ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY AT TAXILA FROM THE BEGINNING TO 1947

A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

IFQUT SHAHEEN

TAXILA INSTITUTE OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY

ISLAMABD

2016

CERTIFICATE

This thesis by Ifqut Shaheen is accepted in its present form by the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, as satisfying the thesis requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Studies.

Prof. Dr. M. Ashraf Khan _____

Supervisor

External Examiner _____

Prof. Dr. Taj Ali

External Examiner _____

Dr. Ghazala Misbah

Director _____

TIAC

Dated: _____

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis in its present form is the result of my individual research and it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

IFQUT SHAHEEN

TAXILA INSTITUTE OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS

QUAID-I-AZAM UNIVERSITY

ISLAMABAD

We hereby recommend that the Dissertation prepared under our supervision by **MS. IFQUT SHAHEEN**, entitled **ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY AT TAXILA FROM THE BEGINNING TO 1947: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY** be accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Studies.

_____

Prof. Dr. M. Ashraf Khan

Supervisor

To

My Parents

And

Dr. Rafiullah Khan

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The realities of existence make one owe much to co-human beings right from the very beginning of one's life. Some debts of gratitude count more perennially which one neither can forget nor flout throughout the life. Initiations of a novice into the field of knowledge and learning by the savants entail such a lofty clout especially in matters of research and writing. The sense of obligation gets augmented when it comes to working on a PhD dissertation. It is in this context that I shall express strong feelings of indebtedness to a number of people ranging from patrons to teachers, helpers, will-wishers and friends.

First of all, I shall extend my sincere thanks to my supervisor, Professor Dr. M. Ashraf Khan, Director, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. He had been kind enough to during my research to provide great sources about Taxila and its archaeology. His cooperation remained so significant and passionate that even a number of sources were obtained from friends from abroad. It was Professor Ashraf Khan's consistent supervision and timely response which made the completion of this thesis possible in a speedy manner. Beside such kind of help, the Professor's deep acquaintance with the archaeology of Taxila proved of great help and significance. He knows about the valley ad nauseam in terms of its archaeological landscape and the related literature. Hence, his great help which is appreciable here.

Similarly, I feel indebtedness to my teachers from whom I have learnt throughout my academic career. Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman, Associate Professor, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, comes first in this respect. His important cooperation in terms of research guidance and assistance is to be appreciated. Dr. Sadeed

Arif, Assistant Professor, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University also may be remembered for providing some material during this research. Dr. Rafiullah Khan, Assistant Professor, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, constantly remained source in guidance, encouragement and help. It was him to whom goes the credit of introducing to some theoretical debates and discourses which add great strength to this research as a historiographical study. He also provided some basic sources and theoretical works.

A number of other well-known scholars have in one way or in another way supported me during this research. Discussions with Dr. Saifur Rahman Dar, during one of his visit to Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, proved significant for getting clarity about some problems in relation to archaeology and history of Taxila. Professor Dr. Mokammal Bhuiyan, Department of Archaeology, Jahangirnagar University, Dhaka, kindly sent me hard photocopy of the unpublished thesis of Dr. Nazimuddin Ahmad. Similarly, Professor J. Mark Kenoyer, Wisconsin-Madison University, also shared some his recent publications which added new dimensions to my understanding of archaeology of Taxila. I am grateful to Richard L. Lyman as he sent me two important articles. I am also mindful of the help of Mehmood ul Hassan of Department of Archaeology and Museum for help and cooperation as he kindly provided me list of protected sites of Taxila valley. He also commented on first draft of my thesis.

Beside the above mentioned scholars I would like to mention clerical staff of Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations for their help throughout my studies at Quaid-i-Azam University. Sardar Lala, Qaim Ali Shah, Fateh Haidar Ja'afari, Tayyiba Mussarat, Javed Masih, Muhammad Nasim and Basharat deserve my sincere gratitude their help and

assistance. The credit for most of photographs goes to Mehr M. Akmal, MSc student at Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations.

I ought to remember syrupy memories and company of my friends Amara Yunas and Mehwish Tariq who have been my supporters from MSc times.

I shall also appreciate from the core of my heart the constant help provided by friend and roommate Dr. Abida Bano. She always guided me and advised me during my research. I can't forget her cooperation. Ms. Latifa and Nadia also deserve a special mention here due to thier benevolent friendship. Ms. Nahida, Banafsha.

Last but not the least, my family members deserve my sincere gratitude as it have been them who always remained passionate about my studies and research. My parents and my grandfather Muhammad Ali come first as it was their vision which enabled me to pursue my education and research. I can't express my feelings for my mother. It was her wish for my higher Education. My aunt Ftima also supported me like a mother. My uncle Nazir Dahar may also be appreciated for his father-like love and support. Similarly, my brother Sajid needs my appreciation for his help and cooperation in relation to my studies. My sisters, Nusrat, Ishrat and Asma always supported me and remained cordial and friendly in matters of my education and research. My brother-in-law Shoaib also needs appreciation as he always encouraged me in my studies. My nephew, Imran and niece Hoorain Fatima and my niece, Dua-i-Zainab, are to be mentioned here as they always kept me animated during the tiresome period of research and writing.

Ifqut Shaheen

Introduction

The history of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent is largely deficient in documentary sources. And this fact gives a great role to archaeology in the reconstruction of the ancient history of India and Pakistan. This enterprise got started with the British period of India when the western scholars and administrators took interest in the ancient history of the area. For this purpose the field of archaeology was given due importance. Different areas of the country saw archaeological surveys and excavations and the reports were frequently published.

Taxila is one of such areas which got the attention of the British scholars and archaeologists. They made surveys, explorations and excavations and published their reports about Taxila and its cultural heritage. They tried to solve many historical problems in the light of the researches. Their explanations and interpretations need a fresh evaluation and investigation in the light of the subsequent researches and discoveries. Similarly, these pioneering scholars adopted methods during their fieldwork which also make the subject of inquiry especially in a postcolonial milieu. All such related questions and problems have been probed into in this study. Before we proceed further, a short historical sketch of Taxila may be presented here.

Taxila, a modern town of Pakistan, is one of the most historic places of the country. It is situated on the bank of two local rivers known as Tamra-nala and Lundi-nala. Taxila lies on the western side of the Margala Hills. It is located about 40 km northwest of Rawalpindi and Islamabad and comes within the administrative boundaries of district Rawalpindi, Punjab. The total area of Taxila is 375 square kilometers. Its elevation is 549 meters above

the sea level. This valley is watered by Haro River and surrounded by a girdle of hills of Margalla, Hazara and Murree.

The history of Taxila goes back to the prehistoric and protohistoric period of which remains are found at Sarai-khola, Hathial and Bhir-mound. The Indo-Aryans are said to have come here during their so-called historical movements. But the most vivid history of the valley, traditionally speaking, starts with the Achaemenids followed by Alexander of Macedonia, the Mauryans, Indo-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushanas, Sassanians and finally to the time of the Huns and of the Shahis. Taxila has played an important role throughout the history of the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent.

Taxila has served as a crossroads and melting-pot of peoples and cultures. It has had significant routes and paths network. One of the various routes, passing through Taxila, proceeded from Pataliputra (modern Patna) and connected the north-west of the Mauryan Empire. Another ancient route was coming from Western Asian through Kapisa, Bactria and Charsada (*Pushkalavati*) and reached Taxila across the Indus at Hund (*Ohind or Udhabhandapura*). And third route had its origination in Central Asia and China passing through Srinagar and Baramula via Mansehra and Haripur. So in the past Taxila connected India with Central Asia on one hand and Western Asia and Persia on the other.

Taxila is mentioned by Arrian as the flourishing city at the time of Alexander's invasion of the region and greatest of the all the cities that lay between Indus and Jehlum (*Hydaspes*). Strabo also mentions the city of Taxila. Plutarch praises its richness and Xuanzang speaks about its fertility and vegetation.

Like other cities of the region, Taxila was also variously named in ancient times. It is *Takhasila* or *Takshasila* in the *Puranic* verses of the *Prakrit* epigraphs. Heliodorus, the Greek ambassador, spelt it as *Takkhasila* in Basnagar inscription. The present name owes its origin to Greek and Roman as they were using the abbreviated form of Taxila. It is correctly *Takshaśila* in Sanskrit. *Mar-i-Kala*, according to Ahmad Hasan Dani, is the Persian equivalent of *Takshaśila* as it is used by Alberni and Margalla is a corrupt form of it.

Another explanation of the word Taxila is also given by the scholars. *Taksha* means to cut or to split and *śila* means stone, rock or hill. On the basis of this literal meaning Sir John Marshall said that it is not unlikely that *Takshaśila* signified the city of cut stone. It is also attributed to Tathagata by Faxian and Xuanzang. He is of the opinion that Buddha lived here as a Bodhisattva and was a king of a great country. While in search of Bodhi, he cut off his head. Xuanzang speaks of his country's name as Chen-ta-lo-po-la-po.

On the basis of their excavations some archaeologists including Sir John Marshall fixed the chronology of Taxila as old as 6th century BCE. But later excavations at Bhir Mound, Hathial and Srai-khola by Pakistani researchers pushed its history back to 4th millennium BCE. So it is now crystal clear, beyond any doubt, that Bhir-mound existed even before the dawn of the Early Historic Period viz. sixth century BCE. In this way, the history of Taxila now goes back to prehistory.

The so-called Indo-Aryans are said to have left their traces behind in the historic valley of Taxila. They, accordingly, came here and ruled the area for a long period. Achaeminian Empire of Persia was established by Cyrus the Great in 558 BCE. The Persians brought

Gandhara under their sway about 518 BCE. So Taxila also became a part or satrapy of the Achaeminian Empire as scholars extend the geographical boundaries of Gandhara upto Taxila.

The Achaeminians were followed by the Greeks led by Alexander of Macedonia for a short period. He reached here, stayed and relaxed here while enjoying the blisses of Taxila before his campaign against Porus of Jhelum. Greeks were uprooted by the Mauryan dynasty under Chandragupta Maurya. His grandson, Asoka, made Taxila (whole of Gandhara as well) a great centre of Buddhism and he spread Buddhism into Central Asia. The Mauryan were followed by the Bactrian Greeks who on reaching here came to be known as Indo-Greeks and sometimes as Indus-Greeks, Sakas, Parthians, Kushans and Sassanian for about seven hundred years. Under the Little or Kidar Kushana Buddhism flourished once again. During this period the artists produced high standard religious art specimens in stone, stucco and terracotta. Taxila got huge Buddhist establishments under Asoka and Kushana reign. But all these got deteriorated during 5th century CE due to a number of reasons.

The ancient history of Taxila began to surface mostly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first ever archaeological survey was carried out by Alexander Cunningham in 1863 to 1864. After him John Marshal carried out extensive excavations between 1913 to1934. He was followed by Mortimer Wheeler, one of the greatest British archaeologists. Later on the Federal Department of Archaeology and Museum, Pakistan, continued its research work at Taxila and extended its excavation to Sarai-khola site in 1968-1972. Again a team of archaeologists of the same institution led by Ahmad Nabi Khan carried out survey in this area in 1973. Further work was done in 1990s and early two years of the

twenty first century. All this has greatly added to our understanding of ancient history and archaeology of Taxila. We have now a long history of this activity and great repertoires of information about Taxilan history and archaeology. By dint of its complexity, scatterness, internal consistency in data and contextual framework, Taxilan archaeology, since Cunningham's days, needs critical examination and analysis. In other words, history of all this activity needs to be paid attention to. The present research project aims at investigating this long process of the archaeology and history of Taxila.

The development of archaeology in future depends largely upon the previous archaeological work. But, at the same time, the archaeological literature of the past times needs revision especially in the light of the ever-new archaeological and literary evidence as well as theoretical and ideological developments. This kind of need resulted in the emergence of new branch of archaeology, called *history of archaeology*.

This research basically deals with the history of the archaeology of the Taxila valley. It brings to the fore how archaeology of Taxila developed and explanations and interpretations were presented by the successive generations of scholars. It, on the one hand, synchronizes all the data while, on the other, points out the methodological and socio-political contexts of this long scholastic activity. With this a corrective has been put to the mistakes in previous interpretations/explanations by the early archaeologists through historical, critical, historiographical and contextual analyses. In this sense, the present study also paves the way for the future researches in the field of archaeology. And this is, of course, the real significance of this study.

Archaeological work at Taxila till 1947 has produced a voluminous literature. The methods adopted in the field and the results of the archaeological researches are important contributions to the history of the area. This work till 1947 is largely directed by colonial considerations and *imperial thought* and hence colonial archaeological methods and theories.

Taxila has so far been extensively investigated form historical and archaeological point of views. But history of archaeology of the valley with a strict chronological focus with microanalysis has not been given attention by scholars. Questions such as what was the socio-political and intellectual milieu in which researchers from the very beginning till 1947 worked on Taxila, what were their ideological interests and what sort of methodological and theoretical approaches they adopted in their researches, in the context of archaeology of Taxila, have not interested and fascinated scholars. Very often investigations over the last more than six decades have been carried out in order either to augment what colonial writers had left unfinished or to present merely new suggestions in terms of sites' functions, origin, chronology, architecture etc. Similarly, only problems and issues intrinsic to problem-oriented archaeological scholarship have preoccupied scholars so as to the negligence of the socio-political contexts in which researches during the British India were done.

Saifur Rahman Dar (1984) has extensively investigated archaeology of Taxila and has presented a number of new suggestions about history, chronology, masonry and architecture of Taxilan archaeological sites. Though he has done some work on the history of archaeology of Gandhara (1998, 1999-2000) but no specific consideration has been given to historical development of archaeology of Taxila. Similarly, Dani's work (1999)

on Taxila, though important, deals only with the archaeology of Taxila typically in the framework of John Marshall's *Taxila*. He here and there makes either agreement or disagreement with Marshall and other writers, but no methodico-theoritical innovations he has to his credit in relation to Taxila. Except few and negligible new observations, Dani's work may rightly be termed as a good summary of Marshall's *Taxila*. Another work is done by Gerard Fussman (1993) on the urban development at Taxila. He sees urban patterns at Taxila as having connection with city developments in Central Asia. Another interesting study is by Coningham and Edwards (1997-1998) who vividly explains three loci namely, administrative, economic and religious. This study enhances our understanding of the three sorts of activities at Sirkap and adds much to what has been said by Marshall and Dani in this regard. To all these works may be added Daniel Merton Michon's study (2007). He gives new interpretations of some interesting objects from Sirkap from a contextual point of view. The study undoubtedly helps one understand archaeology of the city in a clearer way. Furthermore, J. Mark Kenoyer (2010) has presented an interesting paradigm in relation to development of Gandharan culture. though he deals with overall Gandhara, his general remarks from a sort of evolutionary and processual-postprocessual position give enough insights especially in terms of critique of traditional archaeology of Taxila.

However, all these works do not treat themes in relation to the development of the archaeology of the Taxila valley. On the other hand, some general works do mention Taxila in the framework of development of Indian archaeology. One such work is by Dilip Chakrabarthi (1988/2001) who cursorily makes reference to work by colonial archaeologists at Taxila. Nazimuddin Ahmad (1958) also briefly at places sheds light on

history of archaeology of Taxila in his PhD dissertation. On the whole his work deals with archaeological sites and objects from Taxila.

Beside all this, Muhammad Ashraf Khan *et al.* (2005) make a catalogue of the Gandhara sculpture lying in the Taxila Museum. The book garners a special importance for the Gandharan studies as it provides basic information to the scholarly community across the world. Muhammad Ashraf Khan *et al.* (2009) discusses the discovery of coins from Badalpur which contribute handsomely in the reconstruction of the history of the Taxila valley. Similarly, Muhammad Ashraf *et al.* (n.d.) gives the information about the Jinnan Wali-dheri in the light of the material extracted during the excavation by the authors.

The present work is an important contribution to the history of Indo-Pakistani archaeology. Various studies so far have appeared in this field. Beside the above-mentioned work of Chakrabarthi, Roy (1961, 1963), Upinder Singh (2004), Himanshu Prabha Ray (2008), Robin Coningham and Ruth Young (2015), Luca Maria Olivieri (2006, 2015), Rafiullah Khan (2014) and Sarfaraz Khan (2015) have contributed to the field.

While conducting this study, the researcher had to visit a number of institutions and data repertoires. She had also to contact scholars for help from different countries. The National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, was frequently visited during this research. Important sources, both primary and secondary, were located, studies and used in the present research. Similarly, the library and museum of Taxila were also hunting grounds during this research and a good use of both of them was made in the study. In addition, the TIAC library and Central Library of QAU proved great mines of sources as books, reports and other sources are preserved here.

Coupled with such institutional repertoires, a number of scholars from different countries were appraoched for help. Prof. Mokammal Bhuiyan of the Department of Archaeology, Jahangirnagar University, Dhaka (Bangladesh) kindly sent copy of unpublished PhD thesis on Taxila by Nazimuddin Ahmad. Nazimuddin was Director General of Archaeology Department of Pakistan before 1971. Similarly, Prof. Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, University of Wisconson-Madison, USA, provided some important material of study. Some personal communication with scholars, such as Dr. Saifur Rahman Dar and Rafiullah Khan, were made which proved greatly helpful in the course of the study.

This study consists of five chapters. Chapter first gives an overview of history and geography of Taxila which helps the reader get equipped for grasping the subsequent debates in the following chapters. The next chapter develops a theoretical framework for the study. Chapter third details upon the lives and times of the pioneer colonial archaeologists namely Sir Alexander Cunningham, Sir John Marshal and Sir Mortimer Wheeler. It presents life sketches of these scholars and their contribution to Indian archaeology. It also investigates the methods and approaches of these scholars from a historical and analytical point of view paving for historiographical analysis of Taxilan archaeology in the last chapter. Chapter four comprises site description and a table of the archaeological landscape of Taxila and synthesizes the works from Alexander Cunningham's period till recent times. It shows vacillation in and graduality of our understanding of history and archaeology of Taxila. Furthermore, this part of the thesis identifies and synchronizes names and descriptions which are found in different sources as at variance. The last chapter makes important contributions as they elaborate upon the archaeological and research methods and programmes of the colonial archaeologists and

scholars of Taxila and then analyze the various explanations and interpretations which were presented during the colonial period about history and archaeology of Taxila.

Chapter 1

Taxila valley
Geography and history

Taxila valley has been one of the important centres, both cultural and political, of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. In olden days it played a significant role in the history of Central and South Asia. Both literary and archaeological sources are found in abundance in this regard. Ancient canonical and historical literature has references to Taxila and it has been substantiated by archaeological discoveries since the 2nd half of the 19th century, which establishes its historical importance. Both kinds of evidence have given a clearer picture of the history of the valley.

Nomenclature

The origin of the modern name, Taxila (Greek variant), is found by scholars in *Takshaśila, Takhaśila* or *Takkaśila*. *Takshaśila* is Sanskrit while *Takhaśila* and *Takkaśila*, according to Marshall, are local variations. About the meaning of the name scholars present more than one definitions. Cunningham gives the meaning of *Takshaśila* as 'cut rock' (Cunningham 1871b: 115) which Marshall affirms by stating that 'it is not unlikely that *Takshaśila* signified "the city of cut stone"' (Marshall 1945/1951a: 1). However, Ahmad Hasan Dani holds a different opinion. He remarks:

> Raychaudhuri has traced the history of Janamejaya to Abhimanyu and his son Pārikshita and has discussed the authenticity of the *Sarpa-sattra* (snake sacrifice) which he performed. [. . .] The significance of this snake sacrifice made by the Aryan epic hero Janamejaya has not been properly explained. The serpents (*Nāgas*), referred to here, need not be taken literally because the *Puranas* [. . .] speak of seven *Nāga* princes, one of whom, named *Takshaka*, is said to have been the inhabitant of

> the Nishadha mountain. At best *Takshaka* was a human, probably devoted to snake worship, as were his followers. It is for this reasons that they are spoken of as *Dānava*, i.e., demons, in the *Puranas*, as opposed to the Aryans of pure blood. Hence the sacrifice might well mean the defeat and wholesale slaughter of these people in the place of their authority, i.e., *Taksha-śilā*. Therefore the word *Taksha* supposedly preserves the name of the Serpent prince, and the hill (*śilā*), which bore the city of the Serpent prince, became inseparably associated with his name. Thus, we arrive at the origin of the city's name as *Taksha-śilā*. Such a meaning alone explains the Persian form *Mār-i-kalā*, which literally means '(hill) fort of the serpent (king)' (Dani 1999: 2–3).

In another article Professor Dani puts down that 'Taxila, or correctly *Taksha-sila* – the Capital of Taksha (the Serpent King) has been a city of old, where ruled the Serpent Kings before the coming of the Aryans. The name still survives in that of the neighbouring hill – Margalla –, which is a literal translation of the original word into Persian' (Dani 2001: 182).

It is also needed to refer to Saifur Rahman Dar's sophisticated analysis (Dar 1984/1998: 9-25). He critically investigates all the possible meanings of *Takshaśila, Takhaśila* or *Takkaśila* and Taxila and at last presents the conclusion as follows:

- Takka was a tribe living in the neighbourhood of Taxila,
- Taxiles was a patronym of the rulers of the city known as Taxila at least at the time of Alexander's invasion, and
- Taxila and Taxiles must have been derived only from Takka with whatever meaning (Dar 1984/1998: 19).[1]

[1] Dar also opines: 'Whatever the meaning and origin of the name Takashasila, there is no doubt that it was already famous when Alexander of Macedon visited this city in 325 B.C. The Greek historians have given the name of the city as Taxila. According to them Taxila was the greatest city in whole of India and Pakistan known to them. . . . This name is found in Western literature unchanged till today. The name Taxila is

However, a recent study, done by Richard Salomon (2005), about the etymology of the name, Taxila, has questioned the previous propositions. He, after a detailed discussion, concludes:

> All of this leads (as promised) to no clear conclusion, and the new Gāndhārī evidence presented in this article does not provide a complete solution to the problem of the origin of the name, or rather names, of Taxila. Indeed, such an answer is probably lost forever in the mist of linguistic prehistory. But the new Gāndhārī material does at least provide a clue to the origin of the Greek form of the name, Taxila, pointing in the direction of a vernacular term and casting doubt on the primacy of the better known Sanskrit and Pali forms of the name. The pervasive uncertainty in both traditional and modern sources about the etymology of the name points in the same direction. It is therefore likely that the name *Takṣaśilā* and its varieties ultimately go back to an archaic dialectical word, possibly of Iranian rather than Indian origin, or conceivably even to a pre-Indo-Aryan substrate term of which we get only vague echoes in the surviving historical and linguistic records. As to what this underlying form might have been, we can only guess; the ethnonym Ṭakka is our only possible clue, but its relevance, as noted above, is questionable at best (Salomon 2005: 275 – 276).

Another intriguing point to be referred to here is the Buddhist legend associated with the name *Takshaśila*. The name is pronounced and written by Chinese pilgrims, Faxian and Xuanzang, as 'Chu-sha-shi-lo/Chu-ch'a-shi-lo' and 'Ta-cha-shi-lo' respectively (Beal 1884/2004: 136; 1869/2003: 32). The Chinese version is translated as 'severed head'.[2] This

---

actually a Greek version of Tak-sila or Takkasila and not of Takshasila or Takhasila. The Greek historians called it Ta Taxila – 'Ta' being an article in the neutral plural gender form meaning thereby that for Greeks Tak-sila meant a city of 'Taka people' and Taxiles as the ruler of the city of Takka tribe' (Dar 1984-1998: 18).

[2] According to Faxian and Sung-yun, 'there is a country called Tchu-sha-si-lo (Takshasilâ). This word, being interpreted, signifies, "the severed head." Buddha, when he was Bôdhisatwa, in this place gave his head in charity; men, therefore, have given this name to the country' (Beal 1869/2003: 32). James Legge explains in

variant of the name is associated with the legend of Buddha's head offering in charity. Buddhist believed that this act of charity took place at Taxila. Cunningham presents an interesting reconstruction in this respect. 'The origin of this legend I think may be certainly traced to the name, which as *Taksha-sila* means simply the "cut rock," but with a slight alteration as *Taksha-sira* means the "severed head"' (Cunningham 1871b: 115). Cunningham writes that it was not known whether the city derived its name from the legend or vice versa. However, he hypothesizes that as the name was recorded by the Greeks before the arrival of Buddhism into the valley, it seems that the latter possibility is strong (Cunningham 1871b: 115).[3] It may be noted that such problems are also found elsewhere in the ancient world i.e. Assur. Assur is an important city of Mesopotamia and Assur is also name of its patron deity. But it is not easy to say which one derives from which one.

---

footnote 2 to this this point in his translation: 'It took place when Buddha had been born as a Brahman in the village of Daliddi; and from the merit of this act, he was next born in a devaloka' (Legge 1998: 32).

[3] Dar details upon the deep-rootedness of the tradition of the 'severed head': 'It appears that this tradition of "cut-off head" became so popular during Buddhist supremacy at Taxila that no subsequent period could ever shake it off. It persisted, though in a different form, even during Muslim period. The area in front of present day Sirkap (Taxila III), was known in the 19th century as Babar Khana or the House of Tiger. In Al-Beruni's *Indica* there is a reference to a Babarhan or Babarkan, situated midway between the Indus and the Jhelum from where takes off the route to Kashmir. This, according to Cunningham, must be identified with Babar Khana to the north of Sirkap. The same name also alludes to the same place in *sirshadanam* story. Similarly, in the city of Taxila, there is a range of hills on the south of the Taxila valley, which even today is known as Margala. Among other meanings assigned to this name, Margala also means "cut-throat' i.e., "mar" (to cut) & "gala" (throat). Here, "cutting-off head" is transformed into "Cutting-off throat" and hence Margala and Takkasira connote the same meaning. The oldest reference to Margala is in Abu Raihan Al-Beruni's *Indica* where he mentions Margala (his Marikala) as an alternate name of Takshasila. Later on, the name "Margala" occurs in an inscription (dated 1084 A.H./1672 A.D.) of Aurangzeb period fixed on a roadside about two kilometers from Sarai Khola. The name persists even today.

'The tradition of "cut-off head" is also preserved in the form of Sirkap – modern name of Taxila III, which also means "cut-off head", though usually a different story is alluded to this name' (Dar 1984/1998: 16-17).

Identification

Like other ancient names of important centres of north-westerns Indo-Pakistan, *Takhaśila*, *Takkaśila*, *Takshaśila*, *Takkhasilā* and Taxila had erased from minds and memories of people of the valley long before. Its different parts were known to them by local and individual names such Shah-dheri, Sarai-khola, Hathial etc. But fortunately its original names, and its various variants, remained preserved in indigenous and foreign texts. And it was not until the seminal explorations of Alexander Cunningham that all these historical facts were made known during the second half of nineteenth century.

It was Cunningham who first identified the ruins of and in the vicinity of Shah-dheri as the ancient site of Taxila. He made careful calculations of the measurements given by classical and Chinese sources and analysis of the blowing descriptions about the riches and opulence of the area. In addition, archaeological evidence in the form of monuments, coins and inscriptions also helped Cunningham made this identification (Cunningham 1871: 111ff.). Other contemporary writers' also attested this hallmark identification. J. D. Delmerick writes that '. . . I think that the ruins near Sháh ki Dherí can be no other than those of the celebrated city of Taxila. . .' (Delmerick 1870: 91). Delmerick contextualizes Taxila's central position against the backdrop of Menu's recommendation that the king should select his centre as the area attended by practical concerns for fertility and defence. 'Any one looking at the site of Koṭ Atial would at once perceive that the city must have been built in strict accordance with the precepts of the Dharma Shastra' (Delmerick 1870: 91). Furthermore, Delmerick takes insights from the Greek and Chinses sources and with the help of relevant references to the topographical and geographical features and characteristics of the valley, Shah-dheri and its surroundings are declared as the ancient

site of Taxila (Delmerick 1870). Since this seminal verdict was first given in early second half of the nineteenth century, no one subsequently disagreed with this identification. Miraculously the whole valley is now known both by the public and academics alike by its ancient name, Taxila, a Greek variant.

Later investigations and surfacing of plentiful evidence show that Cunningham was substantially up to the mark in his epoch-making identification. Convincingly enough, the various inscriptions recovered from Taxila's archaeological sites add strength, beyond any doubt, to the identification of Taxila (for Taxilan inscriptions, see Dar 1984/1998: 213-269).

Geography

It is the geographical position of Taxila, as being lying on the crossroads which connects both Central, West and South Asia, which has determined the central role played by it in the history of the east and the west. 'Taxila', writes Saifur Rahman Dar, 'is situated at a very strategic position' (Dar 1984: 3). He further states, 'It was due to this geographical location that Taxila, perhaps, owed its very existence' (Dar 1984: 3).

Taxila is 'situated at the open West-end of a Valley which is some 20 km east-west and 8 km north-south (Fig 1)' (Dar 1984: 3). Marshall describes the area as situated 'at the head of the Sind Sāgar Doāb between the Indus and Jhelum rivers and in the shadow of the Murree hills where they die down into the western plain' (Marshall 1951: 1). However, Dani disputes that 'Sind Sagar Doab is far below the Salt Range and has little connection with the geographic perspective of Taxila' (Dani 1999: 9). He argues that 'It certainly partakes of the Cis-Indus system on its eastern side and merges imperceptibly with the

Chhach (or Chakshu) plain that has always opened its high road to the Indus and beyond' (Dani 1999: 9).

Saifur Rahman Dar handsomely delineates the boundaries of Taxila valley. 'Here at the foothills of Himalayan mountains', he opines, 'a series of low hills girdle the Valley on three sides while the Western side provides a wide open gap. On the east, Murree hills separate the Valley from the city of Islamabad' (Dar 1984: 3). He proceeds on to write, 'A low ridge running east-west divides the Taxila Valley into two unequal halves – larger one on the north and smaller one on the south. This ridge also dies down into the plain on the east bank of Tamra Nullah with renowned Taxila Museum located on the opposite bank' (Dar 1984: 3).

Taxila lies 'in the Potwar plateau' and its important source of water is Tamra *nullah* (Dani 1999: 9 – 10). In addition to Tamra, Lundi rivulet and other springs also provide water for a considerable area. But the major source of water, according to Dar, is Haro river which waters the valley (Dar 1984: 3). Professor Dani does not agree with Haro being important because it, and also Soan, 'have very meandering channels which cut so deep into the loessic deposits that fill the plateau so that it is difficult to use it for irrigation' (Dani 1999: 9).[4] He further explains:

[44] Chinese pilgrim, Xuanzang describes Taxila in these words: 'The kingdom of Ta-ch'a-shi-lo is about 2000 li in circuit, and the capital is about 10 li in circuit. The royal family being extinct, the nobles contend for power by force. Formerly this country was in subjection to Kapiśa, but latterly it has become tributary to Kia-shi-mi-lo (Kaśmir). The land is renowned for its fertility, and produces rich harvests. It is very full of streams and fountains. Flowers and fruits are abundant. The climate is agreeably temperate. The people are lively and courageous, and they honour the three gems. Although there are many *saṅghârâmas*, they have become ruinous and deserted, and there are very few priests; those that there are study the Great Vehicle' (Beal 136-137).

> Hence the great value of the site of Taxila lies in its distance from the danger of Indus floods (as is normal in the case of the Chhach plain) and conveniently located in a well-watered valley drained by the Tamra and other affluents. It is because of these natural environments that Taxila has been the main city in the past and the other side of Margala, where Islamabad is situated, its suburb. Modern technology has reversed the situation at present, because by providing facilities to control the floods on the site occupying the eastern slope of Margala, Islamabad is today the main city and Taxila is growing as its industrial suburb (Dani 1999: 9).

Taxila valley serves as a link between different geographical entities. It has seen the marches of empire-builders and invaders on the one hand and the extensive activities of trade, learning and culture on the other. 'Here used to meet in the past, as they do even today, three ancient trade routes, one each from the Western World, Central Asia and the mainland India (Fig. 2). It was also connected with the Red Sea and Persian Gulf through a sea route linking sea ports of Barygaza (Bharoch) and Barbaricon near Karachi with Taxila through a Caravan route which corresponds to the present day national highway of Pakistan passing through Punjab and Sind' (Dar 1984: 3).[5]

[5] 'These routes not only lured invaders, soldiers and adventurers but along with travelled merchants, settlers, teachers, students as well as commercial commodities and new social ideas. These people, commodities and ideas, all of diverse origin, when met and mingled at Taxila, gave this city a cosmopolitan character right from the beginning – a character which Taxila retained at least upto the 5ht century A.D.' (Dar 1984: 3). It may be noted that such a definition of Taxila entails but a conceptual approach of diffusionism. It has its own defects which obviously negatively affects our understanding of socio-cultural developments of Taxila. It ought to be noted that such a definition of Taxila entails but a conceptual approach of diffusionism. It has its own defects which obviously negatively affect our understanding of intense socio-cultural developments of Taxila.

History

Keeping in view the geographical framework of Taxila valley, its history cannot be overestimated. Both historical and archaeological evidence has established a clearer historical personality of the area since the prehistoric times to medieval period.

Prehistoric and protohistoric periods: Archaeological researches have taken the history of Taxila valley back to the prehistoric and protohistoric times. Professor Dani writes that the archaeological material about the prehistory and protohistory of Taxila gives 'four periods of human history'. He terms them as the microlithic hunters, the early agriculturists, Bronze Age man, and the Aryan settlers (Dani 1999: 18 – 39). He writes, 'Although the archaeological evidence at Taxila is still scanty for want of full excavation, a broad outline is clear. We find continuity from the microlithic hunters in the Khanpur cave through the early agriculturists at Saraikala to the Bronze Age at the same site and at Hathial. After a little break, there is continuity from the upper levels of Hathial right into the early historical period' (Dani 1999: 38). It is to be mentioned here that our recent understanding of Taxila is strong enough as compared to the one in the pre-Partition era. The prehistory of Taxila has enriched our vision of the historical processes in the area. It is clear from the following quote:

> By adding to history its prelude prehistory, human history has been pushed hundreds of thousands years back and the provision of data for its reconstruction is mainly the prerogative of archaeology (Khan 2012b: 178).

It were archaeological discoveries in the post-independence period that revolutionized archaeology of Taxila. Cameron A. Petrie writes (2013: 653-654):

> It was not until the discovery of various caves in the Taxila Valley in 1964 that it was demonstrated that the region was occupied during the Mesolithic or earlier (Dani 1986). Occupation dating before the establishment of the Bhir mound was first discovered during the 1968-71 excavations at the mound of Sarai Khola, which had been discovered by Sharif in 1967 (Halim 1970-71, 1972). These excavations revolutionised understanding of settled life in the Taxila Valley, as for the first time it was demonstrated that early village populations inhabited the region (see Dani 1986; also Petrie et al. 2010).

The Achaemenids at Taxila: The Achaemenids extended their rule to that part of the subcontinent which presently forms the nation-state of Pakistan. 'The second historical period of Taxila begins with its incorporation into the Achaemenid empire in 516 B.C., when it shared the advantages of many imperial traditions and truly became a beneficiary of political and commercial contact with the western world' (Dani 1999: 41). This development had had greater and important cultural impacts for the whole of the area. The area borrowed communication system, weight and measurement from the Persians (Ohja 1968: 9-26; Dani 1998; Ahmad 2012). Recently, researches have shown that Achaemenid extension was not the primary factor behind the second urbanization process in the northern Indo-Pakistan. Independent origination of cultural development had already started in northern Indus valley and Taxila was one of such important centres (see Kenoyer 2015).[6]

[6] A recent study maintains: 'Although in the past, it has been assumed that the core region of the second phase of urbanism was centred in the Ganga-Yamuna River Valley and spread to parts of the northern Indus Valley, new archaeological evidence and a new model for understanding the re-emergence of urbanism, suggests that the primary core region was the northern Indus Valley region and the Punjab. From the northern Indus plain, urbanism appears to have gradually spread to the east into the Ganga-Yamuna Doab extending eventually as far as the lower Ganga River valley and the delta region of the Ganga-Brahmaputra Rivers. To the west, this urban phenomenon interfaces in Afghanistan and Central Asia with the expansion of

Recent studies have explored many new aspects of Achaemenians' presence and influences in the area. The studies deal with mechanism of authority and power in the eastern provinces of Achaemenid empire (Petrie and Magee 2007). And 'this all indicates that the nature of authority in regions in the east of the Achaemenid realms may have been different to that in other parts of the empire' (Petrie and Magee 2007: 3).

Alexander of Macedonia and Taxila: The Greeks reached Taxila, still nominally, along with other areas, part of Achaemenid empire, under the leadership of Alexander the Great in 326 BCE. Raja Ambhi submitted to them and welcomed them (Dani 1999: 46-50). Ambhi's submission should be viewed in the local political context of the time. According to Curtius '. . . Ambhi, the ruler of Takshaśilā, was at war with Abhisares and Poros. Arrian informs us that Poros and Abhisares were not only enemies of Takshaśilā but also of the neighbouring autonomous tribes' (Ojha 1968: 29). Ojha further writes that 'Owing to these feuds and strifes amongst the petty states, a foreign invader had no united resistance to fear; and he could be assured that many among the local chieftains would receive him with open arms out of hatred for their neighbours' (Ojha 1968: 29-30). It was against this backdrop that Ambhi welcomed Alexander. In the wake of the assassination of Philippos, Alexander's general and in charge of the province of the Punjab, Ambhi was put in charge of this new satrapy. Later on some other minor principalities were also added to this province under Ambhi. It is said that afterwards both Ambhi and Poros developed cordial relationship, a fact which speaks for the possibility of peace in the region (Ojha 1968: 31-32). A recent study has analyzed the situation as follows:

Achaemenid Iranian urbanism. Further research needs to be conducted by excavating under major historical cities throughout the Indus region, such as Lahore, Jhang, Bawani, Multan, Sehwan, Arore, and Brahmanabad to determine if their foundations reach back into this early period' (Kenoyer 2015: 102-103).

> However, local rulers such as Ambhi of Taxila and Porus, who ruled the Punjab east of the Jhelum River, had begun to gain considerable autonomy and were engaged in regional power struggles. Similar conflicts were going on in the east between the powerful Nanda rulers of Magadha and smaller polities throughout northern India and Nepal. Eventually, the Nandas were able to control most of the Gangetic region and established a capital in the eastern Ganga Valley at Rajgriha and later at Pataliputra. Alexander is said to have met Chandragupta Maurya who was possibly meeting with Porus in order to build a coalition to overthrow the Nanda rulers of Magadha (Kenoyer 2015: 102).

Taxila and the Mauryan empire: It was under the leadership of Chandragupta Maurya that the Indians got Gandhara and some adjacent area back from Seleucus empire. After a protracted rivalry an agreement was effected between Seleucus Nikator and Chandragupta in 305 BCE. The former, resultantly, ceded Gandhara and other nearby parts to the latter (Ojha 1968: 45–52). 'After regaining control of the northwest, he [Chandragupta] set up a governor at Taxila, which was one of the oldest and most strategically important cities in the northern Indus Valley, to assist in the control of the northern subcontinent . . .' (Kenoyer 2015: 103). Dr. Dani writes that Ambhi was deposed by Chandragupta Maurya (Dani 1999: 62). Taxila reached its zenith during the rule of Ashoka the Great.[7] It was during the Mauryan rule (321–189) that Buddhism reached the area. Afterwards, the valley went ahead in cultural developments.

The Mauryan rulers had had a long association with Taxila. Chandragupta himself 'rose to power from this very city'. He was also educated here under the tutorship of Kautilya.

[7] Mark Kenoyer argues, 'Rulers like Ashoka used political, military, economic, and religious coercion to consolidate the Mauryan Empire. Ashoka is said to have converted to Buddhism, and during his reign, Buddhism was established as the state religion. Missionaries were sent to distant regions; stupas were constructed (Fig. 4); and royal edicts promoting Buddhist doctrines were set up throughout the empire, using local languages in each region. Even though he advocated non-violence, Ashoka never disbanded his army and continued to rule his empire with force when necessary' (Kenoyer 2015: 104).

Prince Susima was governor of the city during the reign of Bindusara who was later on replaced by Ashoka. Kunala was the viceroy of Taxila during the time of Ashoka (Dani 1999: 53). 'The successors of Asoka continued to rule in Taxila. . . . This evidence brings us nearly to the end of the third century B.C. when Taxila was in the possession of the Mauryas' (Dani 1999: 53). Dani further opines that 'Whether the Mauryas continued to rule here until they were supplanted by Pushyamitra Śuṅga in 184 B.C. is difficult to say' (Dani 1999: 53).[8]

According to Mark Kenoyer's socio-political configuration and chronological framework the Mauryan period characterizes the Integration Period. During this period the urbanization, which had already begun, received further boast and reached to its zenith (Kenoyer 2015).

Indo-Greeks and Taxila: The political turmoil in Bactria and Afghanistan at the turn of the 2nd century B.C. paved the way for the arrival of the Bactrian Greeks into Gandhara and the Punjab. 'Pressed by the Parthians from the west and the Scythians from the north, these Greeks later on passed into India defeating the weak successors of Chandragupta Maurya who had turned the tide of Greek conquest from this country. The Greek kings of India may be termed as the Indo-Greeks. . . .' (Ojha 1968: 68). Plainly speaking, the downfall of the Mauryan empire and the abortive attempt of Pushyamitra to 'fill the power vacuum' lured the Greeks and they arrived in the Indus land. They 'made a decided impact on the development of culture in Gandhara and particularly in Taxila' (Dani 1999: 63).

[8] 'After the death of Ashoka, many of the regional governors began to break away from the centre, and in 183 BCE, the lase Mauryan ruler was assassinated by a Brahmin general named Pushyamitra Sunga. This breakup of the Mauryan Empire is the end of the Integration Era, which is followed by a long period 'of local and regional political developments' (Kenoyer 2015: 104).

The Scythians and Parthians in Taxila: The Scythians under the leadership of Maues defeated the Indo-Greeks. He established his rule 'in Taxila and Chukhsa (i.e., cis-Indus region)'. But his rule proved short-term as the Greeks re-established themselves. Dani puts down that:

> It was Azes I, who . . . finally inflicted the death blow to the rule of the Greeks and probably completed the Parthian I city in Taxila. It is this first phase that should at best be called the Śaka-Parthian period of Taxilan history. This was followed by Parthian II phase, mainly remembered for the name of Gondophares, whose coins and inscriptions are found in a vast belt spreading from Bajaur to Chilas in the upper Indus (ibid.: 66).

The Scythians and Parthians' association with India, and in our case with Taxila can best be established with the help of the classical literature and coins (see ibid.: 66 – 70; Ojha 1968: 84 – 116).

Taxila under the Kushans: The Kushans extended their rule to Taxila and during this period it made great progress in terms of culture and religion. Hoards of coins, belonging to different Kushans rulers, have been recovered by archaeologists which clearly speak of Kushans' contribution in the development of Taxila valley (Khan 2008). According to Dr. Dani:

> The construction of the new city at Sirsukh shows the great interest that the Kushānas took in the urban development of Taxila although it was not their capital. On the other hand, the enlargement of many Buddhist monasteries at this time with fittings and luxurious provisions of all kinds makes the urban growth of the city a model for the development of the time. Whether such a development was the result of the personal interests of the emperors themselves or a necessary consequence of the general enrichment of the populace that found manifestation in monumental creation yet remains to be

> worked out in detail. It was perhaps a combination of both that resulted in turning the Hathial and Margala spurs to the service of Buddhism (Dani 1999: 72).

The Sassanians in Taxila: The Sassanian inroads into India can be traced back to the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Who were the Sassanians? Ojha gives information about their origin. He writes:

> According to tradition, Sassan, the ancestor of the Sassanian dynasty, was a high dignitary in the temple of Anahita at Stakhr. His son Pāpak, who succeeded him in his office, married the daughter of a local prince from whom he seized power by a coup d'etat. He was followed by his son Ardashir who was the real founder of the Sassanian empire (Ojha 1968: 143).

Scholars dispute over the occupation of the Punjab by Ardashir (ibid.: 144 – 145). Dr. Dani writes on the authority of Altekar that Taxila was annexed to the Sassanian empire by Varahran I, a fact which is supported by 'Persepolis inscriptions of Shapur II (r. Ca. 309 – 79)' (Dani 1999: 74).

Kidara Kushans at Taxila and the invasion of White Huns: Due to the weakness of the Sassanian empire the Kidara or Little Kushans moved south of Hindukush about 340 A.D. 'However, the Kidāra Kushāna rulers were chased from Central Asia by the White Huns, one branch of which had already defeated the Sassanian emperor Firoz III (d. 679)' (ibid.: 75). It is believed that these new people were responsible for the whole destruction of Gandhara and hence Taxila (ibid.: 76 – 77).

Turki Shahis and Hindu Shahis at Taxila: After the White Huns, Taxila went into the hands of Turki Shahis who were followed by Hindu Shahis. According to Dani the Giri fort was probably built by the Hindu Shahis (ibid.: 78).

The Muslim period of Taxila: The Muslim reached Taxila for the first time in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. Dani opines that 'When the Ghaznavids came to Taxila, the only vestige of its past glory was *rabat* (fortified outpost) in Margala and Giri. The Muslim remains are found in both places. Mār-i-kalā survived even in the time of the Mughals, [. . .] who built the caravan-serai at Saraikala' (ibid.: 78). It seems here unavoidable to have a resort to the conclusion of Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghatai (1975: 309 – 310) in the shape of a long quotation:

> We have tried to trace the early history of the area where at present Taxila ruins exist. It appears that Musulmans settled here within this area from the very beginning since they made the conquest of Sind in A.D. 711. But a regular Muslim conquest of the area round about Taxila was made by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna in A.D. 1014 and he immediately established here Muslim religious institutions to impart religious instructions. After it, this part continuously remained within the Indo-Muslim kingdom. We have also described above some learned persons, who were realy the product of this Marigalla area and they are mentioned as 'Marigalli'. . . .

He proceeds on writes:

> We have described above two caravansarais namely the Kharbuza Sarai and Qala Sarai or Sarai Kala which fortunately exist even to this day on either side of the Marigalla hill and they belong to the early period. They used to serve as halting places for the travelers who wished to cross the Marigalla hill from either side. Sultan Masud had definitely come to the Rabat Marigalla, although its present name is Qala Sarai and from here he was brought to the fort of Giri where he met with his tragic end.

It is further stated:

> In short, the present area known as Taxila, spreading from Marigalla including the fortress of Giri up to the Qala Sarai and two villages namely Khurram Piracha and Khurram Gujar, formed the part of a big Muslim township during the Ghazanavid period where a Memorial named as 'Fathabad' was also

> established by Sultan Maudud. A careful study of architecture of the local Muslim monuments as well as some of the old constructions within these villages will reveal that it was really a well established area during those days.

The above brief geographical and historical description of Taxila valley clearly shows the all-pervading significance of the area in the annals of a wider area such as Greece, Central, Western and South Asia.

Critical analysis of dynastic history

Taxila till the arrival of Muslims by the dawn of second millennium of the current era made part of a wider cultural network from the Mediterranean world to Eastern and Southern India. As mentioned above, a number of potential routes and arteries passed through the valley into all the four directions. In this context, Taxila may rightly be placed in Arnold Toynbee's 'roundabout' category of geographical zones rather than in the category of '*cul de sacs*'. The twentieth century British historian contrasts both the geographical zones as the former being open areas internalizing characteristics of crossroads and melting pot while the latter as being closed areas without having any transits. By dint of being crossroads, the first category areas get busy in pooling whatever they receive and in turn further transmit them. *Cul de sacs* only receive influences, ideas and culture and are unable to radiate further.

Roundabout areas develop hybrid and synthetic cultures which in the context of Taxila have been seen traditionally by scholars in terms of cosmopolitanism (Marshall 1945/1951a). The expression of cultural plurality and socio-cultural syncretism has also been appreciated by Pakistani scholars in this very traditional mode. Nazimuddin Ahmad writes, 'It is not to be wondered at that the population of the city [Taxila] assumed a

somewhat cosmopolitan character' (Ahmad 1958: 24). Saifur Rahman Dar also holds similar viewpoint about Taxila. 'These people, commodities and ideas', he writes, 'all of diverse origin, when met and mingled at Taxila, gave to this city a cosmopolitan charatcer right from the beginning – a character which Taxila retained at least up to the 5th century A.D.' (Dar 1984/1998: 2).

The idea of cross cultural fertilization cannot be dismissed and brushed aside in totality but to make its extreme fetish is dangerous as it affects our understanding of Taxila in a heinous way. Local initiations in terms of cultural developments at centres such Charsadda, Akra, Hathial, Bhir-mound etc. have taken by scholars as independent local origination of urban patterns in this part of the world. In this perspective, they argues that it was the already established position of Gandhara with regard to socio-cultural and economic stability which instigated powers from the west, viz. Achaemenians and Greeks and their successors, and east, like Mauryans, to make their way towards Gandhara. In this sense, these outsiders may not be designated as the sole actors behind cultural change, cultural origination and development in Gandhara (Petrie and Magee 2007; Kenoyer 2010). Kenoyer maintains:

> In summary it is clear that the chronology of the Gandhara region extends back to more than 2 million years ago with the early evidence of human occupation, and continues on through to the period of historical urbanism. Each phase of development has an important contribution to make the history of subsequent periods and to the overall history of South Asian in general. To focus on only one period as representing Gandhara is clearly problematic. . . (Kenoyer 2010: 10).

It may be pointed out that the integration phenomenon of archaic empires exhibits internal variability as is maintained by Carla Sinopoli (1994, 1995). Imperial powers develop a

mechanism for interaction and engagement with the conquered, peripheral and regional polities and entities so that imperial power is enhanced and maintained. This variability in imperial incorporation and dealing may be contrasted with the evolutionary concept of 'integration' (Kenoyer 1998, 2010, 2015). Variability may be understood in the framework of history's concern with the unique rather than regularities and cross-cultural regularities. That is why scholars have found that the nature of authority in the eastern provinces of Achaemenid empire was different from that which was in vogue in Western Asia. Here 'indigenous contexts, imperial intensions and indigenous responses' determined the incorporation, integration and administration strategies of the Achaemenid rulers (Petrie and Magee 2007). Similarly, Alexander, the Mauryans, Indo-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans and other successors also appropriated local conditions. They either coopt socio-political elites and privileged them to rule on their behalf or developed patterns of imperial presence in places like citadel towns etc. The picture which emerges may be seen in the framework of 'internal variability of early empires' as is stipulated by Sinopoli (1994, 1995). The variability concept inhibits the understanding which otherwise can be gained through seeking regularities in the patterning structures of archaic empires. Namita Sugandhi has also demonstrated Southern India's unique socio-political processes during the Mauryan empire (Sugandhi 2008). This all could be seen in the political developments of Taxila. Alexander was received by the Taxilan rulers as in a friendly way. He appointed a general named as Philip (son of Machatas) as viceroy of Taxila and also 'left a garrison in Taxila, as well as the soldiers who were invalidated by sickness'. But we also know that in the areas where Alexander's penetration was resisted, such as in Swat and in Jhelum, the political dealing and administrative arrangements were effected in a different way (see for

details Arrian 1884/2014; Prakash 1994; Olivieri 1996; Hagerman 2009). Such variations and adaptations in imperial behaviour could also be demonstrated in subsequent history in relation to Taxila.

Chapter 2

Theoretical framework

To understand a social phenomenon needs to put it in a perspective for investigation. Scholars and researchers have been doing so in their academic and intellectual studies since the very beginning. Through such articulations systematic solutions are sought for social problems by social scientists. Such academic paradigms remain valid as far as our researches and experiments give positive results and this condition is called by Thomas Kuhn as the period of ‘normal science’. But there occurs a time when our investigations fail to meet our expectations and the required results could not be obtained, hence a crisis in science and knowledge. This situation leads to what is termed by Kuhn as paradigm shift (Kuhn 1962/1996). Shift in paradigm initiates a new era of science and knowledge is successfully produced. This situation does move in circular manner. To do work in paradigm enhances our understanding as it saves us from ‘overfactualism’. Overfactualism is the untidy collection and documentation of facts without seeing the social life in a systematic way. That is why theoretical frameworks in academic works are highly needed and appreciated.

Not a single activity in the field of archaeology takes place without explicit or implicit theory though we see that practitioners very often camouflage their biases and other agendas under the rubric of modern epistemological notions such as objectivity, scientism, empiricism, positivism etc. And it is considered one of the duties of historians of any academic discipline to reveal the various external contexts of knowledge production so that

it may be made known that what kinds of vested interests are served by particular academic work.

Archaeology also has multiple contexts. Its course has generally been determined by socio-political, economic, national, imperial, and so on, considerations. Scholars have recently given attention to such themes in the historiography of archaeology.

The last few centuries of the second millennium of the Common Era had been generally characterized by an obsession with science, objectivity, progress etc. Grand Theories about human society were presented by George Hegel, Marx, Spencer, Freud, Max Weber, etc. Recently these great philosophies 'have been threatened and undermined by successive waves of hermeneuticists, structuralists, post-empiricists, deconstructionists, and other invading hordes' (Skinner 1985/1986). Henceforth, we have a new intellectual pole working from the negation viewpoint in relation to modern philosophy about human beings and their society.

It is now known that archaeology was influenced by colonial, imperial and national thought and such interests specified its directions. These various contexts, no doubt, served to create, strengthen and perpetuate the inequities which socio-political elites needed. Archaeological evidence and its interpretation, according to well-known archaeologist and historiographer of archaeology, Bruce Trigger, have always been influenced by political, national and imperial considerations. Thus, archaeological data have always been theory-laden (1984, 1989/2010).

It is Trigger's concept of contextualism which has further led to the emergence and development of other related theories. Feminist and social archaeologies which question

imbalances in social relations have appeared. Similarly contextual archaeology, symbolic archaeology, post-colonial archaeological critique and others have enriched our understanding of archaeology. Following is a brief overview of archaeological theory which hopefully will help understand the historiographical context and intellectual basis of the present study.

Evolutionary archaeology

In the beginning archaeology was greatly influenced by the theories of uniformitarianism and evolutionism associated with the disciplines of geology and biology respectively. The former considers the formation of earth as the result of natural processes rather than a Providential act. The founding theorists in this connection were James Hutton (1726-1797) and William 'Strata' Smith (1769-1839) (Bahn 2005: 204-207; Fagan 1991: 39-42). The latter theory represents the process of human evolution and the concept of natural selection and was presented in *On the origin of species* in 1859 by Charles Darwin. Great interest was aroused by the theory of evolution in the collection and study of the past human materials and the idea of progress was deified within the context of biological and cultural advancement (Darwin 1859; Fagan 1991: 39-42).

Darwin's theory led to the belief in biological and, in turn, cultural disparities. Europeans were generally seen as superior beings while non-Europeans, especially the aboriginals of the New World, were naturalized as inferior to the extent of being doomed to extinction in the face of the progressing civilization. The malaise of the non-Europeans was thought to be so dreadful that even it was not remediable through the civilizing process. The nineteenth century saw the callous objectification of indigenous Americans against the

archaeological evidence in which cultural change and evolution was assumed as conspicuous by absence. John Lubbock (1834-1913) was an earnest advocate of this theory which he presented in his book *Pre-historic times, as illustrated by ancient remains, and the manners and customs of modern savages* (1865). Racial considerations played a vital role in this kind of archaeological explanation either in America or elsewhere in the world where Europeans had made their colonies. These subdued societies were viewed as static and any sign of socio-cultural change would be interpreted in the framework of diffusion but migration was a preferred model (Trigger 1989/2010: 166-210).

Culture-historical archaeology

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the theory of evolution went out of favour in central and western Europe due to socio-political transformations. Nationalism and racism were being manipulated in European power politics. History and archaeology were made good use of in this regard. As nations and nation states were associated with ethnicity, the antiquity of the latter presented a symbol of pride. In these conditions power struggle, nation building and state consolidation worked out dialectically.

Culture was deified in nationalism and various claims of cultural superiority contributed to the concept of racial supremacy and racism of the twentieth century. When it came at establishing the antiquity of a people, the concept of archaeological culture emerged. Archaeological cultures within spatial distributions were associated with ethnic groups in Europe. As change and innovation were not considered intrinsic to human being, any such phenomenon was seen rarely occurred under extreme pressures of certain nature.

Subsequently, any such an innovation would spread to other areas via diffusion or migration.

Diffusionist theory buttressed race-fetishism and its purity and superiority. Almost all the European states and intellectuals started to trace out the origins of and associate their people with certain real or imagined extraordinary races. The name of Gustaf Kossinna, a German left activist, is more important in this respect. His extreme puritanical view of Germans as the purest of the so-called Aryans and associating past material remains with this race led to his articulation of the concept of archaeological culture. Trigger (1989/2010: 240) observes that 'To many of his contemporaries his approach, grounded in the familiar concept of ethnicity, offered a plausible means to account for the growing evidence of geographical as well as chronological variations in the archaeological record. Kossinna must therefore be recognized as an innovator whose work was of very great importance for the development of culture-historical archaeology'. Similarly, Franz Boas' () theory of historical particularism and cultural relativism with a great emphasis on inductivism, though he was not totally rejecting diffusion, is also considered a hallmark feature of culture-historical method. From this viewpoint 'each culture [was viewed] as the product of a unique sequence of development in which the largely chance operation of diffusion played the major role in bringing about change. Boas believed that 'if the development of cultures displayed any overall regularities, these were so complex as to defy understanding' (Trigger 1989/2010: 219). The 'normative view of culture' in archaeology gets kernel position as well.

Historical particularism intends to understand a given phenomenon in the light of its own historical development by means of idiographic or particularizing approach rather than by

applying mere comparative methods. Inductive methods are adopted for the purpose as the sheer generalizing or nomothetic ones are not considered fruitful. However, Boas himself, states Harris, does not totally deny the possibility of the existence of certain laws in cultural development (Harris 19 . . . . .). The only possibility, as it seems to him, 'to explain the past was to determine the successive idiosyncratic diffusionary episodes that had shaped the development of each culture . . .' (Trigger 1989/2010: 219). Cultural relativism is the concept that every cultural is only understandable in its own specific context and no universal ethics exists as a frame of reference in this connection. Trigger points out the role played by these two concepts in culture-historical approach in archaeology. The 'normative theory' as a label was first used by Lewis Binford in 1960 to characterize the culture-historical approach in archaeology. He meant by the term that like the meaning of culture archaeologists used to deal with artifacts as the reflections of past norms and values (Lyman and O'Brien 2004). They 'base it on the assumption that surviving artifacts, such as potsherds, display stylistic and other changes that represent the changing norms of human behaviour over time' (Fagan 1991: 453).

V. Gordon Childe revolutionized archaeological theory and practice in 1920s and 1930s. He synthesized Boas' cultural relativism and historical particularism and Kossinna's concept of archaeological culture. He believes that artifacts definitely belong to prehistoric people and, no doubt, exhibit cultural development. But, unlike Kossinna, Childe does not associate archaeological cultures with specific ethnic groups. A functionalist and utilitarian approach is adopted in relation to the interpretation of archaeological objects. Given this, Childe sees continuity in some phenomena which 'reflect local tastes and were relatively resistant to change; hence, they were useful for identifying specific ethnic groups'. Yet the

great utility of still other artifacts is considered as the raison d'être for their diffusion via trade or imitation. ‘Hence, he considered these types of artifacts especially valuable for assigning neighboring cultures to the same period and establishing cultural chronologies before the invention of radiocarbon dating . . . .’ It follows that Childe transcends the Boasian concept of mere data collection as he uses them to make ‘ethnographic interpretation’. Interestingly, when it comes to deal with the phenomena of cultural change, Childe makes recourse to the model of diffusion and migration. It is to be noted that Childe’s diffusionism does not intend to trace cultural development in an evolutionary perspective; rather to study ‘how specific people had lived in prehistoric times’ in the framework of historical particularism (Trigger 1989/2010: 241-248).

Culture-historical archaeology has mainly been concerned with the issue of chronology and the order of archaeological data within spatial framework. The questions addressed by the model are those of ‘when’ and ‘where’. These archaeologists give primary importance to collection of data and, thus, induce their explanations and conclusions. Concepts of diffusionism and migration are invoked in this respect. The methods adopted in data analysis are typology, taxonomy, analogy and stratigraphy.

Culture-historical archaeology came under severe criticism from the New or processual archaeologists since 1960. It is now widely accepted that this paradigm suffers from serious inadequacies and limitations. It could not better explain cultural change in past societies. Trigger Bruce (1989/2010: 311) discusses its problems in the following words:

> The most striking shortcoming of culture-historical archaeologists was that changed continued to be attributed to external processes, lumped under the rubrics of diffusion and migration, but little effort was made to discover why cultures accepted or rejected new traits or how innovations transformed

societies. What was missing, despite a growing interest in what archaeological sites had looked like and what activities had gone on in them, was the will to learn how individual cultures had functioned and changed as systems. Without such an understanding, diffusion and migration were doomed to remain nonexplanations. These problems had been recognized for a long time, but ultimately the solutions would come from outside the culture-historical approach not from within it.

Processual archaeology

By 1960 a growing number of archaeologists had come to realize about the utter deficiencies in terms of methods and theories of culture-historical archaeology. A special issue of concern in this connection was the stark oversimplification of the phenomenon of cultural change, especially in prehistoric societies, in archaeological record. The causes for it were more often sought for and believed as external rather than internal to culture. Diffusion and migration were seen and adopted as the only models for explaining change. Moreover, culture-historical archaeology preoccupied itself with studying cultural history and culture was believed as a system of norms and values held in common by a people. Under this consideration, artifacts were taken as the representation of culture. Culture-historical archaeology remained limited only to establishing chronological sequences with help of typology, analogy, etc. But as increasingly large size of new archaeological data surfaced after World War Second, culture-historical archaeology turned as incapable a model for explanation and interpretation and, hence, became a moribund approach by the end of 1960s.

The critique against culture-historical archaeology resulted in an alternative programme which came to be known as New Archaeology aka processual archaeology. The two are diametrically opposed to each other. Processual archaeology is anthropology-oriented and

studies cultural processes. It was an 'approach that was evolutionist, behaviorist, ecological and positivist in orientation' (Trigger 1989/2010: 386). Though Lewis Binford (1931-2011)[9] is the most influential theorist in processual archaeology, still a greater number of other leading archaeologists contributed handsomely with their fieldwork and methods and concepts to it. Processual archaeology got greatly diversified since 1970s with the emergence of new ideas and methods. The galaxy of theorists comprises, among others, David L. Clarke[10], Grahame Clark[11], Kent Flannery[12], Stuart Struever, M. B. Schiffer[13], Colin Renfrew[14] etc. Their use of 'more sophisticated ecological and evolutionary approaches and the greater application of deductive scientific methods and theory building took archaeology in new direction' (Fagan 1991: 57).

---

[9] Bruce Trigger credits Joseph Caldwell for sowing the seeds of New Archaeology. He advocated cultural change in archaeological record, as the principal aim of archaeologist, to be explained 'in terms of cultural processes. From this perspective, the study of cultural idiosyncrasies was stigmatized as old-fashioned and unscientific' (1989/2010: 392). He further argues that Binford popularized this view and, hence, a great number of young American archaeologists were attracted to the New Archaeology (1989/2010: 393).

[10] David Clarke, a British archaeologist, was an important theorist who advocated for independent science of archaeology. He, however, prematurely died but his book ((1968/1971) *Analytical archaeology*. London: Methuen & Co Ltd) remains a classic in terms of archaeological methods and concepts. Though he declared himself as proponent of new ideas in archaeology, he had no connection with the New Archaeology of America. It implies the independent origination of his ideas.

[11] Grahame Clark is termed by Trigger (1989/2010: 353-361) as a functional-processual archaeologist, an approach which is different from processual archaeology due to focusing on the functional side of culture. His book – (1939/1968) *Archaeology and society: reconstructing the prehistoric past*. New York: Barnes & Noble – is considered a singular contribution to archaeological theory and methods.

[12] Flannery, Kent V. 1967. Culture history v. culture process: a debate in American archaeology, *Scientific American* 217 (2) 119-22. His most important work is the edited book; 1976. *The early Mesoamerican village*. New York: American Press.

[13] Schiffer, M. B. (1976) *Behavioural archaeology*. New York: Academic Press; (1972) Archaeological context and systemic context, *American Antiquity* 37: 156-165.

[14] According to Trigger (1989/2010: 393) the British archaeologist, Colin Renfrew, was greatly influenced by Binford.

As pointed out above, processual archaeology studies cultural process. For its better understanding, it is necessary to know how the concepts of culture, cultural system and cultural process are understood in this programme. Culture is seen in the context of environment and human beings adapt themselves and, hence, their culture in accord with environmental dictates. Culture, as such, is considered having multifarious contact with environment. Both are viewed as forming interconnected subsystems and change in one or more subsystems trigger a wholesale change and transformation. Stuart Struever (1971: 10) defines culture as 'made up of parts, structurally different from each other, but articulated within the total system. More broadly, culture and its environments represent a number of articulated systems in which change occurs through a series of minor, linked variations in one or more of these systems.'[15] This subtle interplay between the different systems shapes a supra-entity *viz*. cultural system. The different 'components [of the cultural system] remain static unless the processes that operate the system are carefully defined. Archaeologists are deeply involved with "cultural process," the processes by which human societies changed in the past' (Fagan 1991: 71). Cultural process, according to R. J. Sharer and W. Ashmore (as quoted in Fagan 1991: 74), is the 'identification of the factors responsible for the direction and nature of change within cultural systems'.

It follows that processual archaeology is mainly concerned with environmental determinism, evolutionism, behaviourism and positivism.

[15] 'For Binford', observes Trigger (1989/2010: 396), 'the concept of culture signified primarily the different ways in which groups of human beings adapted to their environmental settings.'

From ecological standpoint, man is seen as a passive being having adaptive capacity vis-à-vis environmental determinism. Human culture is only one component of the ecosystem and human behaviour is in the process of adaptation with respect to environmental settings.

Environmental determinism sets patterning in human culture. Thus, explanation and interpretation of change in it necessitates a nomothetical approach coupled with a scientific rigour and problem-oriented research. It implies the adoption of deductive approach with a vivid hypothesis formulation, data collection, testing of hypothesis against the data and, hence, its confirmation or rejection. In this way, old data, new ideas and new data process in a circular fashion. Given this, processualists are engaged in discovering – and knowing – general laws in order to study cultural process. Stuever (1971: 10) explicates:

> A major objective of [processual] archaeology is to understand the linkages between parts in both the cultural and environmental systems as reflected in the archaeological data. The strategy of the "process" or "system" school of archaeology, says Flannery, "is therefore to isolate each system and study it as a separate variable" or complex of variables, with the ultimate goal being "reconstruction of the entire pattern of articulation. . . ." Contemporaneous cultural variation between regions in prehistory, therefore, might be expected to reflect differing adaptive requirements of specific environments; accordingly, varying ecological potentialities are linked to different exploitative economies, and the latter to differing integrative requirements, and therefore, to different forms of social structure.'

New Archaeology got influenced by the concepts of neoevolutionary movement in anthropology; though it did not support the Marxist ideas of the latter. Both shared the concept of 'regularities in culture'. Processualists 'noted that many of the key variables that neoevolutionists posited as causes of cultural change, including changing subsistence and settlement patterns and demography, were relatively accessible for archaeological

study, unlike the idealist explanations of Boasian anthropologists' (Trigger 1989/2010: 391). It also happened under the spell of neoevolutionism that specific socio-cultural developments and independent inventions were given primacy to study rather than inter-societal connections and competitions (Trigger 1989/2010: 396).

As history is concerned with unique, New Archaeology repudiates it. It gives credence to the study of cross-cultural regularities which cater for explaining cultural change. Deductivism rather than inductivism – according to Binford the latter would leave archaeology as 'particularistic, non-generalizing, and hence unscientific' – is, therefore, an apt approach in studying archaeological data. Binford insists that 'archaeologists must seek to formulate laws of cultural dynamics' (Trigger 1989/2010: 401).

Behavioural study of archaeological remains has been one of the primary concerns of processualists[16] since early 1970s. It aims at reconstructing and explaining human behaviour in the past with the help of material remains. Change processes are studied in the context of change in behaviour and artifacts. It is believed that 'behavioral or societal change is change in activities' (Schiffer 1996: 645). By establishing correlates between archaeological data and living use of tools, behavioural archaeology has fared well so far in explaining and reconstructing past human behaviour in the context of change and variability. Study of garbage was given primacy especially in 1980s and site-formation processes – cultural and non-cultural transformations – were closely analyzed so that insights might be obtained vis-à-vis human behaviour. Schiffer maintains that this behvaioural framework with the help of multiple research strategies, namely 'experimental archaeology, ethnoarchaeology, prehistory, historical archaeology, and history – can

[16] Schiffer terms behavioural archaeology as an 'outgrowth of processual archaeology' (1996: 644).

contribute, principle by principle, to building a new behavioral science' (Schiffer 1996: 646).

The original programme set forth by behavioural archaeologists could not be realized due to deficiencies in archaeological data rather than weaknesses in the methods. Still this approach in investigation 'resulted in a more sophisticated understanding of the behavioral significance of archaeological data' (Trigger 1989/2010: 428).

Processual archaeology is generally termed as positivistic[17] in nature. However, keeping in view the different genres of positivism, namely strict positivism, classic positivism and postpositivism, this simple designation presents some difficulty in understanding. To be more precise, processual archaeology, according to G. A. Clark (1993: 214) 'typically proceeds from a postpositivist metaphysical paradigm and the preconceptions and biases that underlie it. . . .' Postpositivism believes in the objective reality of the world but, simultaneously, in the impossibility of its exact perception. However, it should be approached to know in a best possible way. Postpositivists make use of '"experimental-manipulative' research protocol, which aims to consider simultaneously multiple alternative hypotheses. . .' (Clark 1993: 213-214).

The very deductive approach, which is common to New Archaeology, plucks processualists out of the strict positivist orbit which considers facts as sacred. Thus, a positivist investigator has no privilege to judge, interpret or evaluates the empirical data which speak for themselves.

[17] Positivism – originally intrinsic to pure sciences – called for passionate collection of facts followed by generalization and establishment of laws (Collingwood 1946/2006: 126-133).

Processual archaeology gradually diversified in practice and different aspects of human social and cultural life entered in the scheme of its study. Subsistence economy, settlement patterns and site formation processes have garnered special importance over the years.

Postprocessual archaeology

Postprocessual archaeology is wanting in homogeneity and coherence in terms of concepts, approaches, methods and subject-matters. However, the reactions against scientism and materialist approach of processualists – with emphasis on human adaptation to the environment and positivistic considerations – came to be known as under the general rubric of postprocessualism. T. Patterson has identified three strands of postprocessual archaeology and they are associated with the names of, a) Ian Hodder; b) Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley and c) Mark Leone. They are termed by G. Clark as a 'poorly defined, polythetic set comprising three partly complementary, partly contrasting, positions grounded intellectually in French poststructuralism, various aspects of social Marxist thought, and, to a certain, very limited extent, symbolic anthropology' (1993: 224-225).

The above-mentioned three traditions of postprocessual archaeology may, in other words, be termed as contextual in case of *a* and critical in relation to *b* and *c*. Furthermore, Shanks and Tilley represent the British form of critical archaeology while Leone is associated with the American critical archaeology.

Ian Hodder's contextual or interpretative approach is inspired by the Hegelian-Marxist belief that any given phenomenon can be understood in holistic or reductionist terms. In order to comprehend and explain a thing or problem all its aspects and components should be taken into consideration; hence understanding of any part and in turn of a whole.

Hodder identifies three principal aspects of contextual archaeology. First, there should be a 'guarded objectivity'. It implies that interpretation of data is an interaction between the researcher and the data in a dialectical manner. Interpretation is based on data and '[t]he data are produced dialectically.' Second, interpretation should be sound enough in terms of internal hermeneutic. It negates the tyrannical primacy of theory and, instead, asserts for 'relating theory to data as part of a learning process.' The hermeneutic approach aims at understanding data in the context of thought-processing of social actors, something different from seeking conformity of data to theory. Third, a 'reflective consideration'[18] about knowledge production in archaeology is necessary. It would reveal the vested interests as being served by archaeology. Furthermore, it would lead to the inclusion of the excluded voices in the enterprise of reconstructing and interpreting the past (Hodder 1991: 10). By all this, Hodder tries to get on with understanding the internal meaning and processing of culture or data without letting objectivity suffered. At the same time, the abuses of archaeology by dominant groups are being exposed in this way and the subalterns as being served through self-reflection. According to Hodder, this should be the ultimate end of archaeologists' study of the past (Hodder 1991).

Contextual archaeology reveals deficiencies and shortcomings of processual archaeology. Analyses carried out in isolation through sampling strategy are being severely questioned by contextualists. Contextual archaeology calls for studying order within particular cultures and a set of historically interlinked cultures while identifying such categories in terms of convergences and divergences. It implies rejection of the 'validity of the

[18] It is maintained, as Wilkie and Bartoy (2000: 753) writes, that 'critical self-reflection is not merely a choice of researchers but a necessary step for any piece of research. "Self-reflection is at once intuition and emancipation, comprehension and liberation from dogmatic dependence" (Habermas 1971: 208).'

neoevolutionary distinction between what is culturally specific and what is cross-culturally general that constituted the basis of Steward's dichotomy between science and history. . . . This validated an interest in culturally specific cosmologies, astronomical lore, art styles, religious beliefs, and other topics that had lingered on the fringes of processual archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s' (Trigger 1989/2010: 456).

Hodder's contextual archaeology is greatly inspired by Lévi-Strauss' structuralism. Lévi-Strauss believes that 'social life is the material embodiment' of the intrinsic mental structures of human beings. Another aspect of his structuralism is the concept of binary oppositions which 'lie at the bottom of large portions if not the totality of sociocultural phenomena' (Harris 1968: 492-493). In this he follows Hegelian and Marxist dialectics and want reality unfold via thesis-antithesis-synthesis[19].

Hodder leads the movement of structuralist archaeology by making handsome use of binary contrasts. He believes that because of continuities in structures a native archaeologist is better equipped to grasp the spirit and thought patterning of the past society. Contrary to it, an outsider suffers from lacking such a vantage point, a straitjacket which constrains his/her capability of comprehensive symbolic interpretation. Structuralist archaeologists took account of those aspects of material culture which both culture-historical and processualist archaeologies failed to appreciate. But as they could not develop sound methods in relation to interpreting such data, structuralist archaeology could not fare well beyond abstract thinking and speculation. 'The failure of archaeologists to discover ways to use a structural approach to gain insights into the specific meanings of

[19] '. . . first the superficial facts, then the hidden negation, and finally the dazzling insight into a new and more fundamental reality' (Harris 1968: 493). Lévi-Strauss 'is concerned always with the discovery of the "true" social structure as opposed to surface reflexes or epiphenomena' (Harris 1968: 512).

prehistoric data and growing doubts about the ontological validity of Lévi-Strauss' claims have resulted in archaeologists slowly losing interest in structuralism' (Trigger 1989/2010: 466-467).

A new strand of poststructuralism in postprocessual archaeology is associated primarily with the names of Michael Shanks, Christopher Tilley and Peter Ucko. They, and a number of archaeologists of the same persuasion, posit in the primacy of agency in their archaeological studies and analyses. They bring into focus resistance made by the marginalized groups to the social structures of inequality and oppression. Hence, change in culture is interpreted as caused by the rational, calculated and goal-oriented activities of people (in other words individual or generic individual) rather than ecological factor (Dornan 2002).

Influenced by the Frankfurt School these scholars believe that all sorts of authority must be challenged and resisted. Given this, the ordinary peoples should be saved from the clutches of authoritative knowledge by the radical scholars. Similarly, they greatly rely on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus and Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration. The concept of habitus implies:

> . . . an individually unique schema of unconsciously internalized dispositions. . . . These dispositions *determine* how we perceive and act in the world and are, importantly, both structured and structuring in relation to those external systems. In his reaction to the structuralist paradigm dominating French intellectual life at the time, it is often argued that Bourdieu inserted the individual back into what were otherwise overly deterministic accounts of human practice. Likewise, because Bourdieu views habitus as both structured and structuring, it is possible to see why some scholars have argued that he leaves room for individuals to intentionally affect larger social structures (Dorman 2002: 305).

. . . . . .

> [Giddens' theory of structuration] focuses upon both the constraining *and* enabling nature of social structures. . . . Unlike Bourdieu, Giddens does not view individual action as primarily determined by unconsciously internalized structures. Instead, Giddens views social practice as far more mutable and believes that there is room in every instance of practice for creativity and innovation. Giddens' theory of structuration is based on his notion of "tacit knowledge that is skillfully applied in the enactment of courses of conduct, but which the actor is not able to formulate discursively". . . . By locating human practice in the goal-directed, skillful enactment of tacit knowledge, Giddens emphasizes that "human beings are neither to be treated as passive objects, nor as wholly free subjects". . . . (Dorman 2002: 307).

In line with the philosophy of Frankfurt School postprocessual archaeology embraces that beliefs control and shape human behaviour and human consciousness causes change. Furthermore, great variations even in simple modes of production are recognized. Ideology is seen as one of the determining factors of actions including even researches and knowledge production. Neoevolusionism, traditional structuralism, cultural evolutionism and cultural ecology which seek for change in external phenomena are rejected. Clashes of interests and roles such as gender, age, etc. are given special importance in in relation to change (Trigger 1989/2010: 445-446). The last point also makes a great methodological development as Hodder and his associates with the help of their ethnoarchaeological studies in sub-Saharan Africa. 'These studies definitively refuted the key assumption by processual archaeologists that archaeological finds must necessarily reflect social organization. Hodder provided overwhelming documentation that material culture was not merely a reflection of sociopolitical organization but also an active element that could be used to disguise, invert, and distort social relations' (Trigger 1989/2010: 452-453).

Material culture, therefore, does not indispensably occur in conformity to all other forms of social organization.

Concluding remarks

The various strands of postcolonial critique question knowledge structure of modern era which has its genesis in European Enlightenment. Julian Thomas argues that 'the emergence of modernity' brought archaeology into being. 'Modernity may represent a chronological division of human experience, but more importantly it is distinguished by the growth of a particular philosophical outlook, and by particular ways in which human being have operated socially' (Thomas 2004: 2). Nation-states, urbanism, communication and transfort, capitalism, industrialization, political crisis and activism and continuous change make salient features of modernity. And all this constructed, influenced and abused archaeology. Biases and socio-political marginalization have emanated from modernity-guided archaeology.

Inequalities, suppression, racism and marginalization have been essentialized and naturalized in relation to various social and ethnic groups through archaeological and historical constructions of knowledge. And this all had been the main thrust of colonial, and by extension, national archaeologies. But as human mind is active mind and the fact that suppression cannot annihilate spirit of resistance, archaeologists have recently been trying to discern resistance to marginalization efforts in material remains. In other words, archaeologies speaking for the subalterns have appeared (McGuire and Paynter 1991).

Scholars from across the world also work to bring to the fore ‘indigenous’ in its multiple forms. How ‘indigenous’ was exploited, denigrated? How ‘indigenous’ worldview was maligned as it did not parallel the modernity tenet? Most importantly, a revolutionary contribution of post-colonial scholarship is to mainstream indigenous ‘culturally distinctive ontologies and epistemologies’ (Rizvi and Lydon 2010/2012) which were completely sidelined and even maligned by colonial, and even modern, orientalists.

Chapter 3

Archaeologists in the field
Pioneers in the study of the archaeology of
Taxila and their methods and approaches

There are great names in the field of Indo-Pakistani archaeology especially with reference to its various temporal and spatial frames. In the areas of northern Indo-Pakistan, a number of antiquarians and archaeologists augmented the field of ancient Indian history during 19th and 20th centuries. Taxila valley of Pakistan remained a hunting ground for scholars and researchers in the field of art and architecture, ancient history and archaeology. Eminent names in this respect are Sir Alexander Cunningham, Sir John Marshall, Mortimer Wheeler, etc. This chapter sheds light on the lives and times as well as contributions of these scholars. Beside them, a number of other scholars, especially linguists and epigraphists, such as Delmerick, J. Dowson, Konow, Gosh, Fleet, etc., also contributed to the studies and researches about Taxila.

This chapter first gives a brief overview of archaeological activity in British India followed by biographical sketches of the three paragons of Indian archaeology namely, Alexander Cunningham, John Marshall and Mortimer Wheeler. Furthermore, it details upon the methods and approaches of these archaeologists which help understand colonial archaeological activities at Taxila.

Beginning of exploration of India

The credit goes largely to the European travelers and sailors who, for the first time, started the documentation of the Indian art and architecture monuments. Their travelogues and

reports cover the sixteenth, seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. These writings are mainly about West and South India having abundant information about the living temples and rock-cut caves.

The middle of the eighteenth century saw a systematic and scholarly initiation in the study of the Indian cultural and archaeological heritage. This investigation has many characteristic features. First, primacy was emphasized to be given to accuracy and preciseness. Second, theoretical researches accentuated, especially, historical geography.

The last quarter of the eighteenth century saw phenomenal development in the Indian archaeology. The *Asiatic Society* was founded on 15 January 1784 in Calcutta as a result of William Jones efforts. *Asiatic Researches*, the annual journal, was first published in 1788. In 1814 a museum was established. The main purpose behind the foundation of the *Asiatic Society* was stipulated as an enquiry about the antiquities, the arts and science and literature of Asia. Some scholars believe that the scientific spirit of the eighteenth century might also be taken as one of the factors behind the establishment of the *Asiatic Society* (Chakrabharti 1988/2001).

The early approaches to the Indian archaeology were determined by the prevailing dominant theories of the time in Western academia. The two great theoretical traditions were geographical in content and the Biblical/diffusionst one. The former was but a continuation of the previously historical geographical pursuits. Rennell was its chief exponent in the late eighteenth century. The later theory was mainly led by William Jones in the study of Indian history and archaeology. According to Dilip Chakrabarti, 'Until the middle of the nineteenth century it was believed that different cultural influences along

actual migrations of people went out of India, ultimately penetrating as far north as Scotland. From the middle of the nineteenth century, however, an entirely contradictory hypothesis was generally promoted: India was at the receiving end of various cultural influences and migrations of people emanating from regions further west' (Chakrabharti 1988/2001). Ahmad Hassan Dani writes in this respect: 'Their [early European travelers and the servants of the East India company] keen literary pursuit, whatever may have been its origin, fell far short of the true concept that they desired to have of the civilization of a people or peoples, with whom they had developed new contacts' (Dani 1983).

The period between 1830 and 1861 saw an increase in the archaeological activities in India. Two factors may be taken into account in this regard. First, James Prinsep's personal interest and enthusiasm paved the way for newly guided studies and activities. Second, it was during this period that the ancient Indian scripts were deciphered. Prinsep himself made valuable contributions in this field. He deciphered the Aśokan edicts in 1837. The study of the ancient Indian numismatics also got started by this time. James Tod was the major numismatist of the time and his history of coins enriched the historical knowledge about India. He was soon joined by Prinsep and others in his task. 'Descriptions of ancient site', observes Chakrabarti, 'during this period may easily be multiplied, but what is important is that by the middle of the nineteenth century there was a clear understanding of archaeological wealth of India' (Chakrabharti 1988/2001).

In 1861 Alexander Cunningham was appointed as head of the archaeological Survey of India. He served in the capacity twice, 1861-1865 (as Archaeological Surveyor), and 1871-1885 (as Director General). Between 1865 and 1871 the Survey remained suspended. Besides having firm footing in the fields of numismatics, epigraphy, architectural and

historical-geographical studies, Cunningham's planning for the future archaeological activities in India assigned him a unique position in the history of Indian archaeology.

The British had felt by the middle of the nineteenth century their responsibility for the tangible cultural heritage of India. Grahame Clark, a well-known British archaeologist states, 'only three years after the founding of the British empire in India, the viceroy appointed a Director General of archaeology in the person of General Sir Alexander Cunningham. . .' (Clark 1979). He further points out the importance of this appointment: 'Cunningham's appointment is more striking since the first act of the British parliament designed to protect ancient monuments in Britain itself was not passed until 1882' (Clark 1979). But in the Indian case the protection and preservation of monuments did interest neither Cunningham nor the Government. The thrust of archaeological activity was just new explorations and documentation of ancient remains. Even all legal developments till mid-1880s only concerned with treasure trove and artistic wealth of the country.

At this point it is pertinent to quote Professor Dani. He writes:

> The orientalists deserve a credit for laying the foundation of a new research . . . . The research in the subcontinent rose above common man's level. In fact it was cut off from the mass of the living humanity and remained confined to the class of the intellectual elites who went hand in hand with the orientalists. It is this kind of pursuit that created Indian Museum Calcutta, and the persuasion of the orientalists that made Government of India to appoint in 1861 Colonel (later General Sir) Alexander Cunningham the first archaeological Surveyor (later Director General). The aims were defined to be "an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements and drawings or photographs or by copies of inscriptions of such remains as deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of a traditions that are retained regarding them." The scope was limited but the stage was set (Dani 1983).

Cunningham was followed by James Burgess as head of the Archaeological Survey. His main interest remained in architecture. The period between 1886 and 1902 witnessed field archaeology as receding into background. However, it saw, as Chakrabarti puts down, 'Significant developments in the general historical understanding of ancient India. . .' (Chakrabharti 1988/2001). The period, after Burgess' retirement in 1889, is sometimes termed as 'a bleak interlude' in Indian archaeology. The Survey lost its centralized organizational mechanism and different Circles existed in a sort of negligible environment. The was no DG till the arrival of Marshall (Roy 1961).

With Lord Curzon, as the Viceroy of India in 1899, a new era in Indian archaeology ushered in. He identified three types of archaeological responsibility in India namely epigraphy, conservation and research. Lord Curzon felt a need for a central advisory authority and, accordingly, proposals were submitted to the Secretary of State on 20th December 1900 in which the recreation of the post of the Director General was proposed. On 29th November 1901 the proposal was sanctioned by the secretary of the state. Probably, on the recommendation of the British Museum John Marshall was appointed the Director General. He took the office on 22 February 1902. Marshall retired from the service in 1928 and remained on special duty till 1934. Between him and Wheeler served, each for a short period, four persons as DGs of ASI.

Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893)

Sir Alexander Cunningham is generally known as the 'father of Indian archaeology'. He belonged to a remarkable family which had been in the service of the British empire for centuries. Majority of the family members served in India before and after 1857. Father of

Cunningham, Lieut. Col. Allen Cunningham, belonged to a Scottish family. He was a well-known Scottish poet and gave fame to the family. 'Three of his own sons served in India with distinction under the East India Company and earned international recognition as Indian scholars and historians' (My Ancestry n.d.: 4). A. Cunningham was his second son and is famous for his contribution to ancient Indian history and archaeology[20].

Alexander Cunningham was born on 23 January 1814 in London and died in the same city on 28 November 1893. He got his early education from Christ's Hospital. 'After going through the East India Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe, he did a six-month stint at the Royal Engineers' Estate at Chatham' (Singh 2004: 24). He was 19 when he took his way to India and joined the Bengal Engineers as lieutenant. He subsequently served in different capacities such as aide-de-camp to Auckland (1836-1840) and executive engineer in Oudh state (1840). Cunningham also took part in various military campaigns over the 1840s and was at last 'promoted to the rank of brevet major' (Singh 2004: 24). Upinder Singh observes that his military duties provided Cunningham 'opportunities for combining official duties with his growing interest in antiquarian investigation' (Singh 2004: 24). This is counted by Abu Imam as the first part of his career in India which came to an end in 1860 (Imam 1863: 194).

In the wake of his retirement from the army in 1860, Cunningham assumed the office of the Archaeological Surveyor of India (later on Director General of Archaeological Survey of India, hereafter as DG and ASI respectively). He served in this capacity twice viz. 1861-

[20] Captain Joseph Cunningham, H.E. I.C.S., was well-known authority in the field of the history of the Sikhs. He 'held a number of positions in the Bengal Presidency, on the Sikh frontier, and in the Bhopal state. He fell from favour soon after the publication of his *History of the Sikhs* in 1849, the book being perceived as too sympathetic to the Sikhs' (Singh 2004: 23).

1865 and 1871-1885. This is, according to Imam, is the second phase of his career 'for which he is better known today . . . (with a short break from 1866-1870 when the first Survey was abolished)' (Imam 1863: 194).

Besides having firm footing in the fields of numismatics, epigraphy, architectural and historical-geographical studies, Cunningham's vision for the future archaeological activities in India as is clear from his memorandum to Lord Canning, the Viceroy, in November 1861, maintains Chakrabarti (1988/2001: 56), assigns him a unique standing in the history of Indian archaeology. The importance of this appointment is also referred to by well-known British archaeologist, Grahame Clark. He states, 'Only three years after the founding of the British Empire in India, the Viceroy appointed a Director General of Archaeology in the person of General Sir Alexander Cunningham . . . .' He further observes that 'Cunningham's appointment is more striking since the first act of the British Parliament designed to protect ancient monuments in Britain itself was not passed until 1882' (Clark 1979: 4). Pakistani historian and archaeologist, Ahmad Hasan Dani, also opines in this connection that it was 'the persuasion of the orientalists that made Government of India to appoint in 1861 Colonel (later General Sir) Alexander Cunningham the first Archaeological Surveyor (later Director General)' (Dani 1983: 181). He puts down about its significance that 'the scope was limited but the stage was set' (Dani 1983: 182).

Abu Imam raises an important question that how did a military engineer get himself absorbed in the studies of Indian archaeology? According to him, 'For the answer we have to look at the intellectual milieu of the British Calcutta of the time' (Imam 1963: 196). He then relates the intellectual pursuits of the French savants and persons like James Prinsep

which caused this transformation in Cunningham's career. His very arrival happened 'in the midst of these enthusiastic activities'. Imam further explains that 'It is no wonder that he was at once caught in the whirlpool and that in a short time he became Prinsep's closest collaborator' (Imam 1963: 194-195).

Similarly, Buddhist studies and the preliminary translations of the Chinese pilgrims' accounts further instigated Cunningham's spirit of curiosity and inquiry. Scholars of Buddhism such Burnouf, Csoma, Rémusat, etc. had have long-lasting 'effects on the whole attitude of Cunningham towards Indian history and archaeology' (Imam 1963: 194-195). Samuel Beal's and others' translations of Chinese pilgrims' accounts also did play significant role in Cunningham's scholarly pursuits and career. But it should be noted that textualists' and archaeologists' researches had complementary dimensions. It is true that Cunningham had in his one hand survey tools but in the other Chinese and classical accounts and histories. But it is also not less true that textualists were also aware of the value of archaeological and exploratory work. They gave due heed to this work as it is clear from a footnote of Beal in his translation of Faxian and Sung-Yun work. He writes, 'Takshasilâ is the Taxila of the Greeks. . . . This town stood near the site of the present Hassan-Abdal. Cunningham places it near Shah-deri, twelve miles south-east of Hassan-Abdal, one mile north-east of Kalâ-ka-Sarâ, seventy-four miles east of Hashtnagar. Pliny, however, says that Taxila was only sixty miles east of Peukilaotis (Hashtnagar) which would place the site near Hassan-Abdal' (Beal 1869/2003: 32, fn. 1). What followed were the seminal studies by Cunningham in the fields of archaeology and ancient Indian studies.

Cunningham's contributions to Indian archaeology: Cunningham's hallmark contributions can be easily understood from the following excerpt from Roy (1953: 18; 1961: 60):

> No one with any archaeological experience can refuse to acknowledge the value of his [Cunningham's] great pioneering work. He was one of the first to stress the importance of fieldwork, accurate description and precise measurements, and he shared with Prinsep the honour of liberating archaeology of its literary affiliations. His ideal of survey-work was comprehensive enough to include every site that was of promise, every antiquity that was of interest, and he was responsible for evolving a uniform system of recording under which the description of each building was to be accompanied by an account of its history and purpose, of its mode of construction, of the nature and colour of its material and even of the mason's marks on the stones. Above all, he was prompt in publishing his results, as is amply testified by the twenty three volumes of his survey-reports, which, in Lord Curzon's picturesque words, 'constitute . . . a noble mine of information in which the student has but to delve in order to discover an abundant spoil'.

Roy's observation, that Cunningham liberated 'archaeology from its literary affiliations', does not seem valid. Cunningham did all his fieldwork in the context of texts/written record. He followed, especially in northern India, Chinese pilgrims accounts and explored the Buddhist archaeology. He himself was of the view that ancient monuments garner special significance in situations where there written record could not be found. The ancient monuments, according to Cunningham, 'in the almost total absence of any written history, form the reliable sources of information as to the early condition of the country' (Cunningham 1871a: iii).

The following table of Cunningham's works is given in a chronological order so that the contributions of the two phases of his career may easily be distinguished, hence the evolution in his scholarship.

Title	Year of publication	Book/Journal (Title in case of journal)	pp. (in case of journals' articles)
Abstract journal of the route to the	1848	*Journal of Asiatic*	108-115

abstract of the Punjab rivers		*Society of Bengal* (10)	
An account of the discovery of the ruins of the Buddhist city of Samkassa	1843	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (7)	240-249
Memorandum dealing with the boundary between the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh and British India, as determined by the commissioners P. A. Vans Agnew and Capt. A. Cunningham	1848a	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (17)	295-297
Verification of the itinerary of Hwan Thsang through Ariana and India, with reference to Major Anderson's hypothesis of its modern compilation	1848b	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (17)	476-488
Proposed archaeological investigation	1848c	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (17)	535-536
Verification of the itinerary of the Chinese pilgrim, Hwan Thsang through Afghanistan and India, during the first half of the 7th century of the Christian era	1848d	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (17)	13-62
An essay on the Arian order of architecture, as exhibited in the temples of Kashmir	1848e	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (17)	241-327
Correspondence of the commissioners deputed to the Tibetan frontier	1848f	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (17)	89-132
Opening of the topes or Buddhist monuments of central India	1852	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (13)	108-114
Ladakh, statistical, physical and	1854a	Book (London)	-

historical			
The Bhilsa topes	1854b	Book (London)	-
Reports, Volumes I and II	1871	Calcutta	-
Reports, Volume III	1873	Calcutta	-
Reports, Volume V	1875	Calcutta	-
Reports, Volume IX	1879	Calcutta	-
Reports, Volume X	1880a	Calcutta	-
Reports, Volume XI	1880b	Calcutta	-
Reports, Volume XIV	1882a	Calcutta	-
Reports, Volume XV	1882b	Calcutta	-
Reports, Volume XVI	1883a	Calcutta	-
Book of Indian Eras	1883b	Book (Calcutta)	-
Reports, Volume XVII	1884	Calcutta	-
Reports, Volume XX	1885	Calcutta	-
Reports, Volume XXI	1885	Calcutta	-
Coins of ancient India	1891	Book (London)	-
Coins of Mediaeval India	1894	Book (London)	-

Some shortcomings have also been pointed out by scholars in Cunningham's approach to and practice of archaeology. That he was preoccupied by historical archaeology was a sort of straightjacket which did not allow him, and even his close aides, to pay attention to prehistoric problems in the history and archaeology of India (Roy 1961: 39). However, he had developed a rough consciousness about the field especially when he was back in Europe during 1876 and 1870. This was the period when some astonishing studies in prehistory appeared in the west. But Cunningham could not pay 'any serious attention [to prehistory] except for the collection of stone implements' (Imam 1963: 201). Similarly, conservation, according to Roy (1961: 53), did not come within the domain of the DG of

ASI. Hence it went unheeded (Singh 2004). Subsequently, however, 'on 13 February 1873 the Central Government issued a circular assigning to Local Governments the duty of caring for the preservation of all buildings and monuments of historical and architectural interest.' Still later, in 1878, the promulgation of the Treasure Trove Act further guaranteed the preservation of some sort of antiquities (Indian Treasure Trove Act, 1878). However, the idea of archaeology had not fully developed at that time in Indian context. Even in legal documents the word 'archaeology' is a later entry, not found till mid-1880s.

Another objection leveled against Cunningham was his method of survey and excavation which falls short of modern and more mature approach to the task. It is beautifully described and explained by Imam (1963: 200) in the following words:

> His tours of exploration, however, were but hurried visits from site to site. In one season he might visit as many as thirty of them. During these brief visits he could scarcely do justice to the sites. Usually he stopped from three to six days on a site; for an exceptionally long operation he might stay for about a fortnight. For him excavations remained to the end a kind of test probing, which was never followed by a concerted, planned attack with definite aims in view. His chief aim was to identify the cities, and the buildings in those cities, as seen by Hsüan Tsang. The ability to identify ruins with ancient cities was, for him, one of the most important functions of an archaeologist. Very often his explorations would degenerate into mere object hunting expeditions: he would visit the site, clear the jungle around, and employ a gang of labourers to search for coins, inscriptions and sculptures, often offering rewards 'for even a single letter'. Then he would himself scour the countryside, gardens, bushes and the homes of the people. He collected a large number of inscriptions and sculptures by this means, particularly in Bhārhut, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā.

Despite these weaknesses from which suffers his work, Cunningham is still considered as one of the most eminent figures in Indian archaeology by virtue of being the real and great pioneer in the field.

Sir John Marshall (March 19, 1876-Aug. 17, 1958)

After the retirement of James Burgess from the Director Generalship of ASI in 1885, this institution was decentralized and the post of DG was abolished. The responsibilities in the field of archaeology were devolved to the Local Governments. However, the ensuing archaeological activity did not live to the expectations and it was in this messy milieu that Lord Curzon as the new Viceroy of India arrived in 1899. With him a 'new era dawned for Indian archaeology'. He got himself completely au fait with realities on ground and gave a deep thought to the problems. He showed great dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs especially the untidily arranged archaeological circles and the pathetic role of the Local Governments. He lamented all the failings on the part of the government and, at first instance, proposed the revival of the post of the DG so that the need for a central coordinating body was to be fulfilled. Curzon really felt such a need and hence the vitality of such a parent body. Therefore, proposals were submitted to the Secretary of State on 20th December 1900 in which the recreation of the post of DG was proposed. The proposals were sanctioned by the Secretary of State on 29th November the following year. It was, perhaps, on the recommendation of the British Museum that John Marshall was appointed as the new DG of ASI. He took the office on 22nd February 1902 (Roy 1953: 25-27; 1961: 78-83; Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 120-122). However, Wheeler expresses doubts about the selection's decision of Marshall. He writes that 'whether the very young Marshall who, in response to a telegram, arrived in India with his bride in 1902 was or was

not the Marshall actually intended for the new and responsible post, there can be no doubt that Fors Fortuna knew her business' (Wheeler 1955/1958: 157). However, he appreciates the tremendous job handsomely accomplished by Marshall (Wheeler 1955/1958: 157ff.).

The post of DG was initially sanctioned for five years. However, with the efforts of Marshall and the active support by Curzon the Survey was regularized in April 1906 with the approval of the Secretary of State. In the result of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform, 1919, it was transformed into a central body. The number of high position increased in the Survey till 1921.

Marshall's early life and education: Sir John Marshall (March 19, 1876–August 17, 1958) served as DG of ASI from 1902 to 1928. He surrendered the post in 1928 in order to write 'a series of monographs' on his excavations and 'coordinate the results of the Taxila excavations'. He continued this work till he retired in 1931. After his retirement, Marshall was re-employed on special duty and at last he bade farewell to India on March 15, 1934 (Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 127).

Marshall's contribution to Indian archaeology: ASI was restructured in the wake of Curzon's arrival and its domain was expanded by assigning to it new tasks. The DG was invested with the responsibility of getting archaeological activities across the country vigilantly supervised. In this context, Marshall made valuable contributions to Indian archaeology. His period is characterized by the extension of archaeological activities to the nook and corner of the country. Specialized studies were initiated, extensive excavations were undertaken and important discoveries were made. Most importantly, Indian scholars were inducted into prestigious position in the ASI (Chakrabarti 1982: 334-335). Archaeological

activity at Taxila valley – spreading 'over a period of twenty years, resulting in the accumulation of a substantial body of archaeological spanning the period 500 BC to AD 500, not to mention the discovery of the Indus Valley Civilization through excavation of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro' (Clark 1979: 5) – is to be rightly termed as a hallmark achievement in the ancient Indian studies.

Lord Curzon from the very beginning visualized three areas of great importance in relation to archaeological activity in India. They were conservation, epigraphy and researches. He spoke on February 6, 1900 before the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta in these words:

> Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work. I am not one of those who think that Government can afford to patronize the one and ignore the other. It is, in my judgment, equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce, and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve (as reproduced in Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 230).

It is also clear that these considerations, as visualized by Curzon soon after his arrival into India, found a central place in the newly promulgated legislation in connection to archaeology viz. the Ancient Monuments Preservations Act of 1904.

It is against this comprehensive and well-thought background that Marshall's career as DG of ASI and his contributions in that capacity are better understandable. He was to supervise archaeological activities in India, coordinate the multiple projects in the various parts of the country and advise and guide the personnel of the ASI.

Marshall's work at Taxila was carried out in line with the stipulations of the new archaeological policy and reflects profound care given to excavation, conservation and epigraphic studies. The area was one of his first choices along with Pataliputra. However,

the initial point of focus remained, since 1902, the incompletely excavated Buddhist sites with a clear vision as to 'coordinate the results obtained by earlier excavators and to check the often unreliable conclusions which they had drawn. For all practical purposes this part of the programme was completed in 1910 . . .' (Marshall 1916:24).) It was followed by archaeological activities at Bhita and, in turn, Taxila and Pataliputra. 'The choice in the next stage [after Bhita]', writes Chakrabarti (1988/2001: 129), 'fell on Taxila in the west and Pataliputra in the east. Taxila with ruins spread over an area of 25 square miles was a world by itself whereas Pataliputra with its high subsoil water level and the thick covering deposit of the Ganges alluvium was a difficult proposition'. Thus, it might be deduced that the archaeology of Taxila garners special importance in the reconstruction of Indian ancient history.

One of Marshall's great achievements is the prompt publications of the results of archaeological researches. He has to his credit a long bibliography as is clear from the following table:

Title	Year of publication	Book/Journal (Title in case of journal)	pp. (in case of journals' articles
Introduction	1904	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports*	1-13
Annual Report of the Director General of Archaeology for the year 1903-4	1905 (Pt. I)	Calcutta	-
Conservation (general)	1906	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports*	1-12

		1903-04	
Rajagriha and its remains	1909	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1905-06*	86-106
Excavations at Saheth-Maheth	1914	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1910-11*	1-24
Excavations at Bhita	1915	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1911-12*	29ff.
Taxila	1916a	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1912-13*	1-15
Director-General's notes	1916b	*In: Indian Archaeological policy 1915*. (Calcutta)	3ff.
Taxila	1918a (Pt. I)	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1916-17*	10-12
A Guide to Taxila	1918b	Book	-
Taxila	1920	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1914-15*	1-35
Taxila	1922	*Archaeological*	18-20

		Survey of India: Annual Reports 1919-20	
Conservation Manual	1923a	(Book) Calcutta	-
Notes on Sahni's work at Harappa in 1920-21	1923b	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1920-21*	15-17
Exploration and research	1926a	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1923-24*	47-50
Taxila	1926b	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1923-24*	61-66
Taxila	1927	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1924-25*	46-50
Taxila	1930	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1926-27*	110-119
Mohenjodaro and the Indus civilization (3 vols., ed.)	1931a	Book (London)	-
Taxila	1931b	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1927-28*	54-67

Taxila	1933	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1928-29*	51-66
Taxila	1935	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1929-30*	55-97
Taxila	1936	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1920-34*	149-76
Taxila (3 vols.)	1945/2006	Cambridge	-
A Guide to Taxila (4^{th} ed.)	1960	Cambridge	-
The Monuments of Sanchi	1983	Delhi	-

Marshall has also coauthored these works:

Title	Year of publication	Book/Journal (Title in case of journal)	pp. (in case of journals' articles
Excavations at Sarnath (with S. Konow)	1911	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1907-08*	43-80
Excavations at Mandor (with D.R. Sahni)	1914	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1909-10*	93-103

Excavations at Charsada in the frontier province (with J. Vogel)	1904	*Archaeological Survey of India: Annual Reports 1902-03*	141-84

Criticism on Marshal: Marshall and his work have been subjected to critique by some scholars. Wheeler was one among them.

> Wheeler has been accused of being harsh in his judgment of Marshall, yet he fully recognized his achievements. If there were any bias at all it was because Marshall was weakest in two areas in which Wheeler was strongest and which he considered most important: in technically skilled and purposefully selected excavation and in the training of able lieutenants and successors. Cut off and overburdened with his vast responsibilities, Marshall had not kept in touch with advances in scientific method, while he was also one of those men who did not like to delegate responsibility. As someone said of him, he was like 'a beech tree under which nothing grows'. When he retired, therefore, all about him were old, backward-looking and soon to retire themselves. There were four Directors General within a decade. Collapse was inevitable (Hawkes 1982: 231).

Wheeler enumerates failures of Marshall while keeping in view state of the Survey and political circumstances. His training in Classical archaeology was by the first decades of twentieth century somewhat outmoded. Marshall could not keep academic contacts with archaeological innovations and techniques which had been taking place outside India. Most of the senior officers of the Survey retired at the same time which negatively affected the Survey. Furthermore, Marshall failed to delegate authority which 'hinder[ed] therefore the adequate training of subordinates to assume responsibility' (Wheeler 1955/1958: 158-159).

R. E. Mortimer Wheeler (1890-1976)

Between Marshall and Wheeler the ASI was served by four persons as DGs, namely H. Hargreaves (1928-1931), Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni (1931-1935), J. F. Blakiston (1935-1937) and Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit (1937-1944). Archaeological activity during this whole period, according to A. Gosh (1953), was negatively affected by the all-pervading economic crisis. A negligible amount of researches were, therefore, undertaken. Chakrabarthi (1988/2001: 173-174), on the other hand, takes a positive view of the situation and makes a reference to the work done in Sindh and Bengal in favour of the position he maintains. He, for this reason, is critical of Woolley's investigation of the condition of Indian archaeology.[21] One can wonder that Gosh treatment of Woolley's report and his lack of contentment with the Survey's work during 1930s is in line with what Wheeler thought about the phenomenon. Wheeler considers at the time the Survey as a 'disintegrated body' and sees this catastrophe in the failure syndrome which evinced from Marshall's failing. Still it seems to this researcher that Gosh is nearer to the mark in his observation as Indian archaeology could not escape the impacts of the Great Depression in 1930s. In this situation the Indian Government decided a financial cut on the ASI in 1932. This was an alarming act and the Survey 'was left with an utterly unbalanced, ill-trained and un-led staff' (Wheeler 1955/1958: 159). Again, the archaeological work

[21] Chakrabarthi (1988/2001: 174) puts down that 'The [Woolley's] report was submitted soon after but it has never been published.' However, in Wheeler (1950: 114) it is mentioned as 'published in 1939'. It points out two possibilities; either Chakrabarthi has failed to locate and access the Report or Wheeler's reference is only to the copy submitted to the Government in unpublished shape. The former relies for the contents of the Report on Gosh (1953) and so his bibliography does not contain it in itself. Ironically, Gosh extensively quotes from the Report but does not give his source for it. It may also be noted that Wheeler (1955/1958: 159ff.) make comprehensive discussion about contents and scope of the Woolley's report.

during this period was negligible, as compared to the work of the previous decades, and cannot be presented as defendable evidence in the framework of progress in archaeology. Similarly, Woolley's observations about some serious problems in Indian archaeology such as lack of attention to the study of pottery and long-term excavations on specific long-inhabited sites also should be taken as positive criticism. Wheeler to the greater extent followed the scheme proposed by Woolley.

Born in Glasgow to a Scottish family Mortimer Wheeler (1890-1976) was destined as one of the founding fathers of modern archaeology. As the family moved to Bradford in 1894, Wheeler his early education here from 1897 to 1905 at Bradford Grammar School. He did his BA and MA from the University College, London, during the period 1906 to 1912. Between 1919 and 1926, Wheeler served as the Keeper of Archaeology at the National Museum of Wales followed by the occupying the office of the Keeper of Archaeology (1926-1937) at the Museum of London. He remained as Director of the Institute of Archaeology at the University College, London, from 1937 to 1944. During the Second World War he served as a military officer while still in the battlefield Wheeler was called upon to assume the office of the DG of ASI in 1944. After leaving India, he served in the capacity of being Secretary to the British Academy for a long period from 1950 to 1968 (Sir Mortimer Wheeler 1890-1976, n.d.). Wheeler said farewell to this unstable world in 1976 in London while his name in the field of archaeology survives and it will surely remain as a cult in Indian archaeology for long.

Wheeler was recalled from the battlefield for assuming the Director Generalship of ASI. He (1950: 115) himself records the event in the following words:

> The scene changes to a hilltop overlooking Algiers on a sunny evening of July 1943. There we were in various capacities planning what was to be some six weeks later the Salerno landing, and a personal message from the India Office was an unconventional, if flattering, interruption. The message in fact conveyed to me an invitation to go to India as Director General of Archæology. The shock of this bolt from the blue was mitigated by the fact that one's wartime mind was attuned to unexpected adventure and, though I declined for the moment owing to pressure of other business, I added a proviso that I would be prepared to go in six months' time. Accordingly, in February 1944, I set out at last from Glasgow in a 7-knot convoy, travelling first westwards in the path of Columbus and with something of the same intent. When eventually we circled back into the Mediterranean we were inauspiciously torpedo-bombed for an hour off that same Algiers, but otherwise the unhurried voyage permitted several weeks of quiet planning and meditation, and I was able to land in Bombay with a pretty clear scheme for my contracted 4-year term of office; my official instructions being to carry out the Woolley Report or any modified or alternative scheme which I thought fit, within the limits of the uncertain funds available.

Against this backdrop, Wheeler undertook mission in India. He was clear minded about what he should have done and what was expected him to do. Therefore, he had two-thronged elaborate long-term planning. On the one hand he was concerned with tactical approach to the methods of work while on the other a well-thought strategy of objective was with him (Wheeler 1950: 115-116). His subsequent archaeological activity was thus determined in such a way. Thus, Wheeler's arrival gave, at least, impetuous to archaeological activity in India.

The prominent developments of his period are the reorganization of the ASI, the introduction of new methods and the training of officers of the ASI and of such persons associated with other related and interested institutions. To it should be added introduction of problem-oriented approach in Indian archaeology.

New directions for ASI: As Woolley's Report had evaluated ASI and suggested changes in its structure, its recommendations found way in the programme of the reorganization of the institution. A number of changes were introduced in ASI after Wheeler's arrival.

As ASI still did not have a responsible section for the purpose of excavation, an Excavation Branch headed by Assistant Superintendent was established. The post of Assistant Superintendent was shortly upgraded to Superintendent. Conservation work, which was till now mostly was to be done by the Provincial Public Works, was centralized. Thus, new personnel were provided to all the Archaeological Circles which included Superintendent, Assistant Superintendent, Executive Engineers and other staff as would be needed. Furthermore, a pre-historian was also appointed. Similarly, a Museum Branch within the framework of ASI was founded. To this is to be added the creation of the new posts of Assistant Archaeological Chemist and Assistant Superintendent of Muslim Epigraphy. Joint Director General of Archaeology was appointed in 1945 followed by the formation of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology the same year (Gosh 1953: 143-144). The purpose of the latter was envisaged as being '". . . reviewing and advising the Central Government on the needs of archaeology in India current and future" and "to act as an intermediary between the archaeological services, the world of learning, the administration and, in some small degree, the wider public"' (ibid.: 144).

As further steps towards reforming ASI, Superintendent for Publications was appointed in 1946 followed by providing an Assistant Archaeological Chemist to the Museum Branch and the institution of new archaeological circle for south-east known as South-eastern Circle in 1947 (ibid.). A hallmark in this connection may be taken Wheeler's 'training programme' of the ASI officers and students of universities and colleges. It was a great

service on the part of Wheeler for the Indian archaeology. 'The success of this [Taxila] training school can be appreciated from the fact', writes Chakrabarthi (1988/2001: 176), 'that the leadership of the Survey in both Pakistan and India in the subsequent years passed totally into the hands of people trained in, or as associated with, the Taxila school'. He further observes that 'This also explains Wheeler's subsequent close links with the archaeologists and archaeology of the subcontinent in the role of an elderly preceptor (*guru*). A good number of Wheeler's students at Taxila came to occupy various teaching positions at the universities and passed on the tradition to their students' (ibid.).

Another marked contribution by Wheeler is the foundation of the refuted journal titled as *Ancient India: Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*. Its first volume appeared in 1946 and four of its issues were edited by Wheeler himself. Similarly, the introduction of the concept of stratification was a sort of revolution in Indian archaeology (Wheeler 1954) and it still continues as a legacy both in Pakistan and India. The purpose behind was definitely searching answers to some historical problems. In the north the problem was the gap in the historical sequence between the end of the Indus Civilization and the arrival of the Persian Achaemenian rule in the area while in the south a total cultural and historical sequence was lacking. Wheeler's directed all the attention to these problems and the sites selected were Taxila, Harappa and Bala Hisar in northern India and Arikamedu in the south (Wheeler 1950; Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 176-186).

After a deep analysis of the archaeology of Wheeler's period, Chakrabarti (1988/2001: 188) summarizes his views as it follows:

> It is wrong to imagine that Mortimer Wheeler gave "a kiss of life" to Indian archaeology. Indian archaeology was not in its death-throes when he arrived in 1944 to stay on as the Director General for

> four years. But his sense of archaeological planning and the excavation methods based on his layer-oriented sense of stratigraphy took Indian archaeology to a new level of scientific awareness. This helped the transition to modernity in the field of Indian archaeology. He was also concerned with the future of archaeology as an academic subject in India. Some of his writings reveal an acute awareness of the basic issues involved in this academic growth.

Wheeler extensively published his findings and thus there is a good enough list of his works.

All these scholars and writers had been influenced by the socio-political and intellectual circumstances of their ages. As changes cropped in in socio-political conditions, transformations in intellectual considerations and hence historical and cultural explanations and interpretations were seen.

In the realm of Indo-Pakistani archaeology, Rafiullah Khan has presented the thesis of internally consistent disciplinary development in terms of historical problems and their solutions and the socio-political context of the discipline. Both, one may argue, did process in a dialectical manner to the effect that recently Indo-Pakistani archaeology of the British period has vividly been shown as intertwined with British colonialism and imperialism (Khan 2014). Archaeology greatly served colonialism in India as orientalism in the framework of knowledge-power linkage widened the divide between the orient and the occident at the exceptional detriment of the colonized peoples and societies (Singh 2004; Guha-Thakurta 2004; Ray 2008).

In the framework of the current study, nearly all the explanations and interpretations of archaeological data such as reconstruction of dynastic histories, situating cultural change in terms of diffusions, Greek romance and local poverty in relation to creativity and ingenuity

fit in the category of colonialist archaeology. The concept of colonialist archaeology and its characteristic features have been enunciated by Bruce Trigger handsomely. He explains:

> By colonialist archaeology I mean that which developed either in countries whose native population was wholly replaced or overwhelmed by European settlement or in ones where Europeans remained politically and economically dominant for a considerable period of time. In these countries, archaeology was practised by a colonising population that had no historical ties with the peoples whose past they were studying. While the colonisers had every reason to glorify their own past, they had no reason to extol the past of the peoples they were subjugating and supplanting. Indeed, they sought by emphasising the primitiveness and lack of accomplishments of these peoples to justify their own poor treatment of them. While history and the specialised social sciences, such as economics and political science, studied the accomplishments and behaviour of white people in Europe and around the world, the study of colonised peoples, past and present, became the domain of anthropology. Modern native peoples were seen as comparable only to the earliest and most primitive phases of European development and as differentiated from Europeans by possessing no record of change and development and hence no history (Trigger 1984: 360).

He further remarks:

> Colonialist archaeology, wherever practised, served to denigrate native societies and peoples by trying to demonstrate that they had been static in prehistoric times and lacked the initiative to develop on their own. Such archaeology was closely aligned with ethnology, which in the opinion of the general public also documented the primitive condition of modern native cultures. This primitiveness was seen as justifying European colonists assuming control over such people or supplanting them. In Africa and elsewhere where native peoples have regained control of their own lands, archaeology is now severing its connexions with anthropology and is being transformed into a branch of history. The situation for archaeology in countries where native peoples have been largely or wholly supplanted by European colonists is considerably more complex and involves new ways of either symbolically coopting or continuing to ignore native people in changing social condition (Trigger 1984: 363).

In the light of the above passages one can easily colonialist thought as bulking large in the works of the colonial archaeologists of Taxila. The following section, while elucidating their methods and approaches, better explains the colonial setting of the archaeology of Taxila.

Methods and approaches: pioneering archaeologists' traditions at Taxila

Indo-Pakistani archaeology and its development are full of vacillations and transformations in terms of official policy, explanatory models and epistemological considerations. And here lies attraction in its historical and historiographical study. This chapter deals with this fascinating story of trends and approaches in archaeological researches in Indo-Pakistan.

Cultural heritage and antiquities of Indo-Pakistan had attracted attention of western travelers even long before during the reign of the Mughals. Various temples of southern India were visited by them and presented to the western audience in the form of accounts (see Chakrabarti 1988.2001). But the most vivid period in story of the beginning of Indian archaeology is to be traced back to the latter half of eighteenth century. It was with the institution of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 that formal and coordinated studies and researches in Indian history, literature and sciences were started. The moving spirit behind this initiation was Sir William Jones, now known as a legend in the field. He and a number of antiquaries, scholars and administrators – like H. T. Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson and James Prinsep – explored the field of Indian history and textual landscape to the effect that the way was paved for pure archaeological beginnings. Colebrooke and Wilson are known for renaissance of the Sanskrit literature while Prinsep may rightly be called as the most

influential pioneer in the field of Indian numismatics and paleography. These pioneers were obviously produced by different socio-cultural, intellectual and philosophic movements and trends of their time which in turn put them on the path which they had followed. A. L. Basham in his foreword to Kejariwal's book (1988: x) observes that 'these pioneer Indologists must have been motivated chiefly, in every case, by the desire for knowledge and understanding – knowledge and understanding of a civilization different from their own, which they recognized as possessing uncharted beauties and unplumbed depths.' He proceeds on, 'At the back of all good scholarship is burning intellectual curiosity, a determination to understand – and this the pioneers of the Asiatic Society possessed in full measure.'

The fertile ground set forth and, thus, bequeathed by the literary scholars of the Asiatic Society to the future archaeologists turned fruitful to a great extent. The fact is better appreciated by Alexander Cunningham in his 'introduction' to Archaeological Survey of India, volume 1:

> In closing this review of the progress of Indian archaeology, in which the chief share has been achieved by men who were not professed scholars, I beg it to be distinctly understood that we field archaeologists make no claim to more than ordinary scholarship, and that if we have been successful in many of our archaeological researches, we can truly ascribe our success in great measure to the hitherto difficult path having been smoothed by the labours of our great Sanskrit scholars, whose translations have placed within our reach nearly all the chief works of Indian learning. If we have sometimes been able to perceive what had escaped the notice of our more learned contemporaries, it has been owing to the lift that we have got from them; for, as the old scholiast says, *Pygmoei gigantum humeros, &c.,* 'even pygmies on the shoulders of giants can see farther than the giants themselves (Cunningham 1871a: xliii).

One can better understand the institution of Archaeological Survey of India against this intriguing backdrop. Alexander Cunningham was passionately involved in antiquarian researches right the moment of his arrival into India. Wherever he would go as military engineer (1833-1861), he would make observations about cultural landscape of the area. 'For Cunningham these were not only years of military activity; they were also years of travel to remote and exciting places and provided many opportunities for combining official duties with his growing interest in antiquarian investigation' (Singh 2004: 24). And all this came to fruition, as he made efforts for, the establishment of Archaeological Survey of India with Cunningham as the Archaeological Surveyor.

Cunningham's methods and approach vis-à-vis archaeological research: By the time Alexander Cunningham was to be appointed as Archaeological Surveyor in the framework of newly-instituted Archaeological Survey of India, he had developed a clear vision and programme for archaeological researches. The very nature of his new designation – Archaeological Surveyor – shows what kind of assignment he was supposed to accomplish. His job was to explore and document ancient monuments and antiquities. And no doubt one of the instigations behind the programme was to preserve the speedily disappearing heritage through systematic exploration and documentation. The Britishers had come to realize that the Government had committed 'neglect' in its responsibility in this regard. It is clear from the minute, dated 22 January, 1862, of the Viceroy with regard to Cunningham's appointment as Archaeological Surveyor:

> By 'neglect' I do not mean only the omission to restore them, or even to arrest their decay; for this would be a task which, in many cases, would require an expenditure of labour and money far greater than any Government of India could reasonably bestow upon it.

> But so far as the Government is concerned, there has been neglect of a much cheaper duty, – that of investigating and placing on record, for the instruction of future generations, many particulars that might still be rescued from oblivion, and throw light upon the early history of England's great dependency; a history which, a time moves on, as the country becomes more easily accessible and traversable, and as Englishmen are led to give more thought to India than such as barely suffices to hold it and govern it, will assuredly occupy, more and more, the attention of the intelligent and enquiring classes in European countries.
>
> It will not be to our credit, as an enlightened ruling power, if we continue to allow such fields of investigation . . . to remain without more examination than they have hitherto received. Every thing that has hitherto been done in this way has been done by private persons, imperfectly and without system (quoted in Cunningham 1871a: i-ii).

Lord Canning, the Viceroy, endorsed the scheme presented by Cunningham in his Memorandum to the Government. The following passage in the Viceroy's minute is to be given special consideration as concerning the Government's pecuniary involvement and objectives of the survey:

> I think it [Cunningham's sketch of the proposed survey] good, – and none the worse for being a beginning on a moderate scale. It will certainly cost little in itself, and will commit the Government to no future or unforeseen expense. For it does not contemplate the spending of any money upon repairs and preservation. This, when done at all, should be done upon a separate and full consideration of any case which may seem to claim it. What is aimed at is an accurate description, – illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, – of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them (quoted in Cunningham 1871a: ii-iii).

The survey of the ancient sites involved minimal expenditure on the Government's side as it was designed in a simple way and form. The purpose was to preserve via documentation.

Cunningham's methods in relation to his survey at Taxila need to be contextualized against this background; hence his modus operandi is detailed upon with the help of the following passage from his Memorandum:

> I would attach to the description of each place a general survey of the site, showing clearly the positions of all the existing remains, with a ground plan of every building or ruin of special note, accompanied by drawings and sections of all objects of interest. It would be desirable also to have photographic views of many of the remains, both of architecture and of sculpture; but to obtain these it would be necessary to have the services of a photographer. Careful fac-similes of all inscriptions would of course be made, ancient coins would also be collected on each site, and all the local traditions would be noted down and compared (quoted in Cunningham 1871a: viii).

From the above extract Cunningham's concept of archaeological research in terms of exploration/excavation methods and techniques can be delimited and delineated. They are as follows:

- Adoption of descriptive methods regarding surveying a site and locations of archaeological remains of a place
- Preparing ground plans of all the buildings or of the ones which are of special importance
- Making drawings and sections of all potential objects
- Taking photographs of monuments and sculptures[22]
- Reproducing all inscriptions in facsimiles
- Collection of coins on each site

[22] 'Both General Alexander Cunningham, who became Archaeological Surveyor in 1861, and Governor-General, Lord Canning, saw the camera as an essential tool in archaeological fieldwork and so did James Fergusson, the eminent architectural historian' (Desmond 1985: 54-55).

- Collecting local traditions and their comparison

This was an empirical programme and added a scientific dimension to archaeology as envisioned by Cunningham. This programme was followed by him at Taxila. In addition, Cunningham's explorations and, even, excavations were guided and buttressed by two kinds of textual sources viz. classical accounts of Greeks and Chinese pilgrims', especially Xuanzang's, travelogues. In this context, his researches are characterized by historical and textual archaeology. Of course, it was in line with the spirit of the time as everywhere antiquarian and archaeological activity was dominated by exploring and identifying buildings and monuments mentioned in historical texts.

By mid-nineteenth century, Chinese pilgrims' accounts had been translated and they had caused great excitement and curiosity in intellectual circles. Alexander Cunningham also exhausted all the ancient sources in his wide-range surveys of Indo-Pakistan. However, it is to be noted that Xuanzang's account totally absorbed him. He opines that 'all the previous travels of Chinese Buddhists are eclipsed by the longer and more systematic journeys of Hwen Thsang [Xuanzang]. . . . His various journeyings in the Punjâb, therefore, extended to a period of nearly four years, of which one-half was spent in Kashmir' (Cunningham 1871b: 84). He further observes, 'It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of these travels for the light which they throw upon early Indian history; and for the illustration of the Buddhist antiquities of India, it is not too much to say that they are quite invaluable' (Cunningham 1871b: 84-85). Cunningham terms knowledge about Buddhist heritage prior to these translations as 'mere conjectures' and notes that one stupa would be differentiated from another one only in terms of size and nothing was known with regard to specific purposes of the various stupas. All such understanding was

made possible by translations of Chinese pilgrims' accounts (Cunningham 1871b: 85; also see, Trautmann and Carla 2000).

Alexander Cunningham had followed this comprehensive programme in his field work at Taxila during 1863-1864 and 1872-1873. It is to be mentioned that Cunningham's assignment in the framework of Archaeological Survey of India did not include conservation. However, his approach in this respect was crystal clear as to rescue what was threatened by removing to a safe place (Singh 2004: 215-218). Neglect of conservation work in the 19th century ASI framework is lamented and reproached by Marshall. 'The salient fact', according to him, 'to be gathered from the foregoing brief historical sketch is that archaeological activities in India were originally turned into too narrow a path. They aimed primarily at research, instead of at conservation, as if oblivious of the fact that research is a work that can be taken up equally well at any period by any qualified person or organization, with or without official aid; whereas conservation in these quick-moving times is a duty of urgency devolving upon the Government of the day with the certain knowledge that no future solicitude will be able to repair the consequences of past neglect' (Marshall 1904: 11).

Marshall's methods and approach vis-à-vis archaeological research: Archaeological activities in India after Cunningham's retirement did process as was determined by vacillation in Government's interest and DG's interest in architectural studies. Dr. Burgess retired in 1889 and the post of DG remained vacant till the appointment of Sir John Marshall in 1902.[23] Like Cunningham's period, Burgess' era was also characterized by research and

[23] James Burgess became Director General of Archaeological Survey of India on 25 March 1886. 'His aims and methods', Roy states, 'hardly differed from Cunningham's except in the added emphasis he preferred to

investigation, especially studies in architecture, and conservation had not attracted any entertainment.[24] All this changed with the arrival of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India.

Lord Curzon passionately set forth a comprehensive scheme for Indian archaeology. He brought John Marshall as DG of ASI, effected the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 and increased the budget for archaeological activities. The latter mounted from £7000 to £37000 per annum during his viceroyalty (Ronaldshay 1928: 332). The antiquities legislation is of greater importance and is an exceptional achievement of Curzon. Ronaldshay states, 'Of all the legislation passed during Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty, none gave him quite the same intimate personal satisfaction as the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. It placed the official seal upon five years of labour which the historian of some future time will surely describe as his most enduring work in India' (Ronaldshay 1928: 330). Ronaldshay further documents, 'Writing from Agra in January 1903, Lord Elcho had said – "If you never did anything else you would have earned the undying gratitude of the world for what you have done for this place' (Ronaldshay 1928: 330). Ronaldshay proceeds to declare Curzon as 'justifiably proud of the results of his labours. "We are doing splendid work in restoration and conservation now throughout India," he

---

place on architectural survey. "Archaeology being", in his view, "but the history of art", he considered it to be his aim "to provide a pretty full illustration and history of ancient and medieval architecture down to the decline of the Muhammedan style". To this one end he subordinated most of his programmes, as would be amply evidenced by the nature and the quality of the careful architectural surveys carried out either by him or by his colleagues during the eventful years covering his stewardship' (Roy 1961: 66).

[24] Burgess effected important changes in the structure and administration of Archaeological Survey of India. Epigraphy and conservation were amalgamated into the ASI and a sort of unified body emerged. It is also important to note that in terms of concept and management of archaeology, significant developments took place during this period. *Resolution of 8th November 1888* (Khan 2014: 209-210) clearly exemplifies the fact.

told the Secretary of State. "And I really think that almost the most lasting external effect of my term of office will be the condition in which I shall leave the priceless treasures of architecture and art which we possess in this country' (Ronaldshay 1928: 330-331). Curzon seriously realized Government's obligation to the archaeology and cultural heritage of India. It well-reflects in the concluding paragraph of his speech to the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on February 7, 1900. He says:

> For my part, I feel far from clear that Government might not do a good deal more than it is now doing, or than it has hitherto consented to do. I certainly cannot look forward to a time at which either the obligations of the State will have become exhausted, or at which archaeological research and conservation in this country can dispense with Government direction and control. I see fruitful fields of labour still unexplored, bad blunders still to be corrected, gapping omissions to be supplied, plentiful opportunities for patient renovation and scholarly research. . . . I hope to assert more definitely during my time the Imperial responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge (Raleigh 1906: 194).

Investigation, conservation and epigraphy were to be treated on the same footing. Neither one nor the other may prosper at each other's expense. Lord Curzon said in this respect, 'Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should not be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work' (Raleigh 1906: 186). He made it clear that he is 'not one of those who think that the Government can afford to patronise the one and ignore the other. It is, in my judgement, equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce, and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve' (Raleigh 1906: 186).

It is to be noted that Lord Curzon's vision for archaeology in India got officially materialized in the shape of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904. The Act presents a comprehensive programme for management and scholarly investigations in the field of archaeology. Its importance reflects in its preamble:

> WHEREAS it is expedient to provide for the preservation of ancient monuments, for the exercise of control over traffic in antiquities and over excavation in certain places, and for the protection and acquisition in certain cases of ancient monuments and of objects of archaeological, historical or artistic interest; it is hereby enacted as follows.

The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 has these categories: (1) ancient monuments (2) traffic in antiquities (3) protection of sculptures, carvings, images, bas-reliefs, inscriptions or like (4) archaeological excavation and (5) general. It seems necessary to quote the short summary of these sections from the Act. It follows:[25]

Ancient Monuments: Following detailed treatment of ancient monuments is found in the act:

- Acquisition of rights in or guardianship of an ancient monument
- Preservation of ancient monument by agreement
- Owners under disability or not in possession
- Enforcement of agreement
- Purchasers at certain sales and persons claiming through owner bound by instrument executed by owner
- Application of endowment to repair of an ancient monument
- Compulsory purchase of ancient monument

[25] Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 (VII of 1904), as modified upto the 1st September 1949, at http://asi.nic.in/pdf_data/5.pdf, (accessed: November 23, 2013).

- Power of Central Government to control mining, etc., near ancient monument
- Maintenance of certain protected monuments
- Voluntary contributions
- Protection of place of worship from misuse, pollution or desecration
- Relinquishment of Government rights in a monument
- Right of access to certain protected monuments
- Penalties

Traffic in Antiquities: The act stipulates:

- Power to Central Government to control traffic in antiquities

Protection of Sculptures, Carvings, Images, Bas-Reliefs, Inscriptions or like objects: It states:

- Power to Central Government to control moving of sculptures, carvings or like objects
- Purchase of sculptures, carvings or like objects by the Government

Archaeological Excavation: The Act says about excavations:

- Power of Central Government to notify areas as protected
- Power to enter upon and make excavations in a protected area
- Power of Central government to make rules regulating archaeological excavation in protected areas
- Power to acquire a protected area

General: The following general issues have also been addressed:

- Assessment of market value or compensation
- Jurisdiction
- Power to make rules
- Protection to public servants acting under Act

This holistic programme was followed during John Marshall's Director Generalship. Director General, thus, got more power and responsibilities than his predecessors namely Sir Alexander Cunningham and Dr. James Burgess.[26] John Marshall himself, from the very beginning, put himself upon the path specified by Lord Curzon. He writes that the re-organized Archaeological Survey of India had a 'firm administrative basis, with a consistent policy, definite responsibilities, and a systematised programme.' In this framework he specifies 'two main functions of an Archaeological Survey, - investigation and conservation'. Conservation was given serious priority 'on the ground that if the material is carefully preserved, it can be examined at leisure and by any qualified agency,

[26] John Marshall writes, 'In concluding this outline of the history of the Archaeological Survey in India, it will be appropriate to describe exactly and in detail the duties of the new Director-General, because, although nominally the successor of Sir Alexander Cunningham and Dr. Burgess, he is charged with responsibilities extending considerably beyond the sphere of archaeological research wherein his predecessors confined their labours. The most important of his functions is to secure that the ancient monuments of the country are properly cared for, that they are not utilised for purposes which are inappropriate or unseemly, that repairs are executed when required, and that any restorations, which may be attempted, are conducted on artistic lines. In this respect his position will be generally similar to that occupied by the Curator of Ancient Monuments, who held office from 1880 to 1883. But his duties extend to the exercise of a general supervision over all the archaeological work of the country, whether it be that of excavation, or preservation, or repair, or of the registration and description of monuments and ancient remains, or of antiquarian research; he is to assist the provincial Surveyors in ascertaining and formulating the special requirements of each province; and to advise the Government of India as to the operations for which special subsidies may be allotted from Imperial funds. He is to co-ordinate and bring up to date the local Survey and reports; and he is to submit annually to the Government of India a report on the progress effected during each official year' (Marshall 1904: 10-11).

paid or unpaid'. Marshall specially emphasized conservation of 'those architectural or historical monuments whose preservation may be regarded as a duty owing not to India alone, but to the whole civilised world' (Marshall 1904: 11).

It is pertinent to make here mention of Marshall's *Conservation Manual* (Marshall 1923/1990). The book is divided into what may be designated as Government's orders and laws in relation to archaeological heritage and its management which appeared from time to time and techno-scientific scheme for conservation to be followed by archaeological officers in conservation works. The second part gathers more importance as it is clear from Marshall's own words. 'The second part contains detailed instructions and specifications on all questions likely to arise in connexion with the conservation of ancient monuments in India. These instructions and specifications are intended to serve as a guide, wherever conditions permit, but to be modified according to circumstances, if for local or other reasons modification is thought desirable' (Marshal 1923/1990: i).

Conservation implies two kinds of activities namely conserving *in situ* monuments through engineering work and preserving portable objects and antiquities by removing them to safe places viz. museums. And it is here that a well-thought planning for museums for the first time was envisaged and put into practice. It cannot be resisted to quote a seminal passage in this respect from Lord Curzon's address on the Ancient Monuments Bill in the Legislative Council at Calcutta, on 18th of March 1904:

> There is yet another aspect of the work of conservation to which I hope that the Bill that we are about to pass will lend a helping hand. This is the custody in collections or museums of rare or interesting objects that have either been torn from their surroundings or whose surroundings have disappeared. Hon. members will be familiar with the larger museums in the capital cities of India, where are

> collections not without value, but, as a rule, sorely mutilated, often unidentified and uncatalogued, and sometimes abominably arranged. The plan has hitherto been to snatch up any sculptured fragment in a province or presidency, and send it off to the provincial museum. This seemed to me, when I looked into it, to be all wrong. Objects of archaeological interest can best be studied in relation and in close proximity to the group and style of buildings to which they belong, presuming that these are of a character and in a locality that will attract visitors. Otherwise if transferred elsewhere, they lose focus, and are apt to become meaningless. Accordingly we have started the plan of a number of local museums in places of the nature that I have described. I may instance Malda in Bengal, Pagan in Burma, the Taj at Agra, Bijapur in Bombay, and Peshawar as localities where these institutions are being called into being, and I hope that in future any local fragments that may be discovered in the neighbourhood of such places, instead of being stolen, packed off, or destroyed, will find their way into these minor collections [museums]. Of course, the larger provincial museums will continue to attract all classes of objects that do not easily find a local habitation (Raleigh 1906: 202-203).

***Publication*:** Marshall made a new and intelligible publication policy for Archaeological Survey of India. It was, no doubt, dire need of the time. He points out that his predecessors, Alexander Cunningham and James Burgess, were not systematic in publishing reports of their surveys and researches. Generally, belated reports would be published even after elapse of a couple of years after the investigations. This would keep the world, both the academics and the general readers, as unaware of any progress in the field of Indo-Pakistani archaeology for years. This situation did not go unobserved and there were voices raised in this connection. John Marshall from the very beginning was mindful of the fact and he gave due attention to the issue. The result was the annual reports of the Archaeological Survey of India which aimed at keeping scholars, and interested laypersons at large, abreast of new developments in Indian archaeology. Beside the public, the systematic publication policy was also seen as useful of the officers of Archaeological

Survey of India. 'Instead of feeling, as in the past,' writes Marshall, 'that they were working in the dark on desultory schemes to no consistent end, Survey Officers will henceforth be sustained by the knowledge that good work during the year will obtain regular and prominent notice, and that it will meet with the appreciation in the Archaeological World, which it deserves' (Marshall 1904: 12-13).

And all this is found in the history of archaeological activity at Taxila during second and third decades of twentieth century (Marshall 1939: 1-33).

Large-scale excavations were done, restoration and conservation of monuments were effected and inscriptions were copied and translated vehemently by a number of scholars. 'Epigraphical researches underwent a complete reorientation during the regime. As the Circles Officers usually had their hands too full with exploratory and conservation work to enable them to address themselves to epigraphical tasks, Marshall considered it desirable that these tasks should be exclusively entrusted to the Government Epigraphist who was also, by reasons of his special command of the subject, was better qualified to do justice to it' (Roy 1961: 98-99).

Wheeler's methods and approach vis-à-vis archaeological research: Wheeler elaborates significance of stratigraphy, chronology, layout of an excavation, excavation of structures, digging town site/settlements and burials. He also elucidates watch makers' jobs, tactics and strategy, staff, tools, pottery shed, field laboratory, photography and publication and publicity. His involvement with the wider philosophic issues of archaeology as being concerned with scientific or humanistic pursuits and considerations is of greater importance and relates archaeology to epistemological discourses. And one may not be

kept in ignorance that all these issues Wheeler has masterfully discussed and illustrated in his magnum opus viz. *Archaeology from the earth* (1954/1955).[27] Wheeler emphasizes on stratigraphy in excavations as without recognition of strata, historical evidences would be got lost and excavation would, thus, become meaningless activity and a sort of crime. The importance of stratigraphy lies in the fact of cultural sequences being established. In the layout of an excavation, care should be taken to preserve stratigraphic record and position of finds by horizontal and vertical co-ordinates. Wheeler opines that recognition of vanished structural traces from stratigraphy is more important than the remains of the structures. He discusses horizontal or vertical approaches in relation to settlement sites whereas in burials, particularly in the case of burial mounds, stratigraphical methods are apt to apply.

[27] It may be noted that technical notes by Mortimer Wheeler in various issues of *Ancient India* provided basis for *Archaeology from the earth*. The latter work is termed by Dilip K. Chakrabarti as 'a classic in the field, if ever there was one' (Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 178). An early reviewer of the book writes, 'No archaeologist can afford to miss this book, which is not only a mine of information but extremely enjoyable reading. There is hardly an aspect of archaeology that is not treated in some original way, whether it be the history of excavation, chronology, stratigraphy, planning, publication, the actual technique of digging, or the duties of the staff of large excavations' (Cole 1954: 93). Another reviewer elaborates, 'Sir Mortimer's book is the fruit of his long and varied career as a digger and trainer of diggers. It follows hard on the heels of another work of the 'school ', Miss Kathleen Kenyon's admirably succinct Beginning in Archaeology. Archaeology from the Earth is less obviously aimed at the student, who thinks of embarking on a career, or the amateur, who thinks to pursue his interest more actively. It will be read with profit and delight by the beginner, the hardened professional and the interested public. Though cast in the form of a systematic treatise, it is neither dispassionate nor comprehensive but something more readable and probably more useful-the intensely personal record of the aims and practices of a great master of the art of digging. Its virtues are the virtues of a man. It reveals a wide but not universal experience, a sound but not infallible judgment, an unbounded but not unchallengeable assurance. It is, among other things, a preachment, full of forthright pride and prejudice, scorn and respect, eloquence and fustian' (Brown 1955: 214).

Wheeler also says that the main concern of archaeologist is to establish chronology and 'relative sequences of ancient cultures or cultural episodes' and stratigraphical excavations garner special significance in this respect (Wheeler 1954-1955: 23). But he also warns that chronology 'must not [be] allow[ed] . . . to monopolize our discipline.' It serves as a mean to take archaeologist to an end and that end is 'the flesh and blood and spirit of our subject' viz. the whole culture of a period/area (Wheeler 1954-1955: 39). Wheeler invests much labour in elaborating this important aspect of archaeologist's work in chapter XVII of *Archaeology from the earth* (Wheeler 1954-1955: 200-217).

For Wheeler study of strata is important due to the fact that through it 'succession of the vestiges with which he deals' is secured. It gives cultural contents in an orderly way; hence stratification is an excavator's primary duty. 'Today', Wheeler strongly maintains, 'the digger must learn to read his sections, or he should be constrained from digging.' Careful and detailed investigation of strata is needed which, no doubt, is a strenuous job. 'The task is one which involves clear and logical thinking reinforced by experience and infinite patience.' Changes in colour of soil or material and contents help archaeologist differentiate strata (Wheeler 1954-1955: 40ff.). Wheeler moves from identification of strata stage to a more basic and crucial question which is, undoubtedly, not less important than the identification. Now 'it is the task of the archaeologist to interpret them, to understand the sentence as well as to transliterate it' (Wheeler 1954-1955: 44). Moreover, forming and studying sections in this connection are very significant. Wheeler also emphasizes the exact and correct recording of archaeological data and suggests a 'method of recording'. He, thus, opines:

> Enough of criticism; let us turn to a more positive aspect of the matter. The preparation for the record of the section begins with the first spadeful dug. From the outset, the strata are carefully observed, distinguished, and *labelled* as the work proceeds. It is, of course, as the work proceeds that 'finds' are isolated and recorded, and their record is necessarily integral with that of the strata from which they are derived. The supervisor must therefore make up his mind clearly from moment to moment as to the limits and nomenclature of his strata; and his decisions, whether ultimately approved or modified, must be susceptible to accurate delineation, if only for the subsequent correlation of his 'finds'. In other words, both he and the spectator or the future reader must know exactly what he thinks he is doing (Wheeler 1954-1955: 54).

It must be mentioned that labelling and numbering of successive layers is highly required of a scientific digger in careful excavations (Wheeler 1954-1955: 54ff.).

Furthermore, Wheeler mentions excavation plan as 'necessarily depend[ing] upon the character and needs of the site.' He, thus, makes three categories of the problem namely 'trial trench or *sondages*, area excavation, and . . . substantive trenching' (Wheeler 1954-1955: 63). Substantive trenches are the trenches 'which are not merely tentative cuttings made in search of some ill-defined objective but are in themselves a definite objective. In the category are included the cross-trenching of a line of fortifications, to establish their structural sequence and to link it up with the sequence of occupations within the enclosure' (Wheeler 1954-1955: 68). Wheeler details upon the excavation techniques and recording of all the facts such as layers and objects in relation to substantive trenches. 'The lateral extent of the trench is defined at the outset, and the flanking datum-lines are accordingly fixed once and for all. There is no risk of their obliteration by any lateral, crab-like movement of the cutting, and the recorder's task is predictable from start to finish' (Wheeler 1954-1955: 68). He stresses that during the ongoing operation of trenches, all

significant data should be measured and recorded in terms of longitudinal, outward and downward position (Wheeler 1954-1955: 70-71).[28]

Wheeler reiterates that 'chronology and cultural setting of the site' make primary goal of archaeologist and it is in relation to these facts that structural layout of a site makes sense. It, in turn, necessitates knowledge about the plan of town/city, its 'domestic economy' and socio-political conditions in a diachronic manner. These are interconnected components but for purposes of study they can be separated at the outset, obviously temporarily.

The approach to investigation should, according to Wheeler, be a tactical one and hence restricted area excavation or substantive trenching is appropriate so as to get familiarity with cultural and chronological sequence. Similarly, investigation in relation to fortification should be carefully planned in order to attain information as to the nature of the town, arrival of newcomers, consolidation stage of a state-society, threats as posed by potential foes or culture of feudal citadels (Wheeler 1954-1955: 87). '*Fortifications thus not merely outline the town-plan (or some part of it) but may focus and express the city's vicissitudes and something of its sociology* [researcher's italics]. Further, the character of their brickwork or masonry is a fair reflection of the economic condition of the city at the time of construction, of wealthy and leisurely civic pride or of some slovenly necessity'

[28] Wheeler makes elaborations; 'It is scarcely necessary to add that the utility of such a record – or indeed of any stratigraphical record – is proportionate to the accuracy of the measured section or sections with which the record is subsequently to be equated. The two sides of a trench are rarely identical, and it will nearly always be desirable to prepare an accurate drawing of both, together with occasional cross-sections. Moreover, during the actual digging it is sometimes useful to project certain categories of objects (from the three dimensional record) on to the actual sides of the trench by means of labelled or coloured pegs. I have known occasions upon which such a visual representation of a distribution in the actual trench has been illuminating and convincing' (Wheeler 1954-1955: (Wheeler 1954-1955: 71).

(Wheeler 1954-1955: 87). Wheeler attaches much importance the fortification and defence landscape in studying a town site. '*It is along the lines of the defences*', he observes, '*rather than in the burial relics of the bazaar that excavator may expect first to recognize the major moments, the framework, of the story of the site*' (researcher's italics) (Wheeler 1954-1955: 87). This point is so much important vis-à-vis his work at Sirkap that the present researcher does not hesitate to quote in detail Wheeler's words in original to make understand what to him is tactically prudent in excavation. He elaborates:

> Let him [excavator] therefore, early in his work, cut across the line of the fortifications at selected points where it seems likely that the evidence will be most comprehensive. And let his cross-trenches be both wide and deep, no mere otter's bites – wide enough to escape accidental features and to provide ample room and light for observation; deep enough to reach down into the natural soil and so to ensure that the story is complete. Furthermore, let the trenches be carried far enough into the town to relate the defensive system in its various phases with the successive occupations of the town itself (Wheeler 1954-1955: 87-88).

Wheeler further observes; '*To the sectioning of the defences should be added the careful excavation of a gateway, where successive road-levels and guardroom-floors may be expected to amplify the architectural evidence and to lend it precision*' (researcher's italics) (Wheeler 1954-1955: 88).

Once completed this potentially needed work, Wheeler suggests uncovering representative areas of the site and establishing its relation to the excavated gateway of the town. He writes:

> The completion of these works – the examination of the defences and the central area-excavation – may be assumed to have given us a reasonable conspectus of the site. The next stage is less predictable in detail, although its general purpose is clear enough: namely, to recover a representative

> part of the town-plan at various periods or, at any rate, at the topmost period, and to ascertain the character and the economy of its various types of buildings. The best course will probably be *to extend the original area-dig at the level of some specific stratum, to link it up with the excavated gateway, and to recover the intervening layout of buildings and streets at the selected level or levels*. Thereby an orderly, coherent development of the work is ensured, and future excavators will know readily where they stand in relation to it (researcher's italics) (Wheeler 1954-1955: 88).

Wheeler writes that tactical planning and strategy are important things in excavations. In this sense, archaeological activity consists of two types viz. strategy and tactics. The former means 'the choice of objective, the selection of the problem and of the sites and regions best calculated to solve that problem.' Tactics implies the methods adopted in fieldwork research (Wheeler 1950: 115ff.). Strategy concerns, one can argue, with the type of problem-oriented research as against the unplanned research which aims at uncoherent discoveries. As concerned the latter kind of works Wheeler remarks, 'Not thus is the orderly way of science. True, a happy chance will from time to time add unexpectedly and dramatically to knowledge' (Wheeler 1950: 116). Contrarily, 'the progress of science depends', as Wheeler remarks, 'not on these hazards, but on the methodical, logical use of the disciplined imagination in the evaluation and anticipation of cause and effect. It depends upon careful strategic planning' (Wheeler 1950: 116, also see Wheeler 1954/1955: 114ff.).

Wheeler also was preoccupied by the idea of training students in field archaeology. This point is very important in relation to archaeology of Taxila. Immediately after reaching India as Director General of Archaeological Survey of India, he envisaged a comprehensive programme for training Indian students in the field. For the purpose, a meeting was held with vice-chancellors of nineteen universities at Patna in their annual

meeting and ‘an urgent appeal was made for the recruitment of young university graduates for organized research into the neglected arts of India’s archaeological technology’ (Wheeler 1976: 32). The response was prompt enough as Wheeler says that above sixty students gathered together and they were initiated in the field at the now famous ‘The Taxila School of Archaeology, 1944’. Wheeler takes pride in success of the programme as he puts down that the Taxila School dealt successfully ‘on the one hand with the universal procedures of vertical stratigraphy and of grid-planning on the basis of detailed application, but on the other hand with the general principles of comparative chronology selectively illustrated from the fantastic abundance of material available in one way or another between the Mediterranean in the west and the world of China in the east, and incidentally, both of them represented from local sources in the remote but fertile museum at Taxila itself’ (Wheeler 1976: 34-35, see also Wheeler 1946).

Wheeler was of the view that archaeology is a humanistic science and historical discipline. It is science as it is not aimless digging. Stratigraphy, structures and finds should be carefully recorded during excavation. ‘This made it a simple matter to plot finds of different periods on to stratigraphical sections and so establish accurate archaeological sequences’ (Clark 1979:15). Wheeler argues in favour of archaeology as being a humanistic science as follows:

> We are digging up people, and the more significant the people the better,' is an eloquent argument for archaeology as a humanistic discipline. But it will be found richer in anecdote and evasion than in bold logic. The doughty and seasoned campaigner seems here to have fumbled the issues of war. The what and why are never clearly the nature of archaeological evidence, the validity of arguing from artifacts to human beings, the ways and degrees in which reason will permit us to draw such inferences. No matter; ' 'twas a famous victory' (Wheeler 1954).

Archaeology is nowadays dominantly considered as anthropological discipline but, still, some scholars argue in favour of archaeology being a historical pursuit.

Wheeler is also mindful of the fact that archaeology is 'increasingly dependent on a multitude of sciences and is itself increasingly adopting the methodology of natural science' (Wheeler 1954: 2). He enumerates various disciplines such as physics, geology, chemistry, biology, botany etc. as auxiliary sources of archaeology (Wheeler 1946) and, hence, archaeology as a synthetic process of science (Wheeler 1954: 2).

All this shows Wheeler's acumen in relation to the discipline of archaeology and its development. And, no doubt, nearly all these issues are reflected in the archaeological activity conducted during Wheeler period at Taxila.

Concluding remarks

In conclusion it may be said that archaeology in British India developed from antiquarian activities of the 19th century to full puberty by mid-twentieth century. Its history is full of administrative matters in prudent way, intellectual innovations and imperial considerations. Some great and legendry names such as Prinsep, Cunningham, Stein, Rajendra Lal Mithra, Marshall, Lord Curzon, Wheeler etc. are prominent scholars who have to their credit great services to the cause of Indo-Pakistani archaeology. Methodological and theoretical transformations in the field were triggered by the overall intellectual paradigms and paradigm shifts in Europe. The movements and intellectual traditions such as empiricism, positivism and idealism influenced Indian archaeology till 1947.

Beside this, it may be said that imperialism and imperial thought also reflect in the works of colonial scholars. It were Enlightenment ideas and principles which stimulated and

directed archaeological activity. Diffusionism, indigenous cultural poverty, denigration of ethnic groups etc. were focused to the effect that justification for colonization of India be found in clear terms.

Furthermore, it can be said that despite the fact of shortcomings of colonial archaeology from the viewpoint of the present, the activity in terms of its achievments has great seminality as far as archaeological tradition in the subcontinent is concerned.

Chapter 4

Archaeological landscape of Taxila valley

Reconstruction of its history till 1947

Both antiquarian and archaeological activities at Taxila are to be traced back to the first decades and mid of 19th century. The later phenomenon is understandably associated with the legend of Sir Alexander Cunningham. This chapter intends to cover the whole range of archaeological researches at Taxila within the time scale of this study. In the first part, while following Cunningham's sites' serial, a comprehensive and updated account of the sites, structures of the sites and the material recovered from the sites have been presented. The second part gives all such necessary information in the form of chart. All the data is arranged in a chronological order of their discoveries, investigations and analyses.

The whole investigation and analysis of historiography save us from difficulties which result from lack of coalescence and presence of all-pervading scatteredness between works pioneering scholars of Taxila, especially, in relation to archaeological reports of Cunningham. This chapter gathers together all these pieces into a whole and makes a link between sites descriptions and analysis of different scholars (see figs. 1-2).

Gazetteer of the sites

1. **Dharmarajika/Chir-thup 1, Taxila**

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1918, 1945/2006a,b; Dar 1984; Dani 1999; Behrendt 2003; Faccenna, 2005, 2007

Dharmarajika stupa (Cunningham's Chir-thup/Chir Thup No 1) was found as locating on a 'high mound' on the northern side of the Tabra/Tamra-nala. At the time of Cunningham's visit it had already been opened by General Ventura or somebody else. The cut as effected in the stupa was measured 20 ft. broad in its western side and 38 ft. in the eastern side with a depth of 32 ft. Cunningham mentions that this huge cut restrained him to make correct measurements. However, he still estimates that the stupa 'equals the great tope of Mânikyalâ in size' with 337 ft. circumference and 120 or 125 ft. diameter at base (Cunningham 1871: 123-124). 'The people have no tradition', writes Cunningham, 'about the contents of this *stupa*, from which I conclude that its exploration was effected long before the time of General Ventura. The stupa stood originally in the midst of a large rectangular court, surrounded by cells for monks, of which only the foundations now remain' (Cunningham 1871: 123-124).

Marshall laid numerous facts bare about Dharmarajika. He describes it as approximately circular in plan and built on a raised terrace. It has four flights of stairs from out sides. Its core consists of rough rubble masonry. The chronological frame for the stupa, as is suggested by Marshall, is not earlier than the Asoka time and not later than the mid fifth century CE. According to Marshall's study, Dharmarajika stupa was destroyed by the mid-first century great earthquake and was rebuilt afterwards (Marshall 1945/2006a: 236-237). All around the great stupa, a number of small stupas are found at Dharmarajika. Some of them are dated to the period from 50 BCE to 40 CE. Some stupas are assigned to the periods of Kanishka and Vasudeva. An important water tank is situated in the north of the great stupa and it had been in use since the Saka's time (Marshall 1945/2006a: 247). With

Marshall's proposition that it was 'a bathing pool for the monks' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 247) disagrees Dani. He contends

> . . . this is not likely because at this time all the monastic cells were located on the western side nearer to the Tamra rivulet which would be used for bathing. Again, if the tank had any ritualistic significance, it could not have been discarded. It may there have been a supply of water for visitors and lay worshipers (Dani 1999: 123).

Another significant structure is marked as shrine H which lies in the north-west of the water tank. Its masonry is similar to the masonry of Jandial temple. It was expanded, Marshall observes, in the wake of the great earthquake of the first century CE (Marshall 1945/2006a: 247-248).

The next stage of building around the great stupa occurred in the wake of the great earthquake. The previous ruins of small stupas were not removed; rather, beside them small chapels were built. They 'were built in the very distinctive style of diaper masonry first introduced at Taxila from the north-west frontier during the Parthian domination' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 248). Some other stupas and image chapels belong to the same age. Building L in the south-west of Dharmarajika stupa was a double-chambered chapel which stored sculptures as a great number was recovered from it. It, Marshall maintains, was built not before the end of first century CE. Marshall is of the opinion that that this chapel was reserved for housing such dedicatory offering (Marshall 1945/2006a: 250-251). Dani, again, terms this suggestion as 'strange' as, according to him (1999: 124), 'the religious devotees and pilgrims would like to earn greater merit by installing their images in definite shrines. These building should therefore be regarded as dedicatory shrines rather than mere storage chapels.' An apsidal stupa is present to the west of the great stupa. Its date of

construction is also not before the closing years of first century CE. A similar stupa was later on discovered at Sirkap which overshadowed importance of this ever first discovery of its kind (Marshall 1945/2006a: 254-255). From chapel G5 important discoveries were made (see for details, Marshall 1945/2006a: 256-257).

Later researches confirmed on the basis of ancient sources that the oldest and largest stupa of Taxila is Dharmarajika which was built by Asoka. The exact meaning of Dharmarajika is difficult to be given; however, scholars have presented various propositions in this respect. Marshall (1945/2006a: 234-235) states:

> The *Divyāvadāna* calls Aśoka the Dharmarāja, and on the strength of this Prof. Vogel took *Dharmarājikā* to mean a stūpa erected by Aśoka, the Dharmarāja. But the *Divyāvadāna* also informs us that Aśoka was designated Dharmarāja because he had erected *dharmarājikās*, and Prof. Konow infers therefore that *dharmarājikā* denotes a stūpa erected over a body-relic of the Buddha who was the true Dharmarāja. Since, however, nearly all the stūpas containing Buddha's relics were known to have been erected by Aśoka, the term would naturally come to bear both meanings, viz. a stūpa containing one of those relics or a stūpa erected by Aśoka. We have good reason accordingly to infer that Taxila was one of the many cities in the Maurya Empire which received from Aśoka a share of the holy relics, and that the Dharmarājikā was the stūpa originally erected by him to house that share.

Of late, Ahmad Hasan Dani has made his own analysis: 'To hold up the solid mess of the stupa, several re-enforcement walls were built like the spokes of a wheel around the circular nucleus . . . the whole giving the appearance of a *dharma-cakra* (the wheel of law). Thus the construction itself may imply the concept of *dharma* (law) and hence the name *Dharmarājikā*' (Dani 1999: 118). It was all due to the great importance of Taxila as being a significant city of the time and being ruled over by Asoka for a considerable time as governor of his father. Marshall expresses disappointment as 'there is nothing now

remaining of the original fabric of this stūpa or of any other monument that can be definitely recognised as Mauryan; indeed, the only tangible indication – and it is a very slight one – that there were any monuments of Aśoka at all at Taxila, is to be found in the discovery of one or two small mullers made of that particular variety of sandstone from the quarries of Chunar which was inevitably used for the pillars, balustrades or other objects set up by the Maurya emperor' (Marshall 1945/2006: 235). Marshall feels happy about the rich archaeological remains at Taxila as it is clear from the following passage:

> . . . stupas, chapels and monastic quarters which, extending as they do over a period of five centuries, furnish us with valuable data for the history of local architecture and art. Thanks, also, to the coins, inscriptions and other minor antiquities associated with them, they helped materially to the solution of some of the chronological problems connected with this period of Indian history (Marshall 1945/2006: 235).

The second part of the sacred Buddhist complex of Dharmarajika is the monastery area. It comprises a number of courts and small stupas. The courts are lettered as A, B, G, H, and J. The first one is the largest while the second one was later on constructed in its centre-west. Court G was built afterwards in the north of Court A and adjacent to it. Court H is a later building at the south-east corner of court G. Court J is a new addition at the north-east of court A. There are found remains of subsidiary stupas in all these courts except H and J. Stupa, marked as 1, found in the centre of court A is the largest of the stupas of the monastery area and it is dated to first few centuries of the Common Era, especially the Saka period. The southern and western sides of the court are surrounded by chambers marked on Marshall's plan as V1-V5 and W1-W5 (Marshall 1945/2006a: 276; 1945/2006c: pl. 61). All the structures found on court A, except court B and stupa, according to Marshall, do not go back than second century CE. Some parts he assigns to

the medieval period (Marshall 1945/2006: 277). Stupa 2 is situated in court B and is similar in construction to stupa 1. Its significance reflects in the fact that contents recovered from a casket from the stupa, among others, give two silver coins one each of Azilises and Caesar. On the basis of this evidence, it is suggested that stupas 1 and 2 were built when the former was ruling over the area. Small stupas 2 and 3 to the east and south-east of stupa 1 in court A were erected in the fourth or fifth century (Marshall 1945/2006a: 277). 'The decoration [of stupas 2 and 3] is similar to that on many small stūpa at Jauliāñ and other sites, and is characteristic of fourth-fifth century work. No relics were found in either stūpa 2 or stūpa 3' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 278).

Courts A and B were occupied until medieval times. Abundant objects were recovered from the sites: pottery, terracotta figurines, stone, iron, copper and bronze objects. Objects of bone, ivory, shell and glass were also found. Great number of coins and beads were obtained from the sites (Marshall 1945/2006a: 278-280). A new court of cells, lettered as G (Marshall 1945/2006c: pl. 61), was built for monks either in late second century or early third century. It is situated to the north of court A. it was 'the first of its kind on this site – the first, that is to say, in which the cells were arranged in a quadrangle facing inwards, with a veranda on the inner side and, no doubt, an upper story' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 280). The plan of the court 'is approximately square, measuring some 203 ft. each way, and apparently comprising fifty-two cells on the ground floor, though half of those on the east and south sides, which are buried beneath the remains of the later court H, have yet to be excavated' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 280-281). Remains of small stupa in the court were also found (Marshall 1945/2006a: 281; 1945/2006c: pl. 61).

Attached to the northern wall of court G are found remains of a large room, measuring as 40 x 38 ft., which unlike the opinion of the excavators as being a stupa of considerable size, is viewed by Marshall as probably a bastion or watch-tower (Marshall 1945/2006a: 281). Other remains of importance in the monastery area are what are termed by Marshall as assembly hall (lettered as Ga) and common rooms (marked as Gb and Gd) (Marshall 1945/2006a: 281-282). On the basis of coins and semi-ashler masonry Marshall – unlike the excavators who assign the buildings of court G to the reign of Vasudeva – proposes that quite possibly 'the monastery was erected in the reign of Huvishka or even of Kanishka 1' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 282). Coins, beads, stone sculptures, copper and terracotta objects have come from the site (Marshall 1945/2006a: 282-283).

There is another smaller court lettered as J (Marshall 1945/2006c: pl. 61) which is situated in the east of court A and as attached to its north-eastern corner. Its construction is synchronized to the building of court G (Marshall 1945/2006a: 284). Dani, however, disagrees with Marshall about chronological matters. He argues that on the basis of design similarity, court H and J 'should be contemporary (Dani 1999: 129). Very few, and one may say negligible too, objects were obtained from the site (Marshall 1945/2006a: 284). From historiographical viewpoint, important discovery from court J comprises the skeletal remains. They have been studied by B. S. Guha, S. Sarkar and H. K. Bose (see chapter 12 in Marshall 1945/2006a: 296-314). Their analyses have been synthesized by John Marshall in the following passage:

> On the strength of these finds, particularly of the birch-bark manuscript and coins, it seems reasonable to conclude that the massacre in this court was the work of White Hun invaders towards the end of the fifth century A.D., and it is interesting to find that this conclusion receives some confirmation from

> the character of the human remains themselves. These remains have been exhaustively examined by Dr B. S. Guha, Anthropologist to the Zoological Survey of India, and Messrs S. Sarkar and H. K. Bose. . . . Five of the six skeletons are of a short to medium-statured dolichocephalic people with large brains, long faces, broad cheek bones, strong chins and high-pitched narrow noses. The skulls of these people, who may be assumed to have been inmates of the monastery at the time of the massacre, show a general correspondence, according to Dr Guha, with those of the Mohenjo-daro I type and certain skulls from Al-Ubaid published by Sir Arthur Keith, though the face is longer and the nose finer than in the majority of these prehistoric Indus and Mesopotamian skulls. They also show affinities with some of the isolated modern tribes, such as the Red Kāfirs living in the remote valleys of the North-West. The other skull (no. 5 of Dr Guha's list) is quite different. It is essentially brachycephalic with a high cranial vault, short, squarish face and long prominent nose, its outstanding features being the lofty conical dome and flattened vertical occiput. According to Dr Guha, the closest analogies to this skull are afforded by certain modern Tadjik skulls from Kashgar and the Tarim Basin in Central Asia and by others from cemeteries of the early Christian era at Yingpān, a little south of Turfān, and at Yangī Hissar. Yingpān is situated on the boundary of the ancient homelands of the Huns, and for this and other reasons Dr Guha infers that the Taxila skull may well have belonged to one of the White Huns who sacked the Dharmarājikā monastery. May I also add to Dr Guha's observations on this point that the most significant features of Taxila skull, viz. the high conical dome of the cranium and the flat vertical occiput, are also peculiarly characteristic of the heads of White Hun rulers as portrayed on their coins? This the reader can verify at a glance, if he will turn to coins nos. 300-13 on Pl. 245 (Marshall 1945/2006a: 288 and 290).

Court H on the south-eastern corner of court G was built after the destruction of the latter. It is ¼ of court G which, as Marshall observes, shows the shrinking number of inmates at the time. The defensive nature of the building is very clear from its construction (Marshall 1945/2006a: 284). This building was probably burnt to ashes, like other monuments at Taxila, by the White Huns (Marshall 1945/2006a: 285). Dani, in contradiction to

Marshall's view of destruction, makes intriguing observation. He (1999: 129-130) maintains:

> The destruction of court G must have taken place in or after the fifth century as the hoard of gold coins found therein shows the continuous use of these buildings until that time. These gold coins were lying in the debris some 3 feet above the original floor of the southern halls attached to court G (Marshall, p. 290). It is after this date that the floor level was raised. The gold coins include two of Chandragupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty and the cultural materials show Indian intrusion. Was it peaceful? If court H was constructed after the destruction of court G, as is quite obvious from the architectural remains, it is difficult to agree with Sir John Marshall that 'court H was burnt out and reduced to ruin, probably at the hands of the White Huns in the latter part of the fifth century A.D.' (p.285). It was no doubt burnt, but by whom? This is not clear. The issue is certainly much more complicated than an invasion by the White Huns. The final repairs must have taken place after this date, some time in the sixth or seventh century.

A number of 'minor antiquities' were received from the site (Marshall 1945/2006a: 285-286).

Remains of another small monastery marked as M5 were discovered in the north-west of the great Dharmarajika stupa. It was built of 'rubble and semi-ashler'. A much ruined small stupa stood in tis centre. On the basis of coins find, its occupation is suggested during the time 'as late as the fourth century A.D.' A number of antiquities were obtained from this area (Marshall 1945/2006a: 290-291; see also Dani 1999: 118).

Nearly all the monastery buildings were repaired, though not matching the original ones in sophistication, in modified form much after the so-called White Huns' invasion and the resultant destruction. Dani observes that we do not know whether this variety of monasteries belonged to different Buddhist schools of thought or they resulted from the

growing number of Buddhist monks or simply availability of patronage caused this opulence in sacred establishments (Dani 1999: 118-119). He also notes that the smaller courts were in existence during the time of Xuanzang's visits and it was after this period that due to poverty and lack of patronage such buildings gradually disappeared (Dani 1999: 130).

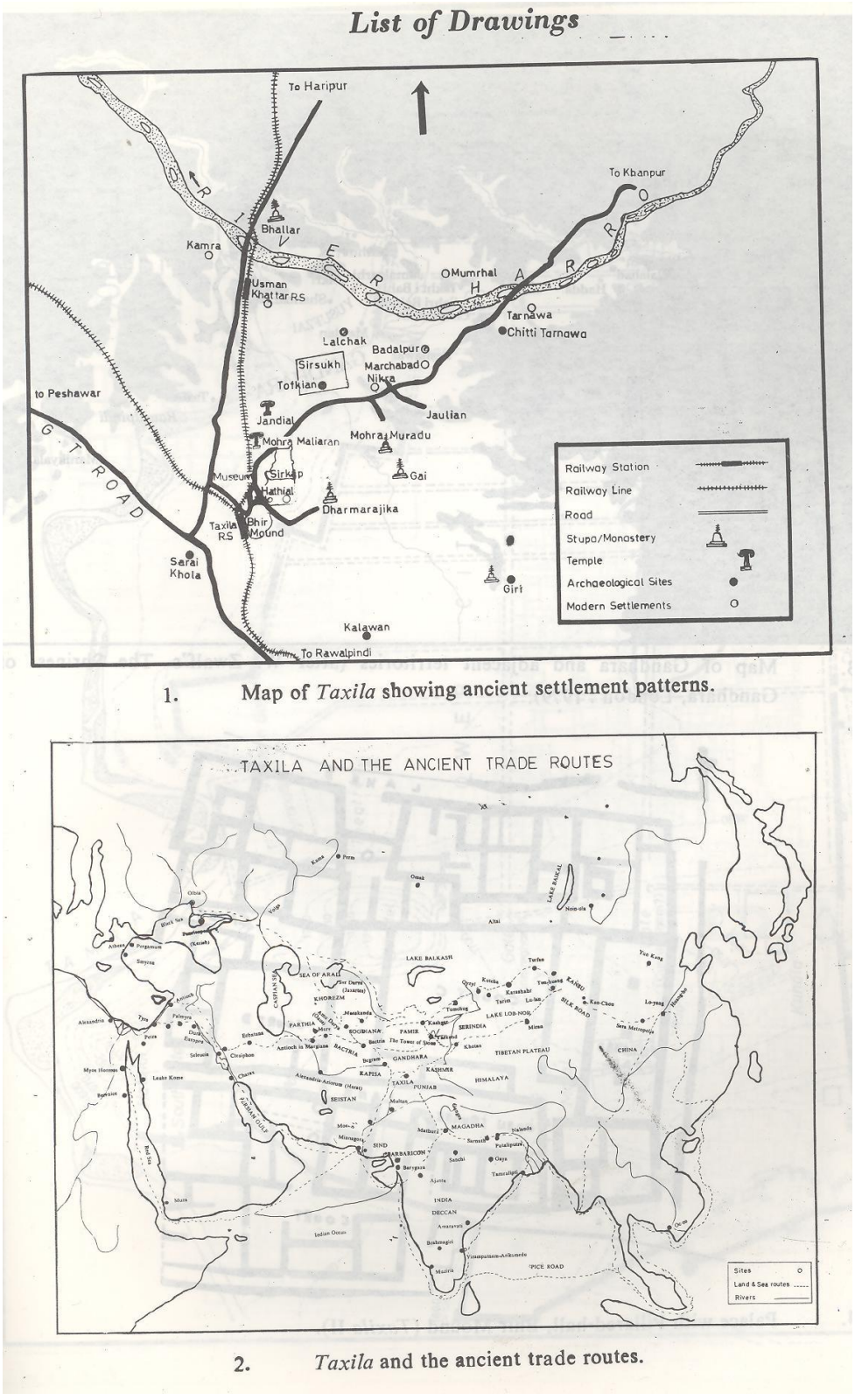

Figure 1: Map showing archaeological sites of Taxila and routes network (Courtesy: Dar 1984)

2. Dharmarajika/Chir-thups 2-4, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006a-c; Dani 1999

In the rectangular court, just mentioned above, remains of a small stupa (no. 2) were seen in the south-easterly direction of the great stupa. As usual, it was allegedly dug by the locals. To the N of Dharmarjika stupa, remains of a small stupa and monastery (no. 3), 'in the direction of the pass leading to Sir-kap', were found. Ruins of another stupa and monastery (no. 4) were found as well (Cunningham 1871: 124).

It is to be noted that these three small sites of Cunningham's text and map shall be found in the stupa rings and monasteries excavated by Marshall and others. But, unfortunately, this researcher could not establish such a link and correspondence due to the skimpy text and poor maps of Cunningham.

3. Dharmarajika/Chir-thup 5-8, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1918, 1945/2006a; Dani 1999

Chir-thups nos. 5-8 of Cunningham's report represent remains of small stupas in the south-east of stupa the great Dharmarajika stupa (Cunningham 1871: 124).

These sites have not been given much attention and importance by Cunningham as he just makes a passing reference to them. His map also only numbers stupa no. 5. But these remains seem to this researcher of great importance. After deep analysis of both Cunningham's and Marshall's texts and maps, it becomes clear that the former's stupas no. 5-8 are but the sites labelled by the latter on plate 1 as A, B, C and D (Marshall 1945/2006c). Marshall assigns great significance to these sites, though he terms the

condition of the much dilapidated monuments less helpful as compared to sites such as Kalawan, Mohra-murado and Julian (1945/2006a: 315-321).

The excavated structures of these monuments consist of stupas, monasteries, monks' cells, small chapels, flights of steps, assembly halls and common room. Antiquities recovered from the site comprise coins, seated goddesses, small Gandharan reliefs, copper and bronze objects, Bodhisattvas' statues etc. The foundation of these complexes is assigned to between 40 to 150 CE. This suggestion is based on presence of coarse and fine diaper masonry found at the sites. According to Marshall, the earliest traces of building may be assigned to the Parthian period. However, the most prominent phase of occupation of these complexes is that of the Kushana period. Marshall also surmised that 'they may well have been an indirect result of the transfer of the city from Sirkap to Sirsukh, for which V'ima Kadphises was possibly responsible. For it, as seems likely, members of the *saṅgha* had been living in the Sirkap city, new accommodation or them would have become necessary, and it may well have seemed preferable to provide this accommodation in the near vicinity of the dharmarājikā – the central place of worship for the whole community – rather than in the new and unconveniently distant city of Sirsukh' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 319-320).

Dani, however, disagrees with this proposition and dismisses the possibility of monks' settlements in Sirkap on the basis of lack of monastic complexes inside the city. He, rather, suggests that the establishment of the four sacred buildings in the south-east of Dharmarajika seems to be the result of increase in fraternity of monks during the Kushana period as rulers of that dynasty were extremely generous in patronizing the holy community (Dani 1999: 133). On the analysis of a number of coins recovered from the

sites, date of desertion of these establishments is suggested during the first half of third century CE (Marshall 1945/2006a: 320; Dani 1999: 133).

Another importance of the sites, in Marshall's view, lies in the fact that process of evolution in relation to monastic building can be observed here. Till the close of first century CE, no much attention was paid to security and privacy of monks as there were no such considerations taken into account in planning of *sangharamas*. Stupas would be kept outside of monasteries and, according to Marshall, this reflects in sites A and C. Site B of Akhauri gives evidence of development in planning but still it keeps the tradition of not including stupa within the monastic walls. It was in Khader-mohra complex that stupa is found inside walls of *sangharama* (Marshall 1945/2006a: 320-321). Residential cells for monks are found, generally, on three sides of court and assembly halls on the fourth. It may be pointed out that at sites A and C no assembly halls are found. At Akhauri a stupa chapel is also found (Marshall 1945/2006a: 315 ff.; Dani 1999: 133). According to Dani, 'the paucity of subsidiary stupas suggests that the site was not of great importance. This may be the reason why in later periods the site was not properly maintained' (Dani 1999: 133).

4. Dharmarajika/Chir-thup 9-16, Taxila

Cunningham 1871

There is mentioned a series of minor stupas in the west and, to some extent, in the south-west of Dharmarajika. All of them are to be said to have existed around the village of Shahpur starting from number one upto sixteen of Cunningham's report. Cunningham states that nearly all these stupas had been opened by locals at one or another time. Stupas

number 13 and 14 get importance in his report (Cunningham 1871: 124-125). An 'inscribed stone vase' was reported by villager to Cunningham as being recovered by then from stupa no. 13. He identifies it, though not with utmost certainty, with the one lying in Peshawar Museum. The inscription is deciphered by Professor Dowson and Cunningham. The latter's (Cunningham 1871: 125) reading is as it follows:

> This Thuva (Tope) was erected in Taxila by the brothers *Sinhila* and *Sinha-Rakshita* in honor of all the Buddhas.

Cunningham attaches special importance to this inscription which he claims as evidence in support of his identification of ancient Taxila (Cunningham 1871: 125).

The villagers had previously also recovered a broken inscribed copper plate (Cunningham 1871: pl. LIX) from stupa no. 14. It been given to Major Pearse probably in 1855.[29] Cunningham mentions it as 'still in the possession' of Pearse. He further describes it as in 'Arian-Pali character' and reads it as follows:

> In the year 10 by one named Sabhayaka this Thuba (Tope) was erected in honour of his mother and father and in honour of (?).

Konow (1929: 4-5) while analyzing the various paleographic readings of the inscription by Cunningahm, Rajindralal Mitra, Haraprasad Sastri, R. D. Banerji and F. W. Thomas comes with different decipherment. He (1929: 5), thus, translates it as follows:

> By . . . the Meridarkh, together with his wife, the stūpa was established, in honour of (his) mother and father, for the presentation of a respectful offering.

[29] Konow (1929: 4) mistakenly states that the inscription comes from stupa no. 17.

He (1929: 4) also suggests that on paleographic basis the inscription is to be dated to 'the second half of the first century B. C.

It is difficult to identify these different minor stupas to any of the excavated votive stupas in a ring around the great stupa and a great number of other stupas found scattered in all the four directions of the great stupa. Cunningham makes no mention of remains of any monastery which is astonishing enough. However, with the help of what sort of information are found in his text and what is indicated in his maps of the sites, this researcher could not recognize these stupas in the galaxy of structures at the Dharmarajika site.

5. Kotera-ka-pind (mounds 17-19), Taxila

Cunningham 1871

A site, called Kotera-ka-pind, situated between Shahpur and Bhir-mound in the S of Tabra-nala is reported by Cunningham. He observes here three mounds; the first of them (no. 17) is identified as a ruined monastery. 'Midway and in front of the west side, there are the ruins of a small square building, which I presume must once have held a statue of Buddha in the usual position facing the east.' The walls of the monastery exhibit great strength (Cunningham 1871: 125). The other two mounds are described by Cunningham as small stupas dug up before his visit by the locals (Cunningham 1871: 126).

This researcher thoroughly, and with great care, perused Marshall's work, but no relevant information about these three monuments was found. It seems that by the time Marshall was excavating at Taxila, surface traces of these structures had already completely disappeared or else he was not attracted by the site; nothing can be said with certainty.

6. Bir-mound, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1918, 1945/2006; Dani 1999;

Bir-mound/Bhir-mound is an important ancient historical site noted as a mound by Cunningham. It was measured as 4000 ft. long north and west and 2000 ft. broad having a circuit of 10800 ft. Elevation of Bhir-mound was noted as varied from place to place by Cunningham around the fields between 15 to 25 and near Shah-dheri between 25 to 35 ft. Near Tabra/Tamra-nala it rose to 40 and 68 ft. above the fields and the stream respectively. Remains of walls on east and west sides were seen and stone and pottery fragments were observed all around as well. Coins, according to Cunningham, were also being abundantly found here. Taking all these data into account, Cunningham considers Bir/Bhir as part of the ancient city of Taxila (Cunningham 1871: 116-117).

Cunningham noted remains of wall on the east and west sides of the mound. Broken stones and pieces of pottery and bricks were also seen. Lapis lazuli pieces and coins were found as well (Cunningham 1871: 117). Beside, three ruined small stupas, numbering as 20, 21 and 22, to which ruins of tope number 23 are also added (thus a total of four small ruined topes), (Cunningham 1871: 126), were explored by Cunningham which, according to him, were dug up before by the locals; however, according to the people it were General Abbot and General Pearse who had opened the stupas (Cunningham 1871: 117). Interestingly, nothing is found in Marshall (1945/2006a: 87-111) about existence of these stupas.

Cunningham was near the point in stating Bhir as part of ancient city of Taxila. Later researches declared Bhir-mound as the earliest city of the valley. It remains extended over ‘an area of some 3 acres’ (Marshall 1945/2006a: 89). Important it is to note that

Cunningham has made mistake in stating that Bhir-mound was a living city at the time of Zwanzang visit (Cunningham 1871: 117). Latter researches has proved that this city had long ceased to exist in 7th century CE; instead the city of Taxila was at the site of Sirsukh (Marshall 1945/2006a: 348).

Bhir-mound was extensively dug up by Marshall (Marshall 1945/2006a: 87; 1945/2006c: pls. 2-9)[30]. As a result, four strata were exposed numbered from top to bottom as I, II, III, IV. Strata I was marked by scattered and poor structures; strata II and III overlapping buildings; and strata III buildings were erected after buildings of strata IV had got destroyed (Marshall 1945/2006a: 87). Marshall (1945/2006a: 88) speaks of these strata in following chronological order:

- Strata IV belonged to fifth century BCE or even to an earlier period
- Strata III existed during fourth century BCE and for a generation after Alexander's advent
- Strata II belonged to third century BCE
- Strata I was linked to an autonomous period and Bactrian Greeks

There were found changing patterns with regard to use of rubble masonry in all these four phases. All the walls were covered with thick mud plaster both on exterior and interior 'either plain or whitewashed' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 88-89). It was due to accumulation of mud and debris of previous buildings that foundations of subsequent buildings were not effected too deep.

[30] Mostly trial trenches and pits were made and most of them were subsequently refilled. A wide area was dug up in the 'middle of the old city (Marshall 1945/2006a: 87; 1945/2006c: pls. 2 and 9).

Marshall writes about the general character of the remains as comprising shops and dwelling houses; let us term it as market area and residential area. He speaks of layout as characterized by lack of order and systematic arrangements. Four main streets and a number of lanes have been documented. Marshall mentions the lanes as narrow enough to allow abreast passage of two men (Marshall 1945/2006a: 89). With regard to drainage Marshall notes that nothing can be said about a systematic arrangement. However, some drains have been documented which most probably were built to deal with heavy water of rainy seasons. For sewage and refuse, it is said that people used soak-wells built in houses and bins 'in the public squares and streets'. A number of such soak-wells and bins have been documented (Marshall 1945/2006a: 89-91). As far as Marshall's explanation of bins is concerned, one has to agree with him. Such bins are even today found especially in rural areas of Swat, locally called *deran* (pl. *deranuna*), which make either private/personal property attached to nearly all houses or community holdings for a series of connected houses (personal communication with Rafiullah Khan).

Representative houses, lettered as House H and House K, have been analyzed by Marshall in order to get an evolutionary perspective in house-patterning at Bhir-mound (Marshall 1945/2006a: 91-101). A variety of antiquities was obtained from all the four strata of Bhir-mound (Marshall 1945/2006a: 101-111).

The 1945 excavations at Bhir-mound gave, among others, a rich hoard consisting of coins, gold and silver ornaments and gems. Of these the last two are described as influenced by Greek and produced by Ionian Greek respectively. The gems are dated to fourth century BCE (Young 1946).

7. Gau, Taxila

Cunningham 1871

A small ruined stupa, numbered as 23, was found at the E of Sir-kap. Cunningham attributes its opening to Nur, a resident of Shah-dheri[31] (Cunningham 1871: 126). No exact identification of this very minor stupa could be made by this researcher either with the help of archaeological reports or of field survey. However, on Marshal's plate number 1 (1945/2006c) there is a sign of stupa indication situated on the right side of Gau-nala and due opposite the eastern gate of Sirkap. If one compare this location to the site number 23 of Cunningham's map (1871, Map of the ruins of Taxila), it would become clear that both indicate the same monument. As it lies on the eastern bank of Gau-nala, this researcher would term it as Gau stupa.

[31] Nur, notorious in archaeological literature of the period for digging, is mentioned by Delmerick (1870: 89) as '*khádim* or servant in the masjid of Ghilá adjoining Sháh ki Dherí.'

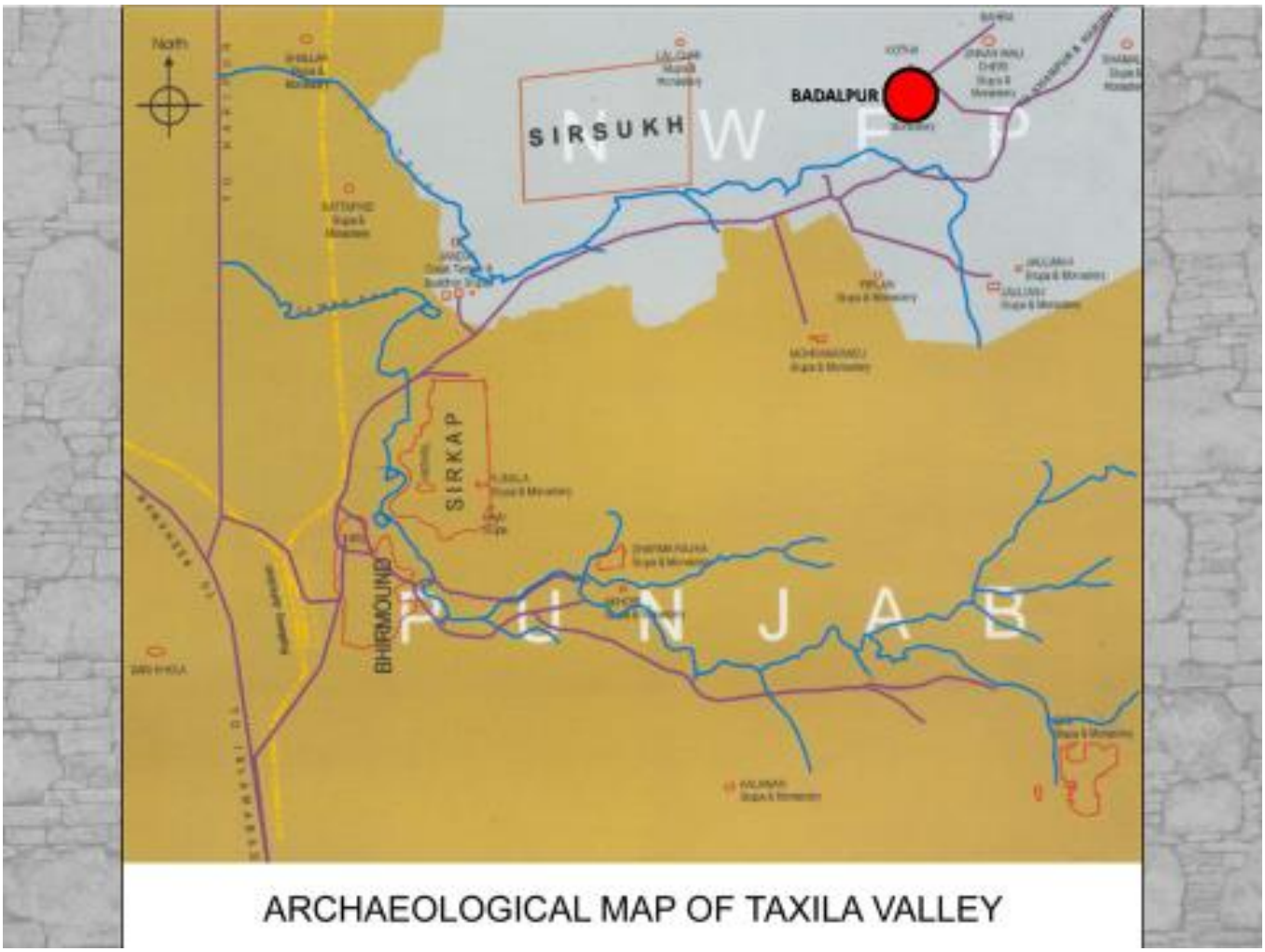

Figure 2: Map of Taxila showing archaeological sites

8. Chura, Dibia village, Taxila

Cunningham 1871

Cunningham's site no. 24 consists of remains of a monumental pillar. It is locally called Chura having the meaning of a '"bolt," or fastening a gate.' It, according to Cunningham's report, had an illegible inscription. Made of 'soft, coarse grey sandstone', this monument

was found in five pieces as lying in a ravine to the north-west of Hathial citadel and close to the right bank of the Tabra/Tamra-nala near the village of Dibia. An ‘abacus, or top of the capital’ and a piece of the base were also found (Cunningham 1871: 126).

9. Sirkap, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1918, 1945/2006; Gosh 1948; Dani 1999; Fussman 1993; Coningham and Edwards 2007-2008; Behrendt 2003

What Cunningham mentions under the separate headings of Hathial and Sirkap are treated now collectively under the latter general designation. Marshall considers the remains here as belonging to the same structural complex characterized, though, by temporal and functional divides.

Three ruined sites designated by Cunningham as a ‘small ruined tope’ (no. 25), the ‘ruined tower’ (no. 26) and a ‘similar tower’ (no. 27) were documented as located over north ridge of Hathial. From the first one Nur had recovered copper coins (Cunningham 1871: 126). At Sirkap two sites nos. 28 and 29 have been documented.

Site no. 28 is recorded as remains of a huge temple near the northern end of Sirkap. It was dug up by Major Cracroft, the DC of Rawalpindi, and then by Major Pearse. It was, according to Cunningham, probably, an open temple having huge seated figures. All of the three diggers, Cracroft, Pearse and Cunningham, recovered a variety of metal and other object from the site.

Towards the eastern end of the temple was noted a structure of considerable size which Cunningham took either for a well or an underground room (Cunningham 1871: 126-128).

Remains of a stone column, numbered as 29 by Cunningham, were discovered by Nur who had 'secretly broke[n] it up into small pieces in the hope of discovering gold.' One of the pieces was square and 5 or 6 cylindrical. Mortise (written as mortice in Cunningham's report) holes were made in the pieces and Cunningham, therefore, says that putting columns in such pieces was Greek tradition rather than Indian. Hence, he termed them Ionic columns having the estimated height of 23 ft. (Cunningham 1871: 128-129).

At first Cunningham doubted that sites no. 26 and 27 were ruins of a stupa and a monastery. But the result of his digging left him dissuaded about this opinion. He, thus, took them for a 'large bastion or tower' and a probable 'guard-house for soldiers'. This particular area he terms as the 'Hatiâl fort' and a 'stronghold or citadel' (Cunningham 1871: 117-119). Cunningham designates Sirkap as a fortified city 'situated on a large level mound immediately at the north foot of Hatiâl, of which it really forms a part, as its walls are joined to those of the citadel' (Cunningham 1871: 119). It seems intriguing to add here results of latter researches which accrue strength to Cunningham's viewpoint. Gosh has somewhat modified opinion as compared to the ones presented by Marshall. Plainly speaking, the latter failed to deal the Hathial spur as part of the ancient city of Taxila. The former argues for two structural and functional patterns of the Sirkap city namely, the second century BCE Greek city spreading over the river bed and the first century BCE Saka or early Parthian city which included the Hathial spur towards the south. Gosh observes, 'It may have been a result of experience acquired by the new overlords, Śaka or Parthian, during their attack on the old city, when they may be thought to have found the Hatiāl spur useful as a base. In any event, it transformed Taxila for the first time into a city of the conventional Graeco-Asiatic type, with a privileged Upper City or acropolis and a

Lower City where the bourgeoisie lived and traded' (Gosh 1948: 84). He further comments that 'as a rival to Marshall's 'palace' in the Lower City may be opposed an alternative 'palace', the so-called *Mahal*, excavated subsequently by him amongst the ridges of the Upper City. . .' (Gosh 1948: 84). Gosh's view garners exceptional significance as the rich structures over the extended area and their intimate linkage leave no room for considering Hathial spur and its northern parallel the 'lower city' as separate entities.

This briefly described site/s of Cunningham turned to be one of the most culturally fascinating and historically important sites particularly of Taxila and generally of Indo-Pakistan. It had been selected by destiny for Marshall's fascination and spade. The city of Sirkap was exposed on large scale and great many historical and cultural facts were brought into light. A number of explanations since Cunningham's survey, and particularly in the wake of Marshall's excavations, have been presented of the myriad of cultural data. Recently scholars have shown interest in investigating the data in new theoretical and methodological frameworks.

Of both the Hathial citadel and Sirkap city eight gates have been mentioned by Cunningham. They have erroneously been counted by Marshall as seven. The latter writes that the former has 'opined that there were seven [gates], viz. two in each of the northern, western and eastern walls and one in the southern' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 114). This misreading may be rectified with a careful perusal of Cunningham's text. According to him, in the eastern and northern walls two gates in each were seen, two gateways were found in walls of the Hathial building and one gate each in eastern and western walls were observed (Cunningham 1871: 119). Hence the total makes eight gates. Marshall's excavations exposed one northern gateway 'at the end of the High Street, which runs north

and south through the heart of the lower city. This is the only gateway in Sirkap of which any actual remains have been brought to light. The rest are conjectural' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 114). Marshall sees the possibility of one gateway each in the southern, eastern and western walls. He also opines about the likely existence of a southern gateway and its likely military or other occasional uses (Marshall 1945/2006a: 115). He gives interesting proposition about the western gateway:

> The natural position for this third gateway would be in the deep bay where the Tamrā nālā sweeps round in a sharp bend, and where the townfolk could draw their water (for there were no wells inside the town) under the protection of the fortified bluffs to the north and south. This indispensable water gate has now been completely obliterated by a high modern retaining wall which the cultivators have built to hold up the soil inside the walls, but it is said to have been quite visible a few decades ago (Marshall 1945/2006a: 115).

Interestingly enough the 1944-45 excavations unearthed a southern gate which is termed as a 'minor water-gate' by the excavators (Gosh 1948: 42; see also, Dani 1999: 92).

Furthermore, the excavations have exposed a number of streets between blocks of the city and one main street running north-south. Worship places such as stupas, residential buildings, marketing shops, manufacturing corners, the so-called palace etc. make characteristics of the city. And all this belong to seven strata of which the excavators speak. The most prominent of them are the apsidal stupa at the north of the city. It was also surveyed by Cunningham and lettered it as site no. 28. About its uniqueness he (1871: 128) observes:

> Had it been a well for supplying water, it would not have been an unlikely place for the concealment of valuables, and as the floor, which had already been dug up to a depth of 3or 4 feet, was made

> entirely of a solid stone, and as the walls still bore traces of their stucco covering, I concluded that this deep circular room was probably one of the under-ground apartments of Taxila, which have been described by Philostratus. I confess, however, that I was not satisfied with this explanation, as there were no apparent means of access, except by a wooden ladder, which is possible, but not probable, as the great doorway of 14 feet towards the temple would not have been required at the head of a ladder. At first I thought that it might have been a granary, but when I had cleared out the great entrance, I gave up this opinion. The walls of this room are 3¾ feet thick, and square externally, to conform in appearance with the outer walls of the temple. The outside dimensions of the whole building are 89 feet long from east to west, with a breadth of 49½ feet.

However, Marshall greatly disagrees with Cunningham in relation to explanation of this temple. His excavations showed that the monument comprised a rectangular nave, a frontal porch, a circular apse at the back and an ambulatory passage all around. It was situated in a rectangular court. The masonry was diaper and the boulders used in the building were of medium size. Along the temple were found chambers which Marshall thought were shops while Dani considered them as rooms for temple keepers (Marshall 1945/2006a: 150 ff.; Dani 1999: 100-101). Some of the burnt clay heads recovered by Cunningham could not be published with details and photographs by him. This is criticized by Marshall (1945/2006a: 152):

> Cunningham, of course, new nothing of the date or exceptional value of these images; had he done so, he would doubtless have given us a better record of them. As it is, one can only assume that they were generally similar to the contemporary stucco figures described below, which are found in the courtyard of this temple. There is one point, however, on which one would particularly appreciated some further information. Cunningham came to the conclusion that the images were seated and 'similar to those that are seen all over Barma', and he says nothing of their wearing turbans or jewels. This seems to imply that the Buddha type, as distinguished from the Bodhisattva type, had already been evolved by the middle of the first century A.D., and this may actually have been the case; but it

> is quite likely that Cunningham, who had little knowledge of the history of Indian sculpture, jumped hastily to a conclusion which more careful consideration of his material would have upset.

Marshall also subjects to critique what Cunningham calls the 'underground apartments'. New researches proved that the latter's 'underground apartment' in the back of temple was but part of the complex structure of the apsidal stupa (Marshall 1945/2006a: 152-153). 'Here', writes Marshall (1945/2006a: 153), 'unquestionably, Cunningham's account is based on the most superficial observation and warns us, as does his very erroneous plan of the building, against placing over much reliance on his statements.'

Beside the structural remains, a great number of antiquities has been recovered from the city which are considered very exceptional by scholars in cultural and historical reconstructions.

In order to get further clarity and evidence in the context of Sirkap city's history and structural configuration, a trench was dug in 1944-1945. The data which were recovered modified Marshall's suggestion of six periods of occupation as well as the geographical delineation of Sirkap. Marshall's six periods were reduced to four phases of occupation[32] and his geographical distribution of the city – Kaccha-kot making as part of Sirkap while having a mud rampart – was seen in terms of two cities belonging to two different periods. The earlier city of the second century BCE belonging to the Indo-Greeks, accordingly, started from Kaccha-kot and its southern extension was assumed as somewhere between the northern city wall and the Mahal of the Lower City. The new ruler, either Shaka or Parthian, built the new Sirkap consisting of the Hathial spur, termed as Upper City, and the

[32] First, middle of first century BCE to the start of the Common Era; two, first half of the first century CE; third, 50 CE to early second century CE; fourth, second century CE (Ghosh 1947-1948: 45).

Acropolis, the Lower City. According to the new proposition, in the Lower City 'the bourgeoisie lived and traded.' A rival Mahal to the Marshall's palace also exists in the Acropolis area (Ghosh 1947-1948: 41-83; Wheeler 1947-1948: 83-84).

10. Kunala, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006; Dani 1999

On the Hathial spur, there were found remains of a stupa and monastery on the eastern side. Particularly, the ruins are on a ridge inside the walls of the city. The monastery remains consist of a veranda, cells, steps, ablution tank, drainage, later repairs. A large number of antiquities was recovered from this monastic complex.

This monastery is identified by Marshall with the Kunala stupa mentioned by Xuanzang. He states:

> Outside the city to the south-east, on the shady side of a mountain, there is a *stûpa*, in height 100 feet or so; this is the place where they put out the eyes of Ku-lang-na (for *Ku-na-lang-na*, Kunâla), who had been unjustly accused by his step-mother; it was built by Aśôka-râja (Beal 1884/2004: 139).

11. Mohra-maliaran, Taxila

Cunningham 1871, 1875; Marshal 1945/2006; Dar 1980; Dani 1999

Site no. 30, named by as Maliar-ka-mora and by Dar as Mohra Maliaran and which has long disappeared, was a huge mound, measuring about 200 ft. square, and was documented on the left side of the Tabra/Tamra-nala. According to Cunningham it was either a temple or a great building. It north-south length was measured as 110 ft. while in breadth it measured as 78 ft. On the eastern side base of a considerable sandstone column had come

to light in the result of digging by the villagers. Cunningham identifies these ruins with the temple mentioned by Philostratus though the former does not hold the latter in great esteem in terms of authenticity (Cunningham 1871b: 129). Cunningham in his second visit further dug up the site and designated it as an interesting example of Ionic architecture at Taxila and India at large. He says that results of excavations[33] could not live up to his expectations as the first thought that it would be a *pure Greek* complex dedicated to Greek deities. His disappointment was due to great discovery of Buddhist sculpture. He, thus, declared that this is a Buddhist shrine with Greek influence. He, on the basis of coin finds, attributes the monument to the first century BCE, reign of Azes 1 (Cunningham 1975: 66-72).

Marshall considers the shrine as of Greek origin and says that it was not clear whether it belonged to the time period of Azes 1 or Azes 2. He opines that the temple got destroyed in the great earthquake of first century CE and was, afterward, rebuilt on the original platform obviously with rough masonry. In his opinion, it was during the second occupation that the temple assumed vivid Buddhistic nature (Marshall 1945/2006: 9-10). Scholars also believe that 'no doubt that Mohrā Maliānrān, and probably by analogy Jaṇḍiāl C, were Buddhist shrines, not temples dedicated to Vishnu or Zoroaster' (Behrendt 2003: 69). Saifur Rahman Dar (1980: 106-111) assigns Mohra-maliaran temple to the Parthian period and compares it with other similar building from Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. He writes (1980: 108):

[33] 'Errington has attempted to trace Cunningham's finds; in an analysis of his excavation, she pointed that Cunningham recorded uncovering the foundations of only two pillars, whereas his plan indicated six' (Behrendt 2003: 68, fn. 24).

The plan of Mohra Maliaran Temple is basically of Mesopotamian origin of 'hilan' type which has a long history both in pre and post-Parthian periods. The plan at once recalls to our many Nabatean temples of Syria such as Baal Shamin (Fig. 15) and of Dushara at Si (33-13 B.C.) and the sanctuary at Sahr (First Cent. A.D). the only major difference between these Nabatean temples at Si and that of M.M. Temple is that the latter has only two columns in sanctum instead of four and that cell is oblong rather than square. It can also be compared with the Achaemenid temple at Susa (Fig. 16) which possibly had acted as prototype for all these monuments including the colossal Fire Temple at Surkh Kotal (Fig. 9). The internal planning of M.M. Temple is more appropriately comparable with the temple of Artemis-Nanaia (40-32 BC) at Dura Europos, and temple 'a redans' (Sec. Cen. BC) at Ai-Khanum (Fig. 5) – both of Mesopotamian origin. The only essential difference is that in the M.M. Temple, the plan is completely reversed. Incidentally, the sanctum of the temple *'a redans'* – was also supported on two Ionic columns like the of M.M. Temple sanctum.

12. Gangu, Taxila

Cunningham 1871

A total of six sites, nos. 31 – 36, were documented by Cunningham which he terms 'the *Gângu* group of monuments in *Babar-khâna*.' Site number 31 makes remains of a small stupa and monastery and were dug by the local people. Another small stupa ruins, lettered as 32, were found which had previously explored by Nur. He had recovered from it a small circular stone covered by a sandstone slab. It contained a 'small hollow crystal figure of a *hansa* or goose . . . a thin gold plate . . . inscribed with Ariano-Pali characters' (Cunningham 1871: 129-130). The box and the figure are noted by Cunningham (fn. 1871: 130) as lying in the British Museum while the inscribed plate was found as missing

(Cunningham 1871: 130). The inscription was translated by Rajendralal Mithra and commented upon by Dowson (Mithra 1864; Dowson 1864).[34]

Sites number 33 and 34 were small stupa and monastery remains respectively. The first was dug by the native people before Cunningham's visit (Cunningham 1871: 131). Another site, numbering as 35, is considered by Cunningham either as 'a small circular room or a large well of 10 feet in diameter'. Nur had found in it some gold (Cunningham 1871: 131). From the remains of a small stupa, numbered as 36, Nur had recovered 'a small stone box, two stone *hansas*, or goose,' and some copper coins (Cunningham 1871: 131).

This researcher could not clearly relate these sites of Cunningham's report to any of the later excavated and well-researched monuments in the surrounding area.

13. Jandial C, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1918, 1945/2006; Rowland 1935; Hopkins 1942; Schaefer 1942; Villard 1967; Ahmad 1967; Dar 1984; Dani 1999; Behrendt 2003

Another group of ruins is termed by Cunningham as 'the Jhandiala group' of Babar-khâna to which sites number 37 and 38 belong. The former is known as Jhandiala-ka-dheri. It is a large sized mound near Shah-dheri. The mound did not give any evidence of monastic structures. It rather is termed by Cunningham as a great temple (Cunningham 1871: 131).

[34] It is interesting to mention that J. G. Delmerick also give significant information about the find; 'Again in 1861, the same Núr found a stone trough, a crystal figure, representing a duck or a turtle and a gold leaf bearing a short Bactro-Pali inscription, all of which are fully noticed and described in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 2 of 1862' (Delmerick 1870: 89).

Jhandiala-ka-dheri is nowadays popularly known as Jandial tempe and is lettered by Marshall as Jandial C (Marshall 1945/2006a: 222-227).

Three massive walls of the building were exposed while the 4th one could not be found by Cunningahm. Discoveries made at the site comprise a large copper coin belonging to Azes. The coin was found 'amidst a quantity of ashes, mixed with a white flakey substance like crushed asbestos. The quantity of ashes was so great that I [Cunningham] concluded that the building must have been destroyed by fire' (Cunningham 1871: 131).

Marshall surveyed and excavated the site in 1912-13. He states that what Cunningham had found as foundation remains actually belonged to structures of a medieval monument. He, from structural and architectural analysis, termed the monument similar in plan to Greek temple. Ionic columns, naos, pronaos, peristyle and opisthodomos elements were noted by him (Marshall 1945/2006a: 222-224). Almost all latter writers accepted this description and identification (Rowland 1935; Hopkins 1942; Schaefer 1942; Villard 1967; Ahmad 1967; Dar 1984: 69-79; Dani 1999: 112-113). About the date of construction Marshall's opinion vacillates. Initially he suggested that the temple was built during the Parthian time; but the possibility of Saka period still cannot be dismissed. It was in 1952 that he added a postscript to the chapter in he expressed his changed viewpoint about the temple construction during the Greek period (Marshall 1945/2006a: 225, 229). Other scholars have also presented their own analysis about chronology of the temple. Rowland states that all the architectural elements of Jandial temple 'would lead us to believe that the work was almost certainly done under Greek supervision, or perhaps by actual Greek workmen, probably, as we shall see, in the period of Parthian domination.' He further observes that it was not built after the period viz. not late than first century CE (Rowland 1935: 493).

Rowland elaborates that the temple was perhaps built immediately after the Parthian arrival in the period of either Maues or Azes 1 namely, first century BCE (Rowland 1935: 493-494). Dar's comparison of Jandial temple with, especially, Greek temple from Ai-Khanum leads him to suggest a date for the construction of Jandial temple 'somewhere in the middle of the second century B.C. (Dar 1984: 76-77). He further comments:

> Its commanding position just in front of the main gate of the city indicates that perhaps Menander gave order for its construction at the same time when he commenced the building of Taxila III in front of whose gate this temple was planned to stand like an eternal guard. The date is confirmed indirectly by another fact as well: all the Ionic columns that we now know in the neighbourhood of Pakistan and which are used structurally and not merely decoratively, date from Seleucid period. Since the columns of Jandial Temple also belong to the same category it must be dated in approximately the same age. The Jandial Temple is essentially an example of the continuity of Bactrian art in the sub-continent. Its links with some classical monuments in Asia Minor and further west have already been noted. Resemblance of certain elements with some monuments in Iraq, Syria and elsewhere should not be studied in terms of 'parentage' but of 'descendants' from a common source and in terms of ecology (Dar 1984: 77).

Another serious and hotly debated issue relates to the religious nature and identity of Jandial temple. Marshalls suggests that it was a Zoroastrian temple having a fire altar over the solid mass of the ruins. It was a monument 'of national importance and representative of the state religion at the time of it erection' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 226). He maintains that Sakas were still embedded in Persian culture and 'they still regarded Zoroastrianism or Magianism as their state religion' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 226). Nothing Greek, Buddhist, Jain or Brahmanical were found at the site. The antiquities recovered from the temple show no such signs and symbols (Marshall 1945/2006a: 222-227). Rowland, among others, accepts this explanation. He even says that Jandial temple may be an offering of a 'Greek

convert to Zoroastrianism, perhaps even earlier than the first century B.C.' (Rowland 1935: 494-495). Dar disagrees with this explanation and takes into consideration the strong possibility of the temple being associated with Hellenistic pantheon (Dar 1984: 78-79).

14. Jandial D, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1918, 1945/2006; Dar 1984; Dani 1999

The large mound of Jandial D, Cunningham's Jhandiala-ka-dheri as he numbers it 38, is considered by Cunningham as a monastery associated with the temple just mentioned and is situated in its west. There were found 'six parallel walls running north and south, and four running east and west.' Remains of courtyard, small rooms and stairs were also observed (Cunningham 1871: 131-132).

Marshall surveyed the site in 1912-13 and paid little attention to the site. He mentions the superstructure here, except the foundations, as vanished. He observes similarity of masonry between this monument and Jandial C. According to him both are of the same age. Nothing of interest was recovered from the site (Marshall 1945/2006a: 228-229). Dar take exception of this nonchalant treatment of the site by Marshall. He says that the monument is larger than Jandial C. he found its extant structures even as late as 1980. After deep analysis, Dar concludes that Jandial D was not a residential quarter for the priests/caretakers of Jandial C. He, rather, suggests that Jandial D was a second temple. The logic behind constructing two temples in so close proximity according to him may be appreciated in terms of two different sections of Greek population at Taxila. It was to appease both that the two temples were constructed by the rulers. It is also in this context

that Dar explains the same contemporaneity for both construction and desertion of the temples (Dar 1984: 80-84).

15. Jandial A-B, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006a

From nos. 39 to 44 are ruins of both large and small sizes which belong to the Jhandiala group of Cunningham. Sites number 40 and 42 are huge mounds while 39, 41, 43 and 44 are small ruins which show that were votive stupas (Cunningham 1871: 132-135).

Ruins no. 39 were dug by Nur without any discovery. Site no. 40, Marshall's Jandial B, is stupa remains of a huge size 1200 ft. away from the above mentioned sites nos. 37 and 38 in the northern direction as well as 'the gates of *Sir-Kap* and Hatiâl'. Nur had recovered a huge 'polished yellow slab'. Around the stupa were counted 30 cells (Cunningham 1871: 132). Cunningham (Cunningham 1871: 132) elaborates, 'The central stupa, about 45 feet in diameter, was surrounded by open cloister 8 feet wide, forming a square of 90 feet, behind which were the cells of the monks, each 9½ feet broad and 14½ feet long.'

The entrance was in the southern face towards the city. And outside in the northeast there was a ruined temple opened by the locals. Cunningham identifies this very important stupa with the one build by Ashoka at the place of head offering event by Buddha.[35] He also concludes that in terms of 'architectural ornamentation' it is similar to the stupas of Manikyala and Balar (Cunningham 1871: 132).

[35] Site no. 40 is mentioned by Cunningham as the head-gift stupa. But in the context of this legend he also considers Seri/Siri-ki-pind as referring 'directly to the "head-gift" stupa'. It is due to the fact that he identifies the whole Babar-khana area – comprising Gangu, Kacha-kot and as far as Baoti-pind – with this Buddhistic miracle (see Cunningham 1871: 120-121).

Latter researches exposed this stupa and found it more interesting. It is lettered as B by Marshall. It has two phases of construction namely, the Saka-Parthian period and the third of fourth century of Common Era (Marshall 1945/2006: 355-357). Marshall criticizes Cunningham for his work and report of the site. 'It is all the more necessary to draw attention to the unusual character of the buildings surrounding the courtyard of this stūpa, because the description and plan of them published by Cunningham are so fanciful and misleading that one wonders whether they really relate to this site at all' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 356). A number of antiquities were recovered from the site (Marshall 1945/2006a: 356).

Cunningham's remains of site no. 41, lettered as A by Marshall, make a small stupa which is located at an equal distance of 1500 ft. in west of site no. 40 and Tabra-nala. Later on Marshall studies this monument and found it as copy of stupa B (Cunningham site no. 40) and understandably of the same age. No relics or antiquities of other sort were recovered from here (Marshall 1945/2006a: 357).

According to Cunningham, Nur had found here two pieces of an inscribed copper plate along with pieces of bones and head. But he was not exact about the exact find place. Therefore, after careful analysis about the provenance of the plate, Cunningham proposes that it might have had come from one of the Gangu stupas and the relics of Buddha are assigned to either stupa no. 32 or 36 (Cunningham 1871: 132-134). The inscription is translated by Prof. J. Dowson as it follows[36]:

> In the year of seventy-eight (78) of the great king the great Moga, on the fifth (5) day of the month Panæmus. On this noble occasion, the satrap of Chhahara and Chukhsa, by name Liako Kusuluko

[36] It is also quoted by Cunningham (1871: 134).

> deposits a relic of the Holy Śákyamuni in the *śepatiko* (which he had) established in the country called Chhema, north-east of the city of Taxila, honour of the great collective body of worshipers and of all the Buddhas; for the honouring of his father and mother; for the long life, strength and prosperity of the Satrap's son and wife; for honouring all his brothers and relatives; and for making known his great liberality , fame and success' (Dowson 1863: 427-428).

16. Seri/Siri-ki-pind, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006

The next site numbered as 42 by Cunningham is a huge mound situated about one km in the north-west of Jhandiala-ka-dheri/Jandial having a base of 300 and 400 square ft. and about 31 to 32 ft. height. It is known to the natives as Seri/Siri-ki-pind. Cunningham also made a burrow at the centre of the mound and found 'a single small pillar [18½ inches] of a Buddhist railing of somewhat novel pattern, marked with an Arian letter' used probably for numbering (Cunningham 1871: 134-135).

Cunningham states that it perhaps refers to the Buddha's head offering story. However, Marshall takes exception of this suggestion. He says that it was Cunningham's false idea that Xuanzang was sojourning in the city of Bhir-mound which led him make his calculations in relation to the head-gift stupa; hence this erroneous identification. Since Xuanzang was visiting Taxila at the time when Sirsukh was a living city, Marshall calculates that the head-gift site corresponds to Bhalar stupa (Marshall 1945/2006)

Site no. 43 is associated with the previous ruins and is a small dilapidated stupa. It was dug up by the local people (Cunningham 1871: 135).

17. Sirsukh, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006a; Dani 1999

Sirsukh is another fortified city of Taxila which is situated to the north of Lundi rivulet. On its north-west is a series of mounds known as Tredi-ghar. On the basis of some special architectural features, it is attributed to the time of Kushana. About the abandonment of Sirkap by Kushanas Sir Marshall enumerates the causes. First, conquerors consider it a sign of prestige to establish new cities. Second, the Kushans might know that Sirkap was less favourable from defence point of view. Thirdly, it was shortly before the arrival Sirkap had been visited by severe plague. Fourthly, the recent great earthquake had nearly devastated the city. Due to these factors Sirkap was not attractive for the new masters (Marshall 1945/2006a: 217).

Sirsukh was first visited by Alexander Cunningham and he just reported a small stupa remains, numbered as 44, in Thupkia village within Sirsukh (Cunningham 1871: 135).

Sirsukh was later on limitedly excavated by John Marshall. The fortification wall was made of 'rough rubble faced with neatly fitting limestone masonry of the heavy diaper type' and its thickness is 18 ft. 6 inches (Marshall 1945/2006a: 217). Semicircular bastions were added to the wall at internals. Both the wall and the bastions were provided holes at certain distance. 'The floors of the bastions were composed of lime concrete containing a large mixture of river sand. The foundations both of the wall proper and of the bastions descend about 2 ft. 6 in. below floor level and are provided on the inside with a single footing about 6 in. wide' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 218). Limited excavations were carried out only at Pindora mounds. Antiquities of minor nature were recovered from the site (for details see, Marshall 1945/2006a: 217-221; Dani 1999: 111-112).

About construction of the city Marshall states that it was built before the reign of Kanishka, most probably during the period of Vima Kadphises (Marshall 1945/2006a: 218).

18. Cypress Garden ruins, Wah

Cunningham 1871

The cypress and garden belongs to the Mughal period and around it Cunningham found a number of Buddhist remains. Along the bank of a stream was seen a large mound which contained ruins of a monastery and a stupa. Some antiquities were recovered from the site. At a distance eastward were observed foundation walls which Cunningham thought to be remains of 'a large square . . . temple' [?]. Another probable temple was found due S to the previous one. Pottery pieces and stone fragments were found all around. The first temple is identified by Cunningham with the local name, in olden days, of Haro town as But-karad/But-kadah (Cunningham 1871: 138-139).

19. Srikot 1 (aka Langar-kot), Baoti-pind, Taxila

Cunningham 1871

Two ridges of Hasan Abdal and Baoti-pind have been mentioned by Cunningham in-between which there is a gorge where is situated small hill of Lagar-kot aka Srikot. It were remains of a fort consisting of myriad buildings, tank, towers etc. (Cunningham 1871: 139-140).

20. Srikot 2 (aka Langar-kot), Baoti-pind, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006

It was on the north-eastern side of the hill of Langar-kot that Cunningham found remains of a huge stupa – having diameter of 65 ft. – and a small monastery. He first thought that it might be the site of Maitreya stupa built by Asoka. The stupa was reported to him as intact from digging. It was, therefore, opened. Some material were recovered among which a gold coin, dated to 500 or 600 CE, was attached much significance. It was from it that Cunningham inferred that the stupa might not be identified with Maitreya stupa as construction of the former did not precede mid-first millennium CE (Cunningham 1871: 140-141).

It is strange to note that Marshall agrees with the first opinion made by Cunningham that the stupa was the one associated with the miracle of Maitreya. He writes that it was 'rightly identified by Cunningham' (Marshall 1945/2006: 348). From his style it appear to this researcher that Marshall was ignorant of the fact that Cunningham in the same source and under the same heading changes his viewpoint by stating that 'the presence of the gold coin proves that the *stupa* is not older than A.D. 500, and, therefore, that it cannot be the *Maitreya stupa* which was built by Asoka' (Cunningham 1871: 141).

21. Baoti-pind, Taxila

Cunningham 1871

Baoti-pind, a small village at the time of Cunningham's visit, was located on the right side of the stream known as Baoti/Boti-nala. This village is built on the western extremity of the hill which reaches upto Haro river. In its north and south were found great mounds. The availability of abundant water led Cunningham to suggest that the site might have been occupied much before Asoka. In the southeast of the village were found ancient

remains which seemed to the explorer as belonging to a secular building namely seat of ruling elites. In the east of Baoti-pind there was a ruined stupa which was opened by the villagers but without any finds. In the N of the village was seen another ruined stupa as dug up by the villagers, but they refused to have had made any discovery. Later on, it came to be known that a *hansa* or goose of gold was recovered from this site (Cunningham 1871: 141-142). This site does not exist nowadays.

22. Bhallar, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Dani 1999

Before the explorations of Alexander Cunningham, Bhallar (Cunningham's Balar) stupa had been visited by General Ventura and General Court. It is situated on a high spur of the hills which are noted by Cunningham as 'the north boundary of the Haro Valley.' He mentions the stupa at a distance of about 9 ft. from Shah-dheri on the Haripur road and about one km. from Haro river. At Burnes' visit it was in a good state of preservation save an opening which he attributed to local chief. However, the villager told Cunningham that the digging was done by Ventura, a claim which he repudiates (Cunningham 1871: 142).

Burnes gives the height of the stupa as 50 ft. and speaks about its resemblance to that of the Manikyala stupa. Cunningham agrees to this description. He only takes exception of Burnes' sketch which 'gives a very erroneous idea of the true form of the building.' Since Burnes' visit the monument had received other damages; hence, its height at the time of Cunningham visit was 43 ft. with a diameter of 44 ft. (Cunningham 1871: 143).

Other remains were found in the south-east of the stupa. The first one were ruins of a stupa while further ahead remains of rooms, courtyard, etc. were seen. The area seemed to

Cunningham as an important religious centre, the possibility of having two or three monasteries and two stupas (Cunningham 1871: 144).

Bhallar stupa is presently the in the valley of Taxila. It stands on a huge oblong base and on its east are found stairs. Moreover, there are seen a number of chapels around the stupa (Dani 1999: 150).

23. Badalpur, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Aiyar 1915-1916; Khan et al. 2013

Badalpur (Cunningham's Badarpur) is a 'small hamlet' in the NE of Shah-dheri and Sirkap at a distance of about more than 6 and less than 5 km respectively. The stupa here is 3rd in size, after Manikyala and Shahpur, in the Punjab. It was found in a much dilapidated condition. Still the stupa was measured as 40 ft. high with a diameter of 88 ft. which originally might have been 100 ft.

Like a number of stupas, local tradition also assigns its digging to General Ventura. The opening was not like a shaft or gallery rather it was 'too deep broad cuts from top to bottom of the building' like the one found in 'Chir Thup'. One cut is in the EW direction of about 15 ft. width while the other one is 16 ft. broad made from the north penetrating through the centre of the stupa. According to tradition, Ventura recovered a skeleton and a coin with some features on it from here. However, reports got by Pearse in 1851 say that the skeleton was found in the Tarnawa stupa. On the other hand, the Chief of Khanpur confirmed recovery of the skeleton from Badarpur which Cunningham attaches great element of veracity and reliability. According to him, deposition of complete skeleton was

also rarely practiced by Buddhists. Another such example is 'Kasyapa Buddha near Srâvasti' (Cunningham 1871: 144-145).

This Buddhist site was later on excavated by Natisa Aiyar (1915-1916) and presently is being under excavation by Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad. In the east of the stupa, there exist remains of a great monastery having all architectural monuments of a Buddhist *sangharama* (Khan at el. 2013).

24. Mohra-moradu, Taxila

Marshall 1945/2006; Dani 1999

It is on the main road from Taxila to Haripur that the Buddhist monastic complex of Mohra-moradu is situated in south of village of the same name in a small glen. The huge stupa and monastery are built over an oblong terrace; the former on its western side and the latter on its eastern side. Date of its construction is proposed as second century CE on the basis of masonry technique (Marshall 1945/20061: 358-364; Dani 1999: 140-143). As Dr. Dani is reluctant to accept Marshall's proposal of Kunala stupa being situated on the Hthial spur, he suggests Mohra-moradu as the possible site of the historical happening (Dani 1999: 141).

A number of valuable antiquities were recovered from the site (Marshall 1945/2006b-c).

25. Pippala, Taxila

Marshall 1945/2006; Dani 1999

Pippala is situated at the foot of the hill between Mohra-moradu and Jaulian. The site shows two periods of construction. First period lies between Late Parthian/Early Kushana

to fourth/fifth century CE. Second period of construction is assigned to fourth/fifth century. Buildings of both the periods are monastic complexes having stupas, cells of monks, courtyards etc. a number of antiquities were recovered from the site (Marshall 1945/2006: 365-367; Dani 143-144).

26. Jaulian, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006; Dani 1999

Jaulian (Cuningham's Jaoli) is a considerable village one and half km in the southeast of Badarpur (Badalpur) and about six km in the east-northeast of Shah-dheri. It is the famous world heritage site of Jaulian. Cunningham mentions remains of five stupas and two temples were found here. The largest stupa was opened by Ventura, the second one by Pearse and the rest by the locals. The first stupa was found 'in the open plains at the north foot of the hill'. It is also known as Dobandi due to its proximity to that village. It is noted as standing 'on the west half of the large quadrangle, 200 feet square, the east portion being divided into a small open court and a monastery surrounded with monk's cells.' Witnesses reported that either two or three coins were recovered by Ventura from the stupa. Major Pearse is said to have reported a discovery of a vessel full of 1000 silver coins by Ventura. This site is marked as G on Cunningham's plan (Cunningham 1871: 146).

The second stupa, marked as F in Cunningham's plan, is said to have situated on 'the hill to the north of the village' at a distance of 1200 ft. in Dobandi's southeast. From here Major Pearse perhaps got a small 'silver box' containing the so-called 'very large but valueless' remains (Cunningham 1871: 146-147).

Other remains, mainly of stupa and monastery, were found to the south of Jaoli. One of them represents a little stupa marked as A on Cunningham's plan. It was allegedly opened by villagers without any discovery. Cunningham, therefore, made a deep burrow but to no avail. So he surmises that villagers might have obtained and discarded the relics as valueless object. Another stupa marked as B on the plan was situated in the north of the previous one. It was opened by the locals but without finding any deposits. Another stupa which occurs as C on the plan, towards the north, was dug by Pearse and, according to the people, a golden figure was recovered from here. This perhaps be the site from which Pearse had recovered the minor copper stupa in 1851. The third monument here is marked as D on the plan. It was a square temple and 'cleared out' by the people. Ruins E of the plan also represent temple situated to the east of the last (Cunningham 1871: 147).

Latter researches show this site as one of the most significant monastic establishments of Taxila valley. Different parts of the stupa and monastery were built at different times during the long occupation of the site. The period of occupation is during second to fifth centuries. Great number of votive stupas and a number of courts are found over there. Sculptures, especially stucco, inscriptions and other sorts of antiquities were recovered from Jaulian (Marshall 1945/2006a: 368-387; 1945/2006b-c).

About the selection of the location for Jaulian Dr. Dani opines:

> The choice of the site was probably due to its being situated midway between the eastern route to Manikyala and the north-eastern route to Abottabad and Mansehra, and also not far from Sirkap and Sirsukh. It may have been a meeting place for the pilgrims and monks coming from different routes. It certainly provided shelter to all those who were weary. And hence we find numerous stupas and other constructions of different periods, apart from a well-planned quadrangular type of monastery with all

> its accessory buildings such as assembly hall, refectory, kitchen, and store. In view of this situation, to meet the needs of the monks and pilgrims, there were originally three entrances to the monastery from three different directions (Dani 1999: 145).

He further writes, 'It is quite possible that the monastery was later deserted and left to its own fate. Jaulian holds an attraction and a charm of its own, but, given the economic strain of the later period, it could hardly sustain itself, and hence followed the way of decay and death along with other *saṅghārāmas* of the Taxila valley' (Dani 1999: 148).

The word 'valueless' sound interesting as characteristic of the period in history of archaeology when the discipline was mainly concerned with aspects of high culture. Recent methodico-theoritical trends and investigation in the past society and culture would look at such an approach as nonsense.

27. Tarnawa W, Taxila

Cunningham 1871

Cunningham visited the small village of Tarnawa on the left side of river Haro at a distance of about 5 km from Khanpur in its southwest and more than 2 km from Jaoli in its northeast. Remains of a stupa were seen to the west of the village to which now modern settlement would have expanded. It is marked as K on Cunningham's plan of Taxila. It has been mentioned as 20 ft. high with a 45 ft. diameter. People reported to Cunningham about General Ventura's digging on the site. They disagree about discovery of antiquities by him. According to some nothing was recovered from the site while some others contend that 'either two or four copper vessels were found in it, of which one contained silver coins' (Cunningham 1871: 147-148).

This researcher has failed to relate this site to any of the later excavated sites of the valley.

28. Tarnawa S, Taxila

Cunningham 1871

Towards the south, at distance of around 1 km, there is reported a ‘steep hill’ over which there are three stupas. However, Cunningham refrained from visiting the site; they are still marked as on the plan as L, M, N. (Cunningham 1871: 148).

Like the previous site, no clear relation of these ruins could be made with the well-known archaeological sites of Taxila.

29. Lalchak, Taxila

Marshall 1945/2006; Dani 1999

The remains of monastic complex, comprising four mounds and locally known as Lalchak, is situated between north-eastern corner of Sirsukh and Garhi-sayyidan village. It is termed by Marshall a ‘significant Buddhist settlement’ though being small in size. It consists of a monastery, two stupas and chapels. Date of its construction is suggested by Marshall as third or fourth century on the basis of semi-ashlar masonry. He also thinks in terms of its contemporaneity with the Kunala stupa. Destruction of Lalchak Buddhist establishment is attributed to the White Huns on the basis of coin finds. Antiquities, especially beads, were obtained from the site (Marshall 1945/2006: 388-390; Dani 1999: 150).

30. Karala, Pumbala and Palaka stupas, Khanpur

Cunningham 1871

Cunningham's informant, Raja Haidar Bakhsh, told him about some other topes up the Haro valley. He speculates that they might be the stupas of Karala, Pumbala and Palaka mentioned, but not dug, by General Pearse. Cunningham attaches great importance to the site and says that the stupas might be found opened in the supervision of a 'trustworthy person who should be directed to note accurately the position and state of each subject of discovery' (Cunningham 1871: 148).

Cunningham further observes that these intact stupas 'may escape the hands of *the plundering Natives* who secrete the gold and silver coins and destroy all other objects which they find, lest they should lead to their detection' (Cunningham 1871: 148). This statement may not go without taking exception of it. If the local people are just treasure hunters and destroyers, then how can General Ventura, General Court, Major Pearse and even Cunningham himself escape from such blame?

31. Bhamala, Taxila

Marshall 1945/2006; Dani 1999

Bhamala is an important archaeological site situated at the very head of Haro river. It is protected on the three sides by the river and on the fourth by the hill. This site of fourth/fifth century is about ten miles away from Sirsukh. There is a terrace on which remains of a monastery are on the east side and remains of main stupa on west side. Remains of minor stupas and chapels are also found. Assembly hall, kitchen and refrectory make part of the complex. To the west of the main stupa, another group of ruins is found which might be another series of monastery remains (Marshall 1945/2006a: 391-397; Dani 1999: 148-149).

32. Kurmâl 1, Taxila

Cunningham 1871

Kurmâl is said to have situated in the south of Shah-pur and Dharmarajika at a distance of about one and a half km. It is about two km in the east-southeast of Bhir-mound (Cunningham 1871: 149). There were observed a number of ruins here. The greatest of them was a stupa marked as A in Cunningham's plan. It had a diameter of 50 ft. with a height of 20 ft. It is said to have been dug by the villagers. Cunningham, however, still did not resist making a deep burrow with the hope that the deposits were still intact as the villagers had denied to have reached that. But it turned into a failure as nothing like this was found. Remains of large monastery and small stupas shown as B, C and D on the plan along with another little stupa towards the W of the principle stupa were also found. Stupas B and D had already been opened without finding anything except 'bones in the deposit' in the latter one (Cunningham 1871: 150).

33. Kurmâl 2, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006a

An 'old tank' situated at the bottom of the hill in the north more than a half km of the village was also found. It was filled with stones and pieces of pottery. It indicates 'the former great extent of the old village of Kurmal' (Cunningham 1871: 150). Is this the well which Marshall mentions in relation to the monastic complex of Kalawan (Marshall 1945/2006: 322)?

34. Kalawan (Kurmâl 3), Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006a; Dani 1999

Cunningham also explored natural caves in the southeast of Kurmal village at a distance of less than two km. They were 50 ft. 'above the ground'. The greatest of them is known as '*kalán gupha*, or the "great cave"' with a length of 40 ft. but small breadth (Cunningham 1871: 150). It is interesting to note that Marshall has also made mention of these caves with regard to the Kalawan monastic establishment. 'To-day the place is known as Kālawān or 'the Caves', from the presence of three small caves in the hillside, which the farmers use for the storing of their hay and grain' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 322).

35. Kalawan (Kurmâl 4), Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006a; Dani 1999

Above the caves of Kurmal there were four ruined stupas 'on the sloping terrace of the hill.' They were allegedly opened by Nur of Shah-dheri and that too without any discovery (Cunningham 1871: 150). This briefly mentioned site of Cunningham's report turned so important that it, according to Marshall (1945/2006: 322), is second to Dharmarajika in size in Taxila and one of the largest in northern Indo-Pakistan.

Kalawan is situated on the northern side of Margala spur in the southeast of Bhir-mound and Dharmarajika. It is mentioned in an inscription from the site by the name of Chadashila while modern name Kalawan means 'the caves'. In the neighbourhood of these caves are found three Buddhist buildings of which the one situated in the middle is the largest. At the bottom of the hill there was water well. Remains of the middle terrace comprise a stupa, three courts of cells on the north, a hall or monks' room on south. The buildings here are neither of the same level nor of the same age. Overall three types of

masonry have been used in in this monastic complex namely, small diaper masonry, later/larger diaper masonry and later semi-ashlar masonry. Other stupas and shrines and votive stupas are found all around. An important inscription has also been recovered from this site. Sculptures have been found in great number and in different material. Kalawan belongs to the first half of the first millennium CE (Marshall 1945/2006: 322-341).

The Kalawan monastic complex is important in terms of showing evolution in monastic architectural system. A.H. Dani summarizes this:

> The monasteries, stupas, and shrines at Kalwan, representing old Chaḍśilā, present another archaeological site with continuous growth, particularly in the Kushāna and post-Kushāna periods and exemplify architectural forms that illustrate the new tendencies of the periods. The presence of so many chapels and shrines attest to the needs of the time for installing images on platforms or pedestals. This particular feature of having bases or pedestals in rooms is an age-old practice, as seen in the temple complex at the Bhir mound. The stucco figures, as Sir john Marshall has rightly pointed out, show an artistic skill in clay modelling, in which different types of human and gods receive distinguishing colours and aspects. At least one compact small monastery, also noted at Ghai, shows an entirely new development. The continued addition of monastic cells shows the growing popularity of the site and proves the importance of the southern route that lay south of the Hathial spur and proceeded from the Dharmarājikā towards the beautiful glen of Giri by way of Kalwan. The movement of monks through this glen must have continued throughout the ages (Dani 1999: 138).

36. Giri, Taxila

Cunningham 1871; Marshall 1945/2006a; Dani 1999

Remains of a stupa and monastery, ‘on low hills’, at Kurm-gujar (Cunningham’s Kurm Gujar, Marshall’s Khurram Gujar) were found as situated in the east-southeast of this village about less than one km. The site happens as above two lively streams. The stupa

was previously dug, according to Cunningham, by locals (Cunningham 1871: 150). There is no doubt that this site corresponds to the famous Giri monastic establishment.

It is through the route between Khurram-gujar and Khurram-paracha that the glen of Giri is accessed. Here two Buddhist monastic complexes, ruins of a fort, a Muslim shrine and mosque are found. The date for these monuments ranges from Kushana to the period of Mughal emperor, Akbar. A water spring is found nearby.

The monastic establishments consist of two sets of remains namely, eastern and western. The eastern group consists of A and B and an exit passage, ambulatory passage and cells are found here. Monastery is situated in the southern direction. The western monastic complex is made of diaper masonry having plaster reliefs. Eight votive cells, three monastic courts, assembly hall and kitchen are seen here. Minor antiquities were recovered from the site (Marshall 1945/2006: 342-347; Dani 1999: 139-140).

The fort here is attached great importance by Marshall. He suggests a date of fifth century CE for it. It had been used since that period by the Buddhist monks as a place of refuge. Even monks from the extended monastic landscape such as Jaulian and Mohra-moradu would resort to this fort. And this is true in the case of White Huns invasion (Marshall 1945/2006a: 343). Dani disagrees with this proposition. He argues that the fort is similar to military architecture of the eighth and ninth centuries. There is no evidence of White Huns invasion with regard to this fort. On the other hand, it must have been in use at the time of invasion by Mehmud of Ghazni (Dani 1999: 140).[37]

[37] It seems prudent to give here list of protected sites of Taxila valley. The archaeological sites of the valley lie in two different administrative units (provinces) of Pakistan, namely Punjab and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa

Table[38]

No.	Name	Mauza/District	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references

(the latter formerly known as North-West Frontier Province). That is why the protected sites are mentioned here under two different headings (based on 'Annexure', List of protected monuments and archaeological sites, to Zaman 2011: 160, 170-171; cf. list of protected sites kindly provided by Department of Archaeology and Museums, Islamabad as Appendix 1).

Protected sites of Taxila valley within Abbottabad, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa

1. Jandial A, B, C, D, Tofikian
2. Sirsukh city, Marchabad
3. Julian site, Julian
4. Piplan sites, Julian
5. Lal-chak Buddhist complex, Garian
6. Badalpur Buddhist establishment, Badalpur
7. Bhamala stupa, bhamala
8. Tofikian mound, Tofikian
9. Ther-barjan, Tofikian
10. Ope site (mound), Julian
11. Bhera (mound)
12. Chitti site, Chitti
13. Tarnawa Chitti site A-B, Tarnawa
14. Bhari-dheri, Kutehra
15. Dana-wali, Kutehra

Protected sites of Taxila valley within Rawalpindi, Punjab

1. Bhallar stupa, Bhallar
2. Bhir-mound, Taxila
3. Babar-khana, Taxila
4. Kalawan Buddhist site, Mauza Karawal
5. Chirtope or Dharmarajika sacred area, Taxila
6. Sirkap Urban area, Taxila
7. Giri site, Mauza Khuram Gujjar
8. Mohra-morado Buddhist establishment, Taxila

[38] The chart follows the pattern adopted by Dr. Rafiullah Khan in his PhD Dissertation titled as 'Beginning of archaeology in Malakand-Swat (1896-1926): protagonists, fieldwork and the legal framework' (2014).

No.	Name	Mauza/District	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references
1.	Cunningham Marshall	Chirtope (Rawalpindi)	Taxila	Dharmarajika (Chir-thup/Chirtope 1)	sacred area (hereafter sa)	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dar 1984 Dani 1999 Behrendt 2003 Faccenna 2005, 2007
2.	Cunningham Marshall	Chirtope (Rawalpindi)	Taxila	Chir-thup 2-4	sa 300 BCE-500 CE	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999
3.	Cunningham Marshall	Chirtope (Rawalpindi)	Taxila	Chir-thup 5-8	sa	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999
4.	Cunningham Marshall	Chirtope (Rawalpindi)	Taxila	Chir-thup 9-16	sa	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006
5	Cunningham	Taxila	Taxila	Kotera-ka-pind 17-19	sa	Cunningham 1871
6	Cunningham Marshall	Majawer (Rawalpindi)	Taxila	Bir-mound	Settlement 600 BCE-200 BCE	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Young 1946 Sharif 1969 Dani 1999 Bahadur Khan 2002
7	Cunningham	Haripur	Taxila	Gau	sa	Cunningham 1871
8	Cunningham	Haripur	Taxila	Chura (Dibia village)	monolith	Cunningham 1871
9	Cunningham	Gangu Bahadur Haripur	Taxila	Sirkap	settlement 200 BCE-200 CE	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Ghosh 1947-1948

No.	Name	Mauza/District	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references
						Wheeler 1947-1948 Fussman 1993 Conningham and Edwards 1997-1998 Dani 1999
10	Cunningham	Taxila	Taxila	Kunala	sa 200-500 CE	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999
11	Cunningham	Tofkain (Haripur)	Taxila	Mohra-maliaran (Maliar-ka-mora)	sa	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dar 1980, 1984 Behrendt 2003
12	Cunningham	Gangu (Taxila)	Taxila	Gangu	sa	Cunningham 1871
13	Cunningham	Tofkain (Haripur)	Taxila	Jandial C	sa 200-400 CE	Cunningham 1871 Cunningham 1875 Rowland 1935 Hopkins 1942 Schaefer 1942 Marshall 1945/2006 Ahmad 1967 Villard 1967 Dar 1980, 1984 Dani 1999
14	Cunningham	Tofkain (Haripur)	Taxila	Jandial D	sa 100-500 CE	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dar 1980, 1984

No.	Name	Mauza/District	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references
15	Cunningham	Tofkain (Haripur)	Taxila	Jandial A-B	sa 100-500 CE	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dar 1980, 1984
16	Cunningham	Haripur	Taxila	Seri/Siri-ki-pind	sa	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006
17	Cunningham	Marchabad (Haripur)	Taxila	Sirsukh	settlement 200-500 CE	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999
18	Cunningham	Wah	Wah	Cypress Garden ruins[39]	sa 1600-1700 CE	Cunningham 1871
19	Cunningham	Baoti-pind Haripur	Taxila	Srikot 1 (aka Langar-kot)	fort	Cunningham 1871
20	Cunningham	Haripur	Taxila	Srikot 2 (aka Langar-kot)	sa	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006
21	Cunningham	Haripur	Taxila	Baoti-pind	sa	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006
22	Cunningham	Haripur	Taxila	Bhallar	sa 200-500 CE	Cunningham 1871 Dani 1999
23	Cunningham	Badalpur (Haripur)	Taxila	Badalpur (Badarpur)	sa 300 BCE-300 CE	Cunningham 1871 Aiyar 1915-1916 Khan et al. 2013
24	Marshall	Taxila	Taxila	Mohra-moradu	sa 200-500	Marshall 1945/2006

[39] Cunningham mentions three mounds near 'the well known cypress garden of the Mogal Emperors' which the present researcher would like to name as 'cypress garden ruins' (see Cunningham 1871: 138-139).

No.	Name	Mauza/District	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references
	Dani	(Rawalpindi)			CE	Dani 1999
25	Cunningham	Jaulian (Haripur)	Taxila	Pippalan (Piplan)	sa 200-500 CE	Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999
26	Cunningham Marshall	Jaulian (Haripur)	Taxila	Jaulian (Jaoli by Cunningham)	sa 200-500 CE	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999
27	Cunningham	Tarnawa (Haripur)	Taxila	Tarnawa W	sa	Cunningham 1871
28	Cunningham	Tarnawa (Haripur)	Taxila	Tarnawa S	sa	Cunningham 1871
29	Marshall	Garhian (Haripur)	Taxila	Lalchak	sa 300-500 CE	Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999
30	Cunningham	Khanpur (Haripur)	Taxila	Karala, Pumbala, Palaka	sa	Cunningham 1871
31	Marshall Dani	Bhamala (Haripur)	Taxila	Bhamala	sa 200-500 CE	Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999
32	Cunningham	Karawal (Rawalpindi)	Taxila	Kurmâl 1	sa	Cunningham 1871
33	Cunningham	Karawal (Rawalpindi)	Taxila	Kurmâl 2	well	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006
34	Cunningham	Karawal (Rawalpindi)	Taxila	Kalawan (Kurmâl 3)	caves	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999
35	Cunningham	Karawal (Rawalpindi)	Taxila	Kalawan (Kumal 4)	sa	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999

No.	Name	Mauza/District	Valley	Site	Data	Primary references
36	Cunningham Marshall	Khuram Gujjar (Rawalpindi)	Taxila	Giri	sa 200-500 CE	Cunningham 1871 Marshall 1945/2006 Dani 1999

Chapter 5

Archaeology of Taxila

A contextual and historiographical analysis

A previous chapter dealt with methodical programmes of the early archaeologists of Taxila. These programmes obviously determined the course of their researches and fieldworks and, no doubt, guided what may be termed as their historical and societal reconstructions. Such an approach to the historiography of Taxila individuates three areas, in the context of the present study, where there might be found one of the original themes and arguments of this work. They are as it follows:

1. Historical and societal reconstructions of early archaeologists and scholars in relation to the archaeology of Taxila
2. Colonial tinge in the archaeology of Taxila till 1947
3. What lies ahead: new prospects of historical and archaeological researches vis-à-vis the archaeology and ancient history of Taxila

Historical and societal reconstructions of early archaeologists and scholars

Historiographical study indicates the state of maturity of a discipline. It critically analyzes the past achievements and failures in a particular filed of research, investigates current problems and ponders upon the future prospects of finding solutions. This way, such studies help an academic discipline to grow in a consistent manner. Furthermore, 'the basic rules of historiography [. . .]' observes Bruce Trigger, 'require that, when different interpretations can be derived from the same body of data, historians should seek to determine whether these versions are complementary and can be synthesized into a more

comprehensive, persuasive, and theoretically interesting whole, or they are contradictory, in which case new data should be sought and further analyses carried out to discover whether and to what extent each interpretation is correct' (Trigger 1989/2010: 471-472).

History of archaeology of various areas and regions shows that such kind of historiographical considerations have played important role in the development of the discipline. It has undergone great technical and methodical and philosophical and theoretical orientations in circular manner. In this whole process archaeology has greatly been influenced by socio-political situation throughout its history. The first philosophical and theoretical tenor is that of evolusionism which obviously determined the course of archaeological activity during the nineteenth century. Racism, diffusionism and the idea of unilinear concept of development characterized evolutionary archaeology. Some societies – and obviously they were the colonized ones – were seen as static while European cultures were viewed as dynamic, resilient and capable of change and growth. Great inherent shortcomings in evolutionary archaeology such as failure to present logical explanation for societal growth and stasis, to appreciate variation in environment in terms of archaeological cultures, etc. led some archaeologists to seek for new theoretical frameworks (Trigger 1989/2010: 166-210). Culture-historical archaeology did emerge in the wake of such a realization.

Culture-historical archaeology dominated the scene till mid-twentieth century. Chronology, diffusionism, description, analogy and, most importantly, progress may be termed as significant features of Culture-historical archaeology. To this, as this researcher has generally observed, may be added attraction of and focus on high-culture with negligible attention to the study of ways of life and other minor things in the field of

historical archaeology. Two types of questions preoccupied archaeologists almost all the time viz. 'where' and 'when'. Both intended to seek for the phenomenon of cultural change a framework of explanation which was extrinsic and the idea of intrinsic factors of cultural change, or even the interplay of extrinsic and intrinsic factors, did not occur to them. This sterile situation led to disappointment of some scholars and another movement in theoretical archaeology, which nearly remained polemic in tone throughout, emerged. This came to be known as processual or New Archaeology.

Colonial archaeology of Taxila exhibits philosophical concepts of both evolutionism and culture-historical archaeology. All the reports, descriptive documentations and analytical works, are freight with what may be termed as colonial thought. Ideas of biological and cultural evolution intertwined which led to division of societies into superior and inferior, dynamic and static and progressive and vanishing. These binary oppositions sought justification for European colonialism. Division and understanding of societies in racial terms necessitated some sorts of studies and researches about the subjugated peoples. This extreme racism was camouflaged in ethnographic studies and generalizations, historical reconstructions and archaeological explanations. All this is found in works of Alexander Cunningham, John Marshall etc. about Taxila.

Cunningham's archaeological explorations at Taxila were guided by two types of historical sources namely, classical works and Chinese pilgrims' accounts. He observes:

> In comparing the existing ruins of ancient Punjâb cities with different accounts that we possess in the Chinese and classical authors, I propose to follow the footsteps of Alexander himself. I have already noticed the fact that, as the Chinese pilgrims as well as the Macedonian conquerors entered the Punjâb from the west, their routes will mutually illustrate each other. For this reason I prefer to begin my

> description of the antiquities of the Punjâb near the banks of the Indus, and gradually to work my way to the eastward, in company with Macedonian soldiers of Alexander, and Buddhist pilgrims of China. With their journals in our hands we may venture to visit the ruined cities of the Punjâb with the certainty that our time will not be wasted in fruitless research (Cunningham 1871b: 82).

Alexander Cunningham set his survey programme of Punjab in the way which made two clearer categories of his research. These were ethnology and antiquities. This is clearly what is found in his comprehensive Memorendum to the Viceroy in 1861. 'In describing the ancient state of the Punjâb', writes Cunningham, 'the most interesting subject of enquiry is the identification of those famous peoples and cities, whose names have become familiar to the whole world through the expedition of Alexander the Great' (Cunningham 1871b: 1).

In studying descent of modern inhabitants of the Punjâb, Cunningham takes Greek and Chinese sources along with some Indian sources as a sort of guide. He believes that peoples of those olden times make ancestry of the current inhabitants of the area. And the ruins found as scattered all through the Punjâb obviously belong to the ancestors of the present people. It is in this conceptual framework that Cunningham's studies both the people and archaeological heritage of the Punjâb. He divides his report of 1864-1865 survey into two headings of ethnology and antiquities (Cunningham 1871b). Cunningham elaborates his methodical and conceptual programme in an interesting way. 'Under the first head', he says, 'will be described the various races which have settled in the Punjâb from the earliest times down to the Muhammadan conquest, and an attempt will be made to trace the downward course of each separate tribe, until it joins the great stream of modern history' (Cunningham 1871b: 1). In line of this programme three main classes of peoples

of the Punjâb have been specified, namely ‘Early Turanians, or aborigins’, ‘Aryas, or Brahmanical Hindus’ and ‘Later Turanians, or Indo-Scythians’. The first class, Cunningham states, makes non-Aryans and its sub-groups are Takkas, Megs, Dunds, Satis, Sadan and Damaras. The second category – as the name shows belongs to the so-called Aryans – is described as ‘tribes of Kshatriya descent’ and consists of tribes such as Suraj-Vansis, Som-Vansis, Janjuhas, Bhatis, Katris, Dogras and, probably, Awan. The last group comprises Gakkars, Kathis, Balas, Jats and Meds and Gujars (Cunningham 1871b: 2ff.).

As Cunningham makes his historical reconstruction in the light of literary tradition, he gives little value to other traditions – such as oral and archaeological – if they come into contradiction with written words. In contrast to popular local tradition which calls Jats, Meds (Medhs) and Gujjars as belonging to the earliest inhabitants of the Punjab, Cunningham, simply, that he does not find reference to them in ancient texts, considers their arrival of later date (Cunningham 1871b: 1ff.).

Another interesting reconstruction presented by Cunningham is the close association of the Early Turanians with the city of Taxila. According to him, the name Taxila derives from name of one of the tribes of this group i.e. Takkas who were later on expelled from the areas they had occupied. Around the turn of the Common Era Taxila was called Amanda or Amandra. Cunningham establishes an association between Amanda/ra and the modern tribe of Awan. He opines, ‘As the letters *m* and *v* are interchangeable, the two names are so precisely the same that I feel little hesitation in proposing the identification of the *Awân* with the people of the ancient *Amanda*’ (Cunningah 1871b: 6). At the time of Alexander’s invasion, Takkas had already been expelled from Taxila, probably by the Gakkars of the

Later Turanians (Cunningham 1871b: 6-7). While scrutinizing and synthesizing a number of ancient textual sources, Cunningham concludes:

> From all these instances, it is clear that the *Takkas* or *Tâk* cannot possibly belong to the Aryan family, and as the name of Takksila is much older than the time Alexander, it is equally certain that they not belong to the later Turanians or Indo-Scythian. For these reasons I have assigned them to the class of early Turaninas, who were in all probability the aborigines of the country (Cunningham 1871b: 11).

The second significant strand of Cunningham's archaeological activity of Taxila is exploration and description of antiquities. As already referred to, explorations and specific identifications made by Cunningham were largely dictated by historical and literary sources of the olden days. They consist of Greek sources such as works of Curtius, Arrian, Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, Philostratus, etc. and Chinese travelogues[40] such as accounts of Faxian, Sung Yun, Xuanzang etc. (Cunningham 1871b: 82ff.).

The valuable sources for Cunningham showed him the way how to plan his survey of the then Punjab. He puts down the strategy and the logic behind his planning in clear words. One cannot resist the temptation to quote it in original. It follows:

---

[40] About the importance of travelers' accounts, a writer says: 'To sum up, Travellers' accounts have indeed, inspired much later archaeological work and have been a valuable source of information much acknowledged and used in later traditions. Their vivid descriptions of what they saw and heard treat time as a united entity whether combining natural landscape and ancient monuments in their existing settings or mixing stories from mythology and contemporary everyday life. The significance of their accounts is even greater than those of concurrent historians because they are personal documents expressing thoughts and feelings quite freely; in this way they serve as brilliant and vibrant primary sources for the present historian and archaeologist. On the other hand it has been noted that Travellers often viewed the landscape 'through the filter of their own experiences' (Bennet *et al.* 2000:344) and therefore, their accounts should not be treated as objective beyond doubt images of a specific area/time, but they should be studied in relation to other documentary, but also archaeological evidence' (Gkiasta 2008: 14).

> In describing the ruined cities and ancient monuments of the Punjâb, I propose to begin on the west bank of the Indus and to work towards the east, keeping closely to the general track that was followed both by the Macedonian king and by the Chinese pilgrims. In carrying out this scheme, I will begin at Peshâwar as a well known starting point, from which Hwen Thsang's [Xuanzang] bearings and measurements will be a guide to the identification of other places to the west of the Indus (Cunningham 1871b: 86).[41]

[41] Cunningham followed the following order in his exploration and visited 32 different areas in the then Punjab (of which Peshawar valley made part at that time. It was in 1901 that Trans-Indus areas such Peshawar valley and other neighbouring districts and Abbotabad and Mansehra were joined to constitute a new province named as North West Frontier Province (recently re-named as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa) (see for formation of North West Frontier Province, Shah 1999, 1999-2000, 2007). Areas surveyed by Cunningham (8171b: 86):

1. Peshawar
2. Charsadda
3. Palodheri
4. Hund
5. Lahore (Swabi)
6. Aornos
7. Taxila
8. Hasan Abdal
9. Baoti-pind
10. Balar
11. Badalpur (Badarpur of Cunningham)
12. Jaoli
13. Tarnawa
14. Kurmal (including the famous site of Kalawan)
15. Rawalpindi
16. Manikyala
17. Sakrabasti
18. Dilawar
19. Mong
20. Katas
21. Sangala-wala-tiba or Sangala
22. Asarur

Taxila's identification, which is seminal study of one of the most important urban sites of South Asia, was made possible by such an approach adopted by Cunningham. In this painstaking identification of the much-forgotten city, he took great help, alongside of the extensive ruins, of the classical and Chinese sources.

Another important feature of Cunningham's survey at Taxila is collection of local traditions about the archaeological landscape of the valley. It may not be taken and dubbed as something of trivial importance or the result of dilettante attitude. Rather, getting information from local informants was a well-thought concept and, thus, an integral part of Cunningham's archaeological strategy (see chapter four). It was intrinsic to orientalism especially of the nineteenth century, nay, it provided one of the bases to understanding colonized societies in an evolutionary perspective (Trigger 1989/2010: 166ff.).[42] In report of his Taxila reconnaissance a native of the valley, Nur, dominantly sounds, though other people are also mentioned with regard to some archaeological sites and antiquities but under the general rubric of 'locals' and 'people' and not individuals by name. More of this would be discussed in the following section.

---

23. Ran-si
24. Amba-kapi
25. Sarhind
26. Thanesur
27. Amin
28. Pehoa
29. Sugh
30. Ilaridwar
31. Moradhwaj
32. chaturbhuj

[42] For a broader discussion about locating indigenous viewpoint in the development of orientalism in Indian case, see Oberoi, Empire, Orientalism, and native informants; cf. Singh 2004.

Similarly, Sir John Marshall also fits in the framework of archaeology of colonialism. Two main areas where he could be seen as a colonial orientalist are diffusionism and dynastic history. This is well reflected in his works on Taxila. To this may be added the fact that Marshall was a classical archaeologist and emerged on the Indian scene immediately after getting training in Greece. In other words, he was a historical archaeologist having little, or no, interest in prehistoric archaeology. 'Classical archaeologists', writes Bruce Trigger, 'remained deeply interested in texts and elite culture, whereas by the 1960s prehistoric archaeologists had become increasingly committed to an ecological approach' (Trigger 1989/2010: 498). Obsession with Eurocentrism and elite culture could not be maintained for long. That is why Trigger remarks that 'Although some classical archaeologists attempted to break out of their traditional mode of doing archaeology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these efforts had little impact' (Trigger 1989/2010: 500).

Against this backdrop, Marshall's work lies in the theoretical framework of culture-historical archaeology. And it is contextualization of his work at Taxila against this theoretical background that a meaning can be assigned to his historical reconstructions and archaeological explanations about the valley. He re/constructs political history of Taxila right from the period of Achaeminid Persians upto the period of White Huns. And all cultural developments and achievements are analyzed in dynastic terms. Such an approach relates to the concept and approach of diffusionism. Greeks bulk large in the whole story as cultural developments in the post-Greek periods especially of Sakas and Parthians are said to have occurred as legacy of the Greeks. Similarly, his indifference to the prehistory of the area is also steeped in his classical background. He writes in this regard:

> The truth disclosed by the hard facts of excavation is much more sober. The earliest of the remains uncovered on the site go back no further than the sixth century B.C. or thereabouts. If any settlement of the Stone, Copper or Bronze Age ever existed at this spot, it has yet to be unearthed. The only objects of a definitely prehistoric character hitherto brought to light are a few polished celts and a mace head; and these were found in strata which cannot be referred to an earlier period than the second or first century B.C. How these primitive artefacts found their way into such late strata is a matter of conjecture; it is significant, however, that four out of five of them are made of rare and particularly fine varieties of stone, viz. green epidiorite, epidote quartz, nephritic jade and blue serpentine . . . and it seems more than likely, therefore, that they were preserved simply as curiosities or talismans, though another possible explanation is that stone celts such as these continued to be used for sacrificial or other ceremonial purposes long after the Stone Age had passed away (Marshall 1945/2006a: 11-12).

After this brief reference to some prehistoric finds, Marshall details upon the political and dynastic history of Taxila. What a picture emerges from Marshall's research is hardly different from the one which sees cultural patterns of the valley as being evolved along political developments and dynastic shifts. Even spread of Buddhism has been viewed dominantly, if not solely, in terms of state patronage (Marshall 1945/2006a: 11ff). He writes, 'The great majority of these monuments date from the first five centuries of the Christian era, and none of those now visible are as early as the Mauryan kings; but if the strength and vitality of a religion can be gauged from its monumental remains, no one seeing this vast galaxy of ruins can doubt the overwhelming success which ultimately rewarded Aśoka's efforts in this part of India' (Marshall 1945/2006a: 25). Another intriguing point from the point of view of political expediency and presentism in history is that Marshall, on the authority of Tarn, observes that Greek rule in India, and hence at Taxila, was based on the goodwill of the subject people. Such a concept of government and

administration had fascinated some Britishers in the context of British India and applying this on Greek rule might not be seen save interpreting/constructing history in modern terms and let it be said under political expediency.

Colonial tinge in the archaeology of Taxila till 1947

Since archaeology of Indo-Pakistan remained till 1947 colonial in nature, archaeology of Taxila was not an exception. This is briefly, but handsomely, summarized by Bruce Trigger as it follows:

> Archaeological research in India began in a colonial setting and for a long time remained remote from traditional Indian scholarship. . . . In the nineteenth century, amateur British archaeologists began to examine and report on megaliths, Buddhist stupas, and other monumental sites with some regularity. Often, they treated these monuments as evidence of a Golden Age in India's remote past and implied that these finds indicated that the duty of British colonial rulers was to rescue India from the decline that had followed' (Trigger 1989/2006: 268-269).

He further writes:

> In general, the British justification of colonialism was based on historical and linguistic data rather than archaeology. Colonial historians argued that cultural progress had been brought about by the migration into India of successive waves of racially superior northern peoples who introduced important innovations but then interbred with the general population. The primary message was that India was unable to change without external influences. In this scheme, the British presented themselves as the latest and more advanced standard bearers of progress in India, while acknowledging a distant ethnic affinity to the allegedly racially purer Indo-European elements in the population of northern India. In this way, the Indian caste system was racialized and the higher castes portrayed as a separate ethnic group (Trigger 1989/2010: 269).

From Trigger's analysis it becomes clear that it was colonial thought which greatly contributed to development of archaeology in Indo-Pakistan. It manifested itself in Britishers' presentation of themselves as 'benevolent' and 'enlightened' rulers and the construction of racial superiority of the Aryans. They claimed it as 'Imperial' duty to study and rescue the heritage of Indo-Pakistan. It is clear from Lord Canning's minutes as regarding Cunningham's appointment as Archaeological Surveyor in 1862:

> But so far as the Government is concerned, there has been neglect of a much cheaper duty, - that of investigating and placing on record, for the instruction of future generations, many particulars that might still be rescued from oblivion, and throw light upon the early history of England's great dependency; a history which, as time moves on, as the country becomes more easily accessible and traversable, and as Englishmen are led to give more thought to India than such as barely suffices to hold it and govern it, will assuredly occupy, more and more, the attention of the intelligent and enquiring classes in European countries (quoted in Cunningham 1971b: i-ii).

Similarly, Curzon, who is designated by Nayanjot Lahiri 'as Marshall's *guru* and guide' (Lahiri 2000: 89), also thought *Imperial*. He declared it as 'Imperial' responsibility of the British government to give attention to the archaeology of the subcontinent both in terms of research and conservation (Chakrabarti 1988/2001: 227ff.). Rafiullah Khan has well written in this respect, 'Curzon was fully preoccupied by the moral and political magnitude of the British Empire and this very obsession "formed the mainspring of his political and intellectual outlook" (Kelly 2003: 2). The speech he delivered on February 6th, 1900, before the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta, better illustrates this mentality as regards the Indian archaeology' (Khan 2014: 227).[43]

[43] I am grateful to Dr. Rafiullah Khan who kindly allowed me to take the excerpt from his unpublished thesis.

There is no denying the fact that all civil servants and military officers of the Empire were indoctrinated about their superiority and they used to think imperially. In this context, one of the important sources of making things and thinking imperial was the romance and legend of Alexander of Macedonia. It was not limited to ICS officers and military officials. Nearly all the orientalists were obsessed by the legend of Alexander. Cunningham and Marshall were no exceptions to this. Like other scholars of the age, they also see no change in socio-cultural terms in the population of Taxila from inside. This was a purposeful construction and was aimed at serving colonial interests. Classical texts associated with Alexander's episode were considered as repertoires of valuable information about Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and its present was subjected to orientalists' understanding of the classics-determined past of the country. A recent study elaborates this point:

> In all these cases the contemporary value placed on the classical sources relating to Alexander is impossible to miss. Robertson, Elphinstone, MacFarlane, and Nolan clearly believed this subject of the classics provided useful commentary on India's *present* environment, its peoples, their practices and institutions. This tendency may appear relatively innocuous: a legitimate attempt to understand India' present better by applying the only historical framework readily available to most British scholars, soldiers, civil servants, and statesmen. And so it seems to have been on occasion. Yet, even in the most sympathetic and sensitive hands the conflation of past and present, the use of ancient India to understand contemporary India, had senister consequences with respect to British attitude to India and its peoples (Hagerman 2009: 358).

Such an approach is also found in Cunningham's reports about the Punjab. In the 'ethnology' section of his report of 1871 he writes about different tribes of the area and locate them in ancient history with the help of ancient historical and literary sources. His

presentation gives the picture of imposing the past on the present of the people of this area. It clearly reflects in the following passage:

> . . . the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang [Xuanzang], ahd twice passed through Taxila, but on both occasions he avoided the country now occupied by the Gakars. As nearly two centuries and a half earlier, or in A.D. 400, another Chinese traveler, Fa-Hian [Faxian], had also avoided their country, I conclude that the Gakars of those early days had already earned the refutation, *which they have since so successfully maintained* (author's italics), of being the greatest plunderers in Northern India. This character of the Gakars is perhaps alluded to by Priscian when he speaks of the "savage Gargars,". . . (Cunningham 1871b: 25).[44]

All the orientalists of colonial period made romance of Alexander's eastern adventure. Different researchers, investigators and intellectuals tried to explore this phase of history in vivid terms and a number of studies in this respect appeared. Initially, literary and historical sources were perused and scrutinized in order to construct and propagate the legend of Macedonian conqueror (for a recent study see, Hagerman 2009). Later on, topographical and material/archaeological evidence was also desperately produced to add

[44] A similar thought appear somewhere else in Cunningham. He opines: 'There is, however, one trait of the customs of the people of Taxila, recorded by Q. Curtius, which is so peculiar that, when we find it afterwards mentioned not only by Philostratus but by the Chinese Fa-Hian [Faxian] in A.D. 400, we can scarcely come to any other conclusion than that the people of Taxila were of the same race at these two distant periods. Cutius relates that Taxiles entertained Alexander splendidly for "three days." According to Philostratus, the King of Taxila was addressed by Appollonious in these words: "I have been now three days your guest and on the morrow I mean to take my departure *in compliance with your law*." The statement of the pilgrim refers to the neighbouring district of Udyâya, and not to Taxila itself, but the two districts were only separated by the Indus and the people were most probably of the same race. . . . The peculiar custom of the country is thus described by Fa-Hian [Faxian]: "If any foreign ecclesiastic arrives, they are all ready to entertain him for 'three days;' after which they bid him seek for himself another resting place." The continued observance of this peculiar custom would seem to show that the same people had occupied the country from the time of Alexander down to A.D. 400' (Cunningahm 1871b: 6-7).

some solid evidence to this colonial enterprise. Alexander Cunningham, John Marshall and Aurel Stein may especially be mentioned here as they dedicated much of their time and energies to exploring and unearthing Greek presence in northern Indo-Pakistan. Of these scholars/orientalists, recently Stein's romance of Alexandrian legend has been critically analyzed by Rafiullah Khan in the context of Swat valley and the surrounding areas (Khan 2014a). He has also examined Stein's archaeological mission into Balochistan during 1920s and 1940s in a colonial context in an unpublished paper (Khan 2014b).[45]

Such a colonial enterprise in relation to Alexander and Greek romance bulks large in the archaeology of Taxila. Both Cunningham and Marshall did much in this field by exploring and explaining Taxilan archaeology in Alexandrian and Hellenistic terms. It was the Mohra-maliaran temple which greatly attracted Cunningham. It is a temple having Greek architectural features such as Ionic pillars. Cunningham gave more attention to the site during his second visit to Taxila. He carried out digging at the site and was pleased by finding Greek architecture. He, thus, observes, 'I therefore determined on clearing out the interior, with the view of finding the shafts and capitals of the Ionic pillars and of ascertaining the use and purpose of the building. My explorations were successful in both these points, and the discovery of several portions of Ionic capitals is of special interest and value, and this is the only instance in which any remains of the Ionic order of Greek architecture have yet been found in India' (Cunningham 1875: 68-69). Another interesting point in this connection is Cunningham's reading of a Bactro-Pali inscription from Taxila. Among other things, Cunningham read in the inscription name of Greek month *Paemos*

[45] I am grateful to Rafiullah Khan for kindly putting at my disposal this unpublished work which proved of great help in understanding colonial enterprise in the field of Indo-Pakistani archaeology.

which obviously does not seem as being used in the text. In the same issue of the journal in which Cunningham published his article also appeared Rajendralal Mitra's observations about the former's translation and reconstruction of the inscription. Mitra identified that very month as *Panchamasa*, the fifth month (see Cunningham 1864; Mitra 1864).

This search for and romance of things Greek was taken up by Marshall to the level of amplification and popularization in early twentieth century. It is clear from what sort of time, resources and energies were dedicated by him to the excavation of study of Sirkap city as compared to other archaeological sites of Taxila. Moreover, he sought to declare all great works and achievements such as the concept and practice of planned city and standard art and pottery patterns found at Taxila to the Greeks (Marshall 1945/2006a: 40). It is his presentation/construction of binary oppositions – what were valuable and superior Greek things and what were local inferior things – which is the embodiment of colonial mentality and *imperial* thought. It is clear from the very first paragraph of Marshall's magnum opus, *Taxila*:

> It is upwards of forty years since I first visited Taxila and I still remember the thrill I got from the sight of its buried cities. At that time I was a young man, fresh from archaeological excavations in Greece and filled with enthusiasm for any Greek; and in that far-off corner of the Punjāb if seemed as if I had lighted of a sudden on a bit of Greece itself. Doubtless the illusion was prompted in a large measure by Taxila's historic associations with Greece; for it was in Taxila that Alexander the Great halted and refreshed his army before advancing to do battle with Porus; and it was here that Greek kings afterwards ruled for a hundred years and left behind them an enduring legacy of Hellenistic culture. But there was more to it than that. I felt then, as I have never ceased to feel since, that there was something appealingly Greek in the countryside itself: in the groves of wild olive on the rock slopes, in the distant pine-clad hills bellow Murree, and in the chill, invigorating air that blows from the snow-fields beyond the Indus. No wonder that I was all eagerness to get to work on such an

> alluring site and uncover with pick and spade whatever might be left of its ancient secrets (Marshall 1945/2006a).

Similarly, the conservation and restoration programme during John Marshall's Directorship received special attention.[46] It was also imperial in terms of concept and practice. Restorations were effected and conservations done without taking indigenous religious sensitivities into account. Experts with local knowledge and skills in the field of architecture were subjected to those trained persons, such western architects a nd engineers, who lamentably lacked native knowledge and religio-cultural appreciation and understanding. In this context, some monuments suffered from lack of originality even to the extent of beyond any recognition (Guha 2010). The restoration and conservation works have been analyzed by scholars in their socio-political milieu. It intimately interacted with what has been termed above as Curzon's *imperial thought*. The very concept of conservation was embedded in the *imperial thought* as it is clear from Curzon's various speeches (Ronaldshay 1928). Sudeshna Guha has presented interesting analysis in this respect. She says:

---

[46] A late colonial work refers to the conservation programme and lauds the achievements in this regards. 'If in any respect Indian archaeology is ahead of other oriental countries, it is in the organization for the preservation of its monuments. This position is due to the early recognition of the necessity of a campaign against the destructive forces of nature. During the early days of the Survey under General Sir Alexander Cunningham, the function of preservation was left entirely to the Local Governments. Thanks to the comprehensive scheme launched by the late Lord Curzon the main lines of approach to the great problem of the conservation of all the national monuments of India were laid once for all in the beginning of the twentieth century. . . . In India the suspension of preservation work for even a short period would seriously damage the monuments, and the gardens around the principal buildings would speedily become a mass of jungle' (Dikshit 1939a: 34). Dikshit idenfies a number of degeneration agent such as natural and human and elaborates upon conservation activities in the face of such threats (Dikshit 1939a: 34ff.).

> Curzon was keen to rectify his predecessors' desultory schemes of repairs and restorations, initiated mainly from the 1880s. Hence, one of the main thrusts of his archaeological policy was to see that the incumbent Director General of the Survey "secure that the ancient monuments of the country are properly cared for, that they are not utilised for purposed which are inappropriate or unseemly, that repaired are executed when required, and that any restorations which may be attempted are conducted on artistic lines." His directions for renovating the three Mughal forts at Delhi, Agra and Lahore, and the more prominent of the 'Mohammedan' monuments outside their precincts, were by and large followed by Marshall, who completed many of his projects by the first decade of the twentieth century. . . . These restorations, which are classic examples of Marshall's skills at literally piecing together the Mughal 'debris', resonated with the will of the British Raj to appropriate the grandeur of their illustrious predecessors for establishing within native their own royal authority (Guha 2010: 41).

In the context of this conservation scheme, Marshall's preservation and conservation at Taxila make good enough sense. Nearly all important excavated sites were conserved and even restored if needed. Dharmarajika, Jaulian, Mohra-murado and above all the urban site of Sirkap invested with great energies in terms of time and money vis-à-vis conservation and restoration. K. N. Dikshit describes it as follows:

> In the Punjab, the most important monuments that have been conserved are the group in and around Taxila, brought to light in the course of Sir John Marshall's prolonged excavations. Here the excavated remains of the different cities that arose one after another and the religious establishments that were located in the outskirts were conserved with great care and forethought. The most striking among the Buddhist sites are: the Dharmarājikā stupa, where a large complex of minor buildings was uncovered round an ancient stupa erected by Asoka himself; Jaulian, the beautiful stupas and monasteries of which, embellished by stucco figures of Buddha, have been preserved *in situ*; the Kunāla stupa at the southern end of the city of Sirkap; Kalawan and Mohra Moradu, where valuable monastic establishments were discovered. The extensive remains of the city of Sirkap have also been

> admirably preserved, care being taken to distinguish the construction of the different periods (Dikshit 1939b: 47-48).

It is important to note that beside imperial considerations, Marshall's interest in conservation was also triggered by an academic concern. He wanted to preserve the monuments and especially structures of excavated areas in order that the future generations of scholars may be able to examine the sites themselves and to re-visit the explanations and interpretations of archaeological objects given by the excavators and primary scholars (Marshall 1945/2006a). and this is where Marshall and his vision for future archaeological scholarship may be appreciated.

What lies ahead: new prospects of historical and archaeological researches

Since 1947, a number of scholars has worked on Taxila in order to fill in the gaps or to present new explanations and interpretation vis-à-vis archaeology of Taxila. These studies have been carried out in the context of different theories and methods. They, no doubt, enhance our understanding. These studies may be divided into two categories:

1. New explanations and interpretations of old data
2. New surveys and excavations

In the first category names such as Ahmad Hasan Dani, Saifur Rahman Dar, Robin Coningham and Briece R. Edwards, Dominico Faccenna, Kurt Behrendt, Daniel Merton Michon etc. are to be included. In the second category fall names of excavators since 1945 such as Muhammad Sharif, M. A. Halim, Gulzar Muhammad Khan, Bahadur Khan etc.

1. New explanations and interpretations of old data

It is interesting to note that two Pakistani scholars have contributed handsomely to the archaeology of Taxila. But their works are deficient in terms of new approaches and concepts to the subject. Though, both the scholars were busy in field of archaeology of Taxila at the time when the discipline of archaeology was at its critical and crucial moment as theoretical and paradigmatic polemic debates were going on. But neither Dani nor Dar seem to have taken these innovations into serious consideration. And it might rightly be termed as the greatest weakness of their otherwise valuable works.

Dani here is as he has always been with empathy for the model of diffusionism which further begets the ideas of cultural amalgamation and assimilation and the highly desired goal of human development. In this framework his work does not deviate from Marshallian understanding of Taxilan archaeology, though he tries to set himself apart from that tradition. It is reflected in the following excerpt from his book, *The historic city of Taxila* (1999).

> The approach of [this] study is entirely different from the excavation reports and guidebooks so far written on Taxila. . . . His [Marshal's] primary approach is that of an archaeologist. His book, along with later excavation reports, has provided the basic data for the present work. . . . While using their material, along with personal study of the monumental remains on the site, *the author has tried to present a new picture* of the rise and fall of the historic city of Taxila from prehistoric times to the last days of the city's glory. In this presentation he has interpreted the data through an anthropological-historical approach and has attempted *to place Taxila in the wider perspective of Asian history* (this researcher's italics) (Dani 1999: xi).

He further explains:

> Taxila emerges as a typical South Asian city in the Indus valley on the trans-caravan routes of east and west, originating with humble prehistoric beginnings, later in history participating fully in the

> Asian human drama, and itself contributing Gandhara art and civilization to man's legacy.[47] This is a picture that arises from explorations and excavations, but goes beyond them to present, for the first time, a global view of the historic city as it developed in *the mingling of men and women from east and west* (this researcher's italics) (Dani 1999: xi).

The rest of the book fits in this paradigmatic understanding of history by Dani. Human interactions in terms of diffusion are held responsible for progress and development. Material evidence is used to substantiate what a checkered story is being said by the words left behind by humans in the past. And it is here that this researcher sees in Dani the greatest conscious representative of culture-historical archaeology.

The next paragon of culture-historical archaeology is Saifur Rahman Dar. He has dominantly focused on presence of Hellenism in the material culture of Taxila. This approach can be easily observed in his dealing of Jandial and Mohra-maliaran sites. Beside this, he may also be termed as textual archaeologist studying material culture in the paradigm of ancient written record. Further analysis of Dar's works show that his explanations of historical problems are determined by diffusionist adeas. He compares and contrasts monuments of Taxila, especially Jandial and Mohra-maliaran, in a wider geographic framework stretching from Near East to the Indus. All this make us believe that Saifur Rahman Dar also thinks in traditional framework of culture-historical archaeology (Dar 1984).

At this point it is pertinent to turn to some western colleagues who have done work on Taxilan archaeology. Their works take insights from a number of conceptual frameworks and models such as environmental impacts, role of agency etc. In broader terms, these

[47] See for his views about Gandhara civilization in diffusionist framework (Dani 1998).

works may be appreciated in the paradigms of processual and postprocessual archaeology. But one may be vigilant about the fact that these recent studies do not fall into the now moribund poles of processualism and postprocessualism. They have adopted, as it seems at least in Coningham and Edwards' work, a sort of mixed approach. It seems here as necessary to briefly give a simple gist of processual archaeology and postprocessual archaeology.

Processual archaeology introduced good many methods and techniques into the discipline. Ethnoarchaeology, experimental archaeology, settlement archaeology, sites formation processes, subsistence, middle-range theory and behavioural archaeology are few but significant contributions of processualism in archaeology. Scientism and positivism mark a new era ushered by processual archaeology. One may note that the idea of environmental determinism is no doubt overplayed in this new programme. Environmental determinism reduces human beings into passive beings which thesis is not supported by empirical, logical and historical evidence. The shortcomings observed in processual archaeology led to the development of what is known as post-processual archaeology.

Critical archaeology and contextual archaeology may be termed as the two prominent strands of post-processual archaeology. Both are inspired by left thought and give enough space in research to socio-political and cultural developments and considerations. Human agency is considered as of utmost important in development of human society and history. Thus, as unlike human being a passive being in processual archaeology, they have been elevated to the status of active being capable of controlling, moulding and appropriating both natural and built environment in their favour. These things would be discussed throughout this chapter.

Coningham and Edwards' study of Sirkap enhances our understanding of the urban patterns of the city. They re-evaluate the data both architectural and artefactual in relation to economic, religious and administrative spatial distributions. The resultant picture is unlike the one presented by Marshall, Dani, Dar etc. The study terms Cunningham's understanding of limiting commercial area to the space along both sides of the main street. 'It is now possible to demonstrate,' observe Coningham and Edwards, 'using other categories of waste and manufacturing objects, that the allocation of commercial loci asolely to the frontage of Main Street is erroneous and that commercial loci are distributed throughout the lower city, from the main thoroughfares to the back lanes . . .' (Conongham and Edwards 1997-1998: 56). Similarly, religious structures and artefacts have also been re-examined and Coningham and Edwards' results show that Taxila was not solely a Buddhist city. It was home to a variety of belief systems both great and minor and local and foreign. With this the valley presents a picture of a pluralistic society accommodating what may be termed as cosmopolitan indices (Coningham and Edwards 1997-1998: 57ff.). Investigating the administrative loci of the Sirkap city, Coningham and Edwards' study concludes that architecturally the palatial area seems different from the rest of the city but the artefactual contents do not show any difference from those found in the rest of the city. Thus, the pattern which appears is that of a sort of egalitarian society (Coningham and Edwards 1997-1998: 60-62). They conclude:

> Thus we can summarise by stating that whilst the palatial elements of the city are architecturally distinguishable, this is not the case artefactually. However, it should be stated that this pattern is certainly supported by other studies which have concluded that although palatial complexes may have been architecturally differenticated during the Early Historic period they often produce a very

> egalitarian artefactual pattern, suggesting that the ritual and temporal roles of rulers may have been exercised extremely differently . . .' (Coningham and Edwards 1997-1998: 62).

Coningham and Edwards' approach seems to be steeped in settlement and contextual archaeology. They analyze artefactual data in the overall context of architectural distribution. Coningham elsewhere, in collaboration with Ruth Young, take into account both environment and human agency in the development of culture and its myriad patterns in South Asia (Coningham and Young 2015: 46ff.). Such a mixed approach is also reflected in Coningham and Edwards' reinvestigation of Sirkap's urban patterns.

Well-known scholar Gerard Fussman argues in favour of Central Asian influence in the construction of Sirkap I-II and Sirsukh. It were cities of Aï Khanoum, Dal'verzin Tepe and Takht-i-Sangin that the Indo-Greek city is compared with. Sirsukh is analyzed in terms of its outward appearance with Dil'berdžin Tepe or Qala-i-Zal both having the clear dissimilarity as the former being without an acropolis while the latter having such a part of its own (Fussman 1993: 91). Fussman disagrees on so many occasions with Marshall's propositions such as about the mud rampart of Kachha-kot. Unlike Marshall it is considered by Fussman as the work of Indo-Greeks. The stone-made fortification wall of the southern part of the city was effected by latter rulers not before mid-first century BCE. He summarizes his analysis with the following words:

> Judging from such evidence as we have, the Central Asian connection played a major role in the growth of Taxila. It explains its successive locations. Its influence is conspicuous in the shape and defenses of both Sirkap and Sirsukh. Its influence is much less strong inside Sirkap II. To make a long paper short, in Taxila Central Asian traits were brought from abroad, by rulers of foreign extraction. That is why they are mainly to be seen in the political and military fields. But everyday life in Sirkap II, as suggested by its inner layout (for this paper, let the reader be reminded, is not concerned with art

> or with expensive artifacts and imports), remained almost untouched by Central Asian influences; inner Sirkap was first and formost an Indian town (Fussman 1993: 96).

Moreover, Fussman considers neither riches of Taxila alone nor its Central Asian trade as root causes behind its growth. He, on the other hand, assigns primacy to its strategic importance which determined its selection as being a political and military city by the successive waves of Central Asian origin rulers. It is even true in the case of some Indian rulers who had political designs in north and west. To this fact, Fussman argues, further strength was added by Central Asian trade and fertility of the valley itself (Fussman 1993: 87). Within this frame of reference, one can compare Taxila with political and royal cities which emerged throughout the ancient world such as Thebes and Memphis of Egypt, Akkad, Babylon and Assur of Mesopotamia and Susa, Ecbatana and Persepolis of Persia.

Another interesting study is that of Daniel Merton Michon. It is his PhD dissertation submitted to the University of California in 2007. The work gets special significance in the context of Taxilan archaeology due mainly to investigating Sirkap site and its material from contextual point of view. Contextual archaeology belongs to the heterogeneous theoretical framework of postprocessual archaeology. It calls for understanding an object or a phenomenon in holistic or reductionist terms viz. studying part and whole in dialectical manner. It also locates a thing/phenomenon against the backdrop of its overall socio-cultural context and considers studies carried out in isolation as lacking validity and strength. Symbolic meaning and hermeneutics greatly matter in the programme of contextual archaeologists.

Michon gives equal weight to material evidence in its own context in contrast to traditional archaeology's over-emphasis on textual evidence as a frame of reference for

archaeological explanations. He observes, 'The overdetermination of the textual archive has not only left the material culture underanalyzed, but even when material culture is taken into consideration a misunderstanding of how text and artifact relate has led to even larger problems concerning the reconstructed picture of early South Asian life' (Michon 2007: 72). Michon further theorizes that traditionally scholars have seen religious landscapes and sacred things in the framework of one of the three great and ancient codified religions, namely Hindusim, Buddhism and Jainism. It implies that local contexts, which obviously vary at parochial levels, have not been taken into account to the detriment of fully understanding ancient societies and histories. Michon further opines:

> Within South Asian archaeology, a better approach is emerging which challenges the above trifurcated paradigm. The most recent manifestation of this is a volume of the journal *Asian Perspectives* which is dedicated to the study of regional understandings of South Asian archaeology and culture. In the introductory essay, Peter Johansen observes that South Asian archaeology is slowly moving away from the dominant culture-history model and toward "many newer approaches [that] examine sociocultural organization within regional-scale contexts, rather than focusing on static 'archaeological cultures' [i.e. the culture-history model]." In this formulation of the categories of analysis, the delimiters are not the discrete "world religions," that is the well-known "-isms," but rather a geographic distinction broadly construed as South Asia, and, more importantly, narrowed to a regional unit of analysis which recognizes that the lines between the "great religions" in these early periods are blurred (Michon 2007: 74).

To elaborate this point further, one may say that the dominant codified religions of early historical India had never succeeded in complete annihilation of some local cults and belief systems and there prevailed substratum religious schemes here and there not in an uncommon manner. Traditional archaeological approach in South Asian archaeology – culture-historical archaeology – has not been conscious about and sensitive to these

sociocultural ground realities, a phenomenon which is intrinsic and integral to human societies in a historic perspective. Things substratum in sociocultural terms are as true concerning the ancient societies as they are natural – and logical to understand – to current societies (see for example Khan 2015, forth.).

Written record is hardly having references to the marginalized sections of a society. Even if sometimes it does so, it forges representations in a negative way. That is why it is not always fair and useful to rely totally on text and textual evidence for historical and societal reconstructions. This point is viably and handsomely elaborated by G. Schopen in his various works about Buddhism (1997, 2004, 2005) which has recently influenced archaeological researches in South Asian context. However, historically South Asian archaeology has been directed and shaped by textual overdetermination. Some protagonists in this respect are M.K. Dhavalikar, B.B. Lal and H.D. Sankalia. They 'sought to use archaeological evidence to substantiate the history of indian tradition. Their work serves as a perfact example of a common understanding of the relationship between texts and material culture' (Michon 2007: 86). To these Indian writers, names of Pakistani writers such as, most importantly, Ahmad Hasan Dani and Saifur Rahman Dar may be added. Both, as is shown above, have written extensively about Taxila while adopting the direct historical approach of culture-historical archaeology.

It is the works of Dani that a strong representation of, an even sometimes advocacy for, such an approach is found in provided his works are studied between the lines (Khan 2012; Pratap 2014).

Against such an approach, Michon follows Gregory Schopen and Richard Cohen in giving full attention to 'place' and context. And it is by doing so that he does not recognize Sirkap as a Buddhist city. Rather, the 'place' speaks in favour of local context of soteriological and eschatological considerations.[48] 'Taxila', maintains Michon, 'unfolds a local narrative, a narrative which does not necessarily belong to an "-ism," but rather speaks to religious developments, both monastic and lay, both Buddhist and local, both Brahmanical and folk in northwestern India' (Michon 2007: 102). The result of such an approach is that Michon gives new interpretation both in terms of identification and function for the structural as well as artefactual remains of Sirkap. While analyzing stupa shrines in Block C′, E and E′, Michon presents 'two possible interpretations'. '[O]ne, it was lucrative to be the caretaker of a public *stūpa* shrine. Or, two, that the wealthy in Sirkap used their wealth to build public shrines. Either interpretation suggests a close connection between wealth and public ritual' (Michon 2007: 134). The present researcher discussed this interesting observation with Rafiullah Khan in January 2015. He told that this seems a plausible interpretation as ethnological data from Muslim Swat with regard to the institution of mosque also suggest this. He wondered that Gandharan sacred establishments ought to be interpreted also in the

[48] Michon states, 'The presence of these urban *stūpa* shrines has led scholars to assume that Sirkap is a "Buddhist city." In effect, this preconception has excluded much of the academic community – those not formally studying Buddhism – from taking a closer look at the city. In the balance of this chapter, I will argue that Sirkap was not a Buddhist city at all. This is not to deny that there is evidence of practice that involves various Buddhist deities, including the Buddha himself, but these deities are *local* deities and *local* spirits. Furthermore, these local deities and spirits are representative of a much broader religious culture, a culture that did not adhere to strictly defined boundaries of any of the "Great World Traditions." This line of reasoning builds off of Richard Cohen's work in which he argues that in fifth century CE Buddhist practice at Ajanta the Buddha himself was not the pan-Indian Buddha that moderns know, but rather this Buddha at Ajanta was a local deity that participated in local religious and ritual configurations. Cohen takes "place" seriously as the ground for interpretation' (Michon 2007: 99).

light of structural rivalry between lineage groups in South Asian societies. Ethnographic data, says Rafiullah Khan, about Swati mosque phenomenon confirms this supposition. Generally, monastic establishments and ritual places and objects are seen in relation to state and dynastic setup which is, no doubt, logical and sound. But ethnoarchaeology of Swati Muslim sacred places/spaces shows that community and lineage system play significant role in such processes of Sacrality. And Taxilan sacred landscape – like other such phenomena, both present and past, across the world – also presents such an intriguing socio-religious structure in the context of historical ethnic and lineage behavior and composition.

2. New surveys and excavations

Taxila and problems concerning its archaeology and history fascinated Pakistani scholars since 1947. Aiming at finding solutions to stunning historical problems, surveys and excavations were carried out at different sites. The most important in this connection were excavations of Sarai-khola and Hatial besides the ones done at Bhir-mound. It was Muhammad Sharif who excavated Bhir-mound in 1967 using and adopting, according to him, 'the improved and scientific method of stratigraphical digging' (Sharif 1969: 11). But one can see that the focus has been on establishing cultural sequences and nothing else. Four occupation periods were identified belonging to (1) fourth-third century BCE (2) third century BCE (3) third-second century BCE and (4) second-first century BCE. There were found 'typical ceramic industries' in all the four occupation periods as metal tools and terracotta figurines were recovered from the site (Sharif 1969). Excavations at Sarai-khola between 1968-1971 added much to our knowledge in terms of chronology. History of Taxila was pushed back into prehistoric times. The evidence shows that it was from late

Stone Age upto the Kot-dijian period that the area had seen developments akin to the 'agricultural communities of the Indus valley.' The excavator gives the following new chronology for Taxila:

1. Period I – late Neolithic 3100 -3000 BCE
2. Period II – Kot-dijian 2800-2400 BCE
3. Period III – Cemetery 1000 BCE
4. Period IV – Settlement of Early Medieval period 700 CE – 800 CE

It should be noted that the excavator and other authors make typology, establish cultural sequences and talk about diffusion of objects and styles (Halim 1972).

It was in 1980 that Hathial excavations were carried to the effect of finding out three periods in its history (1983):

1. Kot-dijian settlement
2. Gandhara Grave settlement period
3. Hatial period III corresponding to early levels of Bhir-mound

These excavations gave fruitful results as questions of chronology and cultural diffusion are concerned. What is needed in the context of archaeology of Taxila is more than culture-history. As referred to above, works by Coningham and Edwards and Michon are welcome additions. But the need is to do work extensively and systematically in the framework of long-term planning. It necessitates adoption of and application of theoretical paradigms and research methods which have fared well since Marshall's time.

An interesting and viable framework has recently been presented by Mark Kenoyer vis-à-vis Gandhara, its history and archaeology. He approaches the concept of Gandhara from two angles namely, Gandhara as a geographical entity and Gandhara as a chronological framework. In both contexts, his work presents a sort of critique of our present scholarship and understanding of Gandhara. Gandhara garners special importance in the framework of historical and cultural processes in the extended geographical limits of South Asian history and archaeology. It, according to Kenoyer, cannot be reduced just to the frame of cultural transmissions. It were not merely Achaemenids, Greeks, etc. to whom belong all what is Gandhara. Rather, Kenoyer stresses the potential possibility of indigenous element in terms of cultural developments in the area. In this connection he synthesizes whatever data are available from Taxila, Peshawar, Swat and other adjacent areas and configures local origin of urban patterns of the land. He also appreciates Gandhara in diachronic context starting from the stone age of Soan and its vicinity all through the native origination of the Indus/Harappan civilization to the Early Historic Period urban developments at Gandhara[49] (Kenoyer 2010). He observes:

[49] In another study he writes (Kenoyer 2015: 100-101): 'It was in the context of this regional instability [in northern Indo-Pakistan] that Kurush (Cyrus the Great) (559-529 BCE) and later Achaemenid rulers of Iran were able to conquer the north-western regions of the subcontinent and incorporate them into their expanding empire. During the reign of Daryavush Vishtaspa (Darius 1: 521-486 BCE), Achaemenid control was extended into Bactria and the Indus Valley. One big question that remains to be answered through future archaeological research is why the Achaemenids wanted to conquer this region? The goal of most conquest is to either protect one self against outside aggressors or to gain access to resources that are essential for the support of the state and its economy. Since there is no evidence of aggression from the northern Indus into Iran at this time, it is more likely that the goal was to obtain specific resources or control trade networks. There is some evidence that prior to the Achaemenid conquest the regions of Bactria and the Indus Valley were well known and the source of important commodities. During the reign of Shalmanesar IV of Assyria (727 BCE), there is reference to presents in the form of camels and elephants coming from the east. There is

> During the British Colonial period, and even today the Greek influence of Gandharan art provided a link to Classical Mediterranean culture that was highlighted by the British and other European scholars. This link to western culture may have been important for western scholars and some local scholars, but does this Greek link make Gandhara more important or is this simply a legacy of colonial imagination? Based on the various discussions already presented, I would argue that the Greek link with Gandharan art is not as important as the early evidence for human communities extending to more than 2 million years ago. The evidence for early indigenous urbanism in the northern Indus Valley is also quite significant and needs further investigation. There are many other important local developments such as the invention and use of Punch Marked coins that represents a local innovation that may be earlier than the use of sliver bar coins of the Achaemenid empire (Allchin 1995b: 131). According to later literary traditions, Bharata established the first settlements at Taxila and Pushkalavati and Taxila was conquered by the ruler Janamejaya. Allchin argues that the modelled figurines and other aspects of material culture reflect this south eastern and possibly Gangetic influence at Bhir Mound settlement at Taxila (Allchin 1995b: 132). It is clear that Gandhara has many different reasons for being considered as a key region for the archaeology of Pakistan and South Asia in general, and should not be limited to the fascination with the Gandhara Art style and its Greek links (Kenoyer 2010: 12).

In Mark Kenoyer's framework, Taxila, being one of the important cultural zones of Gandhara, needs a fresh look and new trends and questions in the context of new viable research designs. In a recent study, he observes, while referring to mentions of Buddhist

---

little information on the regions of the southern Punjab and Sindh, but these regions must also have been highly developed economically in order to be conquered by the Achaemenid rulers on multiple occasions.

'Eventually, most of the modern Punjab and Sindh appears to have been controlled either directly or indirectly by the Achaemenids, and tribute was purportedly paid in gold dust. Although some earlier scholars rejected the idea that gold dust was obtained from the Indus river or that this region paid tribute in large amounts of gold dust, subsequent studies have clearly shown that the Indus and its tributaries were important sources of gold dust that was probably panned from the river as is still done today or collected from sand dug up by marmots in the upper reaches of the Indus River.'

Jatakas that rulers of Ganga-Yamuna would send their sons to Taxila for education, the valley, and northern Indo-Pakistan at large, precedes eastern India in terms of cultural and urban development. In this new context and framework, he emphasizes upon the need of new archaeological researches so that vivid understanding about the various patterns of cultural development vis-à-vis diffusion from the west may be obtained.[50] 'However, the major cultural patterns', maintains Kenoyer, 'are clearly derived from local sources of the northern subcontinent, and this is well reflected in the pottery, figurines, settlement layouts, and other features of the cities and towns' (Kenoyer 2015: 110).

Taxila and archaeology of Taxila can also help in addressing great many historical problems of both pre- and post-6th century BCE. Vedic culture of the Indo-Gangetic plains is still beyond of fuller appreciation both from the textual point of view and archaeological standpoint. But significance of the period cannot be overestimated in the wider context of what Mark Kenoyer designates as 'Indo-Gangetic Tradition' as spreading over the extended time period between 15th century BCE and 7th century BCE. According to him, this tradition 'refers to the major human adaptations' distributing over the valleys of Ganga-Yamuna and Indus as well as parts of Peninsular India. 'Although this Tradition has significant links to the earlier Indus Tradition, it represents a dramatically different trajectory and emerges from a combination of regional cultures that were established in the

[50] Mark Kenoyer says: 'New research needs to focus on the economic foundation of the urban centres in the northern Indus Valley as they must have been supported by a large agro-pastoral subsistence base and highly developed craft technologies. Such studies would help clarify what types of trade was going on and may eventually explain why the Achaemenid rulers decided to invade and conquer the northern Indus Valley around 559 BCE. After the initial Achaemenid invasion, cultural linkages with Iran can be identified through the use of specific types of pottery, such as 'tulip' shaped bowls that are thought to derive from the 'heartland' of the Achaemenid region' (Kenoyer 2015: 110).

northern and southern Indus River Valley, western India, the Ganga-Yamuna River Valley, and the Deccan Plateau regions. . .' (Kenoyer 2015: 97). Kenoyer further divides the Indo-Gangetic Tradition into three main periods namely, Regionalization Era (1500-326 BCE), Integration Era (321-185 BCE) and Localization Era (185 BCE – 647 CE).[51] It was the Regionalization Era that Kenoyer counts as a period of cultural syncretism between the 'Late Harappan Traditions', regional Chalcolithic culture and innovations in 'technology and socio-economic organization' as greatly characterized by pottery traditions of Painted Grey Ware Culture (1200-800) and Northern Black Polished Ware Culture (900/700/500-300). This period is considered as a sort of prelude to the Integration Era i.e. Mauryan period. Furthermore, centres of cultural, economic and political activities shifted from the Indus Traditions areas to the northern Indus valley, throughout the Punjab, and into the Upper Ganga-Yamuna Doab' (Kenoyer 2015: 97-98). This whole period is represented and characterized by what is known as Vedic culture. Texts provide great information but certain difficulties are being faced to synchronize words and material remains. During this period, important chiefdoms emerged which obviously points to the power-politics of the time. Intensive conflicts are said to have taken place between different groups of peoples. 'There is less evidence for the nature of conflict in the northern Indus Valley, but sites such as Akra, Charsadda, and Taxila may provide this evidence through future excavations' (Kenoyer 2015: 100). Solution for all these questions necessitates further archaeological researches.

[51] 'The Regionalization Era of the Indo-Gangetic Tradition is represented by many different regional cultures in each of the areas that provided input into the later integrated Mauryan state. These cultures include the decentralized polities of the Localization Era of the Indus Tradition and the regional cultures of the Gangetic, Western Peninsular, and Deccan traditions. . .' (Kenoyer 2015: 97).

Furthermore, processual archaeology has contributed greatly to the field of archaeology and our understanding of past human societies has got revolutionized by insights taken from it. Settlement archaeology, experimental archaeology, ethnoarchaeology and behavioural archaeology have shown how humans interacted with the nature and environment, made achievements in different sorts of industries and developed complex societies and socio-cultural systems. In this context, the traditional questions of 'when' and 'where' recede somewhat into oblivion while the pressing problems of 'how' and 'why' do emerge. The 'how' and 'why' questions of cultural change have triggered new explanations and solutions from processual point of view. The deductive and positivistic nature of processualism has led archaeology away from what Wheeler so beautifully articulated in the last chapter of his *Archaeology from the earth* (1954/1955), viz. the humanistic presentation of archaeology.

Since processual archaeology suffers from numerous shortcomings, it is post-processual considerations and formulations which can benefit us in terms of clearing up mysteries of the past. Cultural ecology and environmental determinism have been challenged by post-processualists as they assign more weight to human mind and agency.

It would be fruitful to conclude this chapter with the following passage from Gkiasta:

> Archaeology is a social science targeting past societies and as such, it needs to address all aspects of social expression and existence. These include subsistence, economy, social relationships of power, political expression, ideology, religion and symbolism, agency, gender and community, and all these should be explored in their intrinsic inter-relationships and at the variety of temporal and spatial scales in which they operate. Post-modern approaches including phenomenology, offer revealing insights into past societies indeed, but so do concepts such as the 'Chamber Theory' (Lehmann 1939,

Philippson and Kirsten 1950-59), off-site archaeology and 'settlement area theory' (Neustupny 1986: in Kuna 2000, Neustupny 1991, Kuna 1991), but also the Annales framework. Views that oppose the great emphasis given in phenomenology stress that settlement changes seem to relate more to geographic and social issues rather than emotional 'senses of place' (Bintliff 2000b); at the same time, Knapp and Ashmore (1999:8) are optimistic that 'while we may never know the precise content of stories told from ancient landscapes, we can increasingly infer some of the contours of their telling and the social impact that they had' (Gkiasta: 37).

Concluding remarks

This chapter dealt with Taxilan archaeology from a historiographical point of view. Historical and critical analyses of archaeological developments till 1947, complemented by post-1947 researches, have been presented. It has been observed that what kinds of theoretical underpinnings have caused Indo-Pakistani archaeology to develop. It implies that different paradigms such as Culture-historical, processual and, somewhat, postprocessual have been used by scholars – both Pakistanis and foreigners – in studies of Taxila. While dealing in isolation, all these works suffer from weaknesses of one kind or another. Diffusionist framework suffers from shortcomings such as it does not consider local potentials concerning culture change. Similarly, processual considerations overwhelmingly get engaged in abstract theory and generalization which sometimes ignore local particularities. But its strong contribution could be a geographical and environmental approach in terms of interpreting archaeological data. Similarly, processualism ignores the fact that human mind is an active mind responsible for great many culture changes. And this weakness is compensated by postprocessual and postcolonial thoughts to the effect

that archaeology is now engaged in epistemological debates and discourses. All this make interesting point and one can argue that historical problems may be addressed from all possible theoretical viewpoints as have been pointed here. Such a mixed approach can enhance our understanding about the history and archaeology of the subcontinent, particularly of Taxila with regard to this study.

Conclusion

Taxila is so popular now, both in public and academia, that it needs no further introduction. Located on crossroads and making part of the Gandhara cultural area, it is more important in terms of socio-cultural and political developments in the long run of history to both Central and South Asia. Taxila is extensively and intensively traversed by great network of routes and paths to the effect that some scholars only see and appreciate its whole history and culture against the theoretical backdrop of 'crossroads'.

The 'crossroads' theory goes back to the times of early writers such as Cunningham. But it was John Marshall who clearly delineated Taxila in terms of what somewhere in this thesis has been referred to, following Arnold Toynbee, as 'roundabout' regions. Later on, Ahmad Hasan Dani and, especially, Saifur Rahman Dar further promoted the idea and investigated history of Taxila from this standpoint.

Recently, scholars have raised voices in favour of adoption of new approaches and some works have appeared in this respect. Mark Kenoyer has made potential advocacy for local origin of Taxilan culture and its different indices.

The present study is basically a historiographical investigation of archaeology of Taxila till 1947. Since up to this very year, British were in control of the subcontinent and had intimate colonial links with the land both in terms of politics and economy and history and society. By dint this involvement, Indo-Pakistani archaeology before independence rightly falls in the realm of colonialist archaeology. All the scholars, researchers and writers were motivated in their scholarly pursuits by *imperial thought* plus colonial structures of knowledge and epistemologies.

This study finds out that works of Cunningham, Marshall, Wheeler and others are seminal and of great value in relation to history and archaeology of Taxila. They, however, suffer from shortcomings the repercussions of which have so far not been assuaged due to the persistence of colonial patterns of knowledge and knowledge acquisition.

Furthermore, the present study coalesces, for the first time, all the diverse data recovered at different time in the form of surveys, excavations and academic deliberations. It coordinates and integrates results of individual writers/scholars in a coherent, systematic and schematic way. It has been shown what Alexander Cunningham found for the first time, what sort of explanations and interpretations he presented and how and in what ways latter researches adduced to our knowledge about Taxila in the shape of affirming, dismissing and modifying archaeological data and the deliberation which emanated from them. In this way, vivid urban and monastic patterns have appeared though in the traditional sense of archaeological reconstructions.

Archaeological methods and theories have fared well since the first experiences in this respect. Since 1960, archaeology has progressed leaps and bounds in theoretical and methodological matters. Before that, archaeological methods, with the exception of Leonard Woolley and Mortimer Wheeler, were not advanced and sophisticated enough. The present study for the first time schematizes and analyzes archaeological methods and approaches of Cunningham, Marshall and Wheeler in historical and a critical way. Such methods have also been related to the socio-cultural and intellectual milieu of their times. It is also presents their appreciation in the different spatio-temporal contexts.

Delimiting of archaeological and research methods of the various colonial archaeologist of Taxila necessitates contextualization of their works against their methodological standing. The job has also been done here. This study relates archaeological researches of Cunningham, Marshall and Wheeler and later scholars about Taxila to their methodological frames. In this way, it takes into account ideological and philosophical considerations of the scholars. It has been shown how such vested interests have determined Cunninghams's and Marhsall's theoretical approaches and, hence, underpinned their explanations and historical reconstructions in a colonial and imperial way. Explaining cultural change only and only in diffusionist terms, in line with evolutionary and culture-historical archaeology, romanticizing Greek legend and denigrating native in one way or another are interesting dimensions of the colonialist archaeology of Taxila.

As a whole this study makes a historiographical analysis of archaeology of Taxila prior to Independence. The different features of Taxilan archaeology show both problem-oriented and unplanned researches in a consistent way on the one hand and colonial context of such an activity on the other. All the myriad evidence leads us to designate pre-1947 archaeology of Taxila as *colonialist archaeology*. The study has also shown how and why other models of researches and interpretations are needed and what has so far been done and achieved in this regard. Further researches both in terms of new data procurement and new explanations/interpretations have shown to be the need of the hour. Insights from theories and methods of processual, post-processual, post-colonial and behavioural archaeology may be taken for further work.

The present researcher has observed that presently Pakistanis are not well-equipped as far as epistemological considerations, discourses and debates are concerned in social and

natural sciences; it is the call of the time that traditional patterns of thought must be transgressed so that more sound indigenous knowledge, in spirit of postcolonality, about Taxila and Gandhara at large may be produced.

Maps

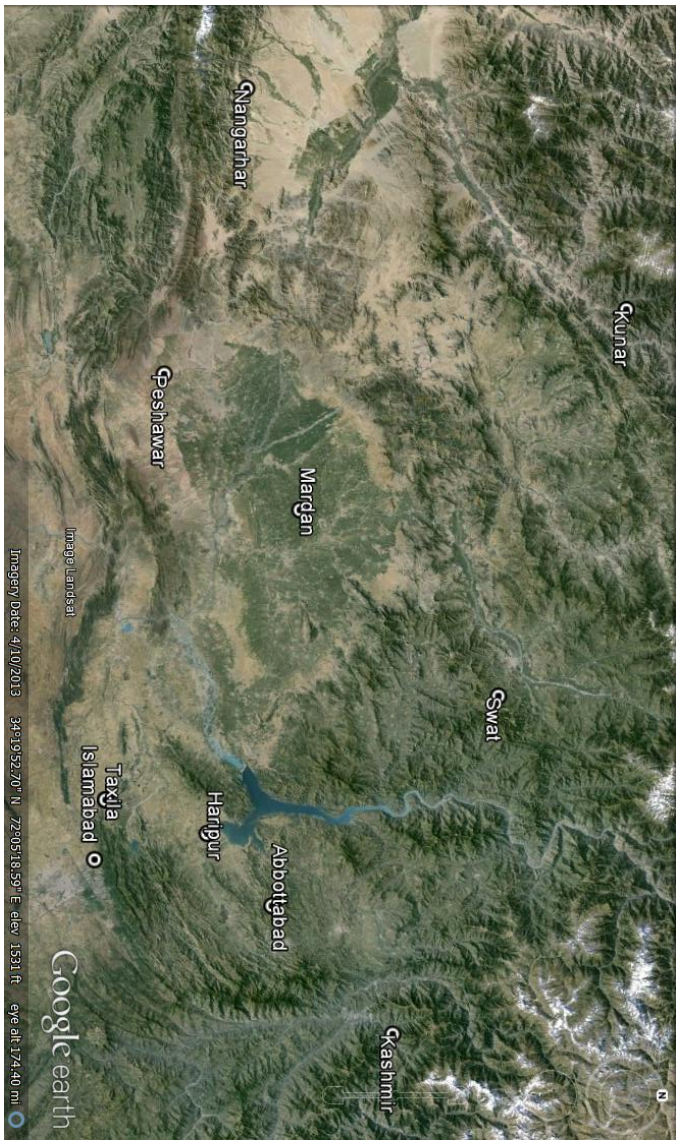

Figure 3: Map showing Taxila in Gandharan context

Figure 4: Archaeological sites of Taxila

Figure 5: Map with focus on main Taxila

Figure 6: Map showing Bhamala

Figure 7: Jaulian, Piplan, Mohra-moradu

Figure 8: Kunala and Dharmarajika

Figure 9: Sirkap and Kunala

Bibliography

Ahmad, Nazimuddin. (1958) The history and archaeology of Taxila, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Institute of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of London.

Ahmad, Nazimuddin. (1967) A fresh study of the fire-temple (?) at Taxila, *Pakistan Archaeology* (4): 153-159.

Ahmad, Tauqeer. 2012. Cultural impact of the Achaemenian on ancient Pakistan, *South Asian Studies* (27) 1: 221 – 232.

Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 (VII of 1904), as modified upto the 1st September 1949, at http://asi.nic.in/pdf_data/5.pdf, (accessed: November 23, 2013).

Arrian. (1884/2014) *The Anabasis of Alexander, or, the history of the wars and conquests of Alexander the Great*. Trans. and commented, E.J. Chinnock. London: Forgotten Books.

Bahadar Khan, M., M. Hassan, M. Habibullah Khan Khattak, F. Rehman and M. Aqleem Khan. (2002) *Bhir Mound: the first city of Taxila (excavations report 1998-2002).* Government of Pakistan, Department of Archaeology and Museums and National Fund for Cultural Heritage, Islamabad.

Bahn, Paul. (2005) Uniformatarianism, *in*: Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn, eds. *Archaeology: the key concepts*. London: Routledge, 204-207.

Bernhard, Wolfram. (1969) Human skeletal remains from the prehistoric cemetery of Sarai Khola, *Pakistan Archaeology* (6): 100-116.

Beal, Samuel. (1869/2003) *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun: Buddhist pilgrims from China to India (400 A.D. and 518 AS.D.)*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.

Beal, Samuel. (1884/2004) *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist records of the western world: translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang, AD 629*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, Pvt. Ltd.

Bernhard, Wolfram. (1969) Human skeletal remains from the prehistoric cemetery of Sarai Khola, *Pakistan Archaeology* (6): 100-116.

Behrendt, Kurt A. (2003) *The Buddhist architecture of Gandhara*. Leiden: Brill.

Brown, Frank E. (1955) Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Archaeology from the earth, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 45 (1-2): 214-215.

Chaghatai, M. Abdullah. 1975. Taxila re-visited: a missing link of Indo-Muslim history, pp. 293 – 310, in A. H. Dani, ed., Proceedings of the first congress of Pakistan history and culture, Vol. 1, Lahore: University of Islamabad Press.

Chakrabarti, Dilip K. (1982) The development of archaeology in the Indian subcontinent, *World Archaeology* 13 (3): 326-344.

Chakrabarti, Dilip K. (1988/2001) *A history of Indian archaeology: from the beginning to 1947*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Chakrabarti, Dilip K. (2010/2012) Colonial legacy in the archaeology of South Asia, *in*: Lydon Jane and Uzma Z. Rizvi. (eds.) *A handbook of postcolonial archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, 73-80.

Clark, Grahame. (1979) *Sir Mortimer and Indian archaeology*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, Government of India.

Clark, G.A. (1993) Paradigms in science and archaeology, *Journal of Archaeological Research* 1 (3): 203-234.

Chochrane, Andrew and Ian Russell () Visualizing archaeologies: a manifesto, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17 (1): 3-19.

Cole, Sonia. (1954) Archaeology from the earth, by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Man* (54): 93-94.

Colligwood, R. G. (1946/2006) *The idea of history: with lectures 1926–1928. edited with an introduction by Jan Van Der Dussen*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Coningham, Robin and Briece R. Edwards. (1997-1998) Space and society at Sirkap, Taxila: a re-examination of urban form and meaning, *Ancient Pakistan* (XII): 47-75.

Coningham, Robin and Ruth Young. (2015) *The archaeology of South Asia: from the Indus to Asoka. C. 6500 BCE-200 CE*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cunningham, Alexander. (1864) Remarks on the Bactro-Pali inscription from Taxila, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* XXXII (I-IV) (and a Supplementary No. 1863): 139-151.

Cunningham, Alexander. (1864) Supplementary No. Colonel Cunningham's archaeological survey report for 1861-62, communicated by the Government of India,

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal XXXII (I-IV) (and a Supplementary No. 1863): i-cxix.

Cunningham, Alexander. (1871a) Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, *Archaeological Survey of India* I, Simla: Government Central Press.

Cunningham, Alexander. (1871b) Four reports made during the years 1862-63-64-65, *Archaeological Survey of India* II, Simla: Government Central Press.

Dani, Ahmad Hasan. (1983) Archaeology in India and Pakistan: a historical evaluation, *in*: Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, ed. *Reprint from Journal of Ancient Indian History, XIII (1-2), 1980-82: Benoy Chandra Sen Memorial Volume*. Calcutta: Calcutta University, 179-197.

Dani, A. H. 1998. Contribution of Gandhara to world civilization, *Journal of Asian Civilizations* (21) 2: 151 – 155.

Dani, A. H. 1999. *The historic city of Taxila*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.

Dani, A. H. 2001. Taxila: the old metropolis of Gandhara, *Journal of Asian Civilizations* (24) 2: 182 – 184.

Dar, Saifur Rahman. (1980) A fresh study of four unique temples at Takshasila (Taxila), *Journal of Central Asia* 3 (1): 91-138.

Dar, Saifur Rahman. 1984/1998. *Taxila and the western world*. 2nd ed., Lahore: Al-Waqar Publishers.

Dar, Saifur Rahman. (1998) Gandhara art in perspective, *Journal of Asian Civilizations* XXI (II): 71-118.

Dar, Saifur Rahman. (1999-2000) The Sikri sculptures: prolegomena on an exceptional, but unstudied, collection of Gandhara art in the Lahore Museum, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (6): 19-43.

Darwin, Charles. (1859) *On the origin of species*. London: John Murray.

Delmerick, J. D. (1870) Notes on archaeological remains at Shák ki Dherí, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* XXXIX (II): 89-94.

Desmond, Ray. (1985) Photography in Victorian India, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 134 (5353): 48-61.

Dikshit, K. N. (1939a) Conservation: (a) conditions and methods, *in*: John Cumming, ed. *Revealing India's past: a co-operative record of archæological conservation and exploration in India and beyond*. London: The India Society, 34-42.

Dikshit, K. N. (1939b) Conservation: (b) Buddhist and Hindu monuments, *in*: John Cumming, ed. *Revealing India's past: a co-operative record of archæological conservation and exploration in India and beyond*. London: The India Society, 43-55.

Dowson, J. (1864) Letter on the Taxila inscription, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* XXXII (I-IV) (and a Supplementary No. 1863): 421-430.

Faccenna, Domenico. (2005) On two cornice segments from Dharmarajika, Taxila, *East and West* 55 (1-4): 81-102.

Faccenna, Domenico. (2007) Columns at Dharmarajika (Taxila), *East and West* 57 (1-4): 27-73.

Fagan, Brian M. (1991) *In the beginning: an introduction to archaeology*, 7th ed., New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Filigenzi, A. with contributions by L. M. Olivieri and P. Rockwell. (2015) *Art and landscape: Buddhist rock sculptures of late antique Swat/Uḍḍiyāna*. Wien: OAW.

Fussman, Gerard. (1993) Taxila: the Central Asian connection, *in*: H. Spodek and D. Srinivason, eds. *Urban form and meaning in South Asia*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 83-102.

Ghosh, A. (1947-1948) Taxila (Sirkap), 1944-5, *Ancient India* (4): 41-83.

Ghosh, A. (1953) Fifty years of the Archaeological Survey of India, *Ancient India* (9): 29-52.

Gkiasta, Marina. (2008) *The historiography of landscape research on Crete*. Netherlands: Leiden University Press.

Guha, Sudeshna. (2010) Archaeology, photography, histories, *in*: Sudeshna Guha, ed. The *Marshall albums: photography and archaeology*. London: Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd, The Alkazi Collection of Photography and Archaeological Survey of India, 10-67.

Guha-Thakurta, Tapati. (2004) *Monuments, objects, histories: institutions of art in colonial and postcolonial India*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hagerman, Christopher A. (2009) In the footsteps of the 'Macedonian conqueror': Alexander the Great and British India, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 16 (3-4): 344-392.

Halim, Muhammad. (1970-1971) Excavations at Sarai Khola part I, *Pakistan Archaeology* (7): 23-89.

Halim, Muhammad. (1972) Excavations at Sarai Khola, Part II, *Pakistan Archaeology* (8): 2-32.

Harris, Marvin. (1968) *The rise of anthropological theory*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, Inc.

Hawkes, Jacquetta. (1982) *Mortimer Wheeler: adventurer in archaeology*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Hodder, Ian. (1991) Interpretive archaeology and its role, *American Antiquity* 56 (1): 7-18.

Hopkins, (1942) The Parthian temple, *Berytus* VII, Fasc. (1): 14.

Imam, Abu. (1963) Sir Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893): the first phase of Indian archaeology, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3 (4): 194-207.

Imam, Abu. (1966) *Sir Alexander Cunningham and the beginnings of Indian archaeology*. Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan.

Indian Treasure Trove Act, 1878 (Act No. VI of 1878), at http://asi.nic.in/pdf_data/9.pdf, (accessed: November 17, 2012).

Kenoyer, Jonathan Mark. (1998) *Ancient cities of the Indus valley civilizations*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Kenoyer, Jonathan Mark. (2010) Gandharan cultural traditions: context, chronology and legacies of the Indus civilization, *Ancient Punjab* (1): 1-18.

Kenoyer, Jonathan Mark. (2015) The archaeological heritage of Pakistan and the Indo-Gangetic Tradition: Early Historic chiefdoms and states of the northern Subcontinent, *in*: Roger D. Long, ed. *A history of Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 91-134.

Khan, Gul Rahim. 2008. Taxila under the Kushans: research based on numismatic evidence, A comprehensive report submitted to the Higher Education Commission, Islamabad (Pakistan), through Department of Coins and Medals, The British Museum, London (UK), Post-Doctoral research in numismatics.

Khan, Muhammad Ashraf, *et al*. (2005) *A catalogue of the Gandhara stone sculptures in the Taxila Museum*. Islamabad: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Ministry of Culture, Sports and Youth Affairs, Government of Pakistan.

Khan, Muhammad Ashraf *et al.* (2009) Recent Discoveries of Coins in the Buddhist Monastery of Badalpur, Taxila Valley, Pakistan, *Journal of Asian Civilizations* 32, 2: 25-59.

Khan, Mohammad Ashraf *et al.* (n.d.) *An Excavation report at Jinnan Wali Dheri-Taxila.* Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, Department of Archaeology and Museums.

Khan, Muhammad Ashraf, Ghani-ur-Rahman, Sadeed Arif, Arslan Butt and Maseeh Ullah. (2013) Excavation at Badalpur monastery, District Haripur Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan: a preliminary report of season 2013, *Journal of Asian Civilizations* 36 (2): 65-80.

Khan, Rafiullah. (2012a) Prof. A. H. Dani: a cultural-historical archaeologist, *Seminar of A. H. Dani and the Ancient History and Culture of Pakistan*, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 5 March.

Khan, Rafiullah. (2012b) Narrow interdisciplinarity and the integration of historical and archaeological research in Pakistan: a conceptual framework, *Journal of Asian Civilizations* 35 (2): 175-184.

Khan, Rafiullah. (2014) Beginning of archaeology in Malakand-Swat (1896-1926): protagonists, fieldwork and the legal framework, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Khan, Rafiullah. (2014b) Archaeology as a colonial enterprise: Sir Aurel Stein's archaeological expeditions to Balochistan, *International Conference on Balochistan: History and Culture*, organized by National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Quaid-i-Azam Univeristy, Islamabad, 28-30 April.

Khan, Rafiullah. (2015) Sacrality continues: socio-religious syncretism in Swat and its manifestation in oral and visual traditions, *South Asian Studies* (Internationally Blind Peer Reviewed Journal of the British Association for South Asian Studies, UK), Vol. 32, Issue 1 (September), 2016 (forthcoming).

King, F. Thomas. (2003) The archaeological survey: methods and uses, at http://calfire.ca.gov/resource_mgt/archaeology/downloads/archsurveymethods.pdf, (accessed: September 12, 2015).

Kuhn, Thomas S. (1962/1996) *The structure of scientific revolutions*. 3rd ed., Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lahiri, Nayanjot. (2000) Coming to grips with India's past and her 'living present': John Marshall's early years (1902–06), part II, *South Asian Studies* 16 (1): 89-107.

Legge, James. (1998) *A record of Buddhistic kingdoms: being an account by the Chinese monk Fa-Hein of travels in India and Ceylon (AD 399–414) in search of the Buddhist books of discipline*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Lydon, Jane and Uzma Z. Rizvi. (eds.) (2010/2012) *A handbook of postcolonial archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press.

Lyman, R. Lee and Michael J. O'Brien. (2004) A history of normative theory in Americanist archaeology, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 11 (4): 369-396.

Marshall, John. (1904) Introduction, *Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report 1902-03, Part 1*, Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India.

Marshall, John. (1916) *Indian archaeological policy (1915): being a resolution issued by the Governor General in Council on the 22nd October, 1915*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India.

Marshall, John. (1923/1990) *Conservation Manual*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.

Marshall, John. (1939) The story of the Archaeological Department in India, *in*: John Cumming, ed. *Revealing India's past: a co-operative record of archæological conservation and exploration in India and beyond*. London: The India Society, 1-33.

Marshall, John. 1945/2006a. *Taxila: an illustrated account of archaeological excavations carried out at Taxila under the orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934.* Vol. I, Structural remains. Karachi: Royal Book Company.

Marshall, John. 1945/2006b. *Taxila: an illustrated account of archaeological excavations carried out at Taxila under the orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934.* Vol. II, Minor antiquities. Karachi: Royal Book Company.

Marshall, John. 1954/2006c. *Taxila: an illustrated account of archaeological excavations carried out at Taxila under the orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934.* Vol. III, plates. Karachi: Royal Book Company.

McGuire, Randall H. and Robert Paynter. (eds.) (1991) *The archaeology of inequality*. Oxford: Black Well.

Michon, Daniel Merton. (2007) Material matters: archaeology, numismatics, and religion in early historic Punjab, PhD dissertation submitted to the University of California, at, http://www.global.ucsb.edu/punjab/dissertations/michon_dissertation.pdf, accessed: 15 June 2014.

Mitra, Babu Rajendralala. (1864) Note on Major-General Cunningham's remarks on the Bactro-Pali Taxila inscription, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* XXXII (I-IV) (and a Supplementary No. 1863): 151-161.

Mughal, Muhammad Rafique. (1972) Excavations at Sarai Khola-part II: the pottery, *Pakistan Archaeology* (8): 33-94.

Muhammad Khan, Gulzar. (1983) Hathial excavation: a preliminary account, *Journal of Central Asia* 6 (2): 35-44.

My Ancestry, http://www.feeshowell.com/PDF%20Files%20-%20Fee%20Showell%20Site/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20Ch1%20-%20My%20Ancestry.pdf, (accessed: August 27, 2013).

Oberoi, Harjot. (n.d.) Empire, orientalism and native informants: the scholarly endeavours of Sir Attar Singh Bhadour, at, http://www.global.ucsb.edu/punjab/journal/v17_1-2/articles/JPS_17_nos_1-2_Oberoi.pdf, accessed: October 31, 2015.

Ojha, K.C. 1968. *The history of foreign rule in ancient India*. Allahabad: Gyan Prakashan.

Olivieri, Luca M. (1996) Notes on the problematic sequence of Alexander's itinerary in Swat: a geoarchaeological study, *East and West* 46 (1-2): 45-78.

Olivieri, Luca M. (2006) Outline history of the IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan: 1956-2006, *East and West* 56 (1-3): 23-41.

Olivieri, Luca M. (2015) 'Frontier archaeology': Sir Aurel Stein, Swat and the Indian Aornos, *South Asian Studies* 31 (1): 58-70.

Petrie, A. Cameron. (2013) Taxila, http://www.academia.edu/6784964/Petrie_C.A._Taxila, accessed: January 18, 2015.

Petrie, Cameron A. and Peter Magee. (2007) Histories, epigraphy and authority: Achaemenid and indigenous control in Pakistan in the 1st millennium BC, *Gandhāran Studies* (I): 3-22.

Prakash, Buddha. (1994) *Poros the Great*. Lahore: Gantaum Publishers.

Pratap, Ajay. (2014) Indian archaeology and post-modernism: fashion or necessity? *Ancient India* 5 (2): 1-4, at, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/aa.12318, accessed: 25 September 2015.

Rahman, Abdur. (1983) Taxila under the Ghaznavids, *Journal of Central Asia* 6 (2): 173-178.

Raleigh, Sir Thomas. (1906) *Lord Curzon in India: being a selection from his speeches as Viceroy and Governor-General on India (1898-1905) with a portrait, explanatory notes and an index and with an introduction by Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I.* London: MacMillan and Co., Limited.

Ray, Himanshu Prabha. (2008) *Colonial archaeology in South Asia: the legacy of Sir Mortimer Wheeler*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Rizvi, Uzma Z. and Jane Lydon. (2010/2012) Epilogue: postcolonialism and archaeology, *in*: Jane Lydon and Uzma Z. Rizvi. (eds.) *A handbook of postcolonial archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, 495-503.

Ronaldshay, Earl Of. (1928) *The life of Lord Curzon: being the authorized biography of George Nathaniel Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K. G*. Vol. II, London: Ernest Benn Ltd.

Rowland, B. (1935) Ionic architecture in the east, *American Journal of Archaeology* (21): 489-496.

Roy, Sourindranath. (1961) *The story of Indian archaeology, 1784-1947*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

Salomon, Richard. 2005. The name of Taxila: Greek "ἀξΙλα, Gāndhārī "Taḳsaïla", Sanskrit "Takṣaśilā", Pali "Takkasilā", *East and West* (55) 1/4 (December): 265-277.

Schaefer, H. (1942) Two Gandharan temples and their Near Eastern sources, *Journal of American Oriental Society* (LXII): 61-67.

Schiffer, Michael Brian. (1996) Some relationships between behavioural and evolutionary archaeologies, *American Antiquity* 61 (4): 643-662.

Schopen, Gregory. (1997) *Bones, stones, and Buddhist monks: collected papers on the archaeology, epigraphy, and texts of monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Schopen, Gregory. (2004) *Buddhist monks and Buddhist matters*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Schopen, Gregory. (2005) *Figments and fragments of Mahayana Buddhism in India: more collected papers*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Shah, Sayed Wiqar Ali. (1999-2000) Redefining constitutional politics: the NWFP and the Raj, 1901-1932, *The Calcutta Historical Journal* (XXI-XXII): 115-137.

Shah, Sayed Wiqar Ali. (1999) *Ethnicity, Islam, and nationalism: Muslim politics in the North-West Frontier Province (1937-1947)*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Shah, Sayed Wiqar Ali. (2007) *North-West Frontier Province: history and politics*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Centre of Excellence, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

Sharif, Mohammad. (1969) Excavations at Bhir Mound, Taxila, *Pakistan Archaeology* (6): 6-99.

Singh, Upinder. (2004) *The discovery of ancient India: early archaeologists and the beginnings of archaeology*. New Delhi: Permanent Black.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler 1890-1976, at http://www.dur.ac.uk/arch.projects/charsadda/charsadda-panel4-low.pdf, (accessed September 28, 2013).

Smith, Claire and Heather Burke (2005) Mortimer Wheeler, Lewis Binford, Ian Hodder1 ... and you: Active learning in archaeology, at http://conference.herdsa.org.au/2005/pdf/refereed/paper_017.pdf, (accessed September 28, 20013).

Singh, Upinder. (2004) *The discovery of ancient India: early archaeologists and the beginnings of archaeology*. New Delhi: Permanent Black.

Skinner, Quentin. (ed.) (1985/1986) *The return of Grand Theory in human sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India (Lord Curzon) at the meeting of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 6th February 1900, reproduced as Appendix II, Ancient Monuments in India, *in*: Dilip K. Chakrabarti (1988/2001) *A history of Indian archaeology: from the beginning to 1947*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 227-236.

Sugandhi, Namita Sanjay. (2008) Between the patterns of history: rethinking Mauryan imperial interaction in the Southern Deccan, Unpublished PhD dissertation, The Faculty of the Division of the Social Sciences, Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago, at, https://www.academia.edu/1956032/Between_the_Patterns_of_History_Rethinking_Mauryan_Imperial_Interaction_in_the_Southern_Deccan, (acc. April 20, 2016).

Trautmann, Thomas R. and Carla M. Sinopoli. (2002) In the beginning was the word: excavating the relations between history and archaeology in South Asia, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 45 (4): 492-523.

Trigger, Bruce G. (1984) Alternative archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist, *Man* 19 (3): 355-370.

Trigger, Bruce G. (1989/2010) *A history of archaeological thought*. 2nd ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Villard, Ugo Monneret de. (1967) The Iranian temple of Taxila, *A Survey of Persian Art* (1): 445-448.

Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer. (1946) Notes, *Ancient India* (1): 1-3.

Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer. (1947-1948) Postscript (to A. Ghosh, Taxila (Sirkap), 1944-5), *Ancient India* (4): 83-84.

Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer. (1950) Archæology in India and Pakistan since 1944, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 99 (4837): 113-132.

Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer. (1954/1955) *Archaeology from the earth*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer. (1955/1958) *Still digging*. London: Pan Books Limited.

Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer. (1976) *My archaeological mission to India and Pakistan*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Young, G. M. (1946) A new hoard from Taxila (Bhir Mound), *Ancient India* (1): 27-36.

Zaman, Mahmood. (2011) *State vandalism of history in Pakistan*. Lahore: Vanguard Books.

Appendix

CATEGORIZED LIST OF IMMOVABLE ANTIQUITIES MONUMENTS AND SITES PROTECTED UNDER THE ANTIQUITIES ACT, 1975[52]

Taxila Valley

District Haripur, KPK and

Attock, Rawalpindi, Punjab

GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND MUSEUMS

[52] Courtesy: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Islamabad

CATEGORIZED LIST OF IMMOVABLE ANTIQUITIES

MONUMENTS AND SITES

PROTECTED UNDER THE ANTIQUITIES ACT 1975

Category-I Those monuments which from their present condition or historical or archaeological value ought to be maintained in permanent good repair.

Category-II Those monuments which it is now only possible or desirable to save from further decay by such measures as the eradication of vegetation, the exclusion of water from the walls, and the like.

Category-III Those monuments which, from their advanced stage of decay or comparative unimportance, it is impossible or unnecessary to preserve.

LIST OF IMMOVABLE ANTIQUITIES, MONUMENTS AND SITES

PROTECTED UNDER THE ANTIQUITIES ACT, 1975

District Haripur, Taxila Valley

S.No.	DISTRICT/LOCALITY	NAME OF THE MONUMENTS	CATEGORY	OWNED AN MAINTAINE
1.	Haripur, Tafikian	Jandial A,B,C,D, excavated remains	I	DAP
2.	Haripur, Marchabad	Marchabad Sirsukh city Site of Kushan period	I	DAP
3.	Haripur, Jaulian	Jaulian Site	I	DAP
4.	Haripur, Jaulian	Piplan Site	I	DAP
5.	Haripur, Garhian	Garhian (Lal Chak) Stupa Monastery	II	DAP

6.	Haripur, Badalpur	Badalpur Stupa and Monastery	II	DAP
7.	Haripur, Bhamala	Ancient Site	II	Owned Privat maintained D
8.	Haripur, Tofikian	Tofikian Mound	III	DAP
9.	Haripur, Tofikian	Three Bajran Site, B,C,D,	III	DAP
10.	Haripur, Pind Ghakran	Mound Pind Ghakhran	III	Private
11.	Haripur, Mirpur	Mirpur Mound	III	Private
12.	Haripur, Jaulian	Tope Site (Mound)	III	Private
13.	Haripur, Bhera	Bhera (Mound)	III	Private
14.	Haripur, Chitti	Chitti Site	III	Private
15.	Haripur, Tarnawa	Tarnawa Chitti Site, A & B	III	Private
16.	Haripur, Garamthun	Bharj or Tuma Site	III	Private
17.	Haripur, Kutehra	Bhari Dheri	III	Private
18.	Haripur, Kutehra	Dana Wali	III	Private
19.	Haripur, Kamalpur	Tope Site	III	Private
20.	Haripur, Dobandi	Part of Site	III	Private

LIST OF IMMOVABLE ANTIQUITIES, MONUMENTS AND SITES

PROTECTED UNDER THE ANTIQUITIES ACT, 1975

District Attock, Rawalpindi, Punjab

Taxila Valley

S.No.	DISTRICT/LOCALITY	NAME OF THE MONUMENTS	CATEGORY	OWNED AN MAINTAINE
1.	Attock Hasan Abdal Town Behari Colony	Buddhist Site (Behari Colony C.3rd-5th Century A.D.	II	Owned privat maintained by DAP
2.	Rawalpindi, Mankiyala	Tope or Stupa	I	DAP
3.	Rawalpindi, Bhelar	Tope or Stupa	I	DAP
4.	Rawalpindi, Pharwala	Pharwala Fort	I	Government
5.	Rawalpindi, Wah Cantt.	Losar Baoli	I	DAP
6.	Rawalpindi, Taxila, Mauza Majawer	Bhir Mound	I	DAP
7.	Rawalpindi, Taxila, Babar Khan	The area or tract known as Babar Khan	III	DAP
8.	Rawalpindi, Mauza Karawal	Kalawan Site	I	DAP
9.	Rawalpindi, Taxila Chirtope	Chirtope Site	I	DAP
10.	Rawalpindi, Mauza Gangu Bahadur	Sirkap Site	I	DAP
11.	Rawalpindi, Mauza Khuram Gujjar	Giri Remains	II	DAP
12.	Rawalpindi, Taxila	Mohra Moradu Site	I	DAP
13.	Rawalpindi, Taxila	Sarai Khola	I	Private
14.	Rawalpindi, Vaillage Rewat	Rewat Fort	I	DAP
15.	Rawalpindi, Margala Pass	Nicholson Column	I	DAP
16.	Rawalpindi, Mile 102, G.T. Rd.	Kos Minar	II	DAP
17.	Rawalpindi, Near Golara Railway Station	Kos Minar	II	DAP

18.	Rawalpindi, Wah	Farud Gah, Shahan-e-Mughalia, Tank & Garden	I	DAP
19.	Rawalpindi, Village Gangu Bahadur.	Ratta Pind	III	Private

Pictures

Figure 10: John Marshall

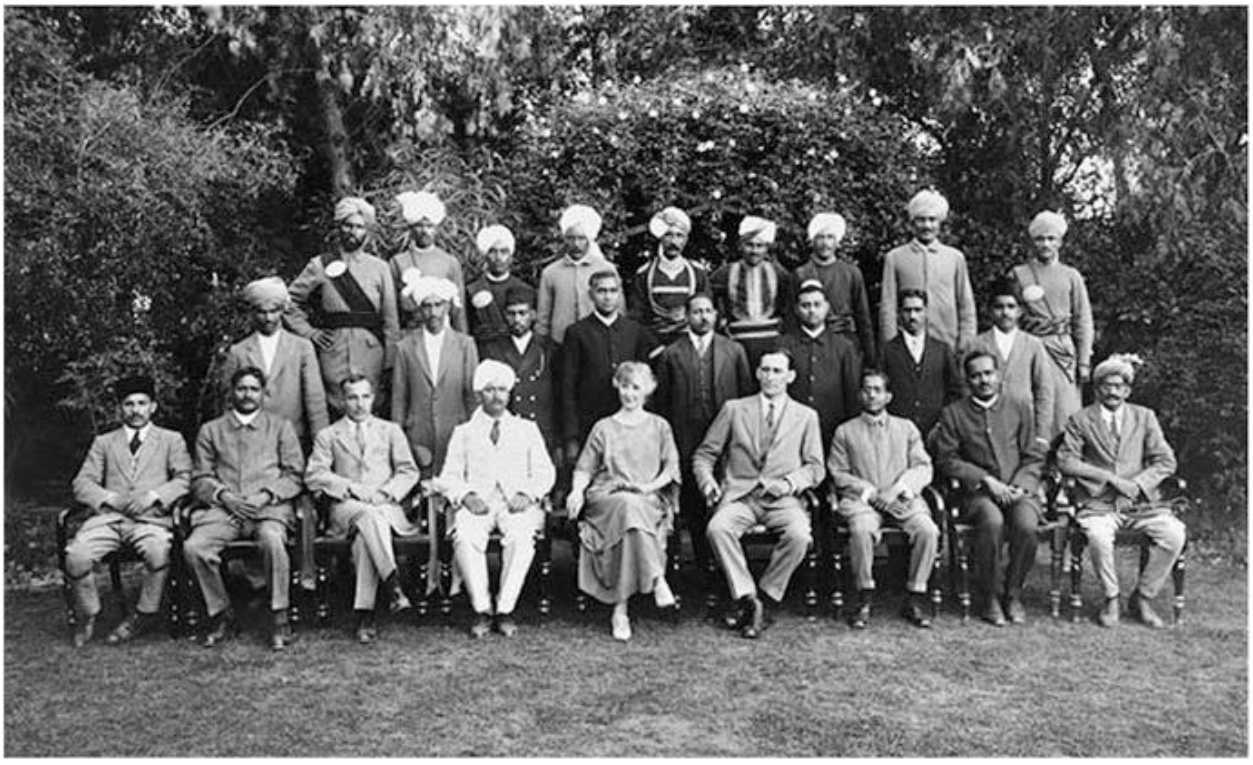

Figure 11: John Marshall and his wife Florence with the Staff of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1925. (The Alkazi Collection of Photography); courtesy: Ashraf Khan and Shaheen 2015

Figure 12: Dharmarajika stupa

Figure 13: Dharmarajika stupa

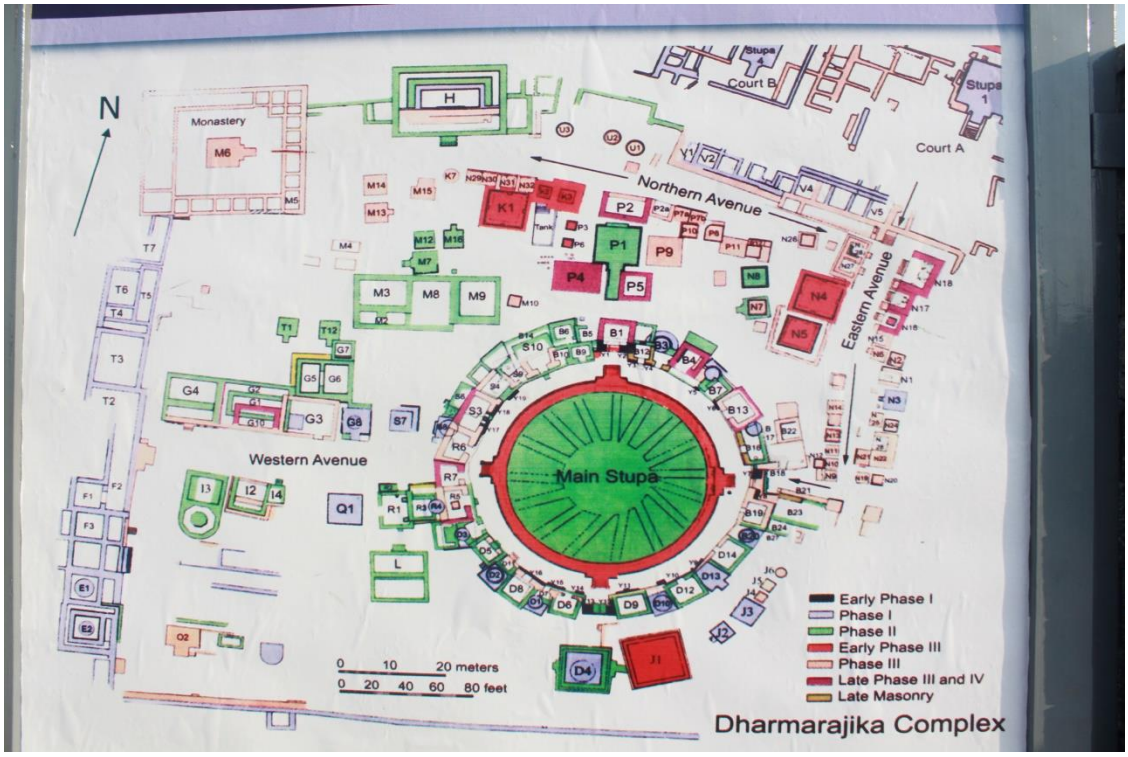

Figure 14: Site plan of Dharmarajika at Dharmarajika

Figure 15: Water tank at Dharmarajika

Figure 16: Bhir-mound; Courtesy: Ashraf Khan and Shaheen 2015

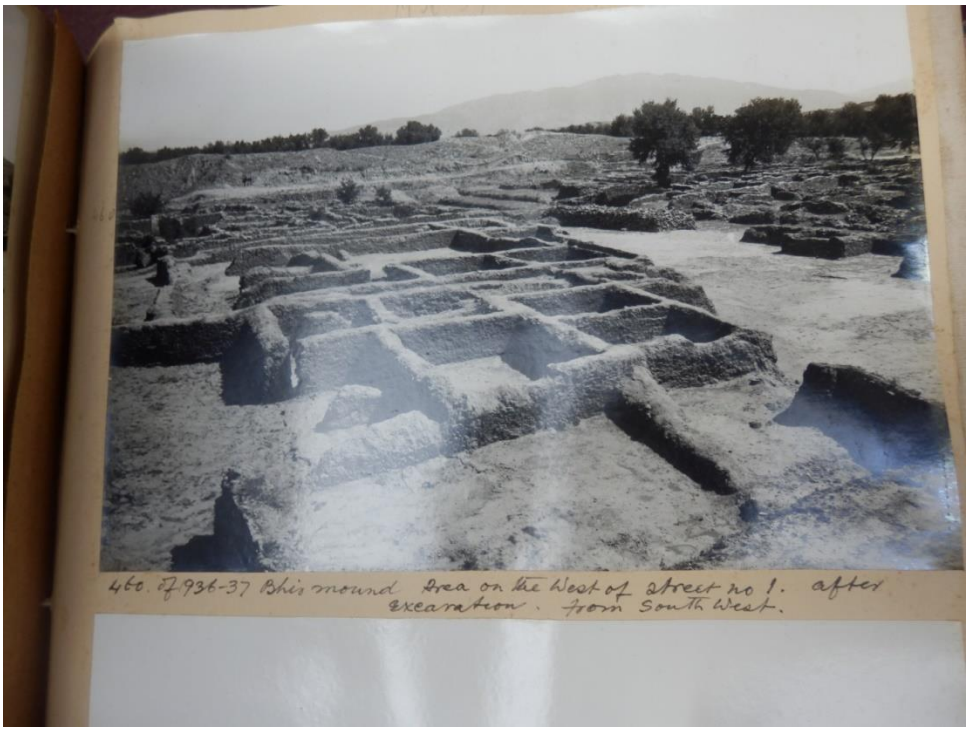

Figure 17: Bhir-mound; Courtesy: Ashraf Khan and Shaheen

Figure 18: Marshall at Bhir Mound site during his field work in 1922-1923
Courtesy: Ashraf Khan and Shaheen 2015

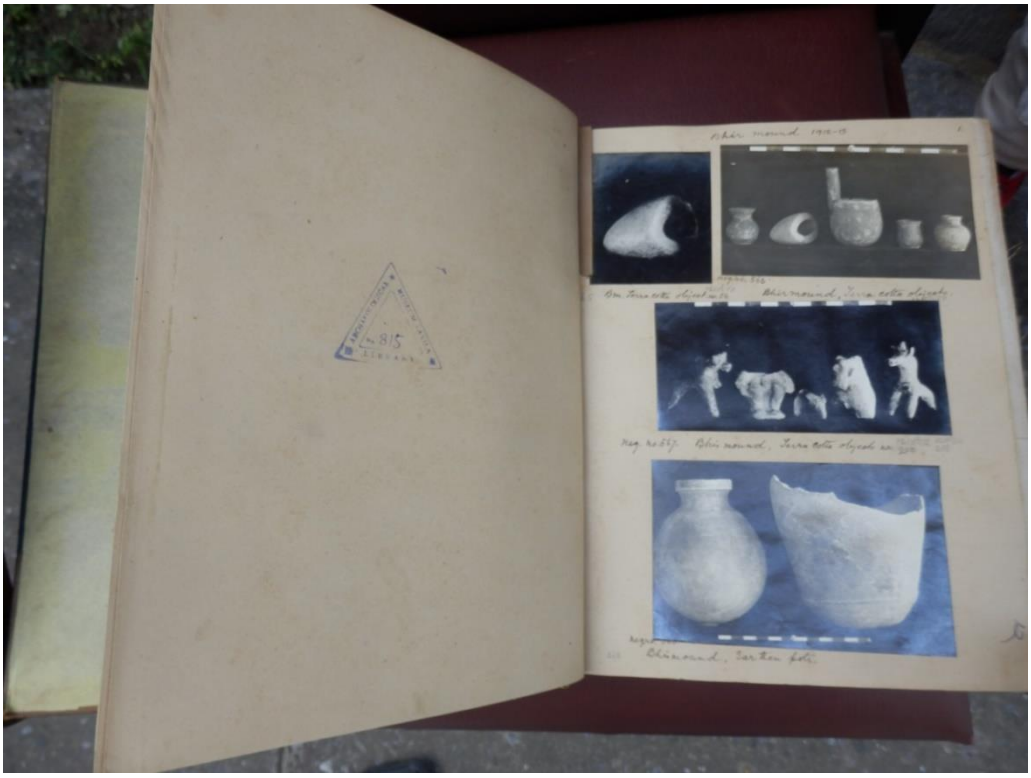

Figure 19: Inventory of the excavated artifacts from Bhir-mound made by Sir John Marshall (1922-1923)

Courtesy: Ashraf Khan and Shaheen 2015

Figure 20: Bhir-mound

Figure 21: Bhir-mound, the heritage threatened

Figure 22: Bhir-mound, the threatened heritage

Figure 23: Bhir-mound

Figure 24: General view of Sirkap

Figure 25: Main street of Sirkap

Figure 26: The site of Sun Temple, Sirkap

Figure 27: Sun Temple, Sirkap

Figure 28: Sirkap

Figure 29: Main Street, Sirkap

Figure 30: Well, Sirkap

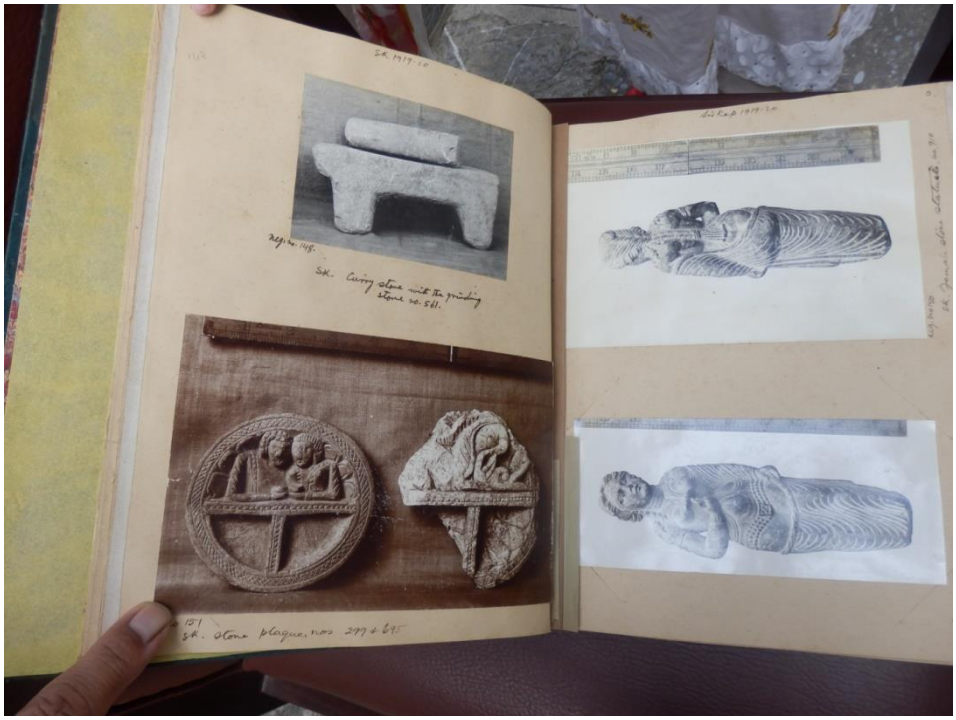

Figure 31: Inventory of the excavated artifacts from sirkap made by Sir John Marshall (1918-1919)

Courtesy: Ashraf Khan and Shaheen

Figure 32: Female figure; Courtesy: Ashraf Khan and Shaheen

Figure 33: Ritual incense burner; courtesy: Ashraf Khan and Shaheen

Figure 34: Jandial C

Figure 35: Jandial C

Figure 36: Jandial C

Figure 37: Jandial C

Figure 38: Jandial C

Figure 39: Jandial D

Figure 40: Jandial D

Figure 41: Sirsukh

Figure 42: Sirsukh

Figure 43: Sirsukh

Figure 44: Sirsukh

Figure 45: Sirsukh

Figure 46: Badalpur stupa

Figure 47: Badalpur stupa

Figure 48: Badalpur stupa

Figure 49: Badalpur monastery

Figure 50: Badalpur monastery

Figure 51: Badalpur monastery, recent excavations, Quaid-i-Azam University

Figure 52: Badalpur monastery, recent excavations by Quaid-i-Azam University

Figure 53: Badalpur monastery, recent excavations by Quaid-i-Azam University

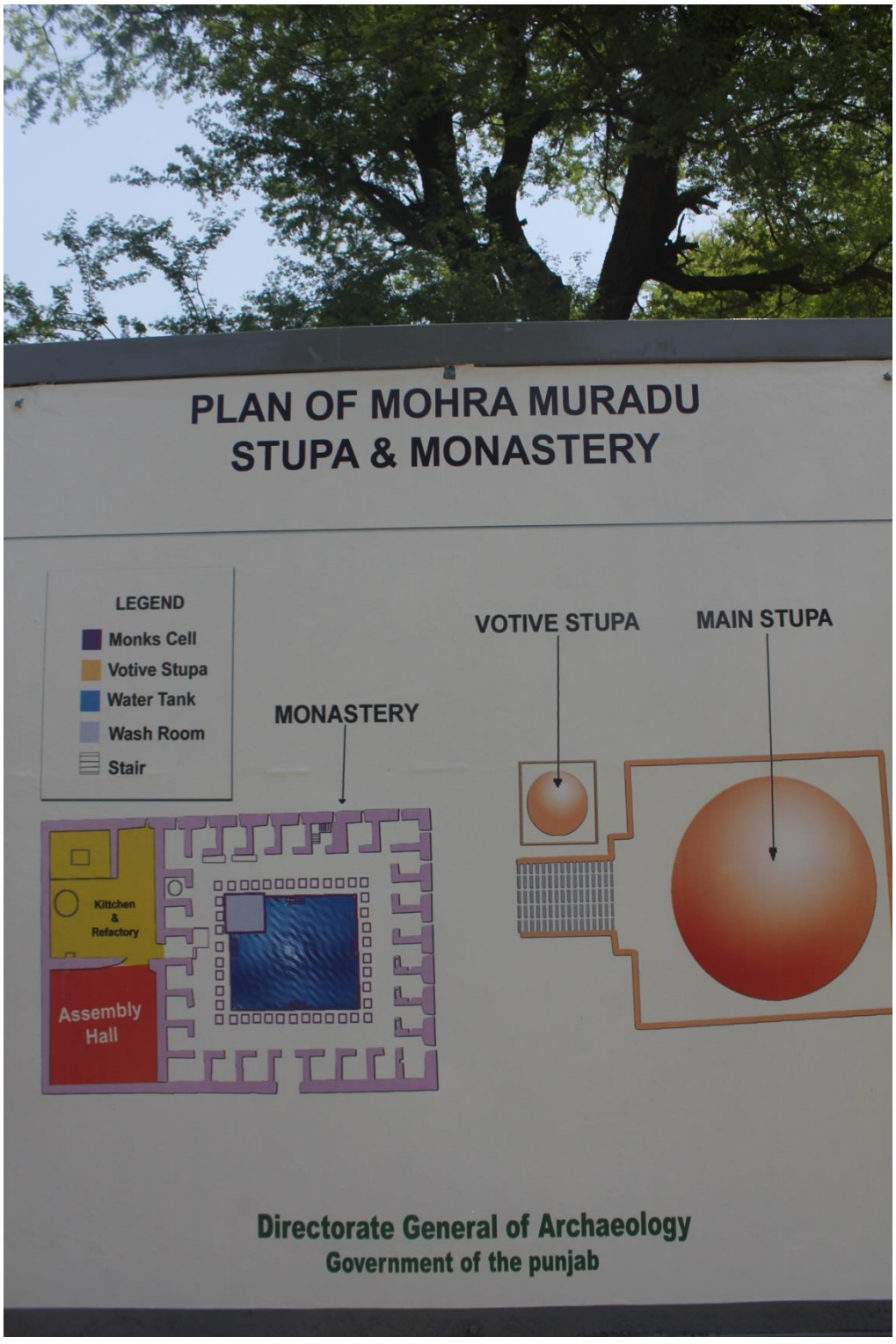

Figure 54: Mohra-murado site plan

Figure 55: Mohra-murado monastery

Figure 56: Mohra-murado stupa

Figure 57: Mohra-murado site

Figure 58: Buddha stucco statues, Mohra-murado

Figure 59: Pippalan/Piplan

Figure 60: Votive stupa, Piplan

Figure 61: Piplan

Figure 62: Piplan

Figure 63: Piplan

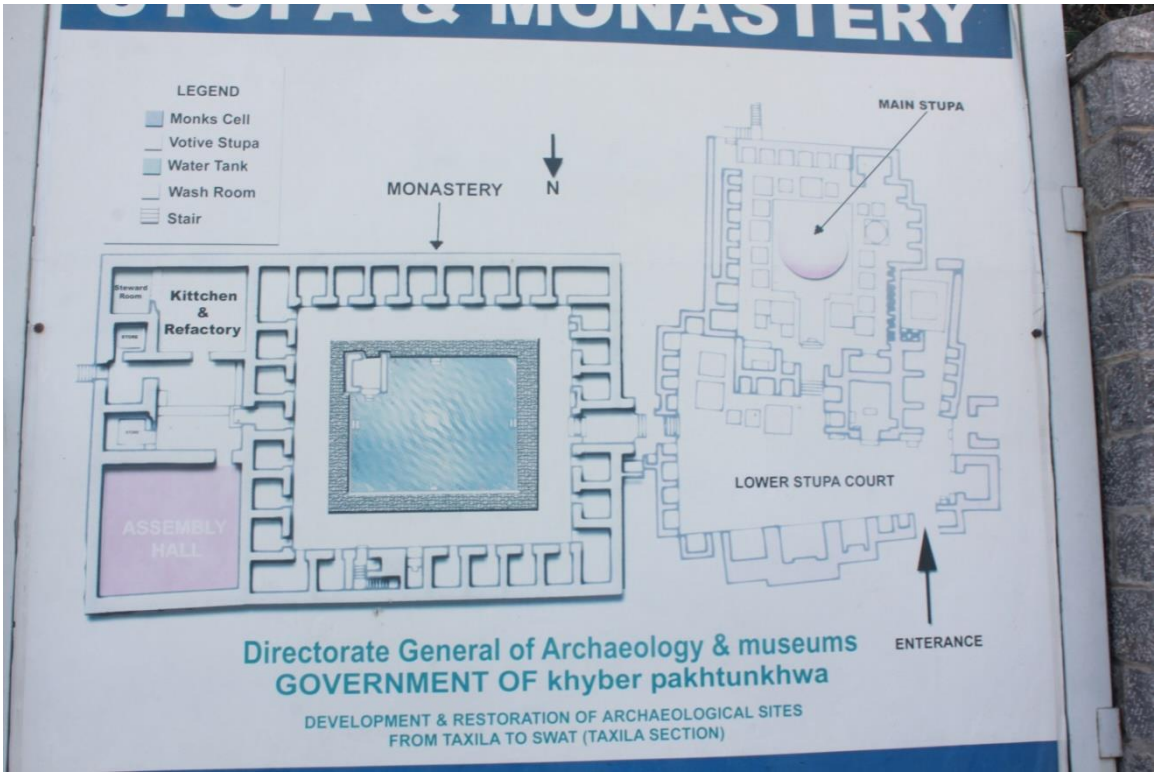

Figure 64: Jaulian plan

Figure 65: Jaulian

Figure 66: Buddhist stucco images at Jaulian

Figure 67: Jaulian monastery

Figure 68: Jaulian monastery

Figure 69: Healing Buddha, Jaulian

Figure 70: Lalchak

Figure 71: Lalchak

Figure 72: Lalchak

Figure 73: Lalchak

Figure 74: Bhamala stupa

Figure 75: Giri

Figure 76: Giri

Figure 77: Giri

Figure 78: Giri