1977: 183). More and more, the development of protohistoric metallurgy in the Subcontinent resembles a multi-focal, continental

⁸ Uesugi's paper is dated 2018: Narasimhan et al. was published in *Science* in September 2019, but a pre-print was available on bioRxiv since March 2018 (doi: <https://doi.org/10.1101/292581>).

⁹ This solves for good an old controversy - see D. P. Chakrabarti's (1977: 177) previous conclusion that "[...] All that one can in the present stage of knowledge is that the first iron in the graves falls somewhere in the first half of the first millennium".

process pulsating with an almost perfect simultaneity from the lower Hindukush central-southern peninsular India - and, at least from mid 2nd millennium BC onwards, with growing strength (thus retro-dating Uesugi's fig. 2 'Introduction phase').

The need of a new stage of archaeometallurgical studies

Finally, going back to the implications of Possehl and Gullapalli's initial quote, it is clear that an iron-based metallurgy so far scrutinized through the lens of archaeological craft indicators, in absence of new important analytical efforts, constantly runs the danger of serious misunderstandings.

To illustrate this, let us consider Uesugi's fig. 5, the drawings of two iron lumps from the excavations of the metalworking site of Mahet, Uttar Pradesh (c. 3rd century BC). According to the author, here were found "[...] shallow pits with burnt clay (and) a number of wrought iron that has profiles of vessels (crucibles) with a flat or round base and straight sides [...]. These examples quite apparently exhibit that this wrought iron was produced using crucible iron smelting technology" (2018: 3).

Perhaps this might not be entirely correct. Pre-industrial "wrought iron" is a refined, very low-carbon and non-molten bloomery product, which does not need any crucible¹⁰, and whose surface carburization may have had an important role in the early spread of the metal (Erb-Satullo 2019: 577-580; for an example of well understood archaeological records of the bloomery smelting process in north-eastern Indian contexts of 2000 years ago, see Prokop and Suliga 2013). In our experience and for the reasons above, as far as one can judge from the forms of the artifacts (not very clearly understandable) the two pieces in Fig. 5 rather than blooms might be slag flowed in the bottom of some kind of smithing oven or furnace. On the other hand, the slag disk on top seems to have on the base (?) the round imprint of the inner base of a vessel. In such a case, could it be silicatic copper slag from a crucible smelting process? We might be wrong, but in absence of archaeometric evidence every interpretation is as possible as arbitrary.

Copper smelting slag, in many contexts, being formed to a great extent by complex iron silicates, are hardly distinguished on visual grounds from iron smelting and smithing slag (for example, in absence of chemical analyses, the items visible in

¹⁰ We find particularly clear the following explanation: "Wrought iron has been used for thousands of years, although the methods of manufacturing it have changed. The process essentially involves heating iron and removing slag in order to achieve the correct composition. The wrought iron can then be reheated and hammered, rolled, or otherwise worked into various forms. Wrought iron was originally manufactured as charcoal iron, which was smelted directly from the iron ore in a furnace known as a bloomery. The ore was heated and separated from the slag, but it was not allowed to melt as this would allow carbon to dissolve into it, forming pig iron. The resulting wrought iron retained enough slag to be malleable, ductile and strong. However, the quality did vary, depending on the type of iron ore that was being used and how much slag was left in it at the end of the process. It could have very different levels of strength and corrosion resistance." (IGNR 2017).

Uesugi 2018: Fig. 5, lower right, could be iron or copper smelting tapping slag, or iron smithing byproducts - Bachmann 1982 *docet*). This would also question (or would put in another light) the hypothesis of a connection between similar materials records and the famous, later (?) crucible steel or “wootz” technology of southern India (among others, Srinivasan 2007, 2017; Srinivasan and Ranganathan; Lowe 1990).

In conclusion, Possehl and Gullapalli (1999: 153) were more than right: we need a quite superior knowledge of ancient Indian iron-working innovations, and without a minimum of investments in chemical and metallographic analysis, many wide-scope questions and interpretations (and the relative communications) will remain suspended and useless. On the field, the use of portable XRF machinery (Hunt and Speakman 2015) might provide a partial but handy solution to this problem. In laboratory, dedicated analytical investigations like those carried out on materials from Guttur, Kodumanal and other south Indian sites (in Srinivasan and Ranganathan 2001; Srinivasan 2007; see also Gullapalli 2009: 453-454; and others) will be mandatory in the next future.

Another phase of proto-urbanization?

A last comment: the late prehistory of the Swat valley for a long time has been interpreted in terms of the marginal evolutionary trajectory of disjoined small-scale rural communities, somehow passively receiving influences, first from mainland China, then by the Indus valley, and eventually from Central Asia (Stacul 1987). The last 20 years of intense work in the valley had the effect of changing the picture. The recent discovery of a massive stone and rammed earth construction, certainly a boundary wall defending the late Bronze age settlement of Barikot (10th-9th centuries BC; Olivieri et al. 2019), together with the evidence of an extensive coeval settlement system along the valley and (now) a highly developed early iron metallurgy, would rather point to a powerful early urban hub. Of course, in order to substantiate similar views, we would proceed to large-scale digs of the concerned settlement phases¹¹.

Is the present evidence a symptom of a 1.5 urbanization phase between the first (early Bronze) and the second (“Early Historic”) waves? Maybe. In 2005, our colleagues excavating in the Bannu basin, Pakistan (former North Western Frontier Province, now Khyber Pukhtunkhwa), wrote that “...By sometime in the early first millennium B.C., Akra was already a large, and possibly urban, center. Large, possibly urban, entities with local economies and extensive trade and exchange

¹¹ The protohistoric layers of Barikot were sounded outside the Indo-Greek walls, and in single limited trench, were occupation surfaces and the top of the wall were exposed at c. 8 m of depth. Their exploration is hindered by the amount of subsequent sediments. For the time being, our main efforts will be the publication of the test trenches at Barikot, and of the settlement of Aligrama, excavated to some extension but so far published only in minimal part.

networks were already in existence in this region from ca. 900 B.C.” (Magee et al. 2005: 734-735). This, too, today looks like a piece of noticeable archaeological insight.

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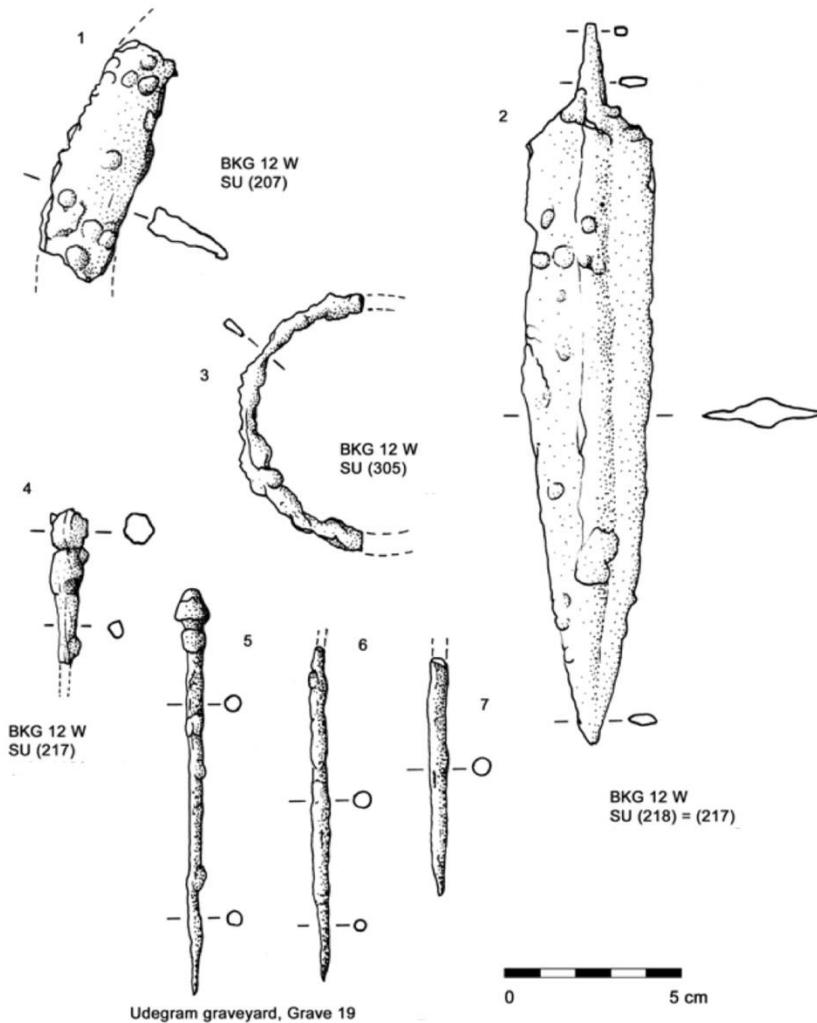


Fig. 1 - Early iron finds with well controlled stratigraphic contexts from recent excavations in the Swat valley. 1, fragment of sickle, from Barikot, Trench BKG 12, SU (207); 2, dagger, Barikot, Trench BKG 12, SU (218) = (217), BC 1223-1036 cal 2 σ 100% – BC 1208-1109 ca cal 1 σ 94.3%; 3, fragment of a bangle, Trench BKG 12, SU (305), BC 1131-1011 cal 2 σ ; 4, head of a pin, from Barikot, Trench BKG 12, SU (217), BC 1223-1036 cal 2 σ 100% – BC 1208-1109 ca cal 1 σ 94.3% (Olivieri et al. 2019); 5-7, from the graveyard of Udegram, Grave 19, found on the cranium and in the filling, BC 928-802 cal 2 σ (Vidale et al. 2015).

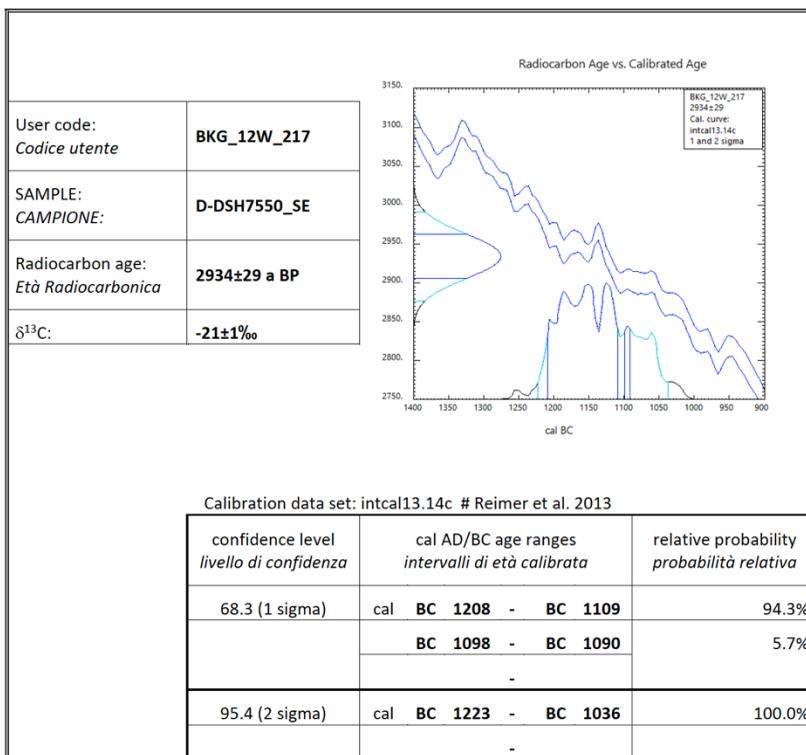


Fig. 2 – Trench BKG 12, SU (217) = (218)
BC 1223-1036 cal 2 σ 100% – BC 1208-1109 ca cal 1 σ 94.3% (Olivieri et al. 2019)

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**Publications Sponsored by
Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan**

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