

THE RECLAMATION OF GANDHARA CULTURAL HERITAGE. ITS USES IN PRESENT-DAY KHYBER-PUKHTUNKHWA

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1. Introduction

The reclamation¹ of Gandhara's cultural heritage is an issue of paramount importance. Its failure in this regard, is to be attributed, amongst other things to the different cultural and religious experiences of the present population of Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa (hereafter KP). To this, though reluctantly, may be added ethnic difference. It is a known fact that from a cultural and religious perspective, the modern inhabitants of KP are different from those belonging to the Gandhara period. Establishing association of the ethnic groups with this heritage is a difficult task and needs in-depth study. Pukhtuns are not considered by recent researchers as the descendants of the original inhabitants of Gandharan civilization. On the other hand, some other ethnic groups belonging to KPK, such as the Gujjar, Ajar and Torwali, etc., do have such a relationship. However, one has to concede that, being the present inhabitants - and the dominant ethnic group – Pukhtuns are the heirs of this civilization. The people of KP, therefore, have moral as well as legal obligations in relation to the reclamation of Gandharan cultural heritage².

The reclamation of Gandhara's heritage is, by no means, an anachronistic ideal or a utopian pursuit. It is, rather, a utilitarian approach to using the past in the best interest of the present and future. This paper suggests the application of community involvement and cultural resource management for achieving this goal. The paper also presents the thesis that the cultural resources of KP, pertaining to the Gandhara period, can be used to revitalize the role of melting pot and crossroads, which KP once used to play, by assimilating and amalgamating the cultures of the East and the West.

2. Gandhara: geography and research activity

The word Gandhara³ is used in two different contexts. Historically speaking, Gandhara is the ancient name of the Peshawar valley which is bordered by the Sulaiman Mountains on the west and by the Indus River on the east. It transcended its historical

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and geographical limits by extending its cultural influence towards the east and west. For this extended area, the new term 'Greater Gandhara' has been coined. The limits of 'Greater Gandhara' have been identified by scholars as the valleys of Eastern Afghanistan in the west, the Swat valley and its adjacent areas in the north, Bannu in the south and the Taxila valley in the east

[1-2]⁴. A great number of the major sites of Gandhara are found in present-day KP. 'Greater Gandhara' is also known as the 'artistic province' because throughout this territory we come across pieces of Gandhara art [1].

In geographical terms Gandhara forms a roundabout region. This frontier region, which is generally considered to be a peripheral zone of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, Persia and Central Asia, is known for the influence it exerted in all the surrounding areas. Historically, for a long period, it played 'the role of a crossroads and melting pot of cultures' [2]. Such syncretic and dialectic processes make frontiers and even any region fluid.

The cultures and worldviews which reached Gandhara and were synthesized in this land, belonged to the East and the West. More specifically, these cultures range from the Persians under the Achaemenians to the Greeks under Alexander, the Indians under Ashoka, the Bactrian Greeks under the Seleucid rulers, the Shaka and the Kushan, especially of Kanishka's era, the Sassanians and so on. The arrival of these cultures in Gandhara is a historical fact. The resultant cultural syncretism garners special importance as it is generally considered to be the *raison d'être* behind the birth and growth of Gandhara civilization. But one should also be aware of the fact that Gandhara was by no means a 'no-man's land' [3]. 'If a region is to become a centre to amalgamate different kinds of cultures or civilizations, such a place should have already accumulated an individualistic and self-directed cultural energy of their own, well beforehand. If it was a culturally "vacant" place, any other outside cultural influences would have simply passed over it without leaving any traces there, no question of fusing and synthesizing them or creating something anew' [3]. It was much later that the British turned the frontier region of Gandhara into a border area and presented it as a 'no-man's' land⁵. It is against the backdrop of the political milieu of the second half of the 19th century that the origin of Gandhara art was sought in the context of foreign influences⁶.

However, British officials and, later, the Archaeological Survey of India contributed much towards discovering and studying Gandhara civilization. All major centers of Gandhara came under investigation during the British period. Reports were published regarding the stupas and coins of Afghanistan in the 1830s and 1840s. After the annexation of Punjab to the British Empire a more focused antiquarian inquiry was pursued. However, antiquarianism still dominated the scene. British officials, H. W. Bellew, H. H. Cole and Major Deane being the most famous ones, were busy in archaeological activities. Important archaeological sites were worked upon during the second half of the 19th century. Dr. Saifur Rahman Dar, takes exception to the 'loot sale' of Gandhara sculpture during this period [4]. By the turn of the 20th century the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904, to a great extent, guaranteed good archaeological research and the protection of archaeological heritage. Till 1947 British and Indian archeologists and scholars contributed in a positive way to the study of Gandhara civilization (for an exhaustive bibliography on this subject see Dar, 1998 [5]).

After 1947, Pakistani institutes, i.e. the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, Peshawar Museum and Federal Department of Archaeology and Museums carried out excavations in Gandhara, though largely through salvage operations.

Important archaeological sites in the Swat and Peshawar valleys were either rescued or scientifically and comprehensively studied [5-7]. Foreign archaeological missions also started to pour into Gandhara right in the wake of the creation of Pakistan, for research. They included the British, Japanese and Italian missions [5, 8-12].

Important and well-studied Gandhara sites of KP include Shah-ji-ki-Dheri (Peshawar), Bala Hisar and Shaikhhan Dherai (Charsadda), Mekha Sanda, Chanaka Dherai, Thareli, Jamal Garhai and Takht-i-Bahi (Mardan), Rani-Gat (Buner), Chatpat, Andhan Dherai and Damkot (Dir), Gumbatuna, Nimogram, Amluk Dara, Tokar Dara, Aba Sahib-china, Butkara, the rock art sites of Saidu, Jambil and Malam-jaba (Swat). It may be mentioned that at present, this Gandhara cultural resource is degraded and in a precarious condition due to the low priority given it by governments – federal and provincial – that manage cultural assets, its poor administration by interested heritage managers at all levels, the lack of awareness among the public about heritage preservation, conservation and protection and above all, the rampant activities of illegal diggers and antique dealers. As a result of these attitudes the cultural property of Pakistan – particularly Gandhara heritage – is gravely endangered and threatened. Of course, community involvement and cultural resource management (CRM) can go a long way in the reclamation of this scarce resource.

3. Reclamation through Community Involvement and CRM

Community archaeology and cultural resource management are relatively recent developments in the field of archaeology. However, both are result-oriented in many ways. As community archaeology gives partial control of archaeological resources to local communities it creates a sense of belonging and ownership and, in turn, public awareness about its utility in communal life. Based on collaboration and interactive research design, this approach also gives an opportunity to local people of being heard in the research of archaeological resources, in the interpretation of archaeological material and management of archaeological heritage.

As community archaeology is sometimes considered ‘archaeology from below’ [13-14], it is destined to play a significant role in the reclamation of the archaeological heritage of Gandhara. It is an effort ‘in which fieldwork is rooted in the community, open to volunteer contributions, organised in a non-exclusive, non-hierarchical way, and dedicated to a research agenda in which material, methods and interpretation are to interact’ [14]. This point is further explained by Faulkner as follows:

Material (the archaeological remains recovered), methods (the way fieldwork is conducted) and meanings (developing interpretations) are expected to interact dialectically, shaping and reshaping the research programme as it moves forward. This means that all participants are empowered and can learn new skills within an organic and collective process of knowledge creation. The level of motivation and the quality of work done are thus exceptionally high [13].

Such an archaeological project creates awareness about the importance and the uses of cultural heritage of an area. It basically aims at establishing a connection between archaeologists, local people and cultural heritage sites. Community archaeology develops the interest of the people and encourages their participation in field archaeology [13]⁷. It serves the ‘need for more and better public education about ar-

chaeology' [15]. Similarly, CRM is also a useful approach in the field of preservation. Different strategies, endeavoring at public education and preservation of archaeological sites, are adopted for the purpose in different parts of the world. They appear of great use in relation to Gandhara heritage. Some of these are briefly described below:

3.1. *Curricula and history text books*

Curricula of the educational institutions are being subjected to severe criticism these days. Character building in the prism of national and cultural uniform identity and in conjunction with the teachings of Islam has always been the dominant principle in Pakistan's education policy [16]. An inherent bias in favour of the Muslim period of the history of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent appears in such a policy and in the text books which have been written in conformity to it. Obviously, such an approach is steeped in a long and much contested shared colonial period. Thus, Muslims' "growing historical consciousness" came to hinge upon "a consciousness of Islamic rather than Indian history..." [17]. As a result, text books in Pakistan, which are criticized by some writers as 'brazenly biased' [17], 'distort history badly, leaving the impression that Pakistan is co-terminus with the Islamic conquest of the subcontinent, ignoring Gandharan, Harappan, and other early civilizations, including Hindu and Buddhist empires that dominated the region before the Muslims came, except to put the Hindu predecessors in a negative, sometimes racist light', writes Stephen Cohen [18]⁸.

However, currently, the need for reforms is widely recognized throughout the country. As the mistakes of the past, in this regard, have to be rectified, the disowned part of the history of Pakistan awaits to be re-claimed. Instead of exclusivist philosophies the culture of pluralism and mutual co-existence must be instilled in the new generations of the country through vibrant curricula and sound education policy. This, without doubt, will lead to embracing diversity and, thus, the promotion of the Gandhara heritage of Pakistan.

3.2. *The general public*

The general public, as suggested by McManamon, is to be subdivided into groups having varying interest in archaeology [15]. Surveys in western developed countries show encouraging results in this regard. Three categories have been found; first, the 'archaeologically literate', 'i.e., some avocational archaeologists and deeply interested and well-read lay persons', second, a larger number of people 'interested enough to read magazine articles on the topic, visit archaeological parks or excavations, perhaps even take part in an excavation as volunteers' and thirdly, a large portion of society which obtains information through other popular means [15]. In Pakistan, in the first instance, it is necessary to identify such categories with varied orientations to, and interest in, archaeology and its activity. Subsequently, attention must be focused on them, as McManamon further states:

What educational and interpretative efforts archaeologists have usually engaged in, have been aimed mainly at the first two categories of people. We ought to expand our efforts toward these interested and informed people, especially in the area of participatory experiences such as volunteer activities, open houses, and tours... The interested and informed will take time to read material we prepare,

to participate in activities we organize, and to visit interpretative sites and displays [15].

A crucial question arises here about establishing such contact with the public. McManamon gives importance to the role of those involved in the media here. According to him, archaeologists' contacts and association with these people can disseminate the former's message to 'millions of people' [15]. Such a policy in the case of Gandhara can prove as effective as the benefits it has reaped in other places. The efforts of Dr. Olivieri, who is at present supervising the ACT-Field School Project in Swat, are appreciable. He has involved journalists who bring the results of the ongoing archaeological activity to the masses. News about the new discoveries is spread through print and electronic media which attract a great number of people.

3.3. Popularization of Gandhara's cultural resources

It is argued by scholars that creating awareness about archaeology and contributing to increasing its popularity serves the target of proper protection and preservation. Concerned individuals and institutions apply a range of means for the purpose. Cultural caravans and temporary, permanent and even travelling exhibitions are often suggested as effective tools for raising people's awareness about the cultural heritage. Cultural caravans, definitely, introduce the public to archaeological sites and their importance. In Pakistan, this example was put forward by Prof. A. H. Dani, as he used to organize this kind of activity on a large scale. This legacy needs to be re-activated and continued. Similarly, exhibitions of heritage artifacts intend to share the results of researchers with the masses which is important in relation to the preservation of archaeological heritage (in the case of India, Khandwalla, 2004 [19]).

To this may be added popular publications in vernacular languages. Everywhere the dearth of this literature is noted by scholars as well as common folk. Some rare but fruitful efforts have also been made by individuals and institutions in this respect. In Pakistan and India the names of Prof. A. H. Dani and Prof. H. D. Sankalia⁹ may be particularly mentioned, as they successfully tried to bring archaeology to the masses [19-21]. In western countries a limited literature is also available [15]. Negligible individual efforts may also be found in the Pashto language, produced long ago by some senior archaeologists of KP. This author has come across some articles published in *Pukhto*, the Journal of the Pukhto Academy, University of Peshawar¹⁰. It may also be mentioned that in Pakistan the tradition of study is not very strong, consequently, popular publications would be of little impact. Therefore, cultural caravans and exhibitions would serve the purpose more, in addition to TV and radio programmes.

3.4. Teachers and students

Teachers and students represent a dynamic section of any society. As they play important roles in different walks of life they can be easily engaged in the archaeology of Gandhara for the purpose of achieving its full reclamation. Teachers and students have an intimate bond. 'If teachers instill an appreciation of archaeology and archaeological resources in their students, our efforts to provide the necessary background to teachers will be exponentially fruitful' [15]. Teachers have been identified as a potential group by archaeologists and heritage management organizations in some countries

for public education regarding cultural heritage. Different strategies are being adopted to familiarize teachers with archaeology who, in turn, will be able to better serve the cause of heritage protection [15]. Archaeologists of KP should also follow in the footsteps of Prof. Sankalia by giving lectures in schools and colleges [20] in order to achieve the desired goal of the reclamation of Gandhara.

3.5. Literary and other learned societies

Besides teachers, literary and other learned local societies and NGOs can also play a vital role in the preservation of heritage sites. As suggested by the Indian scholar, Kalini Khandwalla, [19] this kind of engagement should be encouraged. He observes, 'Small grants for community initiatives and greater opportunities of working with trained archaeologists can facilitate locally undertaken heritage preservation' [19]. It should be noted that there are many such societies in every part of KP. They can easily be persuaded and educated about the relevance and usefulness of cultural heritage. Their participation in archaeological fieldwork has been long-awaited and, by dint of their historical consciousness, will be result-oriented in the reclamation programme.

3.6. Cultural tourism

The use of heritage sites as tourist destinations for the economic development of the people is rightly being questioned. It is despised by academics as being detrimental to the original state of the heritage sites. Simultaneously, the use, importance and need of cultural tourism cannot be overestimated (for details see Jansen-Verbeke & Russo, 2008 [22]). It is a source of income generation both at local and national level. Community archaeology carried out in the framework of collaboration between poor local communities and professionals from western developed countries largely serves this purpose in some countries [14]. Besides being a source of income generation, cultural tourism, for countries like Pakistan, can contribute to the process of positive image building and cultural projection [23]. It is also considered necessary for the management and maintenance of the sites as it 'communicate[s] their cultural importance to domestic and international tourists as well as international institutions that promote world heritage' [19]. Furthermore, earnings from this sector are to be used for the 'protection and preservation of heritage sites' [23]. Cultural tourism also creates awareness and serves the need of public education which is highly required in the context of Gandhara civilization. But in countries like Pakistan 'the desirable infrastructure [for cultural tourism] is lacking, and one of the goals of international aid should be to provide it' [24]. Again, the ACT-Field School Project has recently launched a campaign to promote archaeological tourism through its support to an association of guides created within the local communities. The association is molded on the model of the alpine guides, operative in Europe and Nepal, and more recently, also in Baltistan (Pakistan) and Badakhshan (Afghanistan) (Personal communication with Olivieri).

3.7. The role of museums

Andrew Christenson states that cultural resources can be preserved in two ways; the primary context and the secondary context. The former means leaving the heritage sites undisturbed while the latter denotes their material collections in museums [25].

One may give credence to the primary context from an ethical point of view but ‘the logical conclusion is’, as observes Christenson, ‘that an ever-growing proportion of our extant cultural resources will be preserved in the secondary context; in other words, in museums and storage facilities’ [25]. Museums are built for ‘education, research, and preservation’ [25] and this aim is achieved when the excavated archaeological materials are systemically stored and arranged.

The importance of museums in the preservation of cultural heritage is self-evident. The role of museums is also stressed when considering public education. However, all these targets must be preceded by a good distribution plan of the museums. On-site museums are given priority as they attract and engage local people as well as keeping the exhibit close to their original environment. Unequal distribution between rural and urban areas does not serve the purpose (for Indian example see Khandwalla, 2004 [19]). In Gandhara, attention must be paid to the development and proper distribution of museums. A reference again may be made to the ACT-Field School Project in Swat which envisages, in addition to the reconstruction of the central Swat Museum, the construction of connected “Information Centres” in archaeological site areas such as Barikot, Udegram, Saidu Sharif I (personal communication with Olivieri). It is to be hoped that the envisaged goals will be achieved within the time-scale of this project.

3.8. Archaeological artefacts viewed as treasure

It is unfortunate that the common perception about archaeological heritage in KP revolves round the obsession with treasure; hence the immense, untiring and persistent clandestine activities surrounding it. Nearly every site is supposed to have a *khazana* or treasure and there is no dearth of associated treasure-tales (personal observation). The people know about so-called signs and clues which they appreciate as indicators of the hidden relics. It is due to this obsession that almost all sites more often than not suffer from illegal digging (for such destruction see Ali & Coningham, 1998 [26]).

This view of archaeology as a treasure trove, can easily be rectified with the help of the strategies suggested here for reclamation. It can, thus, safely be said that once this perception is changed the threat and danger to Gandhara heritage will, at least, be considerably mitigated.

3.9. Employment of local population in field work

Involvement of the community in the field has complementary dimensions. It offers economic opportunities to the local people on the one hand and enhances archaeologists’ knowledge about the area and its archaeology on the other. The Indian archaeologist, Kalini P. Khandwalla, describes his fruitful experience. He worked in Gujarat in collaboration with an NGO. The latter’s employees were trained in archaeological field work and were engaged in surveys. Khandwalla writes:

This sort of survey had several benefits such as safety in boarding, lodging and interacting with local people. It also saved time due to the increase in the size of the fieldwork crew and helped me vibe well with the locals whose fields were located on or near the archaeological sites. It aided conversation on local myths about sites, utilisation of land, medicinal plants and artefacts, cultivation processes, changes in site landscape and destruction through digging. Local villagers were also forthcoming in showing artefacts they had collected. There was an overall

increase in data recovery and, consequently, artefact diversity. The knowledge of the local NGO volunteers about their heritage was also enriched, leading them to share it better with other villagers [19]

In KP such an approach to Gandhara archaeology is precisely what is needed. The ACT-Field School Project in Swat is designed along these lines and according to Dr. Olivieri, 'it generated nearly 300 job opportunities for the local community' (Bureau Report, *The Daily News*, April 15, 2011)¹¹. These initiatives will, no doubt, prove of greater value in the future both in the context of public education and its returns in the study of the material.

3.10. Cultural Resource Management in the context of Gandhara

The use and relevance of cultural resource management (CRM) is still a hotly debated issue. Hard-core archaeologists, who are more interested in academic research and are extremely occupied in finding solutions to historical problems, firmly hold their ground in front of the sweeping wave of CRM, especially in the west. However, it is nowadays widely practiced throughout the world.

Cultural resource management, in the context of archaeology, may simply be defined as investigating and ascertaining the potentials of heritage sites and their preservation and protection both in terms of tangible and intangible records [27]. It is considered as 'synonymous with, or subsumed, historic preservation' [27]. 'Society will require it to do work,' writes Ruthann Knudson, 'to provide information usable in directing social, physical and natural resource management to meet goals of sustainability... To complement this, CRM will require technical support systems that are time- and cost-effective as well as providing reliable and valid information, and make more use of heritage resources themselves and their derived information for recreation and tourism and for understanding past human adaptations to environmental change' [28]. CRM is a 'multi-disciplinary activity' and 'can involve interrelationships among lawyers, bureaucrats, field archaeologists, laboratory scientists, local jurisdiction papers, and ethnic communities' [28].

In the USA CRM has its own context. It works within the framework of an elaborate administrative and legal system as well as codes of ethics and practice [27-29]. Keeping in view its successes and popularity, CRM can better be used in the field of Gandhara archaeology. The current need is to take practical steps in this direction. One may raise a timely question here. Is it possible for a poor and technologically backward country like Pakistan to make use of CRM which involves enormous funding and high technology? The answer ought not to totally dismiss this possibility. As suggested by Khandwalla in the case of India, in Pakistan too, NGOs and other trusts have to play a role in 'bring[ing] together dynamic professionals from various fields to preserve the rich and diverse heritage and sensitize the public to it' [19].

3.11. Promulgation and implementation of cultural heritage laws

KP is far behind the Punjab and Sindh governments in legislation vis-à-vis cultural heritage [23]. Even the protected sites of KP are extremely threatened by extinction and a large number of these has already been either encroached upon or completely destroyed. At present some sites only exist on paper; several important sites like Muhammad Nari and Ghaz Dherai in Charsadda in fact no longer exist. They have been

replaced by modern villages (personal communication with Dr. M. Ashraf Khan). A sound legal system is needed in this respect especially in the wake of the devolution of archaeology at federal level.

4. The use and relevance of Gandhara heritage to KP

The 'reclamation' of Gandhara heritage is used here as a comprehensive concept. If it implies creating a sense of ownership and preservation and protection on the one hand, it extends its boundaries in pursuit of its utility in the present, on the other. There arises an important question. What use can be made of the heritage of Gandhara? This apparently unimportant question forms part of the long-debated and ever elusive question about the significance and application of the past to the present. That history gives us insight is favoured here, by keeping in view the notion that there is 'an unending dialogue between the present and the past' [30]. The well-known historian, archaeologist and philosopher, R. G. Collingwood, observes that 'history is "for human self-knowledge'. He uses this concept in the three senses of knowing yourself as *being a person*, of *being the kind of person you are* and *being the person that distinguishes you* from others [31]. He further writes that 'Knowing yourself means knowing what you can do; and since nobody knows what he can do until he tries, the only clue to what man can do is what man has done. The value of history, then, is that it teaches us what man has done and thus what man is' [31]. It is this definition of history that makes the past meaningful. Again, it is such an approach to history that invalidates an Indian Professor's verdict¹² that 'Gandhara is nothing but an "episode"' [3].

Gandhara is nothing but the story of one civilizational development. It ought to be investigated and every new investigation and new approach should be determined by the unfolding realities that are met through time. Its study in the colonial period was driven forward by different postulates and interests. The concepts of Gandhara being a 'no-man's land' and a 'periphery' may be termed as imperial perception and construction. Such construction needs to be rectified by the Pakistani writers themselves who more than two decades back were declared by Prof. M. Naeem Qureshi as 'unable to discard the distorted images of their own past received from Western Orientalists'. The Japanese scholar, Konishi, makes a timely redefinition of Gandhara. According to him, "'periphery" is synonymous with "centre" and are interchangeable if the viewpoint is set aside. "Periphery" may often tell a better story in a holistic sphere or the entire history we are concerned with'. Such an approach to the study of Gandhara in the past should cure the all-encompassing malaises of Gandhara in the present. E. H. Carr aptly states: 'To enable man to understand the society of the past and to increase his mastery over the society of the present is the dual function of history' [30].

Gandhara can give guidance in economic, environmental, social, cultural, political, and religious walks of life. In addition to the benefits of cultural tourism, research into the economy of Gandhara would no doubt give input to the policy makers of KP. Cultural tourism will obviously bring money to the common people and will provide an opportunity for cultural development as the result of constant interaction with outsiders. Visitors will also avail themselves of the opportunity to learn about the local culture and the local people's way of life.

Similarly, it can help to revitalize the historical pluralistic vision of KP. In this way social problems such as exclusivism and xenophobia, which have strongly affected society, would be successfully addressed.

Gandhara is also to be observed for gaining insight into saving the decadent present-day ecosystem. It can better help us in the management of both natural and cultural resources. A multitude of studies have appeared in recent decades, primarily in the west, but also in India and Sri Lanka which deal with the environment of past societies. Population growth, urbanization, land and water management, flora and fauna and so on, are the subjects covered by these studies [32-34]. In the context of Gandhara, reference is to be made to the work of Italian archaeologists in Swat and Ruth Young's research in the Peshawar valley. These studies give an insight into the environmental archaeology of KP [35].

The significance of this work cannot be overestimated. Cultural and social change are studied in a historical perspective. The management of resources such as the use of land, hydraulic systems, cultivation, the role of routs, *etc.* have been extensively investigated. Archaeology also studies the exploitation and overexploitation of resources by past societies. It enlightens us about how the misuse of resources has caused environmental degradation and contributed to the economic crisis and hence, social and political imbalances¹³.

5. Conclusion

The past is a living reality, of course. It is needed by human beings. And it is the work of historians and archaeologists to explore the pages of history while constantly asking 'the question, Why?, [and] the question, Whether?' [30]. The abuse of history under political or other such expediencies is against the ethics of scholarship and professionalism; however, its use for the benefit of humanity cannot be questioned. Like history, archaeology too, to quote a well-known archaeologist, Bruce Trigger, 'may serve as an increasingly effective guide for future development, not by providing technocratic knowledge to social planners but by helping citizens to make more informed choices with respect to public policy. In a world that, as a result of increasingly powerful technologies, has become too dangerous and is changing too quickly for humanity to rely to any considerable extent on trial and error, knowledge derived from archaeology may be important for human survival' [36].

In the light of the above discussion concerning the use and relevance of history and archaeology to contemporary societies, one can easily recognize what role the Gandhara of the past can play, particularly in relation to KP and in the context of Pakistan in general. It is under this rigorous need that Gandhara awaits to be re-owned and reclaimed.

Let us conclude this essay with a quote from Prof. A. H. Dani's inaugural address, presented, in September 1997, before the Pak-Japan Colloquium on the Significance of Gandhara to Human History. He states that 'Gandhara has the potential of reviving the dead channels of history... Let the Gandhara of the past stand as a solid foundation for a better Gandhara of the future' [37-38]

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Notes

- 1 The word 'reclamation' as used in this paper means owning, preserving and using Gandharan heritage.
- 2 'Cultural heritage should be legally recognized as the dual possession of the descendants of the people who created it and of all humanity, to whose cultural diversity and creativity it attests' (Trigger, 1989 [2010]).
- 3 Gandhara is a composite word, consisting of *gand/Qand* and *har/hara*, which is, traditionally, defined as land and fragrance respectively. Thus, Gandhara means the land of fragrance – a proposition also substantiated by XuánZàng's observation that it 'produces a variety of flowers and fruits' (Beal, ii, 1906). However, according to Prof. Abdur Rahman, *Gand* or *Qand* is a compound noun 'comprising *Kam* (meaning "water") and *dhā* (meaning a "cloud or ocean")' (Rahman, 2011). He gives further argument and evidence in favour of his postulation and finally comes to the conclusion that 'Gandhara' means 'Land of the Lake' (*ibid.*).
- 4 Besides the above named scholars, others have also explained their views on this issue. For example, Kurt Behrendt opines that "Greater Gandhara"... includes the Peshawar basin, Taxila, Swāt, Afghanistan, and Kashmir' (Behrendt 2003). In a recent article, Saifur Rahman Dar has proposed the extension of the eastern boundary of Gandhara to the Jhelum valley. He has made this suggestion on account of some new Gandhara sculptures that have been obtained from that area (Dar, 2007).
- 5 For an anthropological analysis of this phenomenon see Banerjee, 2003.
- 6 Though, some other reasons may also be considered for the peculiar approaches of the earliest scholars of Gandhara art (for a detailed analysis see Dar, 1990, 1998 and Behrendt, 2003).
- 7 'There is, however, a need to empower indigenous groups to guard and protect their cultural heritage, especially as the theft and illegal trade of antiquities increase around the world... Such empowerment must include training indigenous people to become fully qualified professional archaeologists and providing impoverished indigenous groups with the necessary economic resources to conserve their heritage' (Trigger, 1989 [2010]).
- 8 However, S. R. Dar has raised an interesting point as follows: 'The curricula for our text books certainly need to be rewritten. But, when one looks beyond the text books, it is evident that this cultural bias for things Islamic has never advanced beyond lip sympathy as far as Islamic tangible heritage in Pakistan is concerned. How much has been done in Islamic period archaeology? How many Islamic period sites have been excavated? How many specialists in Islamic period archaeology, art, archaeology and epigraphy have we produced? How many new Muslim monuments have been discovered and protected since 1947? Answers to these questions must be sought and then compared with quantitative as well as qualitative answers in response to similar questions asked in respect of pre-Muslim civilizations – Harappan, Gandharan, Hindu and in particular Sikh civilizations. In fact Islamic period archaeology and hence, tangible Muslim heritage is the most neglected subject in the field of Cultural reclamation. These questions and their expected answers are only suggested here. It is for you to decide as to how to elaborate them' (personal communication). See also Dar, 1996).
- 9 'He was the only archaeologist who was well-known even in villages because of the popular articles he wrote not only in English but in Hindi, Gajarati and Marathi' (Dhavalikar, 1990).

- ¹⁰ These are: Shah Nazar. (1979) Gandhara Art (Aug.–Sep.): 105–108; idem. (1982) Da Shahbaz-garhe da Tarikh Zaarha Arkhkhuna (Oct.): 15–21; idem. (1984) Sangao (Feb.): 81–83; Sahibzada Hamidullah. (1979) Pakhwanai Sikkey (Aug.–Sep.): 109–121; Abdur Rahman & Sardar Muhammad. (1984) Da Hund na tar laasa shavey Tarikhi Kathbey (Oct.): 43–49.
- ¹¹ ‘3-year Swat heritage management project launched’, retrieved: November 23, 2012, <http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-7-41795-3-year-Swat-heritage-management-project-launched>
To give an idea of the impact of a long-lasting archaeological project, it is worth mentioning again the ACT-Field School Project. Only in the site of Barikot, every year it trains and employs up to 100 local workers (roughly corresponding to 90 households) for 6 months, involving up to 800 indirect beneficiaries, with a total all-included yearly salary expense of about 8 million rupees (personal communication with Olivieri).
- ¹² Unfortunately, Konishi does not give the name of this Professor.
- ¹³ ‘Archaeology also shows us how people in the past maintained, increased, or protected plant resources resulting in long-term, sustainable harvest and the creation of patches of certain species, fire-adapted forests, or grasslands and other open habitats... We are beginning to see how human maintenance over generations has created ecosystems that will disappear or deteriorate without continued care’ (Hayashida, 2005).

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