

Doctoral Dissertation

**“Safeguarding-Governmentality” of the Cultural Heritage:  
Democratising, Conserving, and Representing the Past(s) of Bangladesh**

**IMRAN MD. MASOOD**

Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation  
Hiroshima University

September 2019

**“Safeguarding-Governmentality” of the Cultural Heritage:  
Democratising, Conserving, and Representing the Past(s) of Bangladesh**

D 173108

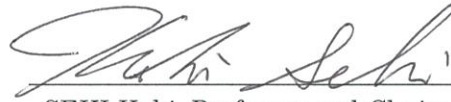
**IMRAN MD. MASOOD**

A Dissertation Submitted to  
the Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation  
of Hiroshima University in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirement for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

September 2019

We hereby recommend that the dissertation by Mr. IMRAN MD. MASOOD entitled "Safeguarding Governmentality" of the Cultural Heritage: Democratising, Conserving, and Representing the Past(s) of Bangladesh" be accepted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

Committee on Final Examination:



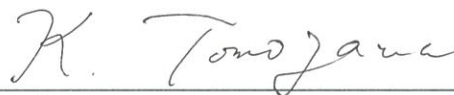
SEKI Koki, Professor and Chairperson



GOTO Daisaku, Associate Professor

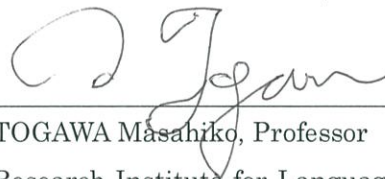


NAKAZORA Moe, Lecturer



TOMOZAWA Kazuo, Professor

Graduate School of Letters, Hiroshima University



TOGAWA Masahiko, Professor

Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Date: July 29, 2019

Approved:



Baba Takuya, Professor  
Dean

Date:

August 30 2019

Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation  
Hiroshima University

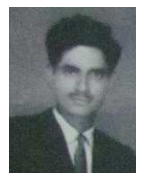
*Dedicated to*



*M. Tabibur Rahman,*

*a self-taught archaeologist, heritage-resident of Mahasthangarh*

*&*



*M. A. Waked,*

*my father, whom I missed a lot.*

## Abstract

The objectives of the dissertation are to problematise the discursive formation of the dominating paradigm of the safeguarding programme of cultural heritage in Bangladesh, and to formulate a design of action for safeguarding by democratising the past(s) in museums in order to engage the heritage-residents. Specifically, the safeguarding programme of the cultural heritage of Mahasthangarh, Paharpur, the Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat in Bangladesh and the Bhaktapur in Nepal have been the objects of this study together with the mechanism of governmentalisation with regard to the heritage sites, heritage-residents and the state. The present idea of safeguarding cultural heritage was developed as a neoliberal phenomenon where “norms” (e.g. “world patrimony,” “protect/conservate the past,” “masterpiece of human genius”) have been generated by the governing power through transnational agencies (e.g. UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM). The managing governmentality have normalised these norms in UNESCO member states which have, in turn, become the managerial entity of the cultural heritage. At the same time, the state uses this normative understanding to engage heritage-residents in its governance under a programme of safeguarding the cultural heritage.

In Bangladesh, the dominant practices of the safeguarding programme ignore the popular understanding of the knowledge system about the past, and the relationship of heritage residents with this past. There is a normalised notion of the “non-cognizant,” “illiterate” and “ignorant” masses who are not well-oriented and knowledgeable about the so-called “true” nationalistic and patriotic goals. Among these goals, one of the most fundamental, as hegemonic narratives assert, is to achieve “true-knowledge” about the past glories and pride embedded in these archaeological records. It is, therefore, often claimed that a nation that does not care for its past/history and protect its heritage could not be a nation in its pure sense. Against this backdrop, an analytical tool has been developed under this study by customising the theory of Michel Foucault’s “Governmentality” (1991), along with the scholarship of Ian Hodder’s “reflexive archaeology”

(2003), Robert Layton's "archaeological / historical fact" (2004), Asish Nandy's "multivocality of history" (1995), Hayden White's "new historicism" (1975), Bruno Latour's "scientism" (2004), Stuart Hall's "representation" (2003) and Judith Butler's "performative subjectivity" (1988). Such customised analytical tool is referred to as "Safeguarding-Governmentality" – a process of exploring the rationalisation in respect to safeguarding cultural heritage. This process, when based on a modernised knowledge system, governs "heritage" as a subject of subjectivation (i.e., cultural heritage and state) and subjectification (i.e., heritage-residents). Arguably, it involves a range of actors from transnational agencies to grassroots agencies of the performativity of reflective subjectivity, where the voices of residents in heritage sites are rationalised or manipulated through spatial-governmentalisation.

"Safeguarding-governmentality" as an analytical tool had made evident how Bangladesh, as a member state of transnational agencies, became a docile body in managing its cultural heritage by embracing the set of norms developed by transnational agencies. Nevertheless, it also exercised repressive power over heritage-residents, through jurisdiction, by institutionalising the dominating knowledge of cultural heritage and history; and consequently, normalising the incompetence of popular oral myths in the realm of scienticism of history. This, in turn, made the heritage-residents a docile body. Thus, to engage heritage-residents in protecting their cultural heritage, an action to democratise the past(s) of the cultural heritage is deemed essential. For this purpose, the museum has been chosen as venue to accommodate various voices, democratically and interactively, by representing both (hi)story in the academic perspective and hi(story) in the eyes of the heritage-residents. Using "safeguarding-governmentality" as an analytical tool provides a better understanding of the governmentalisation over the cultural heritage, heritage-residents and the state.

## Contents

Abstract	2
<i>List of Table</i>	7
<i>List of Figures</i>	7
<b>Chapter 1</b>	14
Introduction	14
1.1. Background	14
1.1.1. Research Questions	19
1.1.2. Research Objectives	19
1.2. Literature Review	20
1.3. The rationale of the Study	32
1.4. Analytical Framework	36
1.5. Research Methodology	52
1.6. Outline of the Dissertation	59
<b>Chapter 2</b>	65
The Research Sites	65
2.1.1. Archaeological History of Mahasthangarh: A Cultural Capital of SAARC	66
2.1.2. Archaeological History of Paharpur: A World Cultural Heritage	72
2.1.3. The Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat: A World Cultural Heritage	76
2.1.4. Bhaktapur Durbar and Dattatreya Square Monumental Zone, Nepal: A World Cultural Heritage	87
2.2. Social Stratification of the Heritage-Residents	93
2.2.1. <i>Bangladesh Chapter</i>	93
2.2.2. <i>Nepal Chapter</i>	95
2.3. Summary	101

<b>Chapter 3</b>	104
Discursive Formations of Cultural Heritage	104
3.1. The dominating idea of Cultural Heritage: A Project of Transnational Governmentality	105
3.2. Scrutinise the Resident's Perceptions of “Value” of Heritage	108
3.3. Problematising the Transnational Categorisations of the World Cultural Heritage	114
3.4. The Normalisation of “Heritage” as Bangla Word “Oiytijho”: Colonial Governmentality	122
3.5. Heritage Consumerisms	127
3.6. Heritageisation: The Apparatus of Constructing an Imagined Community	129
3.7. Summary	130
<b>Chapter 4</b>	134
Discursive Analysis of Managerial Governmentality of the Safeguarding Programme in Cultural Heritage of Bangladesh	134
4.1. Organisational Subjective Performativity	136
4.2. The Legalisation of Transnational Governmentality	143
4.3. Developmental Governmentality and Elitist Destruction	150
4.4. Heritage Commodification Governmentality	158
4.5. The Apathy of Archaeological Research and Publication	164
4.6. The Resistance and Recommendation of Heritage-Residents	168
4.7. Summary	175
<b>Chapter 5</b>	179
Accommodating Heterogeneous Voices of the Past(s) of Democratising the History	179
5.1. Problematising the Dominating Hi(story) Writings: Ownership of the Past in Bangladesh	183
5.2. “Doing (Hi)story” by the Heritage-Residents	189
5.2.1. The Behula – Lakhindar Elegy: A Popular Oral Tradition	190
5.2.2. A Brief History of Hindu King <i>Parashuram</i> and Muslim Sufi-saint <i>Shah Sultan Mahisawar</i>	192



5.3. “Doing Hi(story) by the Academicians	199
5.4. The Discursive Analysis of the (Hi)story of Heritage-Residents and the Dominating Hi(story) Writing	200
5.4.1. Analyse the Communal Issues of the (Hi)story of Heritage-Residents and the Dominating Hi(story) Writing	200
5.4.2. Analysis of the Performativity of Reflective Subjectivity of the Muslim Heritage-Residents with Hindu-Buddhist Archaeological Remains	207
5.4.3. Analyse the Mechanism of Historicising the Text and Narration of the Past by Heritage-Residents: Dilemma between “fact” and “fiction.”	216
5.4.4. Analyse the Project of “Scienticism” as an Apparatus to construct the “Historical Fact” differentiated from “Historical Fiction”	221
5.5. Summary	231
<b>Chapter 6</b>	234
The Democratisation of Representing the Past(s) in Museum as the Design of Action for Safeguarding the Cultural Heritage	234
6.1. The Representation of the Narratives of Self and Performativity of Reflective Subjectivity in Museum	237
6.2. Mapping the Cultural Heritage	242
6.3 Generating 3D Models: Digital Safeguarding-governmentality of the Future-Past of cultural heritage	247
6.3.1. Modelling the Present and Predicting the Past Khalifatabad	248
6.3.2. Predictive Modelling of <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i>	255
6.4. Summary	263
<b>Chapter 7</b>	268
Conclusion	268
Endnotes	276
Enclosure	276

## ***List of Table***

Table 1 The Binary Understanding between Tradition and Heritage	124
-----------------------------------------------------------------	-----

## ***List of Figures***

<i>Figure 1</i> Location map of research areas as annotated in red.	18
<i>Figure 2</i> Conceptual Diagram of Analytical Framework of “Safeguarding-Governmentality”	51
<i>Figure 3</i> Systematic GPS survey in Bagerhat as an example of the field setting.	56
<i>Figure 4</i> Flowchart of the dissertation.	60
<i>Figure 5</i> Field Location of Mahasthangarh.	67
<i>Figure 6</i> Location of the research area of Mahasthangarh.	68
<i>Figure 7</i> Bhasu Vihara, Mahasthangarh	69
<i>Figure 8</i> Govinda Bhita, Mahasthangarh	69
<i>Figure 9</i> Bairagir Bhita, Mahasthangarh	70
<i>Figure 10</i> Parasuram Palace, Mahasthangarh	70
<i>Figure 11</i> Mankalir Bhita. Mahasthangar	70
<i>Figure 12</i> Khodar Pathar Bhita, Mahasthangaru	71
<i>Figure 13</i> Bihar Dhap, Mahasthangary	71
<i>Figure 14</i> Inscription, Mahasthangarh	71
<i>Figure 15</i> Surya, Mahasthangarh	71
<i>Figure 16</i> Glazed Pottery, Mahasthangarh	71
<i>Figure 17</i> NBPW (Northern Black Polish Ware)	72
<i>Figure 18</i> Gold Coins	72
<i>Figure 19</i> Silver Puchmarked Coin	72
<i>Figure 20</i> Semi Precious Stone Beads	72
<i>Figure 21</i> Geodetic Position of Paharpur	73
<i>Figure 22</i> A bird's eye view of the Somapura Mahavihara.	74
<i>Figure 23</i> Location Map of <i>Khalifatabad</i> Region, Bagerhat	77
<i>Figure 24</i> This place is locally known as a Mint Centre with Mitha Pukur (Tank).	79

<i>Figure 25</i> Regional map of <i>Khalifatabad</i> , a hierarchical central place among the buffering zone of Bagerhat, Satkhira and Jhenaidah.	81
<i>Figure 26</i> Shait Gumbad Mosque	84
<i>Figure 27</i> Partial view of excavated Khan Jahan's road.	85
<i>Figure 28</i> Tomb and one domed mosque of Ulugh Khan Jahan.	85
<i>Figure 29</i> Singair Mosque	85
<i>Figure 30</i> Bibi Begoni Mosque	85
<i>Figure 31</i> Chunakhola Mosque	85
<i>Figure 32</i> Rawnabijoypur Mosque	85
<i>Figure 33</i> Rezakhoda Mosque	86
<i>Figure 34</i> Nine Dome Mosque	86
<i>Figure 35</i> Zindapir Mosque, Mazar and graveyard	86
<i>Figure 36</i> Residential Structure beside Zindapir's Mazar	86
<i>Figure 37</i> Ten Dome Mosque	86
<i>Figure 38</i> Evidence of ruined 35-domed Bara Azina Mosque	86
<i>Figure 39</i> Tapaghar	86
<i>Figure 40</i> Interior of Tapaghar	86
<i>Figure 41</i> Detail Map of the Archaeological Evidences of Bhaktapur, Nepal.	92
<i>Figure 42</i> Images of Mazar of Shah Sultan Balkhia Mahisawar	95
<i>Figure 43</i> A Diagram of the system of <i>Guthi</i> of Bhaktapur <i>Newer</i>	99
<i>Figure 44</i> Guthi Puja in Bhaktapur for death rituals.	100
<i>Figure 45</i> Images of temples in every step of the way in Bhaktapur, Nepal	115
<i>Figure 46</i> Ideal design of <i>Yantra</i> in Bhaktapur, Nepal	117
<i>Figure 47</i> Distribution of Temples, Bhaktapur, Nepal	118
<i>Figure 48</i> Spatial Distribution of Navadurga Ghana, Bhaktapur, Nepal	118
<i>Figure 49</i> Yantra Town Plan of Bhaktapur, Nepal	119
<i>Figure 50</i> The <i>Austamatrixa</i> and <i>Navadurga Ghana</i> , Bhaktapur, Nepal	119
<i>Figure 51</i> Power Reflection Ring of Tripurashunday in Bhaktapur, Nepal	120

<i>Figure 52</i> A Medieval Urban Space of Khalifatabad	121
<i>Figure 53</i> Campaign on celebrating the heritage of Bangladesh	127
<i>Figure 54</i> Examples of heritage festivals events.	128
<i>Figure 55</i> Organogram of the Department of Archaeology	137
<i>Figure 56</i> Rebuilt Central Gateway of Bhaktapur Durbar Square by following the Mollar Architectural Style after the destruction by the earthquake in 2015	146
<i>Figure 57</i> Previous Feature of the Central Gateway of Bhaktapur Durbar Square before the destruction of the earthquake in 2015.	146
<i>Figure 58</i> Restoration Works by the Newari Stone Craftsman	149
<i>Figure 59</i> Wooden Craftsmanship at Bhaktapur	149
<i>Figure 60</i> Painter of Religious Figure	149
<i>Figure 61</i> Digging for the construction of a multi-storied building	150
<i>Figure 62</i> The Road Runs through the Mound of <i>Chand Shawdaghar</i>	154
<i>Figure 63</i> Brick Bates of the Mound of <i>Chand Shawdaghar</i>	154
<i>Figure 64</i> Brutally Cut off the Mound of <i>Chand Shawdaghar</i> for Preparing the Farmland.	154
<i>Figure 65</i> Regularly dug out the Mound of <i>Chand Shawdaghar</i>	154
<i>Figure 66</i> Heritage-resident's graveyard in the Protected Area	156
<i>Figure 67</i> Heritage-residents are fenced out to control their entry	156
<i>Figure 68</i> Paharpur Garden	156
<i>Figure 69</i> The Wall of the Citadel Area of Mahasthangarh has been fenced in	156
<i>Figure 70</i> SATIDP tourism structural project in Mahasthangarh	159
<i>Figure 71</i> Heritage-Hawker's stationed beside the SATIDP Tourism Project	159
<i>Figure 72</i> Containers made from bamboo at the Mahasthan bazaar.	160
<i>Figure 73</i> Wooden bed at Mahasthan Bazaar	160
<i>Figure 74</i> Peoples gather in the morning at Mahasthan Bazaar	161
<i>Figure 75</i> Vegetable on sale at Mahasthan Bazaar	161
<i>Figure 76</i> Sweets on sale at Mahasthan Bazaar	161
<i>Figure 77</i> Blacksmith shop at the Mahasthan Bazaar	161

<i>Figure 78</i> SATIDP -installed gateway at Bagerhat	162
<i>Figure 79</i> SATIDP -installed Gateway at Paharpur	162
<i>Figure 80</i> Traditional architecture in Sri Lanka	162
<i>Figure 81</i> Mud Architecture in Mahasthangarh Region	162
<i>Figure 82</i> Iron-framed wooden staircase installed by SATIDP in the Central Shrine of Paharpur	163
<i>Figure 83</i> Peacock gateway of the garden beside the Paharpur Monastery	164
<i>Figure 84</i> Giraffe-shaped plants in the garden of Paharpur Monastery	164
<i>Figure 85</i> The name of Allah sculpted on plants in the Garden of Paharpur Monastery	164
<i>Figure 86</i> Sculptured shrubs as fencing for the garden at the Paharpur Monastery	164
<i>Figure 87</i> The Mound of the Bridal Suite of Behula-Lakhindar in Mahasthan.	190
<i>Figure 88</i> Original cover page of the book of Rahman, annotated with English translation by Author.	195
<i>Figure 89</i> Contents page of the book of Rahman.	195
<i>Figure 90</i> Original inner cover with publication information of the book of Rahman, with corresponding English translation by Author.	195
<i>Figure 91</i> Original preface page of the book of Rahman, with corresponding English translation by Author.	196
<i>Figure 92</i> A brief summary of the (hi)story of Sultan <i>Shah Sufi Balkhi Mahisawar</i> in the book of Rahman, as translated to English by Author	196
<i>Figure 93</i> A brief summary of the (hi)story of the war between Sultan <i>Shah Sufi Balkhi Mahisawar</i> and King <i>Parashuram</i> in the book of Rahman, as translated to English by Author.	197
<i>Figure 94</i> The History of Mahasthan, Banglapedia, National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh	199
<i>Figure 95</i> Visitors are Offering Milk on the Stone of <i>Kbodar Pathar Bhita</i> in the Mazar area of Mahasthan	208
<i>Figure 96</i> Visitors are offering mustard oil and performing <i>Ziyarat</i> at the Mazar of Ulugh Khan Jahan, Bagerhat.	211
<i>Figure 97</i> Visitors are offering chicken to the crocodile at the Lake of the Mazar of Khan Jahan in Bagerhat	212
<i>Figure 98</i> Ritual of Bathing and Drinking Water in <i>Dighi</i> of Khan Jana	213
<i>Figure 99</i> <i>Jahaj Ghata</i> (River Port)	214
<i>Figure 100</i> Mahasthan Brahmi Inscription	217
<i>Figure 101</i> Surrounding Water Bodies of Wari and Bateshwar Villages	230
<i>Figure 102</i> The stage Play of the Homicide of Parashuram by Tabibur Rahman	240

<i>Figure 103</i> The stage play of the bridal-suite of Behula-Lakhindar by Tabibur Rahman	240
<i>Figure 104</i> Spatial location of Paharpur Monastery.	245
<i>Figure 105</i> Spatial Distribution of archaeological records in the region of Mahasthan.	246
<i>Figure 106</i> Spatial distribution of the historic monuments of Bagerhat	246
<i>Figure 107</i> Spatial Distribution of the patterns of <i>Austomatrika</i> and <i>Navadurga Ghana</i> in Bhaktapur, Nepal	247
<i>Figure 108</i> Shait Gumbad Mosque	250
<i>Figure 109</i> Bird's eye view of Shait Gumbad Mosque	250
<i>Figure 110</i> Bird's eye view of Shait Gumbad Mosque (Extreme Close)	250
<i>Figure 111</i> Bird's eye view of Shait Gumbad Mosque with <i>Ghora Dighi</i> and <i>Kodal dhoya</i>	250
<i>Figure 112</i> 3D Model of Shait Gumbad Mosque	251
<i>Figure 113</i> Frontal Perspective of Shait Gumbad Mosque	251
<i>Figure 114</i> Main Gateway of Mausoleum of Khan-i-Jahan	251
<i>Figure 115</i> Perspective view of Mausoleum of Khan-i-Jahan and one domed Mosque	251
<i>Figure 116</i> 3D Wireframe of One Domed Mosque	252
<i>Figure 117</i> Using photographs to generate the 3D Drawing of One Domed Mosque	252
<i>Figure 118</i> 3D Drawing of One Domed Mosque and Mausoleum of Khan-i-jahan	252
<i>Figure 119</i> Predicted model of the Sultanate Town of Khalifatabad, Bagerhat.	254
<i>Figure 120</i> Top View of Predictive 3D Model of Khalifatabad Town, Bagerhat	254
<i>Figure 121</i> Partial View of Predictive 3D Model of Khalifatabad Town, Bagerhat	255
<i>Figure 122</i> The Ground Plan of Somapura Mahavihara, Paharpur	257
<i>Figure 123</i> 2D Model of <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> generated by Dikshit (1999)	257
<i>Figure 124</i> 3D Model of the front view of the resent structure of <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	258
<i>Figure 125</i> Ware Frame for generating the 3D Model of the Central Shrine of <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	258
<i>Figure 126</i> Long View of the 3D Model of existing <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	258
<i>Figure 127</i> Close View of the 3D Model of <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur, with central entrance.	258
<i>Figure 128</i> Mid Shot of the Central Shrine of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	258
<i>Figure 129</i> Partial Close View of the Central Shrine of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	258
<i>Figure 130</i> Top View of the 3D Model of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	258

<i>Figure 131</i> ground plan of the central shrine of <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i>	259
<i>Figure 132</i> Bronze votive stupa, Shallban Vihara	260
<i>Figure 133</i> Garbhadhatu Mandala	261
<i>Figure 134</i> Partial View of Predictive 3D Model of the Central Shrine of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	262
<i>Figure 135</i> Partial Top View of the Predictive 3D Model of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur, with the Central Gateway.	262
<i>Figure 136</i> Front View of the Predictive 3D Model of the Central Shrine of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	262
<i>Figure 137</i> Ware Frame of the Central Gateway of the Predictive 3D Model of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	262
<i>Figure 138</i> Ware Frame of Partial View of Predictive 3D Model of the Central Shrine of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	262
<i>Figure 139</i> Ware Frame of the Horizontal View of the Predictive 3D Model of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	263
<i>Figure 140</i> Ware Frame of the Vertical View of the Predictive 3D Model of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	263
<i>Figure 141</i> Top View of the Predictive 3D Model of the <i>Somapura Mahavihara</i> , Paharpur.	263

## Chapter One

---



## Chapter 1 Introduction

*“History is nothing but stories of kings and queens. I am very poor and I have no history.”*

*- Lal Miah and Bhulu Miah,  
Heritage-Resident of Mahasthangarh*

### 1.1. Background

Nowadays, the safeguarding of cultural heritage has become a ritualistic phenomenon among ethnic groups and nation-states with authentication projects routinely being conducted by different authorities (e.g., the government, transnational organisations, NGOs, and INGOs). Worldwide wars, especially WW-II, essentialised protecting cultural properties which were not only considered to be local heritage but also global patrimony. However, the consciousness with regard to protecting heritage was formally addressed for the first time in 1882 through the introduction of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. During the 1950s, specifically after WW-II, the monuments protection initiatives were undertaken for cultural properties. In the 1970s, in order to heighten -public consciousness of heritage protection campaigns, UNESCO undertook initiatives and successfully engaged nation-states in a “protection project” under the nomenclature of “world cultural heritage.” Before this, the major challenge had been the selection of specific cultural heritage apt to be declared as world cultural heritage. UNESCO, under its initiative, introduced a set standard such as the “OUV” (outstanding universal value) and “creative human geniuses” as two of the foundational parameters to be part of the elite class of cultural heritage. As a part of the strategy for protecting cultural heritage, cultural heritage tourism and heritage-festivals were introduced — these types of strategy engendered by neoliberalism.

*Cultural heritage* under the regime of the *safeguarding* projects of world cultural patrimony is encompassed by the regulations of governmentality, neoliberalism, and modernity. The notion of “collective universal humanity” gives legitimacy to such projects. European enlightenment has played a major part in these based on modernity. It produced epistemological assumptions that make tradition stand alongside heritage, and these assumptions persisted with the birth of modern nation-states and a market-economy. Presently, one of the major objectives of heritage is to commodify the conceptualising of history as an embodiment and signifier of the past, which glorifies national pride, and upon authorisation by transnational agencies (e.g., UNESCO, ICOMOS and ICCROM), heritage is turned into a universal treasure of human-past. In recalling the previous forms and changes in society and culture, the idea of tradition has come about with its epistemological assumptions. As an example, the current news and electronic media are, more than before, playing an extraordinary role in transforming the modern idea of heritage. However, the essence is interestingly alike. The colonialist and nationalistic regimes of modern power have made the options available to the subject, both as human and as a citizen. Now, the modernity of the citizenries’ measures or conscious actions is used to save the non-renewable human-created heritage, which has been defined by institutions and laws. Consequently, citizens would be recognised as “conscious” and ‘civilised’; while traditionalists are otherwise “unconscious” and “incapable”. By this time, another project has been developed to raise awareness and capacity building by enhancing the modern power to safeguard the heritage.

“Safeguarding-governmentality” (see Figure 2) of cultural heritage is the process of exploring the rationalisation of safeguarding of heritage. This process, when based on a modernised knowledge system, governs both “heritage” as a subject of subjectivation and the subjectification of the “heritage residents.” It involves a range of transnational to grassroots agencies of the performativity of reflective subjectivity, where the voices of residents in heritage sites are rationalised or manipulated through spatial-governmentalisation. For this reason, the

safeguarding-governmentality of the cultural heritage in Bangladesh has not been dealt with by any researcher. Further, resident-friendly appraisals have neither been undertaken nor have any academic or practical analysis been made of digitally conserving the cultural heritage. There have been some works published on a primary appraisal level (Iftikhar-ul-Awwal 2003 and Davies 2017) and policy level along with the guidelines of transnational agencies (i.e., UNESCO). For instance, the developmentalist aspect was chosen by Rayhan (2012) under the idea of public archaeology to ensure the participation of local people. However, he made no discussion about the peoples' agency. In another research work, he attempted to critically understand the cultural heritage and examined the selection criteria and UNESCO's management policy (Sen et al. 2006). Here, the agentic action of residents towards heritage was analysed and academically noted.

It should be noted that these previous works did not deal with the safeguarding-governmentality and transnational governmentality of cultural heritage. The dominant practices of the safeguarding programme in Bangladesh ignore the popular understanding of the knowledge system about the past, and the relationship of heritage residents with this past. There are generalised notion of the “non-cognizant”, “illiterate” and “ignorant” masses who are not well-oriented and knowledgeable about the so-called “true” nationalistic and patriotic goals. Among these goals, one of the most fundamental, as hegemonic narratives assert, is to obtain “true-knowledge” about the past glories and pride embedded in these archaeological records. It is, therefore, often claimed that a nation that does not care for its past and protect its heritage could not be a nation in its pure sense.

As far as Bangladesh is concerned, this study regards the above ideas, representations and practices as the dominating paradigm of the safeguarding programme and considers it problematic when examined in detail. While this study will not argue against the propriety of the aforementioned paradigm, it will endeavour to shed light on the ambivalence of the modern concepts of heritage and its protection, which is covertly or overtly recognisable in the narratives

to be presented. It will show how the received genres of knowledge are inadequate for an understanding of the complexities of the forces acting in the processes of destruction of cultural and archaeological records. Further, it will discuss the heterogeneity of social dynamics and forces, within which certain ideas and norms have gained ascendancy, despite their inadequacy, by virtue of historicising and contextualising normalised modern ideas and practices of the safeguarding programme. Moreover, owing to the frequent occurrence of natural hazards and anthropogenic destructions, it is argued that digital documentation, representation, and the generation of 3D models are pivotal for safeguarding the cultural heritage entailing the future-past.

In academia and popular domain, the past is intimately connected with archaeological remains and monuments. Therefore, these comprise the portfolio of heritage. From the extensive field observations, it has been found that many archaeological mounds and structures are being erased from the landscape of Mahasthangarh, Paharpur, Bagerhat in Bangladesh (see Figure 1) and the prominent cultural heritage sites in Bhaktapur, Nepal (see Figure 1). Why have the signatures of cultural heritage been erased from the landscape? What is the role of heritage-residents in the erasure of these archaeological events? Why have they not felt any connection to the heritage site? Do they not think of the cultural heritage as their own and, considering that Bangladesh is a post-colonial nation-state, proudly glorify it as part of national pride? Academia stimulates this pride through research work every day. With these queries, academicians, government agencies and residents of the study area were interviewed to understand the gap between perception and the relationship among the agencies. From the discursive conversations, it was found that an epistemological and ontological gap exists between the popular perception and the dominating idea of heritage and the conscious act of its safeguarding process.

These queries are discursively analysed, especially with the residents of the cultural heritage sites, Mahasthangarh, Paharpur, and the Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat region as a frame of reference.

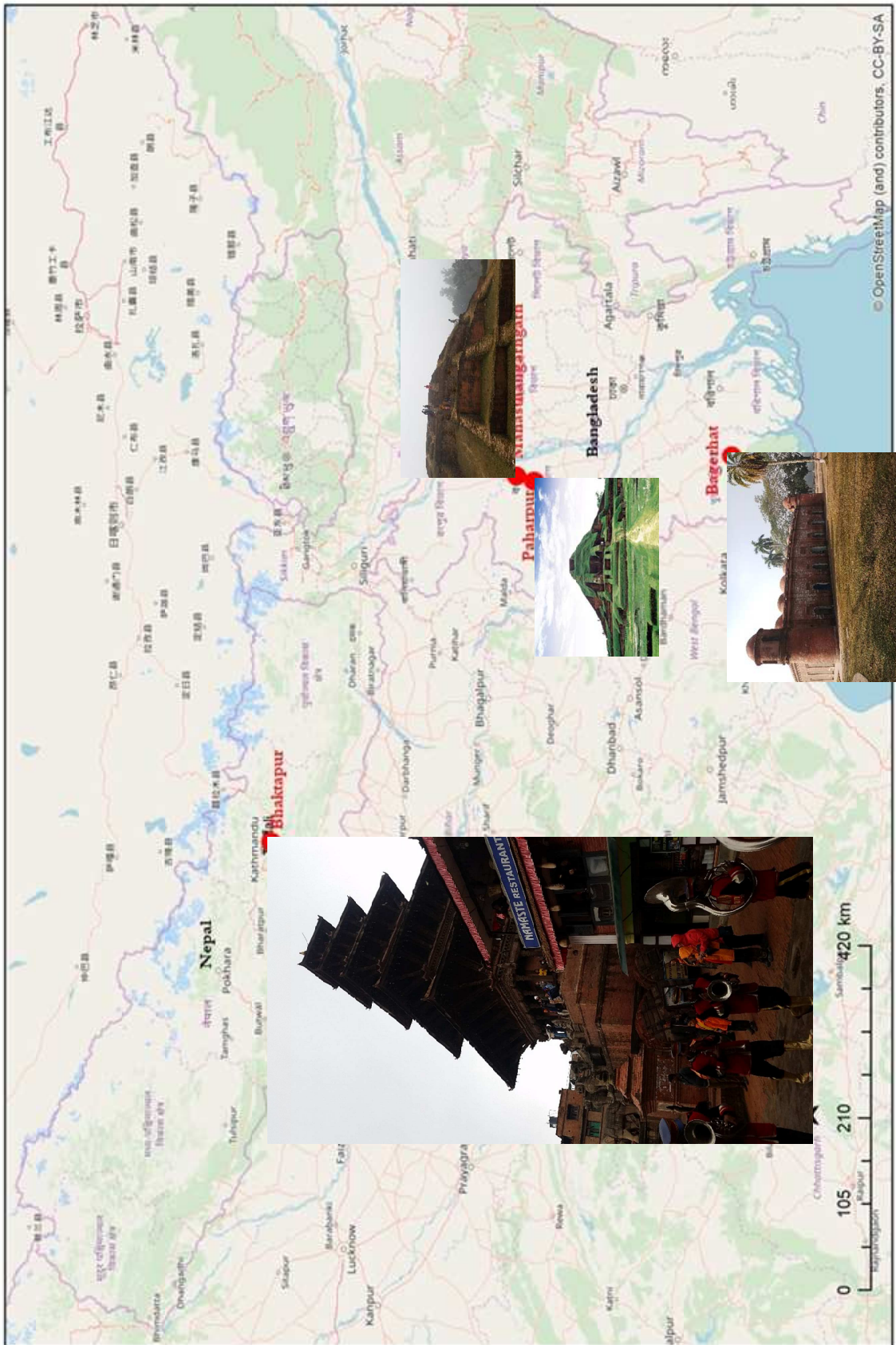


Figure 1 Location map of research areas as annotated in red.  
(Source: the author)

### 1.1.1. Research Questions

The following queries on safeguarding cultural heritage will be discussed in this study.

1. How has the dominating paradigm of safeguarding the cultural heritage been conceived by the heritage-governing agencies and perceived by the heritage-residents in Bangladesh?
2. How can the idea of democratising the past(s) be a design of action to engage the heritage-residents for safeguarding the cultural heritage of Bangladesh?
3. How can a heritage site museum become a space for conserving and democratising the past(s) by the design of action representing the heritage-resident's voices and the dominating archaeological understanding of the past?

### 1.1.2. Research Objectives

It is argued that there is a mechanism of distortion of the ideas of past/heritage and the safeguarding programme in Bangladesh, an (ex)colonial nation-state, along with the universalist and essentialist assumptions of heritage. Furthermore, the discipline of a safeguarding programme dominates in academia, national and international legislation, policy-making, and imagination. Along this line, this study aims:

*First*, to problematize the ideas and norms of safeguarding the cultural heritage, which can be observed in the sovereign action of dominant agencies as a project of modernity in Bangladesh;

*Second*, to understand, against the backdrop of residents being Muslims in heritage sites, the relationship between heritage-residents and the archaeological remains, which are characteristically Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim;

*Third*, to find out the mechanism of accommodating the heterogeneous voices of the past in history as a heritage management strategy; and

*Fourth*, to conserve and represent the cultural heritage in the Museum in a democratic form, specifically the narratives of the past of heritage-residents and the dominating archaeological understanding of the Past.

## **1.2. Literature Review**

The complex power dynamics between the West and non-West can be attributed to in the cultivation of the disciplines of archaeology, anthropology, history and heritage studies. These disciplines and their institutionalisation are part and parcel of “modernity as a project.” The ideas of civilisation, universal humanity and their universal heritage were developed within the evolutionary thesis in an effort to legitimise and strengthen that thesis (see Giben and Hall 1993; Sen 2003). The knowledge produced by these disciplines shaped the spaces in which colonisation occurred and consequently, nationalism as a theory emerged in the colonies. On the one hand, the prime focus of these disciplines was on the colonised non-Western cultures, whose past systematically transformed into a particular narrative of time that can be measured by abstract digits and is predictable. However many recent thinkers, although from varied theoretical positions, have already questioned and challenged this assumption in western and non-western parts of the world (e.g., Hall and Giebens 1993; Koselleck 1988; Asad 1993; Said 1983; Bauman 1989; Gray 1995; Chatterjee 1993; MacIntyre 1984; Hacking 1983; Hall 1988; cited in Sen et al. 2006). Though there are many differences in their theoretical positions, it certainly could be said that one aspect regards modernity as a concept, a mode of life, and a particular way of thinking, behaving, imagining, practising and predicting that is essentially rational, and that the *telos* of history is not as widely accepted as it was four decades before.

It is very important to note that this study took this approach to question Europe and its colonial power because, as has been argued by David Scott (1999: 31-32), “those ‘structures, projects and desires’ of Europe generated changing ways of impacting the non-western world,

changing ways of imposing and maintaining rule over the colonised, and therefore, changing terrains within which to respond.” It has to be noted that one of the ways through which the insertion of modernity was made possible is through the application of colonial modalities of disciplinisation and professionalisation of the study of the past. It is through these processes by which archaeology, history and other disciplines and disciplinary practices for producing and managing the knowledge about the past came into being. Several thinkers (e.g., Chatterjee 1993; Guha-Thakurta 2004; Scott 1999; Metcalf 1997; Prakash 1999; Guha 1982; Sarkar 1997; Van der Veer 2003; Chakrabarty 1997) have already discussed the uneven and complex history of the translation of modernity in the Indian subcontinent from different perspectives. Nevertheless, their studies do not exemplify the proposed study directly. Significantly, related studies of the issues of safeguarding-governmentality, democratising history, conserving and representing the cultural heritage/ history/ past in Museum regarding the case of Bangladesh have not been published yet except for the present author’s articles (Imran 2018; Imran 2014; Imran 2012; Sen et al. 2006).

The inequality of the structural relationship between the West and the non-West has been overshadowed by the idea of transnationalisation (Morley and Chen 1996). It produces a globalised concept of cultural heritage and their protection mechanisms, where non-western countries found themselves as partners endorsing the decision. Democratising the decision-making process builds up a mental engagement of participation, which is certainly unequal because there is a ‘difference’ between ‘producing’ the decision and ‘endorsing’ the decision of the safeguarding programme of world cultural heritage. This entire mechanism is known as a “heritage diplomacy” (Winter 2015; Wijesuriya, Thompson, and Young 2013; Meskell 2013). The neoliberal power of governing dynamics are critically studied under the post-Foucauldian theoretical framework of neoliberal and transnational governmentality studies. This research work is deeply rooted in the epistemology of research on post-Foucauldian ‘governmentality



studies'. Foucault's writing on governmentality in English (Foucault 1991) was completed nearly two and half decades ago, and there are now various cross-disciplinary studies that produced the knowledge of post-Foucauldian 'governmentality studies', such as Neoliberal Governmentality (Raffnsøe et al. 2009), Transnational Governmentality (Samuels and Lilley 2015), Managerial Governmentality (Texier 2012), Cultural Governmentality (Cesari 2011), Colonial Governmentality (D. Scott 2008). Through these, the discursive formation of the safeguarding programme of cultural heritage can be partially analysed, especially in an (ex)colonial nation-state like Bangladesh. This genre of knowledge basically draws on the neoliberal heritagisation agenda, such as commodification, elitisms, transnational governance, and structural reformation for managing the cultural heritage in order to deal with these various genres of discursive analytical situations and to examine the safeguarding-governmentality of the cultural heritage and their governing mechanisms. Therefore, the following books, research papers, and articles have been reviewed. The prevailing genre of the knowledge regarding 'governmentality' is not adequate to understand the discursive formation of heritage and the politicised projects of production of knowledge by using the modernised historicisation of heritage. This is especially true in the case of Bangladesh as a post-colonial modernised nation state which is often overwhelmed by control and production of knowledge and practices of safeguarding the cultural heritage programme.

#### Authorisation and Heritagisation<sup>1</sup> Process

Feilden and Jokilehto (1998) intended to provide management guidelines for implementation in accordance with the World Heritage Convention in 1972. At the policy level, this guidebook is widely accepted as a standard for understanding the guiding principles, general policy of the convention of 1972, listing procedure of World Heritage, conservation guidelines, managerial system with regard to resources and staffing and personnel services, and role of urban planning to manage World Heritage towns and visitors in World Heritage sites. Presently, in the field of cultural heritage, Laurajane Smith has established herself as one of the most prolific

authors. Her published works include *Archaeological Theory and the Politics of Cultural Heritage* (L. Smith 2001), “Community-driven Research in Cultural Heritage Management: the Waanyi Women's History Project” (L. Smith, Morgan, and van der Meer 2003), *Uses of Heritage* (L. Smith 2006), *Heritage, Labour, and the Working Classes* (L. Smith, Shackel, and Campbell 2011), “Discourses of Heritage: Implications for Archaeological Community Practice” (L. Smith 2012) among others.

Smith (2001), in *Archaeology and the Politics of Cultural Heritage*, discussed the processual positivism of cultural resource management (CRM) and how archaeologists have produced an instrument, used by the government, which was oppressive to indigenous communities. While working in Australia and the United Nations, she showed how archaeology and the heritage management system had used the past to govern the people. In this case, she revisited the *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act* (NAGPRA), which was established in 1991. Essentially, she embarked on an inquiry for reconsidering the scope of interaction between archaeologists and descendant communities, which have helped to avoid controversies surrounding NAGPRA and the Kennewick Man as well as other related controversies. Power inequality is the central theme running through this book, and the CRM has been regarded as a controlling factor, at the policy level, in order to develop major archaeological projects. It explained the relationship between archaeology and CRM, through patterns of researches, and discussed how both deal academically with the politics of identity, politics of the past, governance politics as subject matter, mechanisms of legislation, governance, and material culture. The fundamental notions of CRM are “significance” and “stewardship”, which are continuously influenced by the processual archaeology. Smith raised the issue with regard to the role that archaeology will play in present influential CRM context. She stressed, “By not engaging with, and attempting to understand, the context and consequences of archaeological knowledge and

practice, the discipline will only continue to rehearse the tired old claims to archaeological authority and expertise” (Smith 2001: 197).

In *Uses of Heritage*, heritage is explained as a multi-layered performance (L. Smith 2006). These performances construct and embody commemoration and acts of remembrance. The cultural practices involved in the people’s daily lives, their construction and development of qualities and understandings, are viewed as an alternative heritage. Smith criticised the Bura Charter as an “authorising institute of heritage” because of its downplaying of community participation. The “authorised heritage discourse” is presented as problematic as it requires a “set of practices and performance” for validation. Popular and expert constructions of “heritage” have always undermined the alternative and the subaltern idea of heritage. In fact, Smith (2006) recalls George Orwell’s much-quoted statement, “who controls the present controls the past.”

David C. Harvey (2009) argued, in his article “The History of Heritage” that “modernity” is somehow connected with heritage, which is problematic. To him, heritage is opening up the discursive construction of material consequences as a process, which is used by people. These processes are limited to identity construction at both communal and personal levels and are interwoven within the power dynamics of society. The idea of heritage is constructed by collective memory, which took shape from the present politico-socio-economic concerns. Hence, cultural heritage refers not just to “outstanding things” but also to a strong relationship with the past through material culture. Much like Smith (2006), Harvey also found that the idea of heritage is a construction of the modernist elite where subaltern ideas are overlooked. His arguments were made following the British heritagisation story, which involves theorising and processing of institutionalisation, democratisation, technologisation and social power dynamics. Hence, heritage is considered as a “process” to historical analysis (Harvey 2001). It evaluates the medieval idea of heritage, the impact of social changes, and associated with the colonial and post-colonial

experience. The notion that heritage is closely related to nationalism (Harvey 2003) was analysed by Harvey in the cultural heritage of Avebury in Britain and Newgrange in Ireland.

The formation of the cultural heritage and archaeology are attempts to relate people and their ideas and practices to the “modern” professional and dominant academic discourses by questioning the established practices. For example, the idea about past and heritage among indigenous Australian peoples and American Indians were organised in such a way that concepts that were once thought to be non-existent could then be accepted through state laws promulgated after continuous civil movements and protests. Particularly NAGPRA (The Native American Grave Protection Act, No. 404-604) mentioned the “scientific” and “archaeological” researches that were the backbone of American anthropology and archaeology since colonisation became prohibited. In Australia, the Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS) organised the indigenous peoples through community archaeological practices, whereby the state has now restricted research on human skeletal remains and artefacts if they run counter to the concept of the heritage of local peoples. UNESCO had to change its conventions regarding the cultural property in Australia because of the protests from a section of community archaeologists and indigenous people. Their protests were against the idea and practice of keeping the past and remains as they have been found owing to the community perception that heritage is part of their present practice (Gangopaddhya 2003; Layton 1994; see also Jones and Harris 1998). Therefore, although relatively little known in Bangladesh, these two fields have already made some significant transformations in the “modern” concepts in archaeology by their having questioned the norm.

Rodney Harrison (2013) made a critical journey to understand heritage. He defines the nature of heritage in the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century as being polymorphous. The critical theoretical and political turn in heritage studies is currently a topic that Harrison describes as the discourse of heritage, referred to as the *discursive turn* (Harrison 2013: 9). In many respects, the

discursive turn constitutes a reformulation of the discipline, as well as an overdue attempt to produce the theories in the field. There are many “straw men” in the still-nascent field of heritage studies (like many emergent and recent disciplines), for instance, in the criticism of the World Heritage Convention and the role of UNESCO agencies such as ICOMOS; yet Harrison resists them all, instead opting to provide a sustained analysis of critical heritage. Whereas some researchers invoke the need for theory as part of a hermeneutic discussion without contextualising the need for it, Harrison theorises and historicises Western epistemologies of heritage studies. In the chapter on “Heritage and the ‘problem’ of memory” in his book *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, he persuasively discussed that engagement with memory work can be beneficial for commemoration and can also be applied in historical studies and other allied disciplines (Harrison 2013). He argued that the democratised processes of heritage management can be the best engaging strategy and that three interlinked themes – connection, materiality and dialogue – are critical in managing heritage.

Morshed Rayhan (2012) discussed the ignorance of the general people’s agency in the decision-making process at the policy level in Bangladesh. He examined the prospects and the importance of Public Archaeology in Bangladesh in the perspective of the excavation that had taken place at Wari-Bateshwar. It is a very uncritical approach to understanding public archaeology. In most cases, the excavation material would be described in detail along with the history of archaeological practices in Bangladesh yet, ironically, Rayhan tried to portray the open-museum concept as the effective approach to do public archaeology. Here, the agencies of the local people were ignored entirely while very authoritative heritage discourses were analysed.

As co-author of “We can protect our past? Rethinking dominating paradigm of preservation and conservation in reference to the world heritage site of Somapura Mahavihara, Bangladesh” (Sen et al. 2006), We analysed the preservation and conservation of heritage in Bangladesh while the dominating concepts and practices took autonomous and self-conscious

agency for granted. This notion of the agency was formulated under the modernising projects of Bangladesh and the understanding generated by following the genealogical and historical formation of colonialist and nationalist regimes. Heritage/ history/ archaeology/ past became the expression and representation of dominating modern power. It was an attempt to understand the particular narratives in response to the transformation of the conditions and structures of heritage and past. By referencing the Somapura Mahavihara here, an attempt is made to locate and reconfigure the narratives of various parties.

### Neoliberalism and Heritage

As a heritage professional, Rosemary J. Coombe and Lindsay M. Weiss (2016) discussed in *Neoliberalism, Heritage Regime, and Cultural Rights*, how heritage is enmeshed in neoliberalism and cultural rights. Essentially, neoliberalism is relevant to understanding heritage governance. Managing the cultural resources under the mechanism of neoliberalism is a new form of capital accumulation. Government policy promotes capacity building to propel the self-empowered and self-organised community by marketising cultural heritage resources. A heritagisation authority has taken neoliberalism as an idea or process to capitalise on cultural heritage resources as a profit-driven concept. Coombe (2017), in “Managing Cultural Heritage as Neoliberal Governmentality,” showed how the neoliberal essence impels to decentralise control over cultural institutions and insists on building a partnership with actors in the private sector; i.e. local communities or nongovernmental organisations (NGO). UNESCO has legitimised this process through its guidelines and the World Heritage listing project. Coombe and Weiss assert that this process is neoliberal governmentality. This idea of governmentality is borrowed from Foucault, where the heritage safeguarding programme focuses on the nationalism of government, technologies of government, and subjects of government (Coombe and Weiss 2015). Therefore, governmental activity emerges with diverse types of selves, persons, actors, agents, or identities.

In legal and policy frameworks and institutional circuits of power, the normative discourse of heritage is produced by the knowledge of neoliberal governmentality. However, cultural rights-based practices play an arbitrary role within the idea of a modern state. Cultural heritage may politically employ similar claims where neoliberal governmental technologies create an assemblage of the past, history, identity, and value to serve political agencies in controlling rights-based practices of cultural heritage.

Pablo Alonso Gonzalez (2015) interpreted the heritage experience in Maragateria, Spain, as a machine in “The heritage machine: the neoliberal order and the individualisation of identity in Maragateria (Spain).” This heritage machine was responsible for the production of dominant and individualised identities that interact in tune with neoliberal and post-political forms of governmentality. It involved reconfiguring the differences between individualised identities and communities which interacted in a deregulated market environment beyond the traditional community.

### Transnationalisation of Heritage

UNESCO and its associated organisations – ICOMOS, ICCROM, and IUCN – are involved in the internationalisation and transnationalisation of heritage and heritage now “gone global”. Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels and Ian Lillyey (2015) explored transnationalism and the heritage development process in their paper “Transnationalism and Heritage Development.” Central to the discussion was “heritage internationalism” where the relationship between international development and cultural heritage was examined. The process of transnationalisation of heritage in the name of globalisation/internationalisation/liberalisation has also been discussed by Cesari, Delanty, Coombe and Baird. Especially, Coombe argued that the transnationalisation process of heritage had compelled cultural heritage for becoming global and a global commodity through her two works, which are “Managing Cultural Heritage as Neoliberal

Governmentality” (Coombe 2013) and “Frontiers of Cultural Property in the Global South” (Coombe 2012).

### Managerial Governmentality of the Cultural Heritage

The idea of “managerial governmentality” come up with the explanation of Deleuze (Texier 2012). Transnationalisation of cultural heritage by the convention of UNESCO in 1972, which has empowered the transnational agencies to exercise power over the state. It legalised the external intervention in the mechanism of safeguarding cultural heritage, which redefined the idea of ‘sovereignty’. Texier (2012) argued that state administration and management are not the same, and that management does not mean religious authority nor logic of the market, yet it is the real way of power which society conceives. Efficiency, organisation, control, and knowledge are the basic principles of managerial governmentality. Here interest, profit, property, investment, capital or sovereignty, security, territory, population, justice or truth, faith, salvation none of them are the prime concern. It can be said that when a state enters neoliberal condition (like structural reform, decentralisation process, and emphasising market economy), the state becomes a managerial state. A managerial state is run following the cardinal principles of managerial governmentality.

### Colonial Governmentality

By using the Foucauldian notion of governmentality, David Scott (2008) decodes the term *colonial governmentality* in his much-cited paper “Colonial Governmentality” to problematise the political rationalisation mechanism of distinctive forms of power. Moreover, he examined the transformative effect of modern power. He argued that Europe very much influences the theoretical knowledge of the colonial and postcolonial world and that geographical spatiality is of concern more so for its apparatus of effective dominant power. Scott reconfigured the Fanonian rhetoric of forgetting Europe by a word he coined with special meaning: “difference.” Thus, the



European polemical dismissal and its conceptual repositioning have used this “difference” to establish Europe’s organised colonial project.

By referencing Edward Said’s “Orientalism,” Scott studied the “attitude” towards the colonised and raised questions about “exclusionary” discourses and practices. With regard to attitude, Said put emphasis on the colonialist textuality and language to represent the colonised in a distorted way. Exclusionary discourses and strategies are anticolonial positionalities where the counterdiscursive challenges the liberal-democratic political principles, which are sought for good governance and humanity. It involves a modernising transformation process from the “rule of force” to the “rule of law.” Scott formulated colonial governmentality to examine colonialist textuality, governmentality, and modernity.

#### ‘Modernity as a Project’: Instrumentalised the Coloniality

Talal Asad (2003) looked the idea of modernity as a historical product, which is embedded with the history of unequal differentiations between West and non-West post-enlightenment. He claims that the contractions of the idea of modernity has been a hegemonic and often forceful project of the West. With its teleological nuance, it was aimed at transforming, reorganising, and destroying the cultures, societies and religions of the non-West. The non-Western domain, at the same time and with these transformational processes, has acquired and appropriated these concepts throughout the history of colonisation and globalisation. The processes of the appropriation (and rejection), he suggests, were not simple, straightforward and casual. The structural relation between the West and the non-West in the processes has always been unequal. Asad (2003) suggests that the West has always been supreme and dominant.

## Commodification, Heritagisation, and Politicisation of Heritage

Lowenthal (1997) is a keen observer of the recent phenomenon of heritage practices. The “cult of heritage,” a much-discussed phrase, is largely incorporated in identity politics, which became a norm of doing the heritage religiously by incorporating with the historical theme parks, museum, commemorative policy, xenophobia, racism, and genocide. Further, the heritage business has been seamlessly incorporated with national and ethnic trauma, such as the Holocaust. Lowenthal submits that heritage has an objectification process as regards the past but a present-minded purpose. Popularisation, commodification, and politicisation are the three things being pursued by the present heritage practices, and ‘Disney’ can be an ideal example of a history-land heritage. It can be said that heritage is growing as an industry, such that Stonehenge needs to be protected from tourists by barbed wires. However, in the absence of any discussion on the alternative pathway or decommodification/depoliticisation/demystification process, Lowenthal only brought to fore the recent heritagisation process. Therefore, in examining the process from Holocaust to Hollywood, it can be said that the commodification has stimulated heritage into entering the heritagisation process.

Huong T. Bui and Timothy J. Lee (2015) showed how heritage resources turn into tourism products in “Implications for Heritage Tourism at the Imperial Cital of Thang Long, Hanoi (Vietnam)”. Citing Ashworth’s summary of the triangular relationship between heritage, identity, and tourism (Long, Bui, and Lee 2015), a discussion was made on the eurocentric global heritage movement and rapid growth of travel for leisure and recreation, which instigated policymakers to develop the heritage framework. It is a neoliberal phenomenon. Bruce Prideaux (2003), in “Commodifying Heritage: Loss of Authenticity and Meaning or an Appropriate Response to Difficult Circumstances?” analyses the growing interest of academic researches in heritage as a revenue-generating sector. With no intention to critique the commodification

process of heritage, he examines how heritage is used for tourism from an economic perspective and government perspective.

### Summary

The reviewed literature have not dealt with governmentalisation projects of cultural heritage. Neither has it dealt with the authorisations, heritegisation, and politicisation of knowledge of past/history/archaeology/heritage concerning safeguarding projects operating in Bangladesh. Therefore, since the counter-discourses of democratisation of the past(s) are not considered in the reviewed research works, it was necessary to produce an accommodative theoretical framework to analyse the notions of this research work based on the case of Bangladesh. In this regard, this research assumed that the extensive understanding of the existing post-Foucauldian “governmentality studies” would be much effective. These issues are elaborated on in the following segments, which evidently are critical about existing knowledge about governmentalisation of cultural heritage, which includes spatial referencing of cultural heritage in the analysis of its safeguarding-governmentality.

### **1.3. The rationale of the Study**

The reviewed literature dealt with the administrative mechanisms of cultural heritage. In this research, neoliberal governmentality, transnational governmentality, and managerial governmentality are the major theoretical framework used as basis for a background understanding of the governing mechanisms of cultural heritage by various scholars (e.g. Coombe 2006, 2012, 2017, Coombe & Weiss 2016; Garner 2006; Gunay 2008; Luciano 2006; Prideaux 2003; Samuels & Lilley 2015; Smith, Laurajane & Waterton 2009; Smith 2006; Waterton & Smith 2010). Their works are critical about the heritegisation and commodification process of cultural heritage. The authority of transnational agencies (e.g. UNESCO) to declare a world

heritage in itself rationalises the fluidity of the definition of “sovereignty” of the state which nonetheless is predominant in safeguarding cultural heritage discourse.

A transnational agency works as a controlling entity to govern the cultural heritage project through nation-states, such as Bangladesh, where the states adhere to a managerial role of governing cultural heritage. Interestingly, these types of post-Foucauldian critical approaches are not frequently located in the analytical trend of understanding cultural heritage in Bangladesh. Other than the paper of Sen et al. (2006), no other paper (i.e. Iftikhar-ul-Awwal 2003; Rayhan 2012) can be considered as dwelling on the agency of the heritage-residents in the case of Bangladesh. The trend in Bangladeshi cultural heritage studies is often to shy away from the critical approaches to understanding the governing mechanisms of safeguarding cultural heritage. The production of knowledge of post-Foucauldian governmentality studies has grown in prominence in contemporary critical heritage studies. Heritagisation processes are embedded in the production of knowledge of history, where Bangladesh has grown into a state with a formidable legacy of colonial governmentality (e.g. Scott 2008; Higgitt & Islam 2013; Imran 2018; Kwame 1965). This understanding is essential to explore the safeguarding mechanism of cultural heritage developed in Bangladesh. David Scott (2008) had dealt with this issue under the framework of colonial governmentality. The post-Foucauldian governmentality studies have been effectively developed parallel to the phenomenon when neoliberalism as a global project began to analyse the liberal government critically, which demonstrates “the active side of *laissez-faire*”<sup>2</sup>.

Despite the growing popularity of post-Foucauldian governmentality as an analytical framework within the cultural heritage knowledge discourse, it is facing key challenges, especially in the case of applied research. In this research, the identified challenges are- the generalised empirical definition; the restrained role of the state; the overlooked social dynamics of heritage-residents; the projects of modernisations of history and heritage; homogeneity of the history

writing; lack of engagement of the residents with the heritage; inadequate problematisation of the notion of scientism in dominating history writing; non-problematic representation of heritage in museums; and Finally, the absence of the reverse mechanism of safeguarding policy to accommodate the resident's perception of history and heritage.

One of the underlying problems regarding “modernity as a project” (Asad 2003) is that it assumes specific ideas as universal and essential for progress and civilisation. These Universalist assumptions have remained as one of the most interesting aspects of the modern ideals of past, heritage, and therefore, of the ideas of preservation and conservation. The problems that are acute in the domains of archaeology, as having been represented by different conflicts and contestation regarding heritage in recent times (Sen 2003), are connected to the modern and secular idea of property, which has consequently paved the way to refer to archaeological records as cultural property. The problem here is not that certain nations are being termed as incapable because they are poor, or because they do not have the specialists and logistics. In fact, it is also not, as what is usually thought or said, that state authorities are misusing funds or logistic support because they are corrupt and incompetent. This is the same logic under which the laws in the United States of America have been devised. The problem with the destruction and vandalism of archaeological and cultural records in a non-western country like Bangladesh not merely lies with the state, or with the absence of proper knowledge about a safeguarding programme. Apparently, the most fundamental problem lies in the core of conceiving universal ideas of heritage, civilisation and humanity, as well as in the processes through which these ideas are incorporated and implemented in different non-western societies, cultures and religions. Hence, in order for this research work to understand and analyse the grave situation within the complex time matrix of the present, it will have to question the core ideas and concepts of heritage that have been constructed, appropriated and rejected under the modernity as a project. Here, nationalistic identity production was the principal *telos* of archaeological practice. Particular groups, such as the

West, the elite professionals, majority religions, and transnational agencies are most powerful in decision-making, not for their self-conscious agency or autonomous action but rather, by reason of their location and experience in the power relations and structures, which make it possible for them to ably select and implement. In this study, it is conceded that many words and expressions seemingly convey that every party is equal, that everyone in a nation has her/his share and identity in its heritage and past. Nonetheless, this research suggests that, on the contrary, everybody has never been equal, and many nations, religions, heritage-residents, and culture have not played the same equal part in this entire process throughout the past three hundred years.

This inadequacy in the theoretical understanding of post-Foucauldian “governmentality studies” is insufficient to discursively analyse the safeguarding programme of cultural heritage in Bangladesh. Thus, this research tried to develop an analytical framework, which may contain the ability to discursively analyse the formation of governing mechanisms of the cultural heritage of Bangladesh, its national government and corresponding transnational agencies — focusing on the policy and implementation level of safeguarding cultural heritage. This theoretical framework may analyse the discursive formation of “meaning” of safeguarding programme, emphasising on the process of “modernity as a project” (Asad 2003). Here the action of the governmental agencies is analysed by the “meaning” making of the cultural heritage, which is produced in collaboration with local and transnational agencies. The theoretical framework also analyses the meaning of “resistance” by heritage-residents and administrative articulation. Academicians and residents produce systematic history-writing and representation in the Museum. The process of articulation of differentiation among the artefacts is the significant phenomenon through which the heterogeneous voices became muted. This phenomenon is composed of both meaning-making and practices, which necessarily includes the engaging mechanism of heritage residents. For this purpose, “the performativity of reflective subjectivity” is generated based on Judith Butler’s theory of “performative subjectivity” (Butler 1988), Asish Nandy’s idea of “multivocality of

history” (Nandy 1995), Bruno Latour’s problematizing the “scientism” (Latour 2004), Hayden White’s theory of “new historicism” (White 1975) and Stuart Halls’ theoretical idea of “representation” (Hall 2003).

The reflective performativity of heritage residents is necessary to generate a governing policy of the cultural heritage, where the institutionalised unilineal history writing would be questioned and will provide a space to accommodate the heritage residents voices of past in the history. The museum will be the place where history will be performed by the resident. It will be an accommodating phenomenon of preservation and conservation of the past in the museum. Here, digital conservation of the academic understanding of the history of the artefacts are conserved and represented digitally in the museum.

Thus, this research will meticulously focus on the process of articulation. Recognising that the actions of the transnational and national agencies are crucial to generate the process of articulation of differentiation among the artefacts and actors, an analytical framework referred to as “safeguarding-governmentality” has been developed in this research to meticulously analyse this connecting and dynamic phenomenon of governing the cultural heritage.

#### **1.4. Analytical Framework**

In questioning the paradigm of the safeguarding programme of heritage, this study tries to understand modern power and its agency as a project of the West. It examines the modern, institutionalised, enlightened historical mode as the dominating mode of understanding the past, with the sensibilities, aspirations and imaginations regarding what the “past” ought to be, and looks into the genealogy in the enlightenment and post-enlightenment imperial and colonial projects. Against the backdrop of the complex conditions and processes of the unequal encounter with the non-Western societies and cultures, the idea of relic cultures emerged, and a paradigmatic shift occurred in the 20th century.

It can be seen that with careful selection and construction of the modern ideas of heritage and past – for instance, in the Indian subcontinent – a project of modernity could be achieved under the power of colonialism and nationalism. Throughout this entire process of identity construction, many different views about the past and heritage were excluded or appropriated within the elitist colonialist and nationalist projects. For example, Metcalf (1998) has shown, with the example of Taj Mahal, that the past has been retained and confined as a distant and discrete territory, not as a part of the continuum of valorised time and space, which is one of the modes of the conception of pasts in India.

In the dominant knowledge about the past and heritage in Bangladesh, it is assumed that modernity is self-defined and it is oppositional to heritage (and tradition) since heritage and tradition represent a distinct stage in history. The assumption has also taken for granted the possibility of a self-esteemed journey from the traditional realm towards the modern realm. This journey took its course, fuel and destination under the project of modernity, which is self-conscious, emancipatory, rational and predictable by science with the ultimate aim of achieving “progress.” This study wants to see “modernity as a project” following Talal Asad (2003: 12-16). This pertains to the idea of modernity as a historical product which has been generated throughout the post-enlightenment history of the relationship between the West and the non-West.

The transformations in the non-western societies, cultures and politics were realised in such a way that the appropriation and rejection of the modern ideas and lifeways would construct new unequally related and often oppositional categories, like the elite and the subaltern. The realisation of the project has been achieved through different changing strategies of disciplinisation, normalisation and institutionalisation of the past and the knowledge about it. For example, the state, the juridical system, the educational system and institutional structures and processes of producing and legitimising different genres of knowledge have been reorganised in



such a way that they have become the foundational spaces for predicting and enhancing the speed of realisation. As has been argued by David Scott (1999: 31-32), “those structures, projects and desires of Europe generated changing ways of impacting the non-western world, changing ways of imposing and maintaining rule over the colonised, and therefore, changing terrains within which to respond.” One of the ways through which the insertion of modernity was made possible is through the colonial modalities of disciplinisation and professionalisation of the study of the past. It is through these processes by which archaeology, history, and other disciplines and disciplinary practices for producing and managing knowledge about the past came into being. Several thinkers from different perspectives have already discussed an uneven and complex history of the translation of modernity in the Indian subcontinent (e.g. Guha 1982; Chatterjee 1993; Metcalf 1997; Sarkar 1997; Chakrabarty 1997; Scott 1999; Van der Veer 2003; Guha-Thakurta 2004). However, these discussions do not exemplify this research study. Rather, the works by Laurajane Smith (e.g., Smith 2006; Waterton and Smith 2010; Smith 2001; Smith, Shackel, and Campbell 2011; Waterton and Smith 2006; Smith 2012; Smith, Morgan, and van der Meer 2003; Campbell and Smith 2016; Waterton, Smith, and Campbell 2006), Emma Waterton (e.g. Waterton, Watson, and Silverman 2017; Waterton and Smith 2010; Waterton and Smith 2006; Waterton, Smith, and Campbell 2006), and Rodney Harrison (2013) have provided the conceptual pathway for this study to analyse heritage in a discursive manner. Their works emphasise the policy level, transnational governmentality, and exclusion of subaltern in the name of “community” with heritage consumerism of particular concern.

The archaeological/historical practice in colonial India, as has been shown by several recent works (e.g. Guhathakurta 2004; Chakrabarty 1997; Lahiri 2000; Cohn 1996; Inden 2001), was embedded in the projects of modernity propagated by the colonialists in the Indian subcontinent and then, inherited thematically, yet not unproblematically, by the anti-colonialists and nationalists. However, it is indeed not the only way of perceiving the past. Instead of the

singularity and homogeneity imposed by the projects of modernity, there are heterogeneous ways in which pasts are encountered, mediated and perceived. The dominance is principally conditioned by the essentialised interconnection of the modern disciplinisation and institutionalisation of the study of past with the development and establishment of the modern nation-state, the secular worldview, the Baconian concept of scientific rationality, 19<sup>th</sup>-century theories of progress and in recent decades, developmental discourses. The methods of historical and archaeological inquiry, established by Colonialist, Orientalist, Indologist and Nationalistic discourses are deeply implicated into the confrontation over conquering and taming the “past” as both space and time. Conflicting narratives were produced from within a widely similar discursive formation.

Past becomes embedded into the constitution of the national identities within this historicity. A monolithic view of the past becomes dominant through these processes and under these conditions. Despite the dominance of a singular modernist view, traces of multiple counter-narratives are recognisable in covert forms. They exist in the popular domain, but their existence is not conditioned by autonomy and sovereignty of the identities and spaces. There is no third space; the first and second spaces of perceiving past(s) are dialectically related.

Historicising, the storytelling of heritage-resident interests, can be an engaging mechanism for safeguarding cultural heritage. The engaging mechanism cited here follows the genres of “engaged anthropology” (i.e. Lamphere 2004; Rappaport 1993) and “archaeological reflexivity” (Hodder 2003). Engaged anthropology, according to Roy Rappaport (1995: 253), is one of the mechanisms of the public’s society, which must be critical, enlightening, and engaging. It is the mechanism of accommodating the public good and bad, which is addressed as the “world’s disorder.” As to the idea of “public enlightenment,” Boas (1945) encouraged the production of the knowledge of engaged anthropology. Here, the engaging mechanism to accommodate the resident’s interest for safeguarding the cultural heritage of Bangladesh was developed against the

generalised objectifying developmentalist participatory neoliberal “community/local people/indigenous participation” for managing the society in the name of the so-called vertical “bottom-up” method, which purports to secure public interest.

There is a dialectical relationship between past and present: the past is interpreted regarding the present, but the past can also be used to criticise and challenge the present. Thus, the data are not objective or subjective, but real. Moreover, there are no universal instruments of measurement. Nevertheless, understanding “otherness” is rather possible. Past evolves in history with the various interpretative meaning of the material. There is no single way to reach the past, and the meanings shift with the change of contexts. Therefore, history is the dialectical negation among the archaeological materials. It is meaning and action, and action of residents and archaeologist. Ian Hodder segmented this process of reading the past as “archaeological reflexivity” (Hodder 2003). Archaeological reflexivity refers to a recognition of “positionality” – that one's position or standpoint affects one's perspective; thus reflexivity recognises the value of multiple positions and multivocality. Hodder (2012) clarified precisely that when the past is claimed by present communities, reflexivity has been forced on archaeology. Initially, reflexivity is the recognition and incorporation of multiple agencies and the self-critical consciousness of archaeological truth claimed as historical and contingent (Hodder 2003).

The national and colonial memory and counter-memory are constructed by archaeological sites and monuments, which are known as the materiality and monumentality. The heterogeneity of the perception and construction of the past in colonial conditions and the multiplicity of the past(s) in post-colonial conditions are the principal subjects of this research. Multiplicity in the perception and narration of the past at the margins of the World and the Nation-State is depicted through different modalities of memories and narratives; they often do not conform to the normalised parameters of archaeological and historical narratives. The argument of this research has been planned following the work of Ashis Nandy's "History's

Forgotten Doubles" (1995). In his paper, he (Nandy 1995) rejected formulations that impose the category of history on all constructions of the past or sanction the reduction of all myths to history.

In this case, the pioneering study on counter-memory of Filipino historian Reynaldo Ileto in his work *Pasyon and Revolution* (Ileto 1979) can be exemplified. He focuses on individual members of the elite and their perceptions, and on the lower classes and their revolutionary participation in writings and actions of historical research. The *ilustrados*, or the *mestizo* elites, were inspired by the Philippine revolution during their education abroad. Andres Bonifacio, a lower-middle-class clerk, inspired the revolution, and these ideas controlled the formation of Freemasonry in the Philippines. A separatist secret society was founded in the *Katipunan* by Bonifacio, which ushered in the revolution. Eventually, the revolution was controlled by Emilio Aguinaldo, and he ordered Bonifacio to be tried and executed. A necessary but regrettable fact is that the sequence of power, portrayed by traditional scholarship, also inspired the capture of the revolution by the upper classes. According to Ileto (1979), revolution, nationalism, and independence had “alternative, valid meanings” to the masses. These corresponded to their understanding of the world. He believed that peasant movements might end up being irrational and counterproductive without an understanding of this. He was curious about the new sources and went through the old sources in search of the new ways to locate alternative meanings (Ileto 1979).

Ileto (1979) tried to look through the lens of the peasant to understand the perception of the subaltern by rereading the documents of the revolution. He showed a mechanism to understand the masses and parts of the mechanism. He went through the Tagalog folksongs, and *pasyon*, the sung version of the passion and death of Jesus Christ. His goal was to “arrive at the Tagalog masses’ perceptions of events” through *Pasyon and Revolution*. In this case, he argued to utilise their documents to extend beyond the search for cold facts (Ileto 1979). Methodologically,

it was a very fair attempt to reach the history from below, which is so close to the work of the “Subaltern Studies Group” in India (see, for example, Chatterjee 1993; Guha 1982a and 1982b; Van der Veer 2003; Sarkar 2003 and 1997). Their philosophy was to know the history from below through the subaltern resistance.

Participatory observance of local communities is an apparatus, which was brought about by the environment of laboratory science. It gives a straightforward empirical description. Of course, many archaeologists are conscious of the post-positivist critique of value-neutrality in such context. Maybe archaeologists went through the works of Latour and Woolgar (1986), which are on the social factors involved in laboratory life. However, such deconstructions rarely provide clear guidelines about the procedural mechanism of reflexive scientific archaeology. Methodologically, there are no simple reflexive methods to conduct ethnography in the field of archaeology. Reflexivity is essential in the field of archaeology because it deals with the natural sciences, social issues and conflicts. It is necessary to develop specifically archaeological ways of being reflexive that respond to this particular context. Hodder (2012) suggests, “at the very least; it seems important for archaeological projects to adopt closer working ties with ethnographers, social scientists, oral historians, cultural economists and a range of other specialists who can assist in evaluating the long-term impact of a project on the full range of stakeholder communities.”

Ashis Nandy (1995) invoked the many ahistorical ways in which people labour to make sense of their pasts and futures. He argued that historically-oriented societies yearn for remembrance and certitude and can only imagine the past singularly, through the prism of secular progress. The contrast would be societies where analysing myths is an important way of reading the past. He further suggested that in such societies, the possibilities of plural reconstructions and principled forgetfulness are inherent. It provides more creative and ethical resources for living in the present and shaping the future. This, in his opinion, requires both a critique of the idea of

history and a significant rereading of the Indian pasts since each ahistorical culture has its own unique style (Nandy 1995).

Robert Layton (2004) mainly emphasises on the importance of “past” and the structure of the knowledge of the past. He re-raised the debate about time by making reference to Pandey and Prasad, the subaltern researchers. He also clarified the subjectivity of oral history and objectivity of history. Referring to Henige, he commented that “there is an irony” in the use of genealogical material for dating historical events: “when outside data show that oral records are accurate, they also render such oral records at least partly superfluous (R. Layton and Thomas 2004).”

The dominating practices of history in Bangladesh follow the idea of the Baconian concept of a systematic approach, as Nandy (1995) explained in the Indian case. This history, being evidence-based, aided the rapidly developed discipline found in the 18th century, called “archaeology.” Layton (2004) also problematises Marx’s view about “history”. Marx thought that Latin American and East European people also live outside history similar to the people of Asia and Africa. In principle, systematic history writing reduces the influence of popular thought about the past, because these memories are regarded as a mystic, decontextualised and beyond time-events. The reduction is one of the phenomena of “modernity.” Therefore, in the history of cultural heritage sites of Bangladesh, the popular thoughts about the past are entirely absent.

In this issue of alternative history or alternative to history, the position of Nandy (1995) is different. He proposes to revive the double idea of history. He emphasised the psychological practices of history, where histories are double, as hinted by the title of his article “History’s Forgotten Doubles” (Nandy 1995). However, Layton (2004) wanted to maintain the basic ideas about the past with archaeological evidence and oral traditions. With regard to the durability of oral history, the Iliad was cited as the best example (Nandy 1995). Therefore, one of the

viewpoints of this research is the plausibility of a mechanism of democratising history, which can ensure the participation of residents in history and, as a psychological consequence of such inclusion, make them responsible for protecting the cultural heritage sites.

The tendency of dominating history, alternative history, and alternative to history-writing is to simply be an assimilation and linear pathway to reach the fact. However, the proposition of this study is not a path for reaching the meaning of fact but rather, the meaning of concern. Past concerns itself about so many voices, expressed by the present day actions of different agencies. In this case, the operation by local actors (residents and archaeological objects) and its reflexivity should be accommodated as representations in onsite museums.

The forms of meaning (functional/systemic, ideational, and operational) are necessarily interdependent – it is not possible to talk of one without at least assuming the other. Beyond meaning as a system of functional interrelationships of events/objects/subjectivity and meaning as ideas and symbols, there is the meaning of specific actions for specific actors. It is called operational meaning.

On the one hand, the operational meaning of a thing or event depends firstly, on the actor's previous experiences of those things or events. This merely restates the fact that meaning is relational. Here, "experience" is used as a word in order to convey a sense of embodiment. It is important to remember the bodily experience at this point because too much abstract discussion of meaning might lull us into the familiar mistake of equating "meaning" not with sense but with a sort of message that is purely conceptual and consciously received. At the same time, operational meaning also depends on the intentions that motivate the actions. In a nutshell, operational meaning involves both the actor's experience of the past (biography) and intentions for the future (strategy).

The reality of a thing depends partially on the actions of people. Latour (2010) refers to this mutually constitutive interrelationship as a circulating reference: a network of associations and collaborations between people and things. In his analysis of a failed attempt to create a Personal Rapid Transit system in Paris, he shows that one “cannot conceive of a technological object without taking into account the mass of human beings with all their passions and politics and pitiful calculations” (Latour 2004). His point, then, is that the lives of people are so thoroughly interwoven with the lives of objects that human science can no longer be the science of humans alone (Latour 2004). Machines, like texts and human actions, must also be interpreted.

The archaeological reflexivity involves recognising the value of multiple positions, and multivocality. This reflexivity was holistically introduced in the increasingly ethical consciousness of the academic arena. It was also introduced by the heritage committees of local, national and international bodies. Moreover, it is reflected in the world of heritage management committees, which instigate the development of the guidelines leading to collaboration and multiple perspectives. As an example, the Burra Charter, which reshaped the definition of sites and monuments from mere objective terms, provided the description of cultural landscapes based on the understanding and perceptions of indigenous peoples. This was produced by the Australian chapter of ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites) (Australia ICOMOS 1981).

The *methodology* of this dissertation is theoretically conceptualised following the “discursive formation” of Michel Foucault. S. Hall (2003: 43) expounded on the three major approaches of Foucault’s theoretical ideas of methodology: 1) concept of discourse, 2) issue of power and knowledge, and 3) question of the subject. First, the *concept of discourse* refers to “a group of statements, which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment” (cited in Hall 2003: 44). Language and practice are the manifold productions of knowledge in discourse analysis. Hall (2003: 44)



explained it in this manner, "... since all social practices entail meaning and meaning shapes and influences what we do – our conduct – all practices have a discursive aspect." Second, the issue of *power and knowledge*, how the institutional apparatus and its technologies work, was central to understanding the relationship between power and knowledge discursively. Foucault's apparatus, including various varieties of the linguistic and non-linguistic phenomenon, are discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophic propositions, morality, philanthropy and so on. Foucault showed from his various famous works that "truth" has a very intimate relationship with the production of knowledge which produces power. "All knowledge, once applied in the real world, has real effects, and in that sense at least, "becomes true" knowledge, once used to regulate the conduct of others, entails constraint, regulation and the disciplining of practices" (Hall 2003: 49). He also emphasised that "power" is not always seeking control but is also productive. "It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression" (Foucault 1980: 119). Third is the question of the *subject*, about which Foucault is very much ontological when identifying the subject within the things. Usually, the typical structural-linguistic tendency is to abolish the "subject". Interestingly, Foucault did not try to find the subject in the centre position or the representative of the author as he was more concerned with questions about the subject, but not on a quest as the king, the ruling class, the bourgeoisie, the state, etc. The concern has always very much been about the mechanism to operate power and knowledge.

In general, governmentality is a theoretical phenomenon with far-reaching methodological apparatus for dealing with the subject genealogically and for discourse analysis. Foucault (1991) suggested governmentality as a tool or guideline to understanding the relationship between the formation of government and rationalities. It can be justified, legitimised, and rationalised by the government as a mode of thought. *Subjectivation*, i.e., the formation of

governable subject or citizen, and *subjectification*, i.e., the formation of individual existence, are the two mechanisms to understand the power relationship between “forms” and “rationalities” (Foucault 1991; Rose 1999; Lemke 2000). Controlling Tactics of Power are identified as “Repressive” Power while Managing Tactics of Power are defined as “constructionist/Constructivist” Power. Repressive Power is to control/govern the subject by the law and legislation of the State. It is the vertically circular way of the governing process — knowledge of authorisation to “kill” the subject. On the other hand, Constructionist Power is to control/govern the subject by the norms and statistics. It is the horizontal way of the governing process. Here, subjectification (whom to govern) has been practised under the process of willingness — knowledge of ethics of welfare to govern the subject. In this context, it can be said that the “safeguarding” of the cultural heritage is a governing technology and political reasoning to rationalise and legitimise the formation of protection of heritage.

Methodologically, governmentality is used here as a tool to problematise the accepted normative account of safeguarding mechanisms of the cultural heritage, which have been formatted and rationalised by the state. Specifically, governmentality is used as a methodological apparatus to discursively look into the notion and safeguarding programme of the cultural heritage in Bangladesh. Governmentalities do not simply “govern” the subject and discipline the “mentalities” of the subject; they also refer to the operationalisation of knowledge, technologies of representation and the execution of a political imaginary (Dillon 1995: 333, cited in Legg, 2008: 11). As a methodology, governmentality refers to three things: power, analytics, and governmentalisation of the state (Foucault, 1978a [2001]: 219–20, 1978b [2007], 1 February, cited in Legg, 2008: 10). Firstly, *power* is the emergence and pre-eminence, over discipline or sovereignty, of government as a type of power, which leads to specific apparatuses and knowledge. Next, *analytics* is the ensemble formed by institutions, analyses, calculations and tactics that allow the population to be targeted through political-economic knowledge and apparatuses

of security. Finally, *governmentalisation of the state* is the transition from the medieval state of justice to the administrative state. Various scholars (Rose 199; Dean and Hindess 1998 and Dean 1999; cited in Legg 2008: 12) have identified the specific manifestations of governmentality in the analytical dimension, which are *episteme*, *identities*, *visibility*, *techné*, and *ethos*.

*Episteme* is a distinctive way of thinking and questioning; the use of certain vocabularies and procedures for the production of truth. *Identities* are the epistemological conception of the people to be governed, their statuses and capacities, the shaping of agency and direction of desire. It expects forms of conduct and concern about people's duties or rights. *Visibility* refers to ways of seeing and representing reality; the practical knowledge of specialists and policymakers; plans, maps, and diagrams. It deals with the relationship between subjects and space. *Techné* is the techniques and technologies of government; the ways of intervening in reality through strategies and procedures about the materials and forces on hand and the resistances or oppositions encountered. It deals with the accomplished rule of mechanism, procedure or tactic. *Ethos* is the moral form that distributes tasks about ideas or principles of government; the orientation invested in practices. It searches for the benefit from a regime of government, and for whom and where these values are invested. It is a journey from groundwork stage, when the ethnographical survey is conducted among heritage-residents, academicians, the heritage-officials by way of in-depth chatting, and ends up to the analytical stage, where governmentality along with other related theories are considered, inspired by the Foucauldian approaches.

This study concludes systematically through the process of accommodation by Foucault in line with the above mentioned three approaches. Cousins and Hussain (1984: 84-5, cited in Hall 2003: 44) summarised Foucault's method, stating "whenever these discursive events refer to the object, share the same style and support a strategy of common institutional, administrative or political drift and pattern, then they are said by Foucault to belong to the same discursive formation."

Considering the notions of the present research, this dissertation makes a theoretical journey from Foucauldian governmentality to the idea of colonial governmentality, transnational governmentality, and neoliberal governmentality in analysing and interpreting, complemented by the archaeology of knowledge, ethnomethodology, and critical discourse analysis (CDA) methods and their application. Taking inspiration from the theoretical guideline of the discursive formation of Michel Foucault, reflexive archaeology is proposed by Ian Hodder (2012) to recognise and incorporate the heterogeneous agencies and the self-critical consciousness of the archaeological fact. Robert Layton (2004) inquired into archaeological/historical fact. Asish Nandy's (1995) multivocality of "history is forgotten" problematised the unilinearity of academic history. Hayden White's (1975) logical formation of "new historicism" gave a pathway to deal with binary oppositional differences between fact and fiction, and Bruno Latour (2010) denoted the controlling factor of "scientism" and showed that human science could no longer be the science of humans alone. The performativity of reflective subjectivity developed in this study in order to understand the reflective response of the visitors and heritage-residents follows the understanding of Judith Butler's (2009) theory of performative subjectivity and Stuart Hall's (2003) reflective subjectivity of the theoretical idea of "representation," which conceived the reflective approach, the intentional approach, and the constructionist approach.

Stuart Hall (Hall 2003) generated the theoretical idea of "representation" to understand the "meaning" of things critically, and his three apparatuses are: (a) the reflective approach, a true mimetic understanding of things, (b) the intentional approach, the identical understanding of an intentional move to the interpretation of things and (c) the constructivist or constructionist approach, where the concepts and signs are symbolic practices, and the processes are the representational systems to constructing the meaning of things. However, for Judith Butler (2009), the sole idea of representation to understand things is not sufficient, and she proposed that knowing meaning is also not enough to understand things. Hall emphasised the

understanding of things ontologically – “how things are being and becoming.” However, Butler emphasised “performativity” – the “doing” of the language of persons or textuality of things. There could be no autonomous mechanism without any performance. Performances are reflective processes. It can be said that reflective actions are necessarily mental activities of the self and self-exposes the actions, which are reflective, intentionally in private and professional spaces. The representational things come out by subjective performativity. In turn, this performativity constructs the intentional meaning of things. These mechanisms of generating meaning by doing are subjective actions. In this study, the performativity with artefacts by heritage-residents, textual expressions, and museological performativity of the DoA – found in the extensive participatory field observations, especially in Mahasthangarh, the Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat, and Paharpur – can be interpreted by the combined theories of Stuart Hall, and Judith Butler. It can be identified as “performativity of reflective subjectivity,” which is conceived from the multiple theories of “Performativity,” “Reflectivity” and “Subjectivity”.

This study deals with the governmentalisation of safeguarding the cultural heritage by following the aforesaid analytical frameworks and dealing with the mechanism of safeguarding. In preparing a theoretical baseline and proposition, “safeguarding-governmentality” will be developed through this research work. The analytical framework of this research work, in a nutshell, can be identified as “the safeguarding-governmentality of the cultural heritage” which conceives of the rationalisation of governing mechanisms, discourse approach, knowledge and power relationship, subjectivity, colonial, transnationality, subjectivisation, archaeological reflexivity, and performativity of reflective subjectivity. Interpretative tasks are part and parcel of the greater analytical framework building for the writing process. The entire corpus of safeguarding-governmentality and performativity of reflective subjectivity records are enormous and complex in terms of categories and nature. By negotiating the complexity of record

management, the “safeguarding-governmentality” and “performativity of reflective subjectivity” can be developed in this research work as an analytical framework.

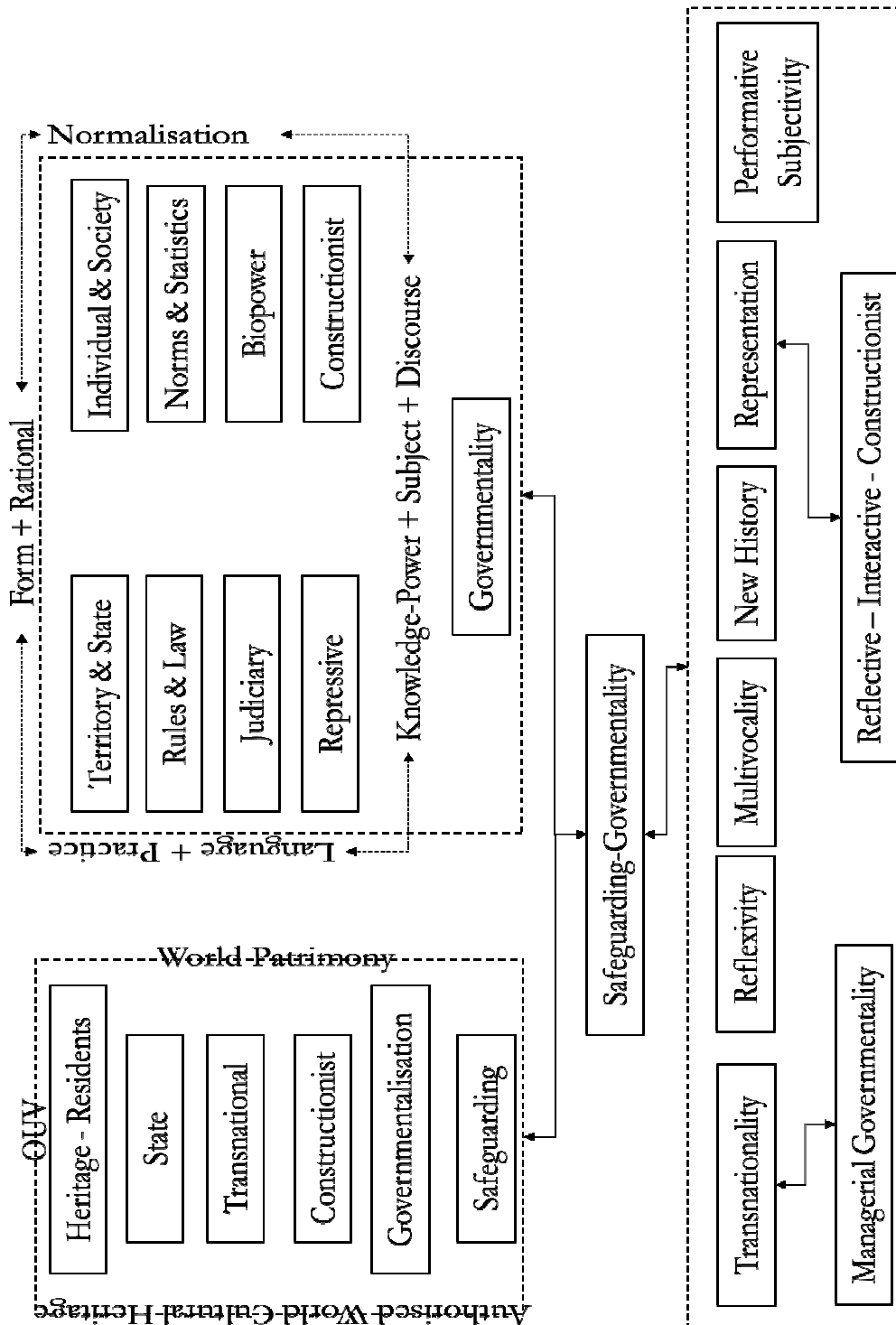


Figure 2 Conceptual Diagram of Analytical Framework of “Safeguarding-Governmentality”

## 1.5. Research Methodology

For conducting the ethnographic survey and understanding the discursive formation of governmentalisation of safeguarding the cultural heritage, *governmentality* is considered as an apparatus to conduct this research work.

By *exploring archive-based documents*, i.e. scholarly published books, archaeological excavation and survey reports, research arguments could be prepared as well as plans to conduct an ethnographic survey. The “archive” is an important analytical tool of Foucault’s historical epistemology; that is, his analyses of the historical transformation of knowledge and its forms, and more particularly, as he was prone to formulate it in the latter part of his career, the history of truth (Eliassen 2010: 4). This stage is composed of data recognition and collection from archival sources, and reconfiguration of the theoretical and political framework of dominating ideas of the safeguarding programme of Bangladesh. Regarding the preserved safeguarding history, the Library of the Department of Archaeology, Bangladesh and the UNESCO office in Dhaka were surveyed.

*Ethnomethodology* is framed and formed with the theoretical framework of governmentality by Michelle Brady (2014). Everyday life and social interaction documentations are the main concern of ethnomethodology. Ethnography is the apparatus to understand the controlling factors of the power over life/bio-power of the heritage-residents. The meaning of language is the dominating analytical technique of ethnography. However, Foucault’s discourse is not concerned with the meaning of language. While discourse is embedded in “language” and “practices”, Foucault is also concerned about the social location or institutional sites (e.g. the asylum, the hospital, and the prison). It specifies the practical operation of discourses, linking the discourse of particular subjectivities with the construction of lived experience (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005: 490). By following Michelle Brady’s guideline in the fieldwork, both closed and open-ended

conversations are conducted with the residents. Brady (2014) rejected the traditional governmentality scholars' exclusive reliance on archival sources or publicly available documents.

He stated,

... [I]nspired by ethnographic methodologies they incorporate an observation of everyday life, interviews, and the collection of documents on the ground, together with more traditional archival sources. In embracing these new analytics of governmentality inspired ethnographic methodologies, these researchers reject the sharp analytic distinction between sociologies of studies of governmentalities and studies of practices of governance. Instead, their work reveals the blurry division between political rationalities and their associated technologies on the one hand, and actual practices of governance on the other. (Brady 2014: 13)

Using written and visual representations, this study tries to understand the so-called “unconscious”, “illiterate” and sometimes “fundamentalist” ideas of the popular, and the authoritative and dominating class perception about how to manage heritage, the meaning of past and the popular perceptions. By understanding this notion of the agency for safeguarding the cultural heritage, this research work considers the conceptual difference between *subject* and *agent* as has been suggested by Asad (1986) and elaborated in many ways by Scott (2008). Arguably, the “present” is changing and disappearing by way of the essentialist definition of heritage, which the “conscious actions” of heritage-residents have pretended to safeguard. The notion of the agency of residents and heritage is important to understand the scholarship. Here, the subject, willful to conceive the action of heritage-residents, is self-defined. Actions for safeguarding the cultural heritage are assumed and elaborated on by the narratives of the safeguarding programme of the state. The rationalisation of obligations and duties of the governmental agencies have been questioned extensively. A subjective safeguarding programme of cultural heritage is desired to ensure capacity to act for measuring civilised human beings and their modern citizenry.



As to the *ethnographic field experience*, the research inquiries began at the small village market adjoining Mahasthangarh. The time was sunset, because, as is prevalent practice, after farming, the villagers at this time love to chat for a while and buy some necessities at the *baazaar* (marketplace). Conversations were made carefully as anything asked or introductions made, when stated rigidly, would raise suspicions among the people; i.e., *Who are you, and why have you come here?* There is a preconceived mindset among the villagers that the newcomer could be a government official, especially, from the Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, People's Republic of Bangladesh, and in most cases, when such official or a white person comes to their area in the name of doing survey or research, they end up losing their land.

Since 1971, in the period of liberation, Bangladesh became a land of NGOs. Local and international NGOs have been conducting green revolution projects to modernise Bangladesh. Villagers and slum dwellers have been experiencing regular surveys by the neoliberal transnational non-governmental organisations at the so-called disadvantaged region of Bangladesh. Almost all surveys are conducted by structured questionnaires done on monthly intervals on average. Thus, people conducting surveys or asking questions for research purposes has become commonplace for them. They are even familiar with the term FGD or in-depth interview. Studies made under neoliberal, transnational, developmental governmentality gave a different shape to the community. When a person starts to talk to them with pen and paper, the respondents understand that it will be an in-depth interview, which might be related to issues on sanitation/health/drinking water.

From these interwoven observations and ten years of professional archaeological field experiences, I have developed a friendship with a couple of heritage-residents. Their houses and working places were the usual meeting spaces for detailed chats with them. With their support, it became possible to develop the ethnographical queries which are not rigidly structured but has a basis on some conceptual framework. These have been used as a reference point to start the chat and conversations. The queries are attached to this paper in the annexure.

In this study, the theoretical proposition of Scott's colonial governmentality<sup>3</sup> has been re-examined to inquire into whether or not the dominant and established ideas of past and heritage are essentially interwoven into the enterprises and rationality of the project of modernity in Bangladesh. With a better understanding, the ideas of past and heritage can be examined. In this case, interviews were done with the *dominating academicians*. This survey was operated under a frame of power dynamics and essentialist ideas of the past. The dominant idea of history was investigated, as well as the knowledge producers in academia concerning David Scott's (2008) idea of colonial governmentality and other knowledge producers, particularly, the transnational agencies under transnational governmentality.<sup>4</sup>

Centrifugal everyday *popular practices*, e.g. epic, myth, rhyme, folk songs, tales, proverbs, sayings, and the like, are turned into oral history. Such records were collected during field visits. Critical discourse analysis, as a practice of language, generates sovereign power to an individual actor. It recognises the subjective reflectivity of an actor and oral traditions as a collective reflection of the sovereign agencies. As a methodological instrument, Foucault located this process as a genealogy; and considered genealogy a method of "will to truth" but not "the idea of origin." Genealogy searches "for instances of discursive production (which also administer silences, to be sure), of the production of power (which sometimes have the function of prohibiting), of the propagation of knowledge (which often cause mistaken beliefs or systematic misconceptions to circulate)" (cited in Golder, 2007: 9).

#### Tools to Tackle the 3D Modelling<sup>5</sup>

Particularly, survey-based data are the primary sources to generate 3D predictive modelling. In this case, the surveys conducted are explained below:

*Archaeological Survey*: This survey is done with the support of GPS (Imran 2013) along with stratified random and purposive survey approach of Peter Haggett (Drewet 1999). GIS

technology makes it easy to solve the limitations of this method. In most cases, it deals within the 100 m area. The 15' grid was used to conduct the ground survey (Imran 2013: 81). In this context, the regional scale survey was conducted with the contextually informed area. The 15' grid was considered here due to the structure contained in the area, which has been identified as the medieval town, and the objectives of that survey, which is to understand the town plan. The purposive survey was taken in this zone also because of the rich archaeological record. The spatial pattern of the structures and the pathways and water bodies are the main targeted sample to understand the distribution. Every grid has been virtually visible on the field. Here, GPS and GIS technology have been used to figure out the grids on the field. On the field, GPS has been used to take point data and project the data on the Upazilla maps of the studied sites, by using ArcGIS 10.2.2 software. As an example, Figure 3 shows the design of sampling through a customised systematic survey by using GIS technology. The model of the systematic survey with the combination of Spatial Structural Survey (Imran 2013: 81) and Purposive Survey procedure has been followed in figure 3.

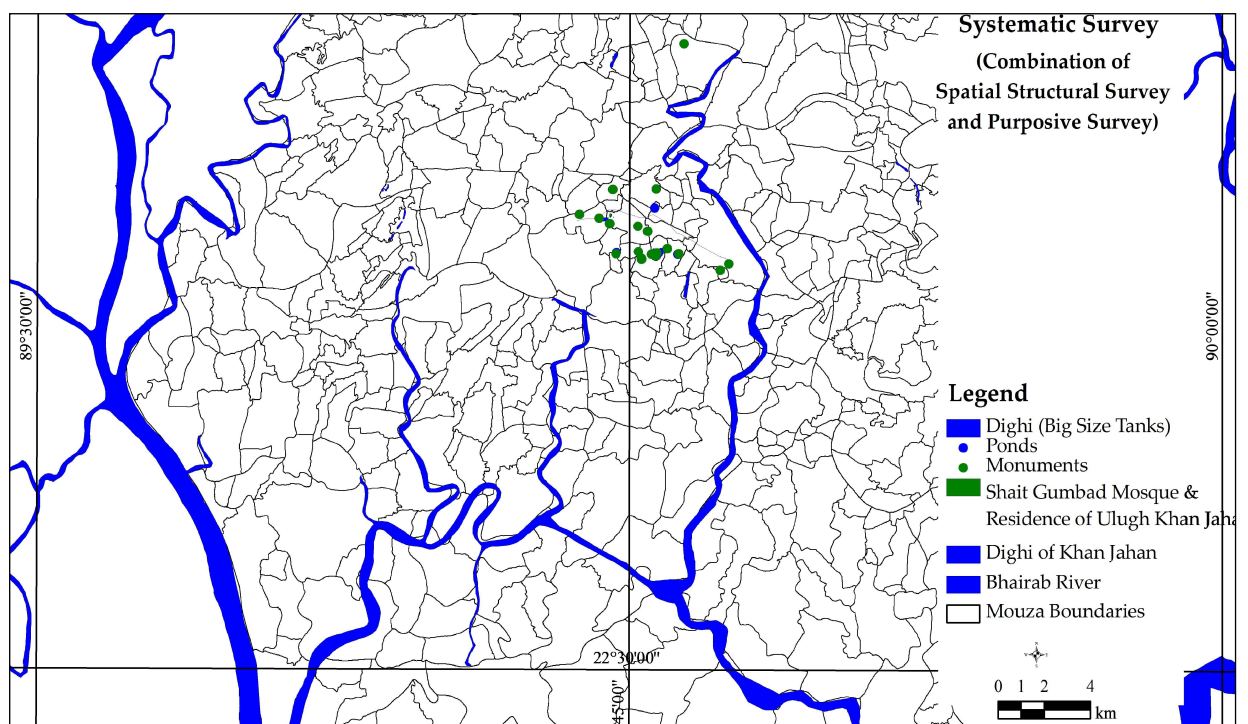


Figure 3 Systematic GPS survey in Bagerhat as an example of the field setting. (Imran 2014)

Photographic Survey: It consists of photographs taken systematically during the field survey.

Aerial Survey: In this case, as an open resource, Google Earth was used to conduct this survey.

Aerial data helped to determine the space, texture and distribution of structures.

3D Modelling (Imran and Masud 2016): In archaeological practices, ancient landscape or structures are subjected to many hypotheses to understand the 2D spaces. It is also a complicated procedure of real-world reconstruction of space because of cost/budget. Based on these hypotheses, the numbers of structures or objects are not feasible to reconstruct. For this reason, 3D modelling and virtual reality programmes are good for reconstructing the sites. These techniques help us to analyse the space through different experiments. For preparing the work files and generating the 3D models and predictive 3D town plan, the following software has been used: 3D Max and CAD.

The metadata is used to classify structures and to do the design part by part. All the photographic and scanned components are categorised by name, alias<sup>6</sup>, materials, finishes<sup>7</sup>, dimension, description, location, date of creation, modification date, creator, related 3D point cloud and a surface model. The modules are *eventalised*<sup>8</sup> by structure's parts, such as base, roof, frame, column and decorations to comply with the specifications of metadata. In the 3D display, the model can be rotated, scaled and translated. Here, 3D Max helped to measure the distance between two points without referring to the 2D drawings.

By using the point clouds, the 3D models were patched with polygonal surfaces and mapped with photos. In this way, the 3D model provides a more realistic display of the structure of 2D photo images.

Usually, the manual measurement of small segments is made by calculating the difference in the dimensions internally and externally. The 3D data integration would leave the associated

management of accuracies without primary reference whenever manual measurement with lower accuracy method was applied. The presence of a 3D object reduces the dependence on line drawings because a correct shape can facilitate the multi-dimensional inspection of an object and its parts beyond 2D drawings like plans, elevations, or sections. Highly accurate representations are provided in this 3D structure; elevations can be seen from projections and sections can be seen from cut-through as needed at any place. From 3D to 2D, it is a reverse of the traditional drawing production method from 2D to 3D. The total 3D structure models are similar to the primary database for 2D drawing production. The cloud models were exported to AutoCAD.

In this case, different layers were created to store line drawings. The cloud models were transformed in AutoCAD for a richer profile and the inter-relationship between segments. In some cases, highly dense point clouds are visualised as lines. The cloud slices have been used to visualise the structure sections. By avoiding the debates regarding the generation of the curved surface, vector drawing has been used.

As most of the decorations in structures are generated of free-formed concave polyhedra, correct 3D as-built digital models should be constructed before elevations and sections are drawn. Even though 2D drawing has not been encouraged to represent the 3D parts, the 3D-to-2D approach should be considered as a solution to solve the traditional drawing errors made by tracing on rectified photos.

The team that undertook this work came from various disciplines and worked as specialists. Moreover, they adopted the model to archaeological research, which is strictly maintained scientific standards; it must be mentioned that a few drawbacks have been seen, which could not be manipulated due to associated information. Despite all these issues, the *Khalifatbad*, the historic mosques of Bagerhat and *Somapura Mahavihara*, the World Cultural

Heritage of Paharpur were completed by following these steps for digital conservation and representation – the journey was made from present to past.

## **1.6. Outline of the Dissertation**

In this study, the dominating paradigm of safeguarding programme in Bangladesh as a project of modernity is discursively problematised; the system of safeguarding the cultural heritage is delineated by conceiving of democratising the past; and finally, the generation of a 3D modelling is aimed at for conserving and representing the cultural heritage digitally in *Mahasthangarh, Paharpur*, and the Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat in Bangladesh.

This dissertation is composed of seven chapters, and their interrelations are first, briefly presented here and then explained further in the following paragraphs. Chapter 1 contains an introduction to the study and a review of relevant literature, expounds on the reason and necessity for the research, sets up the conceptual and analytical framework, and explains the methodology taken in order to arrive at its conclusion. Chapter 2 presents the field setting and the social stratifications of the study areas. Chapter 3, discursively analyses the transnational production of the idea of heritage, heritagisations, and heritage consumerisms. Chapter 4 continues the discursive analysis into managerial governmentality, while Chapter 5 provides scrutiny of the engaging mechanism of heritage-residents. Chapter 6, developed as a substantial continuation of the prior chapter, discusses the digitalisation of the heterogeneous past as the apparatus of safeguarding-governmentality of the cultural heritage: the democratisation of the representational performative subjectivity in the Museum of Cultural Heritage Site. Chapter 7 contains a summary of the discursive analysis of the objectives and presents the conclusion of this study.

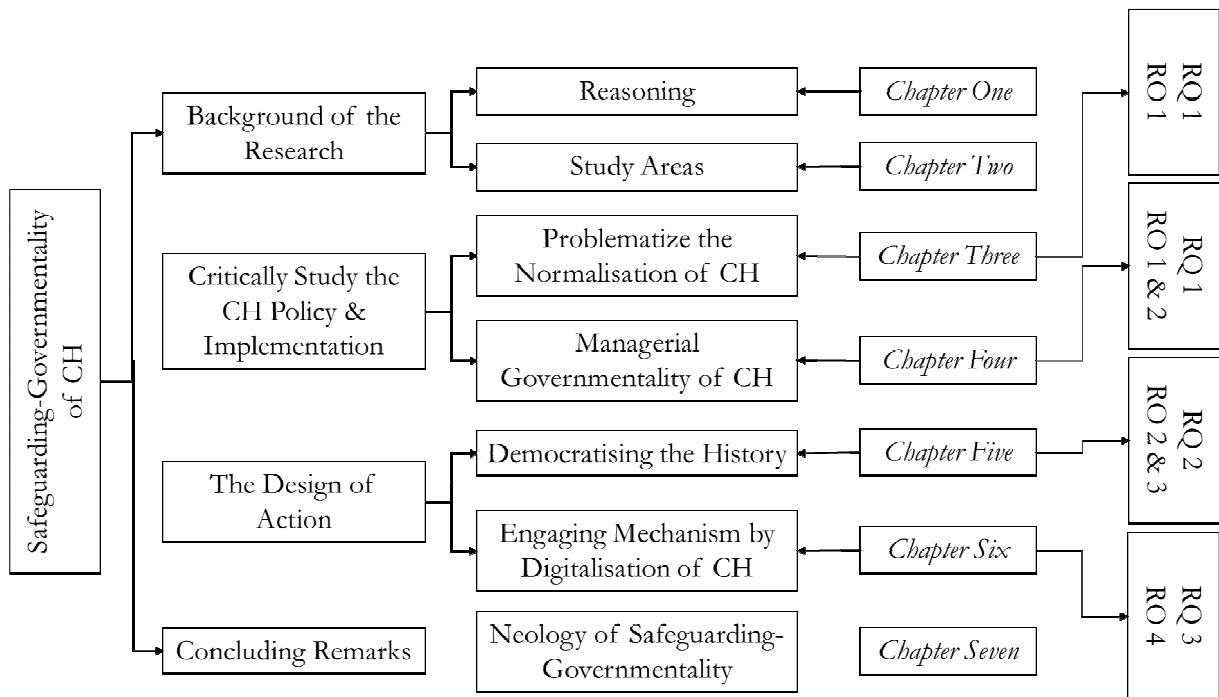


Figure 4 Flowchart of the dissertation.

Mainly, the cultural heritage, safeguarding programme and archaeological sites in Bangladesh are subjected to discursive inquiry in Chapter 1. It is worth noting that safeguarding-governance in Bangladesh is not dealt with by any other researcher. Furthermore, resident-friendly appraisals have not been taken; nothing has been tried to be analysed, either academically or practically in this regard; and conserving the cultural heritage digitally has neither been initiated nor researched by any academician.

In terms of the research methodology, exploring archive-based documents pertains to considering governmentality as an analytical instrument; ethnomethodology – ethnography of popular perceptions, and ethnography of the dominating class; and collecting popular history data with genealogy as a method. An analytical framework of safeguarding-governance and performativity of reflective subjectivity was developed in the last segment of the methodology. For digitally conserving, visualising, and 3D modelling of the cultural heritage, some photographic, GPS, and video graphics surveys were conducted, and 3D models were generated by using various 3D generating software, i.e. AutoCAD, 3D Max, surfer, aftereffect. Its regard to

the cultural heritage sites of Mahasthangarh, Paharpur, Chapter 2 describes the historic mosques city of Bagerhat in Bangladesh and the cultural heritage of Bhaktapur in Nepal as the research field. This is elaborated on with an understanding of its social stratifications.

Chapter 3 is considered the starting point in analysing the politics of conceptualisation of cultural heritage and its selection criteria. Heritage is scrutinised for its inclination to become a consumer product or act as a device to ascribe the community an imagined commonality under the project of modernity. This chapter looks into the dominating idea of cultural heritage, the resident's perception of the "value" of heritage, the transnational categorisation of the heritage, the heritagisation mechanisms of tradition, and the apparatus of constructing an imagined community.

It is expanding on the previous chapter's analysis at a policy level understanding of cultural heritage by the dominating agencies of State. Chapter 4 dealt governmentalizing mechanism of the state over the cultural heritage and the discursive relational formations between state agencies and heritage residents. Here, extensively uses field level ethnographic data and analyses the policy and administrative level actions of dominating agencies under the broader understanding of safeguarding-governmentality of cultural heritage. It expounds on organisational subjective performativity, the legalisation of transnational governmentality, the developmental governmentality and elitist destruction, the heritage commodification governmentality, the apathy of archaeological research and publication, and the resistances and accommodations among heritage-residents.

The definition of the norm of *OUV* set by UNESCO, which stands for "outstanding universal value," is being questioned from the perspective of heritage residents, and this is initially analysed in Chapter 3. Following through the discussion, Chapter 4 explains the managerial governmentality of cultural heritage to seek an understanding of the first two objectives of this



study; specifically, to problematize the ideas and norms of safeguarding cultural heritage that can be observed in the sovereign action of dominant agencies as a project of modernity in Bangladesh, and to understand, against the backdrop of residents being Muslims in heritage sites, the relationship between heritage-residents and the archaeological evidences, which are characteristically Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim.

Chapter 5 addresses the third objective of the research, which is negotiating for involving the mechanism of accommodating the heterogeneous voices of the past as a heritage management strategy. The main concern is to ensure the participation of heritage residents. The idea proposed in this research is to explore the notion of democratising history in a cultural heritage site museum. It would be a big task to meet the people with their religion-based nationalistic identities in the ancient Buddhist-Hindu-Muslim archaeological sites of Mahasthangarh, Paharpur and the Historic Mosques City of Bagerhat in Bangladesh. This chapter dwells on the engaging mechanism of residents' interest in safeguarding the cultural heritage, which refers to accommodating the heterogeneous voices of the past in history. It details the problem of dominating history writings, discusses oral traditions, historical facts versus historical fiction. This chapter describes the process of revisiting the people's oral traditions and re-valuing the meaning of artefacts. It is not a fact-finding phenomenon. Usually, all the debates stem from historical concerns and conscious agencies. In this research, the impelling notion is to develop a mechanism for confirming the participation of the residents' voices of past in history.

Chapter 6 focuses on the digitalisation of the heterogeneous past as the apparatus of safeguarding-governmentality of the cultural heritage. It deals with the objective of conservation and representation the people's voices and the dominating archaeological understanding of the Past by digital means in accordance with the recommended guidelines of the world heritage safeguarding program of UNESCO. This project is proceeding in the following ways:

1. Photography and videography of heritage-residents' storytelling in the Museum
2. 3D modelling of the cultural heritage of the Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat, and Paharpur
3. Generating a predictive model of architectures that have disappeared and their environments.  
Subjectively, the virtual past essentially associates with an interactive method of inference in archaeology.

Chapter 7 is the concluding remarks, which sum up the analysis in every chapter in the hope of addressing all the objectives and research questions.

## Chapter Two

---

## **Chapter 2**

### **The Research Sites**

The ultimate notion of this research is to understand the discursive formation of governmentalisation<sup>9</sup> of safeguarding cultural heritage and heritage residents and to design the action for preserving, conserving and representing the heterogeneous voices of the past(s) digitally in museums. The governing mechanisms have been delineated as overpowering the heritage residents, who have been identified as ‘ignorant’, ‘illiterate’, ‘ahistorical’, and producing knowledge of the meaning of cultural heritage, which is rationalised within the mindscape of scienticism of dominating history writing. Before beginning to analyse the rationalisation mechanisms of governing cultural heritage, it is important to delineate the academic and spatial characteristics of the studied cultural heritage and to understand the existing social stratification among heritage-residents. For this purpose, this chapter has been developed to provide detailed academic information for the study of the cultural heritage and the social stratifications among the heritage-residents.

This study on the safeguarding programme of the cultural heritage in Bangladesh was conducted in four prominent cultural heritage sites of Bangladesh and Nepal. In the former research area, three sites were examined – Mahasthangarh, Paharpur and the Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat in Bangladesh. The following research was conducted in Bhaktapur in Nepal.

In this study, Mahasthangarh was chosen because of its archaeological importance and the extended range of its cultural heritage sites. Significantly, the enthusiasm of heritage-residents towards the past and declaration of the site as a cultural capital of SAARC<sup>10</sup> were taken into account. Paharpur and the Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat were chosen in light of their having been listed as World Cultural Heritage. In addition, the world cultural heritage of Bhaktapur in

Nepal was also chosen as a subject of the study in order to especially focus on how transnational governmentality and safeguarding-governmentality are mechanised in a different perspective.

### **2.1.1. Archaeological History of Mahasthangarh: A Cultural Capital of SAARC**

Mahasthangarh is situated at Shibganj Upazila of Bogra district, Bangladesh (see Figure 5). It represents the largest Early Historic archaeological site of Bangladesh, consisting of the ruins of the ancient city *Pundranagara*. In 1879, Alexander Cunningham, a British army officer and eminent archaeologist who served as the first director of the Indian Archaeological Survey, first officially notified these archaeological depositions as the ancient city of *Pundranagar*. Other than Cunningham, there are other notable scholars, i.e. Buchanan, O'Donnell, Westmacott, and Beveridge, who surveyed and published reports about this site.

Under the supervision of KN Dikshit, the first regular excavation was conducted at the site in 1928-1929 by the Archaeological Survey of India. This excavation involved three mounds, which are *Bairagir Bhita*, *Govinda Bhita*, a small part of the eastern rampart wall, and the bastion wall of *Munir Ghun*. This excavation project was suspended for three decades because of political changes, especially with respect to religious and ideological differences in the country, but eventually resumed in the early 1960s with works done on the northern rampart area, *Parasuram* Palace (*Parashuramer Prasad*), *Mazar area*, *Khodar Pathar Bhita*, *Mankalir Kunda* mounds and other sites. These works were started at the site which was the territory of Pakistan, but by the time the excavation reports were published in 1975, the region of East Pakistan has become the independent state of Bangladesh beginning 1971. In the next two decades, the excavation works were suspended but then resumed in 1988; and from then on works were continued regularly by the Department of Archaeology, The Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Bangladesh, and Mission Francaise de cooperation archaeologique au Bangladesh, Maison de l' Orient Meditteraneen-Jean Pouilloux, Lyon, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France.

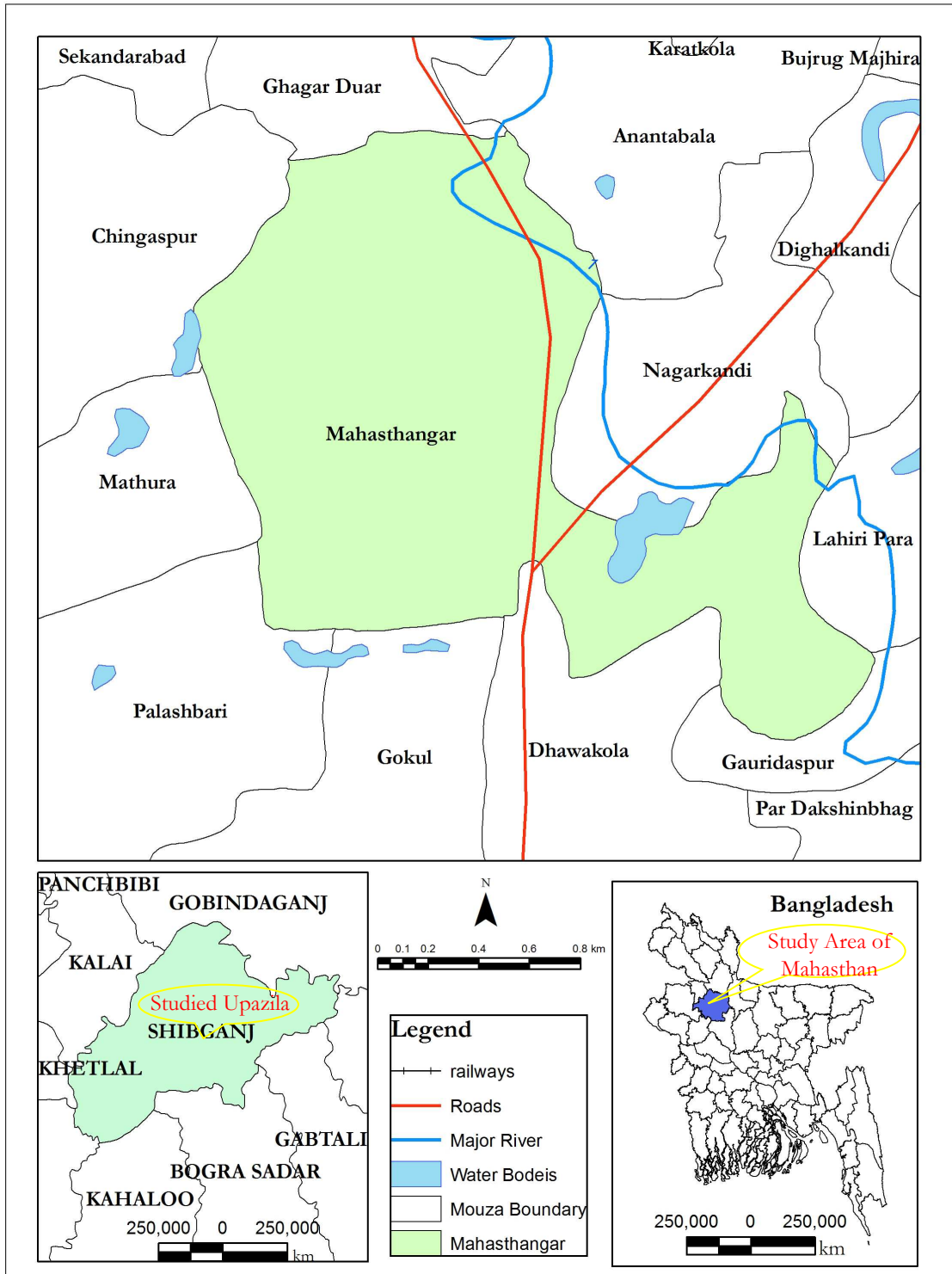


Figure 5 Field Location of Mahasthangarh.  
(Source: the author)

Mahasthangarh represents the first urbanisation in the Bangla region (see Figure 5 & 6) as a result of its flourishing trade. It became the first provincial capital (*Pundranagara*) of Bangla. Mahasthangarh yielded some typical Early Historic antiquities, e.g. NBPW (Northern Black

Polish Ware), silver punch-marked coin, copper cast coin, ring stone, bronze mirror. These materials suggest that Mahasthangarh flourished as a major politico-urban centre in the Early Historic period. Archaeological evidence also shows that the Mahasthangarh region was a key centre at the time of the Guptas (ca. 300 AD to 550 AD), the Palas (775 AD to 1071 AD) and even in the Muslim period. This area is continuously inhabited until the present day. Therefore, this place has always been characterised in different ways. Popular practices (e.g. songs, rhyme, story, puthi, myth) are producing new identities. For instance, a temple is known to the heritage-resident as “Lakhindarer Bashor Ghar”, a bridal suite of Lakhindar. Further, so many cultural and ritual series of events have unfolded and lead to an agent of archaeological value based on the tomb of Shah Sufi Balkhi, such as a village-fair, *oras*, and others.

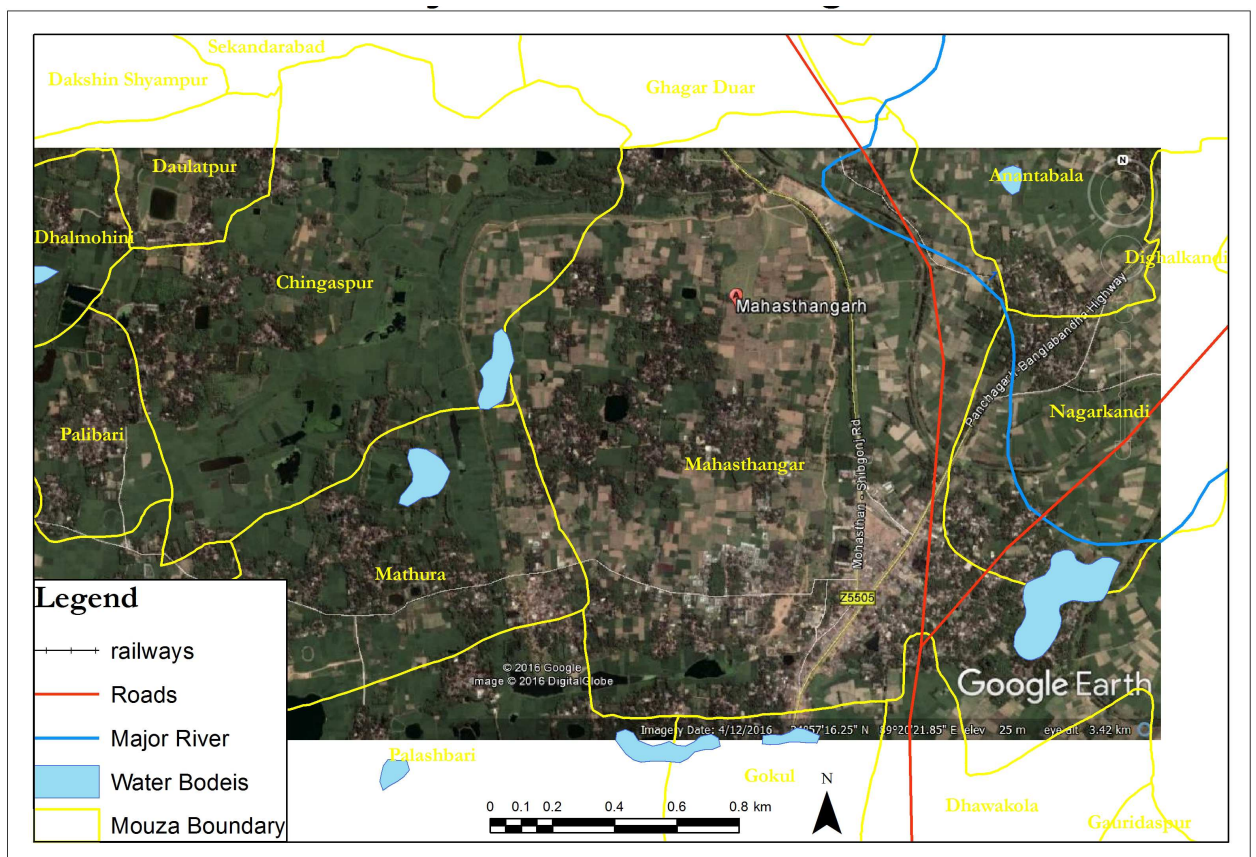




Figure 6 Location of the research area of Mahasthangarh. (Modified after Google Earth December 2016 by Imran)

The Mahasthan region flourished on the fluvial deposition of river Karatoya and river Bangalee. Karatoya flows rapidly towards the eastern side of the citadel area. These two rivers were the fortification mechanisms of Mahasthangarh. Their couple of mounds are excavated within close vicinity of the ancient city area of Mahasthan, within an 8 km radius. Most of the mounds are located on the north, south and west side of the city area.

Following is an introduction of some of the prominent monuments:

<p>Bhasu Vihara, which is 6 km away from the Mahasthangarh city area and in the West zone, is locally known as Narapatir Dhap and is identified by archaeologists as a Post-Gupta shrine. (<a href="http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Bhasu_Vihara">http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Bhasu_Vihara</a>, Published on March 1, 2015, and Accessed on December 11, 2017)</p>	
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

*Figure 7* Bhasu Vihara, Mahasthangarh

<p>At Govinda Bhita, adjacent to the northern rampart wall, these four unknown periodic structures were excavated in 1928-1929. (<a href="http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Govinda_Bhita">http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Govinda_Bhita</a>, Published on September 28, 2014, and Published on December 10, 2017)</p>	
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

*Figure 8* Govinda Bhita, Mahasthangarh



Bairagir Bhita is 76 m away from the northern part of the rampart wall of Mahasthangarh city area. In the early Pala period, temples and some unidentified structures excavated in 1928-1929 were destroyed. ([http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Bairagir\\_Bhita](http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Bairagir_Bhita), Published on May 5, 2014, and Accessed on January 12, 2019)



Figure 9 Bairagir Bhita, Mahasthangarh

Parasuram Palace, situated in the citadel area of Mahasthangarh, was named after the mythical Hindu King Parasuram and was excavated in 1961. ([http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Parasuram\\_Palace](http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Parasuram_Palace), Published on February 5, 2015, Accessed on December 22, 2017)



Figure 10 Parasuram Palace, Mahasthangarh

Mankalir Bhita, situated near the Mazar of Sufi Sultan Mahisawar, was an unknown structure but, after excavations in 1965-1966, was speculated to be a 15- domed mosque. ([http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Mankalir\\_Bhita\\_Mosque](http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Mankalir_Bhita_Mosque), Published on March 4, 2015, Accessed on December 15, 2017)



Figure 11 Mankalir Bhita, Mahasthangarh

Khodar Pathar Bhita, situated near the Mazar of Sufi Sultan Mahisawar, is a stone mound of God. Here, people worship one door lintel (2.84mx0.71mx0.74m) of a giant gate. ([http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Khodar\\_Pathar\\_Bhita](http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Khodar_Pathar_Bhita), Published on September 17, 2015, Accessed on December 12, 2017)



Figure 12 Khodar Pathar Bhita, Mahasthangaru

Bihar Dhap is a semi-square (250mx220m) mound in Bihar village in Shivganj Upazila, Bogra. The DoA did excavation works from 1979-1986 and identified it as a Buddhist monastery. ([http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Bihar\\_Dhap](http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Bihar_Dhap), Published on February 25, 2015, and Accessed on December 9, 2017)



Figure 13 Bihar Dhap, Mahasthangary

There are some fine examples of artefacts found in Mahasthangarh during the last 80 years. The following images are from Banglapedia<sup>11</sup>.



Figure 14 Inscription, Mahasthangarh



Figure 15 Surya, Mahasthangarh

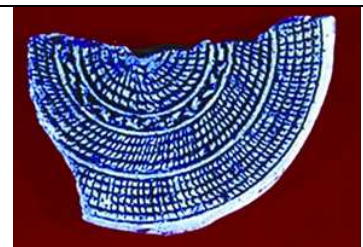


Figure 16 Glazed Pottery, Mahasthangarh

(<http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Mahasthan>, Published on March 30, 2015, Accessed on November 2, 2016)



Figure 17 NBPW (Northern Black Polish Ware)

(<http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Mahasthan>, Published on March 30, 2015, Accessed on November 2, 2016)



Figure 18 Gold Coins



Figure 19 Silver Puchmarked Coin



Figure 20 Semi Precious Stone Beads

(<http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Mahasthan>, Published on March 30, 2015, Accessed on November 2, 2016)

### 2.1.2. Archaeological History of Paharpur: A World Cultural Heritage

Paharpur has archaeologically identified as *Somapura Mahavihara*, which is the most important early medieval archaeological site of Bangladesh (see Figure 21). Located in the northwest part of Bangladesh in the Upazila of Badalgachi and the district of Noagaon, Paharpur is listed as a World Heritage Site of UNESCO. It also contains the great Buddhist period depictions in Bangla, which is widely acclaimed along with Mahasthan, Bogra and Maynamati,

Comilla. According to Dikshit, a long period of time had already passed since it was finally left abandoned at the beginning of the 13th century. From the early 1930s, it received abundant attention in the historical and archaeological studies, in the selection and construction of past, in image and imaginary making project of the colonial and modern nation-state. Since it had been first excavated by eminent archaeologist Dikshit and his team in the early 1930s, this site has been re-excavated and repaired partially in phases.

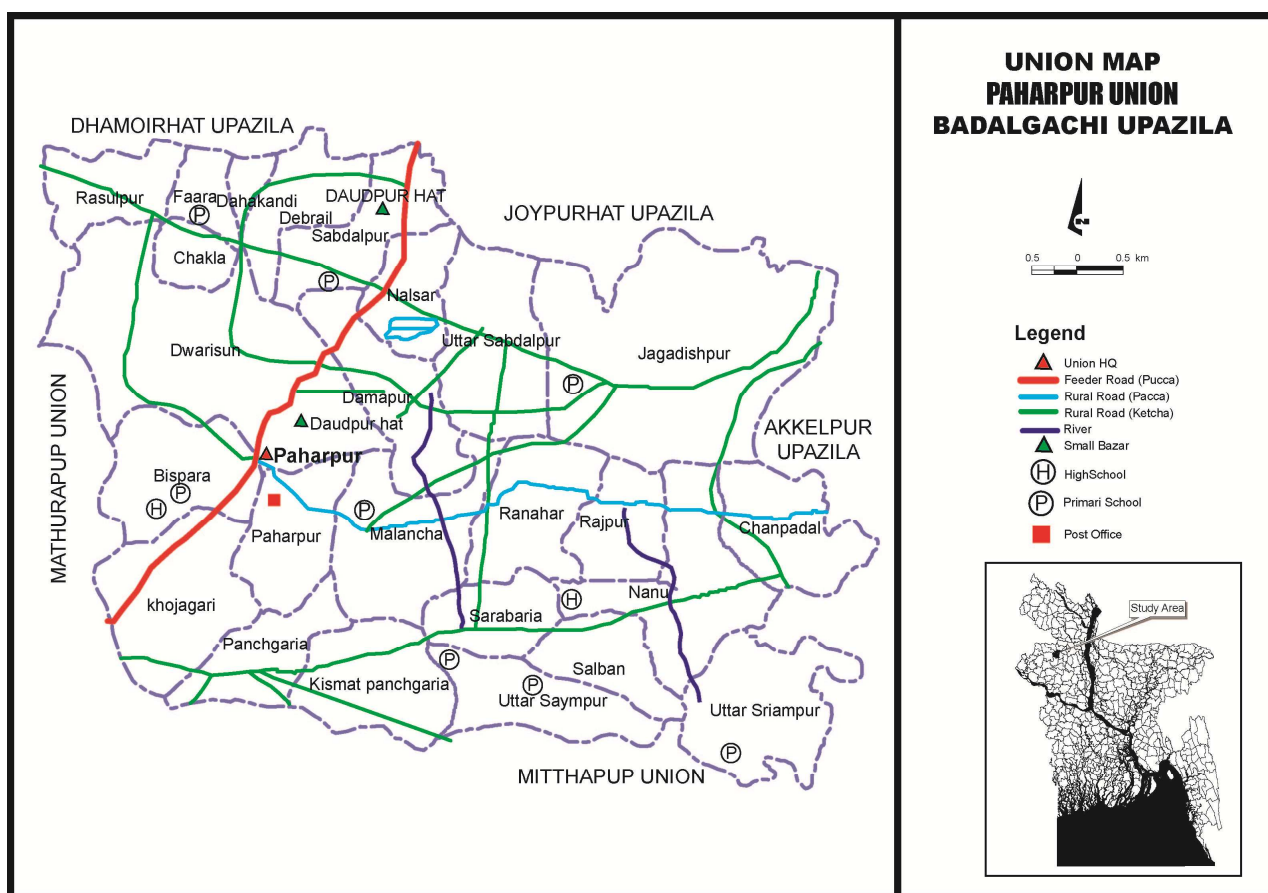


Figure 21 Geodetic Position of Paharpur (Imran 2018)

The square-shaped Mahavihara can be seen in Figure 22, where every wing is 281m in length. The Pala dynasty, particularly, Dharmapala (781-821 AD), the second Pala ruler, established this Shomapura Mahavihara in Pharpur and there is speculation that this Mahavihara was reconstructed twice by the Pala descendants. The monastery contained a thick exterior wall and two entrance provisions. These two entrances were installed on the north and east wings.

Every wing has continuous cells with a running corridor. Solid pedestals contain a couple of cells in each wing. The middle position of few of the cells in three wings, except at the northern side, contains a small worship point. Except for the southern part of the monastery, every worship point is connected straight to the courtyard through the staircase. The Yantra Vajrayana styled central shrine is spatially positioned at the centre point of the open courtyard.

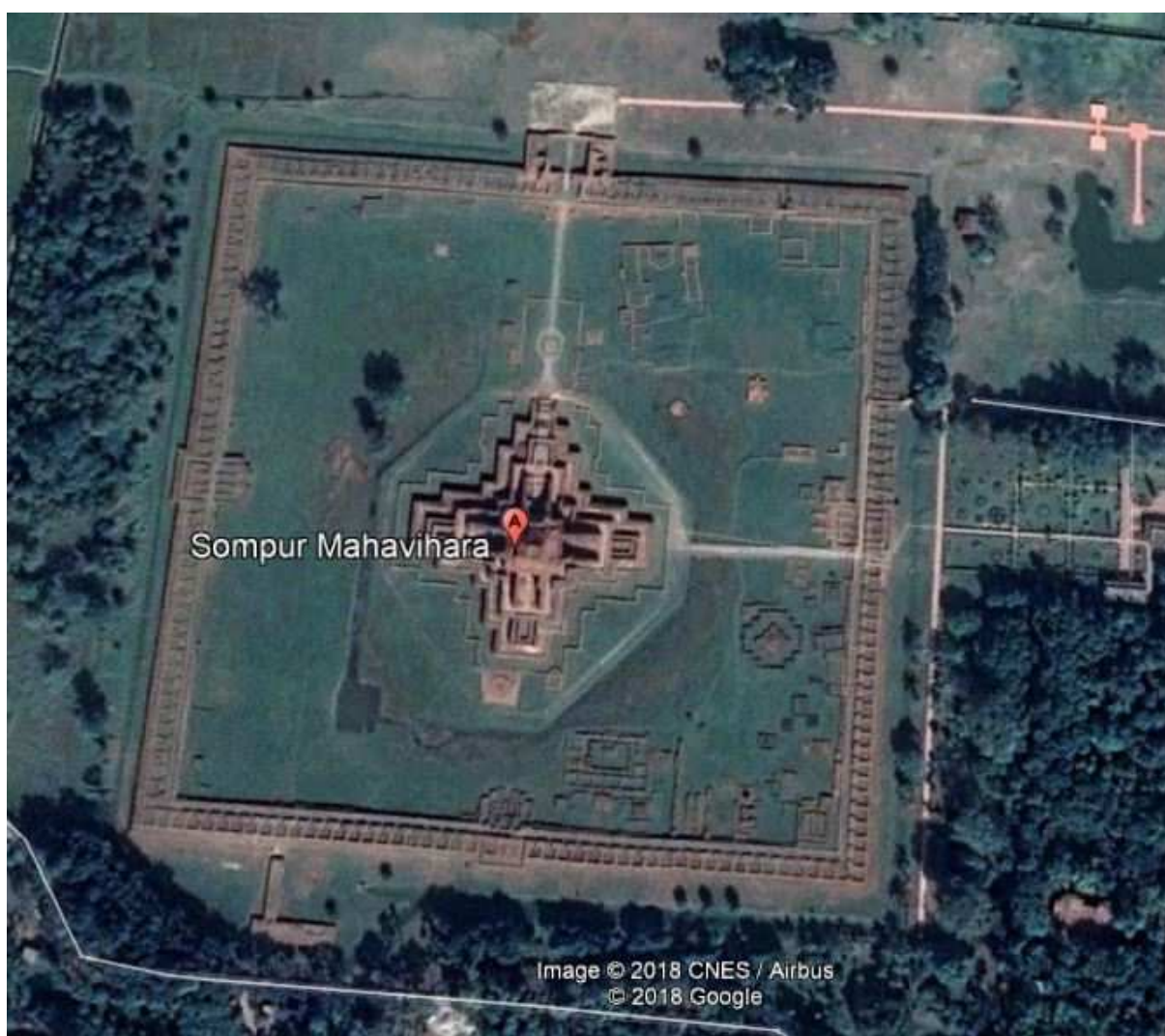


Figure 22 A bird's eye view of the Somapura Mahavihara.  
(Google Earth, January 2018)

The central courtyard contains various small-scale and different types of structures such as, at the southeast corner structures, a group of five votive stupas or *panchavede*, kitchen, wells, votive stupas, a miniature architectural model of the central shrine. There is almost a lack of structures in the western half of the courtyard.

The fragments of sculptures, potsherds, ornaments, coins, seals, sealings, votive stupas salvaged are a fair number from these cultural heritage sites. From 1807, 1812, and 1879, under the reign of the British Empire, there were a couple of field explorations, and archaeological excavations were carried out by the high professional British officers, e.g. Buchanon Hamilton, Westmacott and Sir Alexander Cunnigham. They have collected so many artefacts and preserved those in Kolkata Museum in India. In addition, the Varendra Research Museum of Rajshahi preserved a couple of artefacts by Saratkumar Ray, *Zamindar* of Balihar. Akshay Kumar Maitreya was a practising lawyer and a distinguished modern historian of Rajshahi, and Rama Prabha Chanda was a prominent historian and produced art, and archaeology. They took some preventive measures. Paharpur was declared as a protected archaeological site in 1919 under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904.

In 1923, a joint excavation was started by Archaeological Survey of India, Varendra Research Society of Rajshahi, and University of Kolkata together with the excavation initiated under Professor Dr Bhandarkar of ancient history and ex-superintendent of Archaeological Survey of India. He conducted the excavation from 1925-1926 in the northern part of the central mound. After his archaeological activities, KN Dikshit commenced the next session from 1926-27 and 1930-1932. GC Chandra conducted excavations from 1932-34. After that time frame, Paharpur became a part of Pakistan, and Rafique Mughal excavated the monastic cells of the east wings. As an independent state of Bangladesh, after 1971, the Department of Archaeology began excavations in different phases, within 1981-1982, 1984-1985, 1988-1989, 1990-1991, and 2007-2008.

The clay seals revealed the historical connections among Shri-Somapure-Shri-Dharmapaladeva-Mahavihariyarya-bhiksu-sangghasya. Taranatha and other Tibetan sources state that it was built by Devapala. As the Pala rulers were devout Buddhists, an inscription on the pillar found in the central shrine was inscribed with the name of Bhiksu Ajayagrabha, who was

identified with the Pala Dynasty. He was a worthy successor of Devapala. The data was crosschecked with the Jagjivanpur copperplate, where the same name was found inscribed. This can be taken as proof that the monastery received continuous patronage from the Mahendrapala. Tibetan writings, especially, *Pag Sam Jon Zang* wrote that the monastery was repaired and renovated under the reign of Mahipala from c995-1043 AD.

The Nalanda inscription of Vipulashrimitra showed that the *Somapura* as *Mahavihara* flourished around the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD and that the *Vangla* army of the Varman rulers of Vanga destroyed the monastery by fire. Vipulasrimitra established a *Tara* temple and restored the former glory of the Vihara by renovation works.

### **2.1.3. The Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat: A World Cultural Heritage<sup>12</sup>**

The historic mosque city of Bagerhat is situated in the suburbs of the district town of Bagerhat in Bangladesh, formerly known as *Khalifatabad*, which was established by the warrior-saint Ulugh Khan Jahan in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (see Figure 23). The site was recognised as a World Cultural Heritage of UNESCO in 1983 as an outstanding example of an architectural design which illustrates a significant stage in human history. At first, Blochmann (1872: XLI), identified this region as a medieval mint town under the later Ilyas Shahi Sultans of Bangla (Mitra 1914, Karim 1960, Shahnawaz 1992, Bari 1989, et al.). *Khalifatabad* town is partly a living archaeological site of Bangladesh and has been listed in the world cultural heritage site by UNESCO. Historically prominent *Khalifatabad* is situated a couple of km away from the present Bagerhat District Town (see Figure 23). Bagerhat has become synonymous to Shait Gumbad Mosque/Khan Jahan's Mausoleum among the common peoples, believers and researchers.

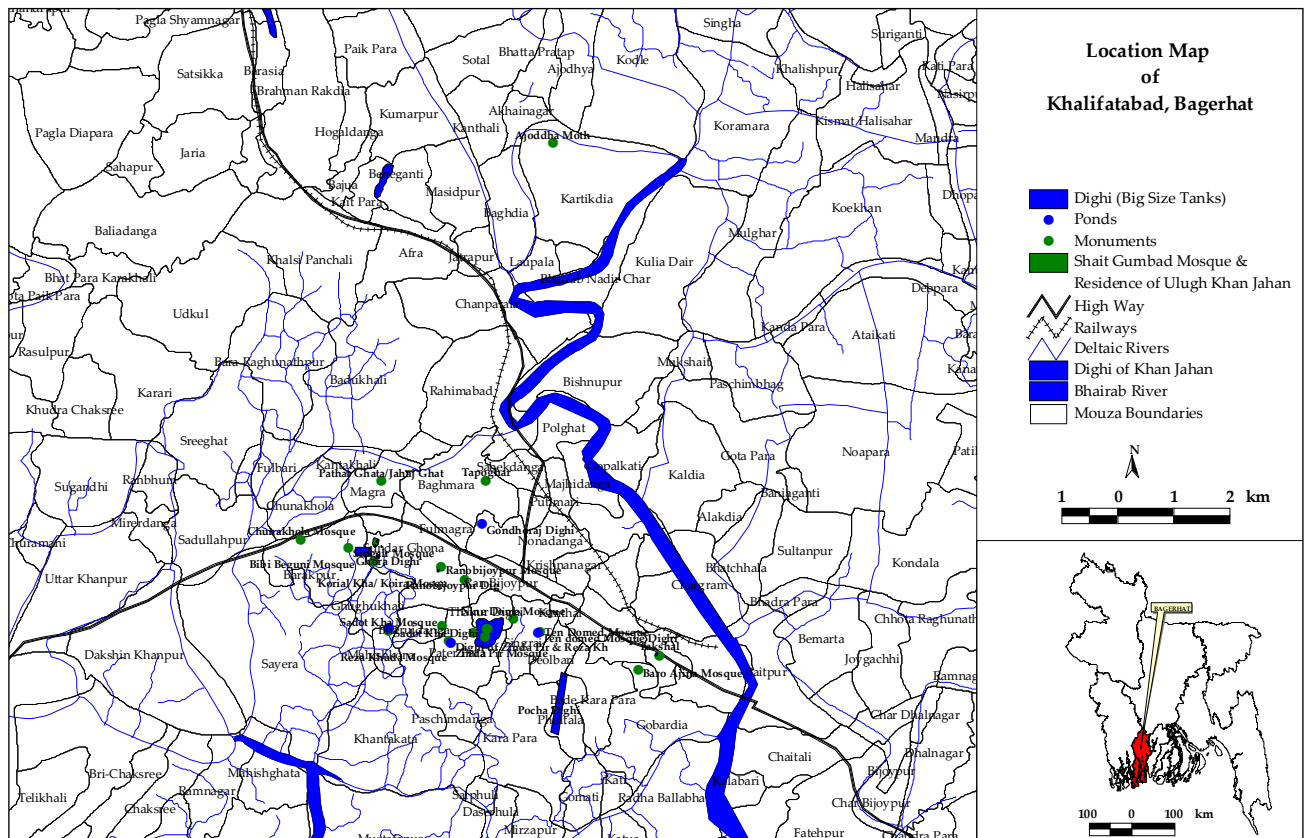


Figure 23 Location Map of Khalifatabad Region, Bagerhat (Imran 2014)

However, the series of mosques (e.g. *Bibi Begni* Mosque, *Chunakhola* Mosque, *Ramnabijoypur* Mosque) and other architectural features (e.g. *Tapoghar*, *Takshal*) are similarly found in the same period of Shait Gumbad (60 domed mosques). Blochmann (1872: XLI), identified this region as a mint town: Khalifatabad under the later Ilyas Shahi Sultans of Bangla and subsequently this identification has been defended/debated by historians (e.g. Mitra 1914, Karim 1960, Shahnawaz 1992, Bari 1989). Besides, most of these historians were convinced by the following definition of Karim (1960: 164):

Khalifatabad is identified with Bagerhat in Khulna District. The area was first brought under the Muslims by someone like Khan Jahan in the reign of Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud Shah I. The name Khalifatabad is known from these coins. ... Khalifatabad appears as a mint town in the coins of Sultan Nasir al-Din Nusrat Shah and Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Mahmud Shah. Nusrat Shah's coins bearing this mint were dated 922



AH, 924 AH and 925 AH, thus provides the idea that he issued coins in the lifetime of his father. The date in Mahmud Shah's coin bearing the mint-name Khalifatabad is not satisfactorily established.

By this definition, the Shait Gumbad Mosque region is considered as a mint-town, named Khalifatabad, as used by contemporary historians. In Khalifatabad, a road and series of fashioned buildings of sultanate period have been identified. Archaeological evidence has been discovered from recent excavation, and the Department of Archaeology has restored most of the structures through the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Bangladesh.

From the historical account (e.g. Karim 1960 & 1977, Shahnawaz 1992, Bari 1989, Roy 1999), in Bangla, it is known that there are eight towns: Nadia, Lakhanawati, Pandua, Gaur, Saptagram, 16<sup>th</sup> century's Nabwadip, Jessore and Sonargaon, which are indexed as the Prominent Sultanate's towns.

In the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century AD, a Muslim domain has been found in the inhospitable mangrove forest of the Sundarbans, a vast marshy and impenetrable tract along the coastline of southern Bangladesh, by an obscure saint-general named Ulugh Khan Jahan. This Muslim domain is always characterised as an individual entity because very few reliable historical records about the origin and career of the legendary warrior-saint are available in the given timescale. Circumstantially, there are no clues to find out a link with the other Sultans of Bangla. Some of the historians have tried to figure out the relationship with the Sultan of Sonargaon. However, this controversial argument is still under debate. The myths and the material evidence, which are popularly practised and are chiefly known about Ulugh Khan Jahan, are derived from the inscription engraved upon his grave. It clearly mentioned that Ulugh Khan Jahan died on 25 October 1459 AD (27 Zilhajj 863 AH). This remarkable adventure by Ulugh Khan Jahan, undoubtedly one of the earliest messengers of Islam in the south, at this unclaimed forest land

systematically lays out the nucleus of an affluent city not far from the present town of Bagerhat, which sprawls along the bank of the moribund Bhairab River (see Figure 23). It can be advocated that this missing link could be the key reason for its failure from getting priority in the history of the Sultanate period. As a result, it always has largely been discussed as an individual entity of the Sultanate period.

The dominating history of *Khalifatabad* is that in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Ulugh Khan Jahan found a city of an unknown name not far from the present town of Bagerhat. Sourced from the inscribed writings on the reported coin (see Figure 24), the town has been identified as *Khalifatabad* by several distinguished historians (i.e. Blochmann 1872, Mitra 2001, Karim 1960, Shahnawaz 1992, Bari, 1989). According to Mitra (2001), Khan Jahan settled in an area of the vast marshy, impenetrable tract and wild jungles along the coastline of Southern Bangladesh. However, there may have been the first settlers who moved into that area.



Figure 24 This place is locally known as a Mint Centre with Mitha Pukur (Tank).  
(Imran 2016)

Few reliable historical facts have been reported about the life of Khan Jahan as the legendary warrior-saint and founder of *Khalifatabad*. In some of these narrations (i.e. Blochmann 1872, Mitra 2001, Karim 1960, Shahnawaz 1992, Bari, 1989), he has adequately been identified as a Turk who was sent by central rulers of Delhi to expand the Muslim territory. However, some terrible tales speak of how he left the capital on his own accord, or he has been forcibly sent to the Sundarbans by way of punishment. No concrete evidence or logic have been produced in favour of the aforesaid statements. On the other hand, archaeological evidence found in this space shows that he and his followers dedicated themselves to flourishing Islam. Conversely, it can be said that the city of *Khalifatabad* had some impact on the control of surrounding areas (parts of the present districts of Khulna, Jessore, Patuakhali and Barisal (see Figure 25). Some monuments of same style and materials, located at the surrounding area, can be considered as evidence in favour of the said claim. Some tanks and roads located 10 miles north of Jessor have been named after him.

Some of the historians (i.e. Mitra 2001, Karim 1960, Shahnawaz 1992, Bari, 1989) argued that Khan Jahan owes no allegiance to the Sultans of Delhi, but he may have been subordinated to the independent Muslim rulers of Bangla, the capital of which was established at Gaur. Then again, there is no direct evidence which suggests that Khan Jahan did not mint any coins of his own and the coin was discovered from the area which has any connectivity with Khan Jahan. So far, the evidence reported from this area does not assume any other royal titles. However, his exact political status remains rather vague and obscure, but perhaps the physical geography of the intractable and distant Sundarbans offers a partial explanation of his virtual independence in this area. When attacked, it is likely that he had retreated into the swamps, which would explain why neither town walls nor a fortress has so far been discovered although there is a partially excavated ruin which is supposed to have been his dwelling place (see Figure 23).

The only reliable historical fact known about Ulugh Khan Jahan is provided by the inscription on his tombstone at Bagerhat. It merely informs that he died on 25 October 1459 (27 Zilhajj 863 AH) and buried the next day in the elegant building which still stands on the banks of the beautiful *Thakur Dighi* (see Figure 23 & 24). It is explicitly mentioned here that he is said to have retired in his old age and to have led a religious life until his death. One of the reasons why history is silent about him – apart from the date of his death – was maybe because he died without any child. Since he has found not only a city but also a dynasty; then it is likely that a few more facts might have become known by way of hereditary family history. The two *fakirs* who have been living near his tomb in 1866 and 1871 and who claim to be his descendants have been unable to substantiate their claim in this regard. After Ulugh Khan Jahan’s death, his capital was reverted to the jungle, only to be partially reclaimed very much later, as it is today.

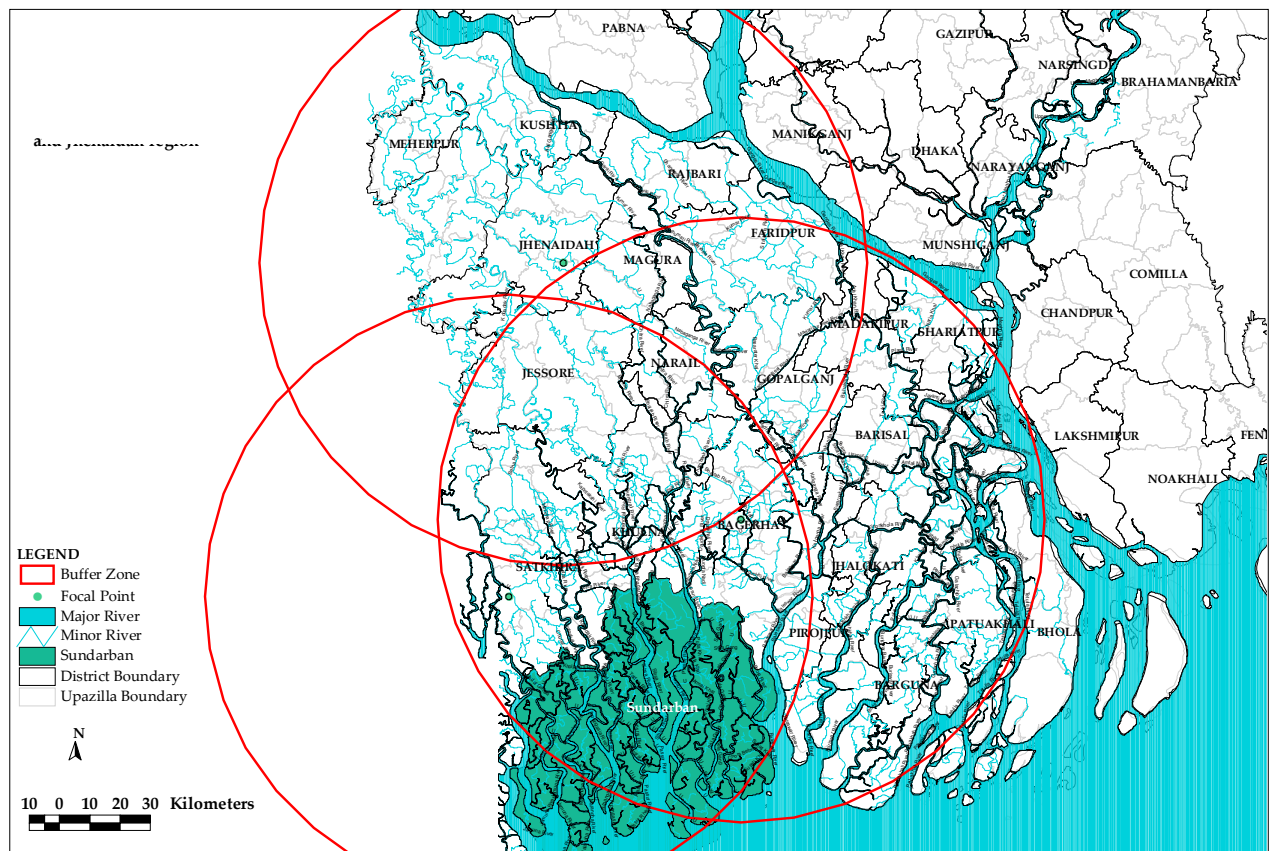


Figure 25 Regional map of *Khalifatabad*, a hierarchical central place among the buffering zone of Bagerhat, Satkhira and Jhenaidah. (Imran 2016)

Unlike concrete of jungle, before 1863, Bagerhat had been described as a piece of “low lying jungle” (see Figure 25). Figure 25 also shows the hierarchical central place of *Khalifatabad* among the buffering region of Bagerhat, Satkhira and Jhenaidah. The nebulous and intriguing personality of this staunch warrior and pious chief, whose memory is still cherished throughout the area he ruled and who became the most important “pir” or saint of the Sundarbans, is still a point of conjecture. Since 1866 at least, pilgrims have been known to flock to his tomb, and it is almost sure that his grave has become a centre of pilgrimages long before that date.

Heritage-Resident knows Ulugh Khan Jahan as a wise and benevolent ruler. He was also devoted to the cause of Islam. According to the legend, he built 360 mosques throughout his capital with an equal number of freshwater tanks, which were so indispensable in the highly saline area of the Sundarbans. These artificial lakes and tanks are often named after his generals, some of whose tombs have survived in the region. The ancient city of *Khalifatabad* (see Figure 23) lay over more than four miles across the banks of the former course of the Bhairab River and roughly covers the area between the present town of Bagerhat in the east and the *Ghora Digbi* (see Figure 23) in the west.

With the exception of a few outlying remains, all the ancient monuments and ruins are situated along or near the main road of the former city which skirts the banks of the old and now dried up bed of the Bhairab River (see Figure 23) and which is mainly known as Khan Jahan’s road (see Figure 23). The original road was 8 to 10 feet wide. It has now been metalled, but in 1877 its bricks on edge surface are still in “fair order and much used” — several other old roads, which are partly traceable today, lead off at right angles from this main artery (see Figure 23). One of these, it was said in 1865, leads to Gaur, and another is believed, in 1871 to run straight to Chittagong, though this has never been verified. Tradition reports that Ulugh Khan Jahan goes on pilgrimage regularly to this last town in order to pay his respects to a Muslim saint whose existence is confirmed by local sources in Chittagong. In this connection, it is interesting to note

that there still exists a single-domed mosque known locally as *Hammad's* mosque at *Masjudda* near *Kumira* and it is not far from Chittagong. It is said to have been constructed in the Khan Jahan style and may consequently have been built during his time. Nevertheless, its style is sufficient to confirm the close connections between Khalifatabad and Chittagong in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from the many roads and tanks attributed to Ulugh Khan Jahan, he also built several brick bridges, some of which still exist today.

Ulugh Khan Jahan was the great builder. In Khalifatabad town and its adjacent zone, the archaeologists and amateur historians have identified a good number of structures. The age of Ulugh Khan Jahan widely belonged to the period of the sultanate. However, his architectural style accomplished a unique character which made a tiny difference from the sultanate style. By this style, it can be assumed that Ulugh Khan Jahan was not in an inferior relationship with the Delhi Sultanate. Ulugh Khan Jahan style made the difference with Gaur and Sonargoun style.

The local style had been blended with the sultanate style. In this case, the shrines of Bagerhat took an important role, especially, the initial phase of Muslim architecture in Bangladesh (Leeuw 1982: 169). The key architectural features are the four corner towers, a curved cornice and fine terracotta decoration (Dani 1961). Chuna Khola Mosque (see Figure 31) would be an ideal example of Ulugh Khan Jahan's style.

The Chuna Khola Mosque stands in the open field but many of the other monuments, such as Bibi Begni Mosque (see Figure 30), are surrounded by very typical lush vegetation. Similarly fashioned Ranabijoypur Mosque (see Figure 32), which contains the most massive dome in Bangladesh, has been restored by the Department of Archaeology, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Singer Mosque (see Figure 29), Nine Domed Mosque (see Figure 34), Ten Domed Mosque (see Figure 37), Tapaghar (see Figure 40), Zinda Pir

Mosque (see Figure 35) and the tomb and mausoleum of Ulugh Khan Jahan (see Figure 28 and adjacent Khanka Mosque have followed the same classical style.

The Shait Gumbad mosque is the earliest and ideal example of Ulugh Khan Jahan's style. It is a massive building, measuring 48 X 32.5 m, located on the bank of the artificial water body Ghora Dighi. The name of the monument meaning "60-domed mosque" is a misnomer for the brick building is actually covered by 77 domes, which are supported by 60 slender stone pillars. The greater numbers of these domes are hemispherical, but seven in the central row are *char-chala*, i.e., four-sided. This well-known hut-shaped roof in Bangladesh is claimed as the earliest example of this type (Hasan 1980: 90).

A structure with a more or less curvilinear cornice exemplifies the earliest mosques of Bangladesh. This cornice, however, is rather unusual: it is not precisely curvilinear but slopes away in two straight lines from a small pediment over the central doorway — a structure surrounded by a compound wall. On the front or eastern side, the mosque has eleven arched doorways, the one in the centre being more substantial than the others. On each of the four corners are sturdy domed towers, two of which served as minarets. Their tapering walls which are not encountered in any other building in Bangla are reminiscent of the Tughluq style of architecture at Delhi. As such, they are an interesting feature, for they would seem to point back to Ulugh Khan Jahan's place of origin.



Figure 26 Shait Gumbad Mosque

The extraordinary architectural features, like, *Char-chala*, curvilinear cornice and tapering walls of the corner towers exemplify the independent mindset of Ulugh Khan Jahan. It shows his confident controlling power over this area. These features insist on characterising him as self-ruled and deliberately obscure.



Figure 27 Partial view of excavated Khan Jahan's road.



Figure 28 Tomb and one domed mosque of Ulugh Khan Jahan.



Figure 29 Singair Mosque



Figure 30 Bibi Begoni Mosque



Figure 31 Chunakhola Mosque



Figure 32 Rawnabijoypur Mosque





Figure 33 Rezakhoda Mosque



Figure 34 Nine Dome Mosque



Figure 35 Zindapir Mosque, Mazar and graveyard



Figure 36 Residential Structure beside Zindapir's Mazar



Figure 37 Ten Dome Mosque



Figure 38 Evidence of ruined 35-domed Bara Azina Mosque



Figure 39 Tapaghar



Figure 40 Interior of Tapaghar

#### 2.1.4. Bhaktapur Durbar and Dattatreya Square Monumental Zone, Nepal: A World Cultural Heritage

Bhaktapur was known as a small Newari district in Nepal, which is 14 km away from the capital city of Kathmandu. Bhaktapur is the self-proclaimed cultural capital in Nepal, and Durbar Square, a world heritage site, had its international cultural heritage exposure. Along with the world heritage site, there are excellent architecture, living religious practices, and socio-cultural history which justify it as a cultural capital.

Although only in the initial stage of the prehistory of Nepal, the recently discovered Neolithic stone tool from *Nankhel* and *Tathali* V.C.D. (individually the southeast and northeast areas) shows that it could have been the suitable place for prehistoric colonies in the valley. There is no ample evidence proving the verified history to the 5<sup>th</sup> C.A.D. It is known from the *Gopalrajvamsavali*, including the other *vamsavali*, that in the valley, the traditional history started from the indigenous rule of the Gopals and *Mabishapals*, i.e. the *Abhiras*. For the growth of human habitation and with the blessing of Lord *Pashupatinath*, the *Vamsavalies* credited themselves, although they are endorsed by “Nipa”. Hypothetically, the country was named as Nepal by this “Nipa”.

The *Kiratas* thrived the *Abhiras*. Though there is no existing epigraphic evidence to verify the *Kirat* statute in Nepal, by using Lichchhavi inscriptions and other available documents, it could be widely verified that before the Lichchavi's invasion in the Valley, Nepal was ruled by the *Kirata* dynasty. Non-Sanskrit place names were mentioned in Lichchhavi inscriptions, and they are found in certain places in Bhaktapur, Nepal. They have *Kirat* word origins. *Khopring*, *Khripung*, *Makhodulu*, *Makhopring*, *Themring*, *Bosing* etc. are some examples to testify to this fact. It should be noted that *Khripung*, *Makhodulu* and *Makhopring* were the existing villages inside the *Khopring* territory and were generally called *Khopring*. In the past, the present day *Thimi* was called *Themring* and *Bode* as *Bosin*. In the time of *Kirats*, Bhaktapur was a disciplined city with rich cultural diversity.

The *Kirats* were the follower of the universal god of the valley, Lord Shiva. Certain *Shivalingas* of Bhaktapur are abundant, unlike that of Lichchhavi *Shivalingas* that seem to be the oldest and might have been created in the *Kirats* period. According to literary accounts, Buddhism was introduced during the *Kirat* time. The Changunarayana pillar inscription (A.D.464), which is dedicated to Lord Vishnu by the first historical ruler King Manadeva I, ushers in an important understanding of the recorded national chronicle of Nepal, and this is the earliest potential written document of the Lichchhavi rule. This epigraphic evidence also proves how the recorded chronicle is closely connected with Bhaktapur.

Nepal has more than two hundred Lichchhavi inscriptions and a large number of stone sculptures elsewhere in the valley. From this empirical evidence, the highly advanced socio-cultural and religious animations of those days have become well known, and these two main religions, i.e. Hinduism and Buddhism of Nepal, flourished together, without any difficulties, side by side in a tolerating and coexisting mode for decades. As a result, religious patience and cultural harmony are still pervasive in Nepal, and it is the fundamental basis and characteristics of the Nepali religious life. Although in a different period, Lichchhavi Art and architecture were influenced by different Indian schools of artistic creation (i.e. the Mathura, the Gupta, the Pala), the indigenous style and structural capability were still applied. There exists some of the most beautiful stone sculptures from the Bhaktapur district Visvarupa-Visnu (7th century A.D.), Vishnu Vikranta (8th century A.D.), Vishnu with Laxmi and Garuda (9th century A.D.), which are the prime examples in the Changunarayana synagogue that support the fact mentioned above (Shrestha 2016: 10-15).

Again, it cannot be doubted in the context of religion that in the distant past, Bhaktapur was predominantly a Hindu territory (Shrestha 2016: 10-15). This notwithstanding, there is no scope to overlook the development phase and the popularity of early Buddhism. Even before the 1st century B.C., Buddhism was parted into two religious orders. One was called Hinayanist

(Hinayana was known as the small path), with respect to those who do not want any variety, while the other liberal groups were known as the Mahayanist (Mahayana or the greater path) which regarded Buddha not just a human being but the Supreme Being – the lord of the cosmos (Shrestha 2016: 10-15). Mahayana Buddhism succeeded in the northeastern neighbourhood of ancient Bhaktapur. The Lichchhavi inscription at Sankhu, an adjoining territory of Bhaktapur mentioned “Mahasanghik Vikshu sangha.” This ground marked the advent of the Mahasanghik Buddhist monks in the Valley before they were called “Mahayanist.” This fact is also verified by other important Lichchhavi inscription of Chyamhasimha in Bhaktapur. This is the earliest Buddhist inscription discovered in the Bhaktapur territorial jurisdiction.

Other than this, there is another Lichchhavi inscription breakthrough at Baghthiti in Bagesvori of Bhaktapur, in which “Udhyotak vihar” can be noticed. However, it is known that there were also Buddhist habitations having the oldest monastery in Bhaktapur even during the pre-Lichchhavi times. In around 6<sup>th</sup> C.A.D, the ancient rural Bhaktapur keep started stepping towards urbanisation. The Golmadhi tole inscription of the Lichchhavi king Shivadeva and Amshuvarma, dated 516 (594A.D.) speaks of Makhopring as a “Dranga.” Dranga is a Sanskrit word which denotes a well-developed town with an impost office and, being a trade centre, has many economic activities. The Lichchhavies disappeared from the political scene around the 10th century A.D. Due to various nationalities, during the early medieval period, there was a significant alteration in the human dwelling.

In the 12th century A.D The *Makhopringdranga* earned great archaeological importance and became the capital of Nepal (Nepal Mandala) in the Lichchhavi period, and the honour of establishing Bhaktapur as a capital city went to Ananda Dev (1146-1167A.D.), one of the renowned early medieval rulers. Apart from the fact that the Tripura Rajkula (royal castle) no longer stands, the existing sources show that even as the goddess *Tripurasundari* (the leading god of the nine female parent goddesses, namely the “Navadurga”, existed in the midst of the urban

centre. The palace was named after the goddess. It is certified by ten literary sources and legends that Ananda Dev shifted his capital and established Durbar in Bhaktapur at the same time installing *Navadurga* in the proper places of the inner and outer city for protecting his newly built city and young nation from interlopers and other dangers. It is interesting to note why he did this. The vast popularity of the mother goddess cult during the time of the Tantric *Saktism* of the early medieval period came during tumultuous times of natural calamities, repeated invasion, a complete breakdown of law and order, and eroding prosperity etc. It is how the common believers started neglecting male deities and started worshipping and expecting protection from ferocious female deities, i.e. the Astamatrika/Navadurga Gana. The mother goddess cult of the eight or nine, along with their other counterparts such as Ganesh, Bhairava, Bhimshen, Kumara etc. as the basis of tantric protection, seems to have been installed not only in Bhaktapur but also in the rest of the towns of the green valley around the first half of the 12th century. Since then, Bhaktapur was not only acting as the capital of Nepal but was also the religious, cultural and educational centre for more than three hundred years.

Moreover, during this time in India, the Muslim invaders were ruthlessly suppressing the Buddhists and the Hindus. In those crucial moments, for the protection and preservation of valuable manuscripts and documents, the Buddhist and Hindu, along with their disciples, entered the Kingdom of Nepal.

In those historic days, Bhaktapur as the supreme power centre also played an important key role to preserve and enhance Hinduism as well as tantric Buddhism. Bhaktapur was specifically the homeland of the tantric Shaktism during the medieval period. As the Malla ruler were devoted followers of Shakti, Shaktism reached a high degree of religious and cultural maturity in the valley. The royal palaces were not only represented as royal residences but also as god-houses or the sanctum of religious-cultural life. They were also highly regarded in the fine arts and architecture, bazaar and fetes and others. Under this setting from the east, the sultan of

Bangla Sultan Shamsuddin attacked the Capital of Nepal valley Bhaktapur in 1349 AD. Bhaktapur was captured, and the cultural inheritance in Bhaktapur looted and destroyed. In the history of medieval Nepal, the rule of King Yaksha Malla (1428-1481 AD) at the Kathmandu valley marks an important phase. He fortified his capital, surrounded it by a great wall with strong gates at cardinal points for the strategic purpose of protecting it from trespassers and invaders. According to the golden gate inscription (1453 AD), the fortification was completed on mutual cooperation by and shared prosperity with all castes of people.

Recently, in surveys conducted in the surrounding hills of Bhaktapur, I have discovered a number of forts in the Duwakot, the Changukot, the Telkot, the Nagarkot, the Nalagadha, the four Gadhis of Aaitavare Samudayak Van situated in the Tathali, the Sangha Gadha, the Ranikot Gadhi, the Gundu Gadhi, the Katunge kot, Dadhikot and others. In Sanskrit, *kotta* means a fort. *Kot* is the corrupted conformation of *Kotta*. In the past, fortified hills used to be called either *Kot* or *Killa* or *Gadhi*. The political stability of the Kingdom of Nepal Mandala ended by the death of Yaksha Malla. As a result, the Nepal Mandala was divided into three realms, i.e. Bhaktapur, Kantipur and Lalitpur, a separation which ended up in a curse. Despite this, the resultant political competition and the struggle for superiority among rival rulers was a blessing to the valley through the final stage of the Malla stop. Due to this, the Kathmandu valley was filled with the tangible and intangible inheritance of great implication. Politically, by this period, Bhaktapur has turned into the small capital of a tiny kingdom.

In this regard, demolition can also bring construction and maturation. For example, in 1681 A.D. in the reign of Jitmitra Malla and his son Bhupatindra Malla, a massive earthquake destroyed many repositories including the Durbar viz, “Tanthu Rajkul”. However, with this great movement, not only were ruined heritages recovered, but new heritages were shaped, as in the case of the five-storied synagogues, i.e. the Nyatapola and the fifty-five window castle. After the conquest of Gorkhali in 1769 A.D., Bhaktapur lost its political importance. Now it is merely an

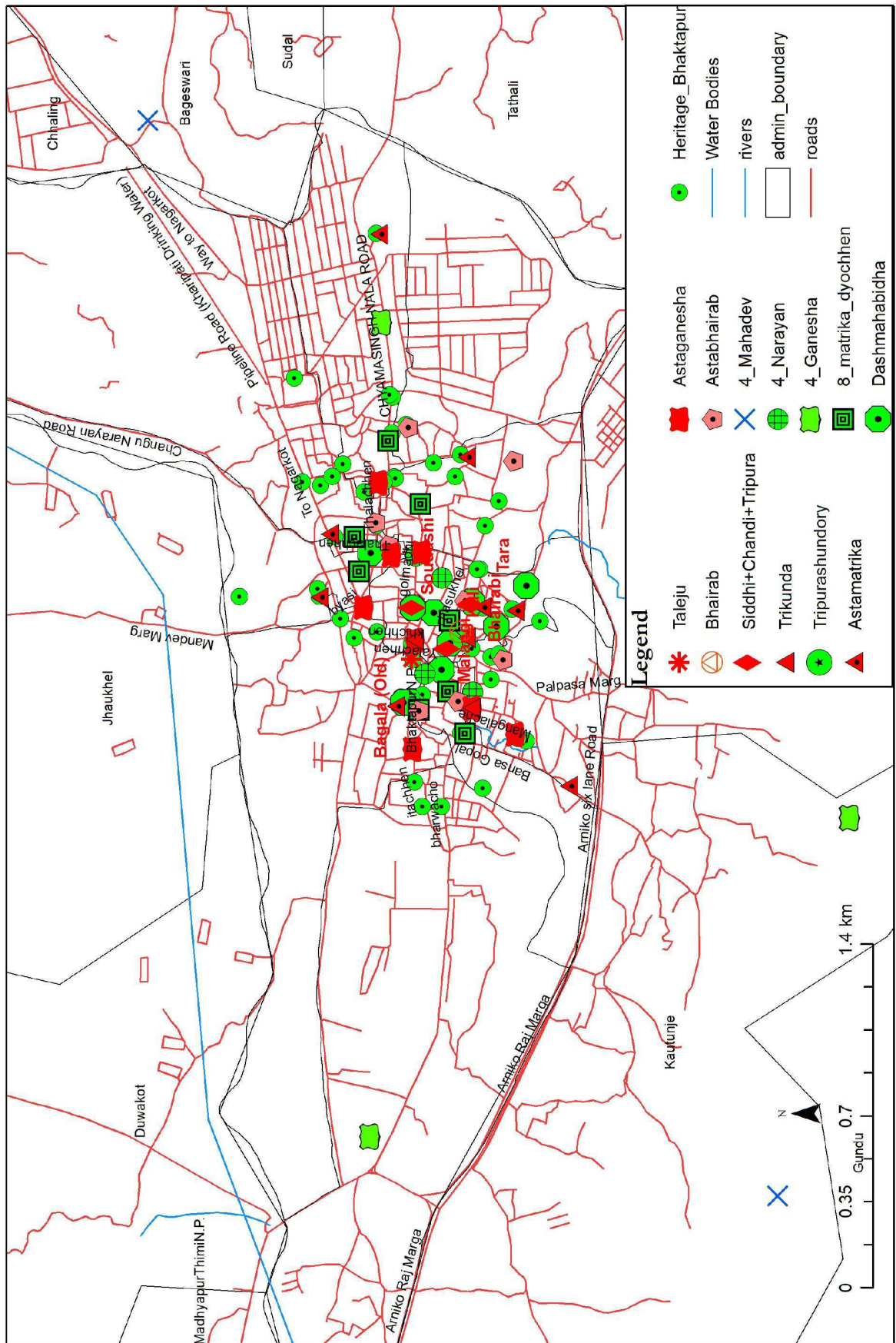


Figure 41 Detail Map of the Archaeological Evidences of Bhaktapur, Nepal.  
(Source: the author)

ordinary district. The arts and architecture, rites and rituals, fairs and festivals – all have concluded in a way that they could be continued just as a tradition. Despite losing mostly everything, it has somehow sustained the glory of being a cultural core. Therefore, considering the surviving heritages, Bhaktapur can still be regraded as the cultural capital of Nepal.

## 2.2. Social Stratification of the Heritage-Residents

### 2.2.1. Bangladesh Chapter

Mahasthanagarh is situated in the Raynagar Union of Shibganj Upazila, Bogra District. According to the record board from the union council office of the Raynagar Union, there is a total population of 25,370, of which Male are 13,381 and Female are 11,992. There was not a single Hindu resident in the studied area. However, a couple of kilometres away in a south-east direction and the opposite portion of the Dhaka to Rangpur highway. The major residents of this village belong to Hindu religion. In Paharpur, only one *Thakur bari* means a single Hindu Brahman family still exists.

In Bangladesh, a widespread understanding of social stratifications is that Hindu and Muslim people follow almost the same social structure. However, this speculation was strongly nullified by James Wise (1894, cited in Arefeen, 1975), who has shown in his very famous work that almost identical to the Hindu caste system, the Muslim “caste” is free from ritual sanctions. This argument is vividly supported by Gait’s (1901, cited in Arefeen, 1975: 62) Census Reports where he drew up a detail social structure of Muslims of “Easter Bangla”. Gait identified three major groups among the Muslims of Bangla: 1) *Asbraf* or better class Muhammadans; 2) *Ajlaf* or lower class Muhammadans and 3) *Arzal* or degraded classes. *Asbraf* belongs to *Said*, *Sheikh*, *Pathan*, and *Mughal*. *Ajlaf* and *arzal* are occupational groups. Being free from ritual sanctions



caused to minimise the differences among social classes and made exogamy easy. This system is not very rigid like the Hindu caste system.

In the area studied, almost all people belonged to the *Ajlaf* or *Arzal* class. Locally, another phenomenon, the *gusti* tradition, has been practised for many years (Lewis, D. & Hossain, 2008: 72). Within a village, different families jointly compose the *gusti*. It is a spatial lineage group. Informing this group, a sense of social security is insisted on. Disadvantaged people usually look to enjoy this patronal relationship. In a community and social relations perspective, in the social life of rural Bangladesh, clientelism is a key feature. Have and have-not are basic phenomena in order to practice this patron-client relationship. The research area is a pastoral society where the landless or the micro-unit of a landowner's farmers, have remained exploited due to grant land or money lending by the landowner or businesspersons. Another phenomenon is the concept of *Samaj*, which is a self-identification of the spatial residential community. In the dictionary, the English synonym of *Samaj* is "society" but the essence of "society" and the spatial location of *Samaj* in Bangladesh is quite different. Bertocci (2001, cited in Lewis, D. & Hossain, 2008: 72) identified this *Samaj* as a social institution which is detached from the local government. Bertocci (2001, cited in Lewis, D. & Hossain, 2008: 72) states that "the *Samaj* provides a framework for moral order in which followers may have means of redress if leaders are seen to behave in ways which offend norms of justice and morality". Bode (2002) mentioned another patron group, the Mosque and Temple committees, which are immensely influential in the spatial pattern of rural society. Due to the spatial community of the research area, a further group called the *Mazar* committee becomes relevant. Here, the Mosque and *Mazar* committee are the same dominating group in the community. Informal *Samaj* leaders and formal political leaders/governmental institution's representative organise several public activities (*orose*, *jama'at* and *zakat*) to improve their reputation. This committee of *Shah Sultan Balkhia's Mazar*, the agentive actor in the community, controls the heritage-resident's informal legislative and disciplinary behaviour in the

context of moral/ethical justice. It is a socially approved code of conduct, involving patronage, assistance or charity, which helps govern the client community's everyday social interactions among the various social groups.



Figure 42 Images of Mazar of Shah Sultan Balkhia Mahisawar

### ***2.2.2. Nepal Chapter***

Bhaktapur is known as the place of *Newar* people, the largest ethnic group of the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal. Kathmandu Valley, known for its three royal towns, Bhaktapur, Lalitpur, and Kantipur/Kathmandu, was ruled and established by the Mallar Dynasty which belonged to the *Newar* tantric culture. Bhaktapur is the heritage site that still preserves the ancient customs of *Newar*. It remains as a closed society and, up to the present, does not even allow outsiders to buy and establish households in core areas. The Bhaktapur municipality, controlled and run by the *Newar* people, have maintained these unwritten customs. Officially, there are in fact no rules that prohibit an outsider to buy property from an insider. The practice created

became a ritual. Another feature of this closed society is the tradition among *Newar* to disallow cross-ethnic or cross-caste marital relationships. To this day, it is frowned upon by the *Newar* in Bhaktapur.

After establishing the Durbar Square, the Mallar Dynasty distributed the residents of the city following the hierarchical pattern of the caste. The Hindu caste system, adopted and customised by royal and religious leaders, comprises four castes: the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Sudras. This system is currently practised widely in its localised form. The *Jaypus*, housed as the most influential and demographically largest number, is in the nature of *Vaishyas* which means the farmers, traders and merchants. Moreover, this caste is hierarchically divided into eight different segments. The Brahmins, on the other hand, is a caste not merely determined hereditarily but can include other people who have achieved a certain level of knowledge of religion. For this reason, society allows priests from any of the four caste groups to be involved in field experience for various purposes. Such was their participation in a *Guthi* puja, which was aimed at establishing a new temple and multipurpose social space where the first floor was completed to install the main doorway. In that programme, the door puja was led by the *Shilpakar*, the carpenter of the door. This puja was completed following the feast where the Carpenter was honoured as a Brahmins priest. Therefore, it can be said that the caste system is not stereotypical to the Hindu caste system.

With regard to the common practices among the upper caste, a notable one would be residents not accepting boiled rice and certain food from a person of lower status. They reside in the town centre, which is the closest neighbourhood to the Royal Palace and the Bazar area. They enjoy front rows in chariots and festivals. They are landlords and people involved in business. Basically, they belong to the rich and middle class. *Jaypus* are considered middle class but are recognized as social leaders. They accept all types of food from the same or higher caste but not from lower castes. Next to the upper caste, they belong to the second layer in town settlements,

particularly, the occupied lanes of the town. During rituals, they are reserved the second row following the upper castes. Their basic profession is farming. Although they generally belong to the middle and lower middle class, nowadays, a large number of *Jaypus* are poor.

As indicated by its name, people in lower caste belong to the lower status socially. Similar with the *Jaypus*, they accept all types of offered food from the upper and same caste group, but it is forbidden for them to receive from the lowest caste. The peripheral corner area is selected for them to stay. Still, they follow the same settlement pattern and they belong to the lower middle class in society.

The lowest caste, known as “untouchables,” is the lowest social group. They can accept food from everyone. They are allowed to enter the temple, and basically clean the temple and take all the foods which have been offered to the God/Goddess. They are very poor and their main occupation includes meat selling, tailoring, and cleaning. They are prohibited from establishing their houses inside the town from the very beginning to date. Mostly poor, the *Newar* people belonging to the untouchable’s class are not included in the official government list of Dalit castes. Therefore, in this study, they are referred to as Untouchables, in line with their traditional designation.

After the 2015 earthquake, Bhaktapur residents, especially *Jyapu* families, moved houses towards the corner of the city. Among the residents, whose houses brutally collapsed or were partially destroyed or posed risks for a living, some moved houses while some chose to rebuild and stay at the same place. People chose *Suryabianak*, but the earthquake victims all failed to move in an owned house. Some rented houses upon moving but did not leave their own *Guthi*. Still, they remained attached and belonged to their own *Guthi*.

Without understanding the *Guthi* system of *Neware*, it is not possible to discuss the social stratification of *Newares* in Bhaktapur. Through the intensive survey conducted in the

municipality area Bhaktapur, intangible heritage can be found, which was passed on by heredity and practised as a traditional. This is called the *Guthi* system.

“Guthi” is from the Sanskrit “Gosthi”. It means an association or an assembly. The *guthi*, therefore, is the association formed by groups of people or members of a family. The caste system is the precursor to the formation of this *guthi*, which follows a patrilineal hierarchical grouping or territorial aspect. There is no Newer in Bhaktapur who is not affiliated to at least one type of *guthi*. Generally, death-related rituals are not possible to organise apart from a *guthi*. It is the duty of a *Si guthi*. Especially, this *Si guthi* usually handles the event of funerals and another death-related *puja*. While some castes follow the *Si guthi*, others follow the *Sana guthi* along with the *Si guthi*.

In *Newar* society, generally, there are two types of *guthi*: one is *Raj Guthi* and the other *Niji Guthi*. In the past, *Raj Guthi* was established by the Royal family. These days, the state takes the initiative to run this *Guthi* and register in *Guthi Sansthan*. *Niji Guthi* was initiated by ordinary people with their collective sources. They are not listed by the government agencies and do not receive any basic facilities. *Niji Guthi* also functioned based on various religious and social resolutions with different identities, which are,

- Religious *Guthis*: Every temple belongs to one *guthi*, with the full responsibility to worship the deity and organise related festivals. In Bhaktapur, *Jetha Ganesh Guthi* organises the *Chota lingo utthan* festival in the time of *Biska Jatra*.
- Service-oriented *Guthi*: *Si Guthi*, takes care of death rituals while *Sana Guthi* is responsible for cremations. These types of *guthis* also organise the festivals and *Jatra* of Gods and Goddesses.
- Music for worshipping oriented *Guthi*: *Nasa Guthi* or *Lasata Guthi* is the conventional examples in this case. These *guthis* organise the rituals and *puja* for learning and playing traditional musical instruments, songs, dances, and traditional dress festivals. After learning

about these musical events, people perform in other religious festivals. It is a process of safeguarding *Newari* traditional music, dances, instruments, and dresses.

- Communal *Guthi*: this type of *guthi* is a bit rare among *Newari*. *Dega (Diwali) guthi* can be a good example of this category. This *guthi* organises the worship programme for the clan deity, especially, establish the Gods or Goddesses in temples, worship for constructing the temples, *chaityas*, and *viharas*. It is a mono-caste single lineage family *Guthi*.

Every *guthi*s programme is ended by a feast. *Newars* are very fond of having a feast as it portrays the social prestige of the *Guthi* and the family.

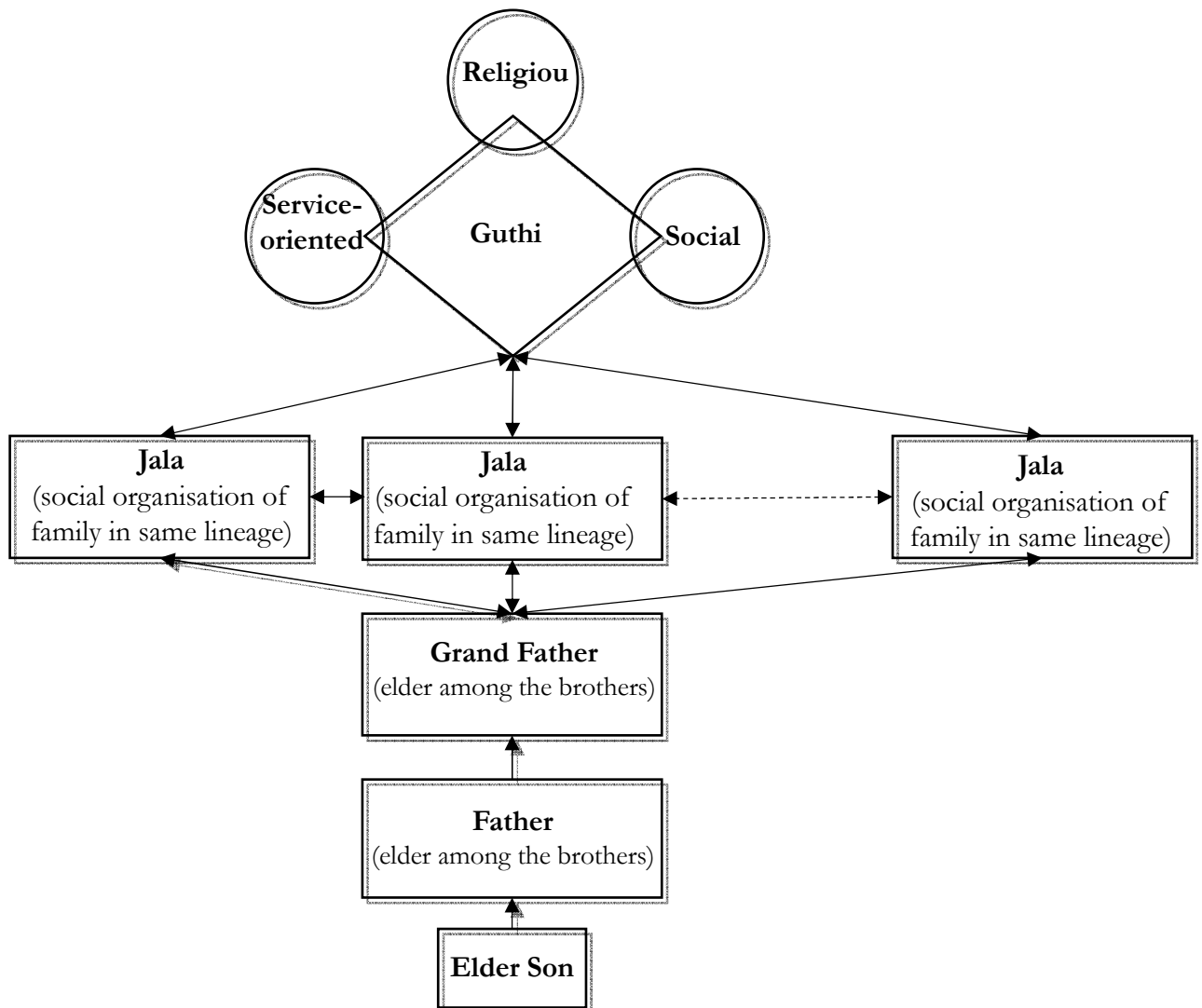


Figure 43 A Diagram of the system of *Guthi* of Bhaktapur *Newari*  
(Source: the author)

The impact of *guthis* in Newar society is usually indispensable, especially for the safeguarding the local heritage. No religious and cultural events are organised within a hereditary group besides concerns related to *guthi*. The *guthis* are embedded in the Newar's life. Archaeological evidence of inscriptions showed that the *guthi* system was practised in the Lichchavi period. It can be said that the *guthi* system was practised by the *Newar* people in the age of Newar. The Guthi system is safeguarding the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Newar.



*Guthi Puja*



*Figure 44* Guthi Puja in Bhaktapur for death rituals.

The *Guthi* system is the caterer for the Gods, the living and the dead, which is a strong testament of *Newar's* social structures. It could be contended that *guthis* were the ideal form of co-operation and social grouping among the *Newars* even where dissension and competition arose between members of the groups (Pradhananga and et al. 2009: 13). *Newari's* social, religious, and in some cases, economic activities were regulated by the *guthi*. It is a psychological impact on people was strong. Historically, *guthi* was an autonomous body of society in the state. After the 1976 law was enacted, the state *guthi Sansthan* interfered with this autonomy.

### 2.3. Summary

This chapter, basically, has tried to make a detailed profile of the research sites by way of scrutinising the governing mechanisms on cultural heritage run by the State and the Transnational Agencies (e.g. UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM). The archaeologically studied cultural sites can be summarised in the following way. Mahasthangarh, the first capital and urban space of Bangla region, is academically identified as *Pundarnagar*. Paharpur is the second biggest Buddhist Vihara among the World Cultural Heritage sites, and is academically identified as *Somapura Mahavihara*. The Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat, is academically known as *Khalifatabad*- 14<sup>th</sup> centuries Sultanat Town. Finally, Bhaktapur is known for Durbar and Dattatreya Square but academically recognised as the town of *Yantra*, and is designated as a World Cultural Heritage.

The Bangladeshi cultural heritage sites belong to the Hindu, Buddhist, and Muslim cultures, but ironically, every studied site is resided in by Muslims only. Nowadays, the studied sites are located in rural and semi-urban zones of Bangladesh, where heritage-residents are living in rural Muslim social settings. This society is hierarchical and characterised by a flexible caste system (e.g. *Ashraf*, *Azlaf*, *Atraf*). Monetary power is the key decider to make room for interchangeability of the social dynamics. Thus, residents of the *Atraf* class can change their status and become residents of the upper class. The system follows their own mechanism. On the



contrary, Bhaktapur in Nepal maintains its traditional social stratigraphy. It is a rigid phenomenon, and there are no possibilities of interchangeability within the social hierarchy.

In Bangladesh's case, most of the heritage-residents belong to the Islamic religion(s). Nevertheless, without implying that heritage-residents have no feelings of attachment with the structures or are not practising their own cultural practices, it was found that they have been changing the meaning of artefacts by having established different worship techniques and having adopted those artefacts in their own culture. Owing to this finding, it is of worthy research interest to examine a heritage site where residents were practising the same religion and did not change the meaning of the artefacts. This is true in Bhaktapur in Nepal, a site where the same religious residents have established the town and temples and continued practising the same religious events from the beginning to present day. It has also been found that Bhaktapur, Nepal, is conducting the restoration process of heritage structures on their own terms and conditions. The Municipality of Bhaktapur is the key institution managing the restoration works, and its mayor, management staff, and residents all belong to the same ethnic and religious group. Restoration works are managed by the engineers of Bhaktapur Engineering College and the local carpenters. These works have bearing with the Bangladesh research work because, in order to understand the structure of Paharpur Bihar of Bangladesh, it is necessary to know the *Yantra*, and Bhaktapur is the finest reference to understanding the *Yantra*.

With an understanding of the archaeological features of the cultural heritage and the social stratification of heritage-residents, the necessary background knowledge is generated for purposes of analysis in the following chapters. The next segments provide the discursive space for examining the formation of safeguarding-governmentality of cultural heritage in Bangladesh ultimately.

## Chapter Three

---

### Chapter 3

## Discursive Formations of Cultural Heritage

Governing world cultural heritage has become a by-default managerial job for nation-states such as Bangladesh. This being the case, the mechanism to do so has been normalised by producing the knowledge of authorisation projects regarding world cultural heritage by transnational agencies (e.g. UNESCO, ICOMOS). These authorisation mechanisms became instruments for unequal power sharing between transnational agencies and the nation-state in the governance of the cultural heritage. This unequal footing is achieved by the act of inscribing a list of the world cultural heritage as an authorisation project, which effectively produces a homogenised knowledge of the “definition” of what a World Cultural Heritage is. The striking force for establishing the controlling mechanism is the setting of the “meaning” of “value.” The key instrument is the *OUV*, which stands for “outstanding universal value.” The prime concern of this chapter is to understand the discursive formation of the “definition” of a world cultural heritage. These governing mechanisms are articulated by the transnational agencies, and managing the cultural heritage is done by the State.

Usually, the dominating idea of heritage is that it is an embodiment and signifier of the past, which glorifies national pride. The idea of heritage is institutionalised and normalised by transnational agencies like UNESCO, which is academically “disciplined” by knowledge of the past. However, for the local people, the past is the traditional practice of memories, which will be elaborated more in the following chapters. While heritage is conceptually different from the idea of tradition, it has a deep connection to the idea of tradition as both belong to the structures, desires and projects of modernity. The technology of modern power is unique in the sense that it constructs and destructs the categories, cultures, and lifeways simultaneously. By doing so, it is articulated on different plains and in different trajectories at a different moment in time.

Here, the mechanism of distortion of the ideas of past in Bangladesh as an (ex)colonial nation-state and the universalist and essentialist assumptions of heritage have been dominating in academia, national and international legislation, policy-making and imagination.

### **3.1. The dominating idea of Cultural Heritage: A Project of Transnational Governmentality**

The transnational mechanism of governmentalisation over the member state and the cultural heritage is characterised by setting the “norms” (e.g. world patrimony, protect/conservate the past, masterpiece of human genius). It takes a constructionist approach of persuasive power dynamics through certifying these “norms.” The OUV or “outstanding universal value” is the mechanism of certification by UNESCO. This transnational agency has institutionalised, normalised, and authorised the idea of heritage, which is academically “disciplined” by knowledge of the past. Heritage is the idea that has been constructed by the regulation of projects of transnational governmentality and modernity, which is then legitimised by collective, universal humanity. Laurajane Smith ( 2006) discursively formatted it as an AHD (Authorised Heritage Discourses) and showed how and why UNESCO and ICOMOS became authorising institutions of heritage under the dominant frames of charters and conventions that influence national and international heritage safeguarding policies. Since 1931, with the declaration of the Venice Charter (Feilden and Jokilehto 1998), the modern concept of *cultural property* has gained its legal validation in the sense that different nation-states had, by agreeing to follow it, made the first step towards understanding and implementing what could be termed as legal, according to the juridical concepts constructed in international relations. Due to different inherent problems, there was first the Athens Charter, which after some amendments in 1964, became the Venice Charter. It was in this convention where UNESCO declared that all the heritages (cultural/natural) of this world are patrimonies. From that time onwards, there has been a considerable number of shifts and changes. The dissertation is concerned not so much with those changes but with the

conceptual understanding of past, heritage and safeguarding programme inherent in those conventions. This is not to say that the conventions of UNESCO (and related transnational organisation: i.e., ICOMOS, ICCROM) are not executed in the same manner everywhere else in the world. However, this study suggests that there is a need to analyse the historical and theoretical backdrop of the convention. There is a need to show whether or not these internationally accepted and implemented laws and regulations have anything to do with transnational governmentality and with its various essential problems. Hence, this chapter does not concern itself with any practice or abuse of laws and regulations but rather suggests that laws and their application or implementation are historically interconnected with each other.

In these conventions, cultural heritage has been differentiated into three categories, under Article 1 of Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage of ICCROM, UNESCO and ICOMOS (Feilden and Jokilehto 1998). They are:

*Monuments:* architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and paintings and structures of an archaeological nature, inscription, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

*Group of buildings:* groups of separate or connected buildings, which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

*Site:* works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites, which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view. (Feilden and Jokilehto 1998)

A summary of Article-1<sup>13</sup> of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO –97/2, February 1997), in which UNESCO and ICOMOS

developed the definition of OUV (outstanding universal value), and ICCROM, is enumerated as follows:

- “*masterpiece of human genius* (i),
- *unique or at least exceptional testimony* (iii),
- *outstanding example* (iv, v),
- *of outstanding universal significance* (vi).”

The very term *value* is trying to portray the cultural and social value of patrimonial heritage in a universal context. However, to the residents, the semiotics of cultural heritage *value* as rationalised by transnational agencies is being converted into economic capital. The colonial governmentality of the archaeology of knowledge is provoking the vandalism of cultural heritage through neoliberal media bourgeoisie.

Going through the definitional steps of UNESCO, where heritage should have *value* and must have universality as well as be an outstanding testimony/example/significance/masterpiece of human genius, brings to fore some other relevant word(s). For example, the use of the two words “a civilisation or cultural tradition” clearly conveys that there is a distinction in this value system. That is, not all traditional cultures are civilisations. If it could be elaborated further, the “significant stages in human history” will be borne out and would be a more natural process. However, as has already been ticked out, and as claimed by many critics in recent times (see, for example, Kucklick 1991 and Diamond 1993), these words are essentially related to social Darwinist assumptions. By accepting that different stages in human history go up through an evolutionary (or progressive) ladder, from “cultural traditions” to “civilisations”, a basic theme of modernity has been reproduced. However, universally and essentially, the modernity *as a project* assumes specific ideas for progress and civilisation. This Universalist assumption has remained

one of the most interesting aspects of the modern ideals of past, heritage, and therefore, of the ideas of a safeguarding programme.

### **3.2. Scrutinise the Resident's Perceptions of “Value” of Heritage**

Again, Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) is the instrument used to validate a tradition as heritage. This research asks how the so-called “unconsciousness” or “unawareness” of the “uneducated/illiterate” and “ignorant” mass agencies are valued. How can the “value” of this national cultural capital be defined? However, especially in the archaeological heritage site of Mahasthangarh where the professional excavator is also living on site, the heterogeneity of heritage-residents can be consciously determined. The understanding of the *value* of the archaeological heritage is different among residents.

During the last three decades, regular excavation works have been conducted by the French team as a part of the joint excavation programme with the Department of Archaeology (DoA). Every year, for three months, the French excavators and archaeologists come to the Mahasthangarh area. There is a permanent mission house for them. As with the foreign-looking and speaking people, the mission house became a centrepiece of fascination among the heritage-residents. They became eager to learn about the excavation findings. It should be noted that although observations were made by heritage-residents who actually participated in the project as paid labourers, these data have not been satisfactory to the rest of the heritage-residents.

Having been a participant of this excavation myself in 2003, I was able to perceive their interactions on the site. From the side of the French mission, they initiated so many behavioural gestures (e.g. distribution of chocolates and storybooks to children, and chatting at tea shops with residents) to build an intimate relationship with the heritage-residents. In some scale, it worked among some residents. They became friendly with them but these relations alone were not able to overcome the curiosities the residents had about the excavation findings. Very often, the

curiosities about the excavation findings became provocative for them. Therefore, the answers given, which were interpreted by French archaeologists who seemed to be their friend, remained unable to satisfy them. In practice, there were insiders, heritage-residents who worked at the mission building and yard as language interpreters, cook and potsherds cleaner, although this type of accessibility did not ensure smooth negotiations eliminating the curiosities of heritage-residents. There was an embedded belief system established among the heritage-residents that the foreigners discovered so many valuable things, which they have hidden and transferred to their home country.

Heritage-residents have already come to know that these archaeological sites are so “valuable.” They have been made aware that they are called cultural heritage, that they needed to be protected, and therefore, the government had asked for their support to protect the cultural heritage. This is evident in the statement made by Nahid Sultana, Regional Director, Departement of Archaeology, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Rajshahi, Bangladesh. She explained,

We took so many initiatives like organising workshops, discussion sessions to make the local people aware. We went to schools and different places to teach real history. We also did so many programs with the local people with the support of the local government chairman and other elected members for stepping up awareness in history and heritage. Next, we are going to do more programmes. (Nahid Sultana, R.D., DoA, personal communication, Jan. 2018)

The DoA put emphasis on this type of social events after adopting the “community” in accordance with the strategic objectives of the World Heritage Convention which in 2007, enumerated the Five “Cs” (i.e., Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building, Communication, and Community) for enhancing the role of communities. The Foucauldian governmentalisation mechanisms talked about the normalisation of power over the subject. Here, the state became a



governable entity of the translational agency (i.e. UNESCO) when it acquiesced with the moral ground of engaging the “community” to protect the cultural heritage. In this case, it became important for the state to negotiate this process with the heritage-residents. Hence, it organises various campaign programmes, like workshops and discussion sessions, to propagate the morals of the “value” of cultural heritage. In turn, the local representative of heritage-residents, known as the Union Council Chairman, who also belongs to the elite class among the heritage-residents, became convinced with the norms of protecting cultural heritage and took responsibility to ensure the participation of the heritage-residents. This essential role of the chairman, negotiated with the norms of protecting the cultural heritage by engaging the heritage-residents, is evident in the frequent references made to it by the DoA. In fact, every DoA programme related to heritage-residents are conducted through the Chairman as their elected representative. It is crucial to understand the positionality of the heritage-residents after the campaign of the DoA of the “value” of cultural heritage and the massive continuous excavation being done by the joint excavations of the DoA and the French mission. By following are some direct comments about the excavators and excavated artefacts, stated by the masses who are commonly regarded as ignorant and therefore “invisible”;

Mohammad Faruk Hossain is 23 years old and has completed his Higher Secondary School Certificate Exam (HSC). Farming is his main occupation, and his family are permanent residents of the area. He commented,

French and Koreans came here for digging the land. They wanted to get sculptures by digging through the surface.

Foreigners dug out the sculpture and sold it to the foreign market, so I do not like to have foreigners work here.

(Mohammad Faruk Hossain, September 2015)

Dilara Khatun, aged 32, completed the first standard in primary school level and is a housewife. She explained,

Christian people came here. They dug the land. They dug-out the sculptures, gold.

I do not like these. In most of the cases, they asked us to evacuate our houses.

(Dilara Khatun, September 2015)

Mohammad Shahjahan Ali, aged 19, is a student of Higher Secondary School Certificate Exam (HSC) level, and his family are also permanent residents. His opinion was:

I know. They came from Korea and France. They dug the land. They brought out various sculptures, the memories of the past.

What can I say? When they found sculpture or money, they just took them away.

However, local people did not get any benefit. It seems that might is right.

(Mohammad Shahjahan Ali, September 2015)

Regarding the excavators and the excavated artefacts, a dramatic conversation came about, which tested preconceived notions. The French team worked on the site one and a half decades ago, but the residents were unable to identify them properly and sometimes confused them with the Korean people, even though the physical appearances of these two nationals are entirely different. After a drawn-out conversation, it became clear that a couple of years before, a Korean civil engineering team worked at the site to construct a highway. On the other hand, a French team worked on the site for nearly twenty years; however, socialisation was so poor, and neither formal nor informal introductions were made by the Department of Archaeology or the local government. On this matter, in an interview, the Regional Director (RD) of the Department of Archaeology claimed that they have always been in touch with the “local people” and taken initiatives for the betterment of the heritage site. Officially, the “local people” means the

members of the local government and the committee of *Mazar*. This committee is led by the chairperson of the current governing political party, the Bangladesh Awami League. The body of the District Committee is composed similarly as the local government. Noteworthy, however, is the big gap existing between the residents of Mahasthangarh and the union chairman of the Raynagar Union and Chairperson of the District Committee of the Bangladesh Awami League. Mahasthangarh is a small village unit of this local government. In effect, the Department of Archaeology had discussions with only the members of the local government but rationalised that they have already communicated with the residents.

This information gap helped generate many wild speculations about the unearthed artefacts from excavations, including the idea that *putla* (sculpture), gold/silver objects, translates to economic value. It appeared that there was a different *value* attached to cultural heritage. It was astonishing and created a sense of panic about the safeguarding of this cultural heritage.

The government officials frequently claimed that there is no necessity to communicate with heritage-residents of Mahasthangarh because they are regular members of the excavation team. Government rationalised their arguments by generalising the differences among the heritage-residents. The experienced heritage-residents as labour-excavators have their understanding of archaeological heritage, which is very close to the academicians. The following conversations exemplify their understanding.

Issue: ... Did you people excavate in that area, what is it called... “pat/pati”...

Counter -2: “Pirer pat”! (\*\*name of an archaeological mound)

Counter-1: Pirer pat! Ha...

Counter-2: hmm...in pirer pat excavation work has been done recently.

Counter-1: It just happened last year.

Issue: What are the special findings there? People identified it as a gateway, and after the excavation, a gateway was found.

Counter-2: It is a temple.

Counter-1: A Buddhist Temple.

(Zabbar and Thandu, September 2015)

In these conversations, they corrected the nomenclature of the cultural heritage site and type of architecture. They also characterised the religious identity of the temple.

The understanding of Paharpur residents, at the beginning of discussions, about the *value* of the World Cultural Heritage has been beset by confusion. In this study, during discussions with the people on a specific issue in fifteen years before, they frequently used the Bangla word “Pahar”, meaning “mountain”. However, more recently, the resident now refers to this place as “Vihar”, means Buddhist monastery. For them, this is a mysterious area where the Government conducts operations on so many things. Heritage-residents claim that “they have no idea what is going on there.” Collectively, they place the blame on the authority that has dug out so many precious things and has taken them away to Dhaka. They heard from their grandparents and the other senior relatives that the British people took most of the precious things, such as gold and other precious metals which were used to create all the objects. Similar to Mahasthangarh, the same hegemonic reality is occurring in the World Cultural Heritage site in Bangladesh.

The idea of *value* is at play in another World Cultural Heritage site in Bangladesh, which is known as the historical monuments of Bagerhat. This *value* exists with respect to the essence of religion and in relation to the name of the warrior-saint Ulugh Khan Jahan. Residents and visitors have capitalised on the value brought by a religious belief system which promises fulfilment of their wishes. Hence, when the question was asked about the *value* of the site, almost all the residents and visitors gave a strange look and very casually responded that “it is a holy place.” It

is interesting to note that their answers have no relation to the *value* regarding cultural heritage or history.

After further scrutiny, it turns out that this economic capital-based *value* system was developed mainly as a result of growing media representations of the recovery of smuggled antiquities by law enforcement agencies. Reports of smuggled antiquities in daily newspapers and electronic media have constructed a hegemonic idea of heritage among the residents. These types of reports, especially mentioning tentative market price and the material value, sensationalise archaeological discoveries. During a discussion on the *value* of artefacts, Sunny, an 18-year-old boy said in a low whispering voice that “You have no idea how these ancient things are valuable.” He was surprised and asked, “Have you not seen the news in the newspaper or on television about the rescue of smuggled antiquities by law enforcement agencies?”

### **3.3. Problematising the Transnational Categorisations of the World Cultural Heritage**

Monuments, a group of buildings, and sites are the categories under the UNESCO list for World Cultural Heritage. OUVs are defined by a generalised set of understanding, which encourages homogeneity among World Heritage sites. Especially with regard to the monuments or group of buildings, they are defined mainly by their craftsmanship, aesthetics, and historical authentication, which are assessments mostly driven by the elitist biographical king's history. The studied site of Bhaktapur, Nepal, went through this problem. The elitist biographical institutional written history misguided the DoA of Nepal to outline the protected area of the World Heritage Site, i.e. *Durbar Square* and *Dattatray Square*, which belongs to the Royal residential zone. Prominent Nepali history books contain Bhaktapur history following the sequence of Kings. Interestingly, none of the Kings belonged to *Newar* ethnicity. Here, the prominent dynasty was Mallar, and the Mallar kings adopted the *Newar* culture. In order to protect the capital city, people, and the throne of Mallar from the evil power, they adopted tantric Hinduism.

Bhaktapur was considered in the category of “group of buildings” as tangible heritage. Intangible cultural and religious heritages were not considered. There are none of the *Newari* intangible cultural activities (i.e. *Navabaja*, *Dhimi*) to be listed by UNESCO. Other than *Durbar* Square and *Dattatray* Square, there is a considerable number of temples covering the entire town. For every step taken, there are temples (see Figure 45). Bhaktapur is a town of the devotees where people start their days from the doorways worshipping. It is called *Kumar puja*.



Figure 45 Images of temples in every step of the way in Bhaktapur, Nepal

Laying out the strategic objectives of the world cultural heritage convention in 2002 and 2007 brought about the concept of the “five Cs” which refer to credibility, conservation, capacity-building, communication and communities. One of the five Cs, calling for strengthening credibility, is a point in issue under this study in terms of the Bhaktapur heritage site. Interestingly, the elitist production of biographical writing history and the group of buildings considered to outline spatially the buffer zoning of the cultural heritage of Bhaktapur. At the site, where heritage residents have their own understanding of the cultural heritage, history and practices,

there is a complete reversal of beliefs from that of the transnational categorisation and management by the DoA of Nepal. Bhaktapur is a living cultural heritage site, where religious belief and practices of the royal family and residents are “tantra,” therefore, they identify themselves as “Tantric Hindu.” Under this tantric belief, the Mallar dynasty, with the support of the residents, established this town following the rules of *Yantra*. It followed then that the small and big-sized temples were distributed following these rules, even including the royal palace. As a result, the Durbar Square became the site of the royal palace and various types of temples. Every religious festival (i.e. *Biska Jatra*, *Navadurgaghana*), as well as musical instruments used, follow the rules of tantra. A large number of visitors come regularly to experience so many temples, in fact, in every step they take. However, they have difficulty to understand what they see. As a listed World Heritage of Bhaktapur in Nepal, they are provided the historical knowledge and based on those ideas, this heritage site has demarcated boundaries for safeguarding. In this light, it can be said that this safeguarding programme is partially conserving as well as producing knowledge of cultural heritage. This study argues, therefore, that it is important to provide a clarification about what *yantra* is, considering how essential *yantra* is in Bhaktapur, in order to problematise the existing transnational categorisation.

From historical accounts, it is evident that Bhaktapur was planned based on *Sakti Pitha*. *Saktism* is rooted in the pre-historic fertility cult. The fertile cult or phallus-Yoni worshipping was the beginning of the religious system of *Sakti* cult. The phallus, linga, and yoni were worshipped as *Siva* and *Sakti*. *Sakti* is referred to in *Vedic* literature as *Usha*, *Sachi (Indrani)*, *Rudrani*, besides *Parvati*. It can be assumed that the seeds of *Saktism* were silently hidden in the *Vedas*. Ananda dev (1146-1167AD) is credited with establishing the *Navadurga*. Distribution of deities, according to the Mandal, was chosen by his guidance. He established the *Austamatrika* and *Navadurgaghana* so as to shield the newly assembled capital city and his subjects from invaders and other disasters. King Ananda dev found that the goddess *Tripurashundari* is established in the heart of the city.

Therefore, the royal palace (*Tripura Rajkula*) appeared in the same place. However, the place of the palace is names after the Goddess.

The popularity of the mother goddess cult was widespread and is so even up to these days. The early middle age can be seen as the time of widely flourishing *Tantric Saktism* in Bhaktapur. For the sake of protecting the King and the citizens, the bloodthirsty ferocious female goddesses became popular. They believe that the *Austramatrike* is their protective shield. Along with the eight mother goddesses, eight *Ganesh*, eight *Bhairab*, and other gods-goddesses established by the rules of *Tantra/Yantra* are the protection-shield for *Newer*. The gateways for entering this town is also in alliance with the eight deities of *Austramatrika*.

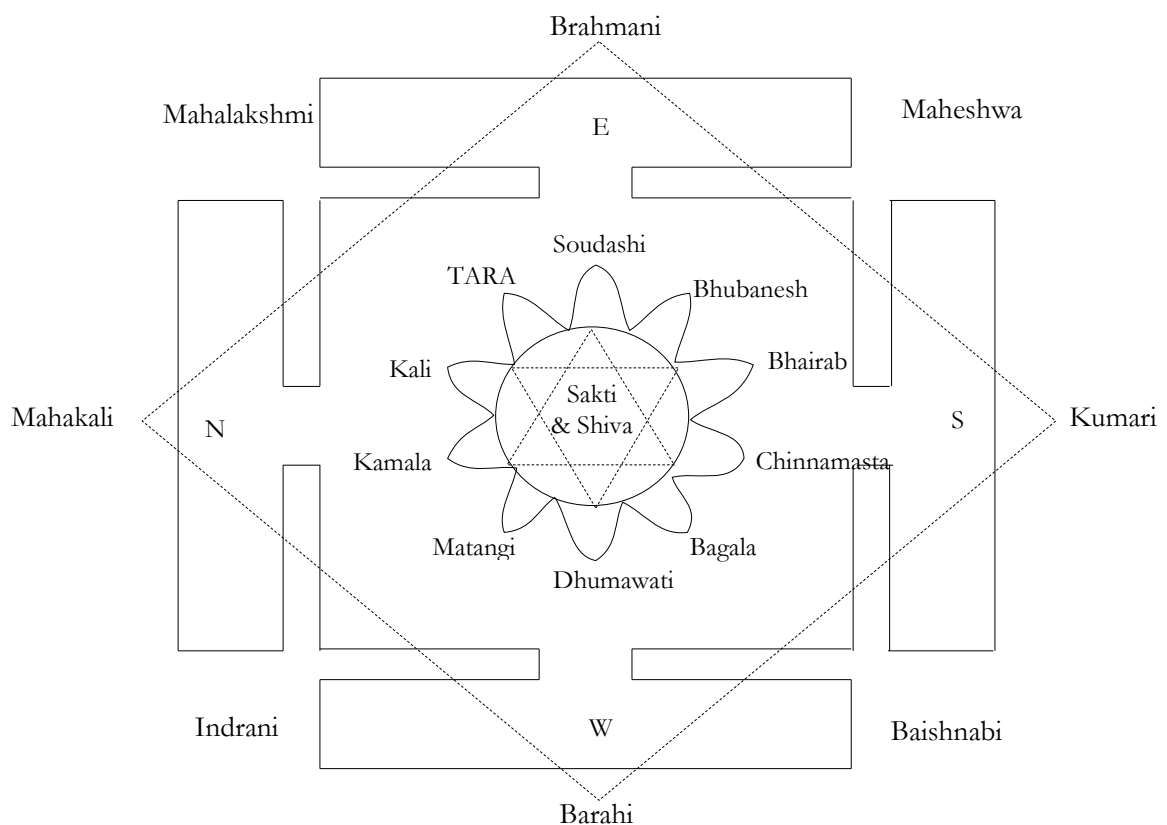


Figure 46 Ideal design of *Yantra* in Bhaktapur, Nepal  
(Developed by the Personal Communication with Binod Raj Sharma, November 2017)



Bhaktapur was planned as a Mandala, the distribution of deities conceived in the sets of four, eight or sixty-four, which is laid out along the axes of the cardinal points around a centre. The priests use this symbol for complex rituals to represent the gods. Usually, in a *Newar* settlement, eight shrines of mother goddesses form a circle outside of the settlement, and eight shrines form an inner circle, while four shrines of deities mark the central area.

1. Hills Surrounding the Kathmandu Valley, 2. Rivers Encircling Bhaktapur and Ghats Located along the Rivers
3. Northern Foothills and Himalayan Mountains, 4. Asta-Matrika, 5. Asta-Bhaira and Asta-Rishi, 6. Asta-Ganesha and Dasha Maha Vidya, 7. Three Ganesha, Tripurasundari, Bhadrakali, and Taleju



Figure 47 Distribution of Temples, Bhaktapur, Nepal (cited in Silva 2015)

Shown in Figures 48 to 51 are the spatial distribution of eight mother goddesses. In particular, *Mahakali* reigns supreme among *Sapta-Matrika* (seven mother goddesses), *Mahalakshmi* among the *Astamatrika* (eight mother goddesses).

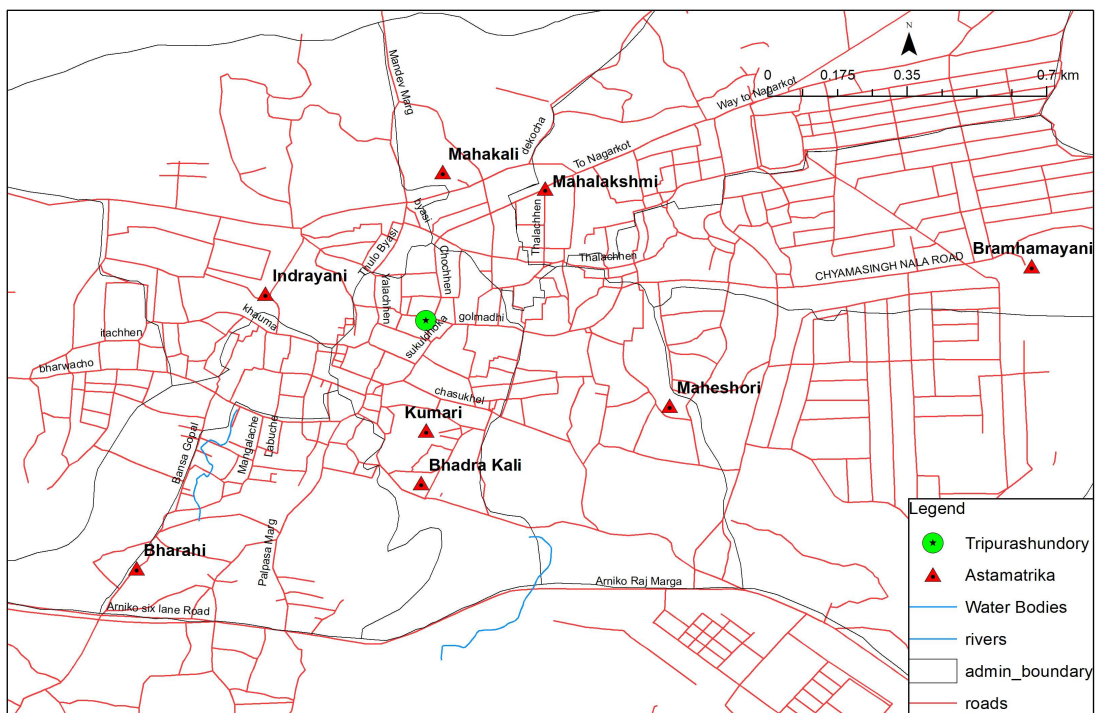


Figure 48 Spatial Distribution of Navadurga Ghana, Bhaktapur, Nepal (Source: the author)

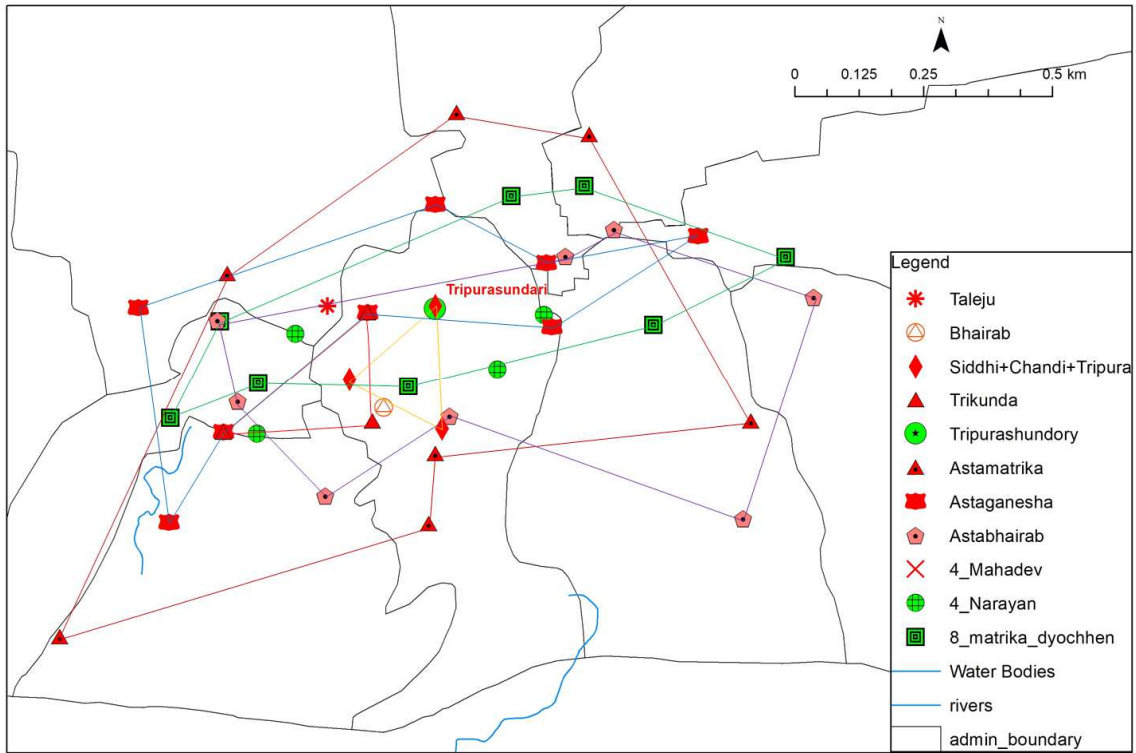


Figure 49 Yantra Town Plan of Bhaktapur, Nepal  
(Source: the author)

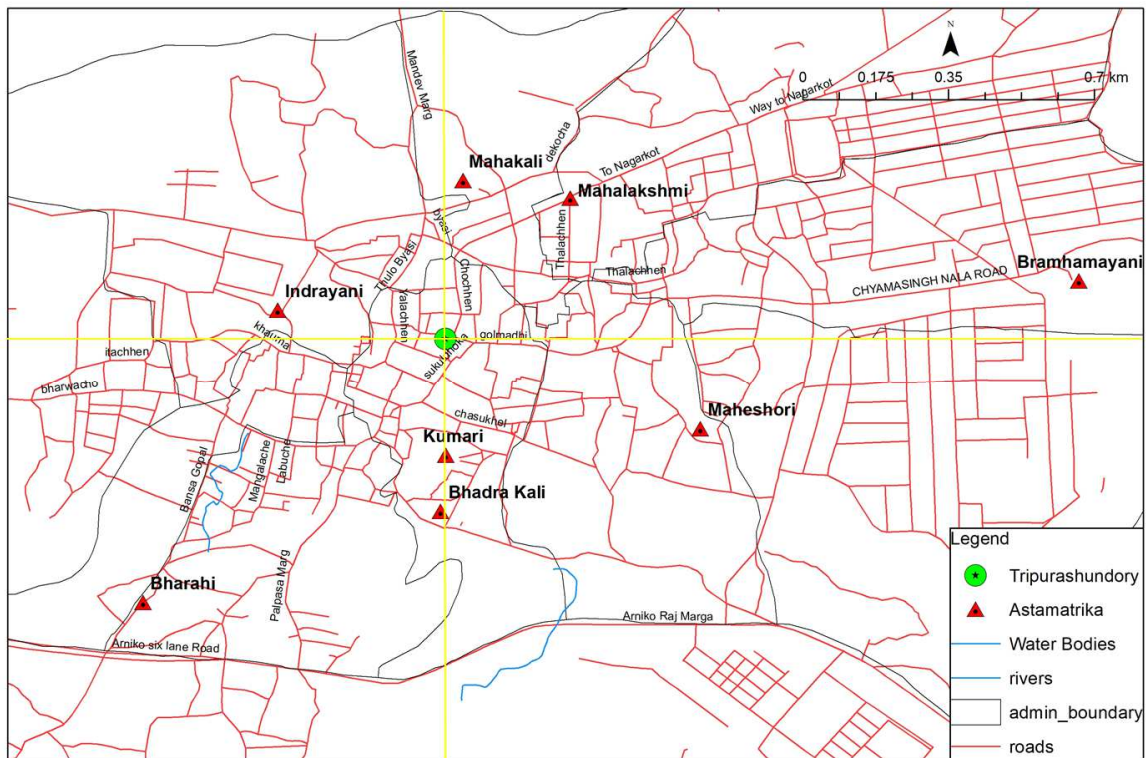


Figure 50 The Austamatrika and Navadurga Ghana, Bhaktapur, Nepal  
(Source: the author)

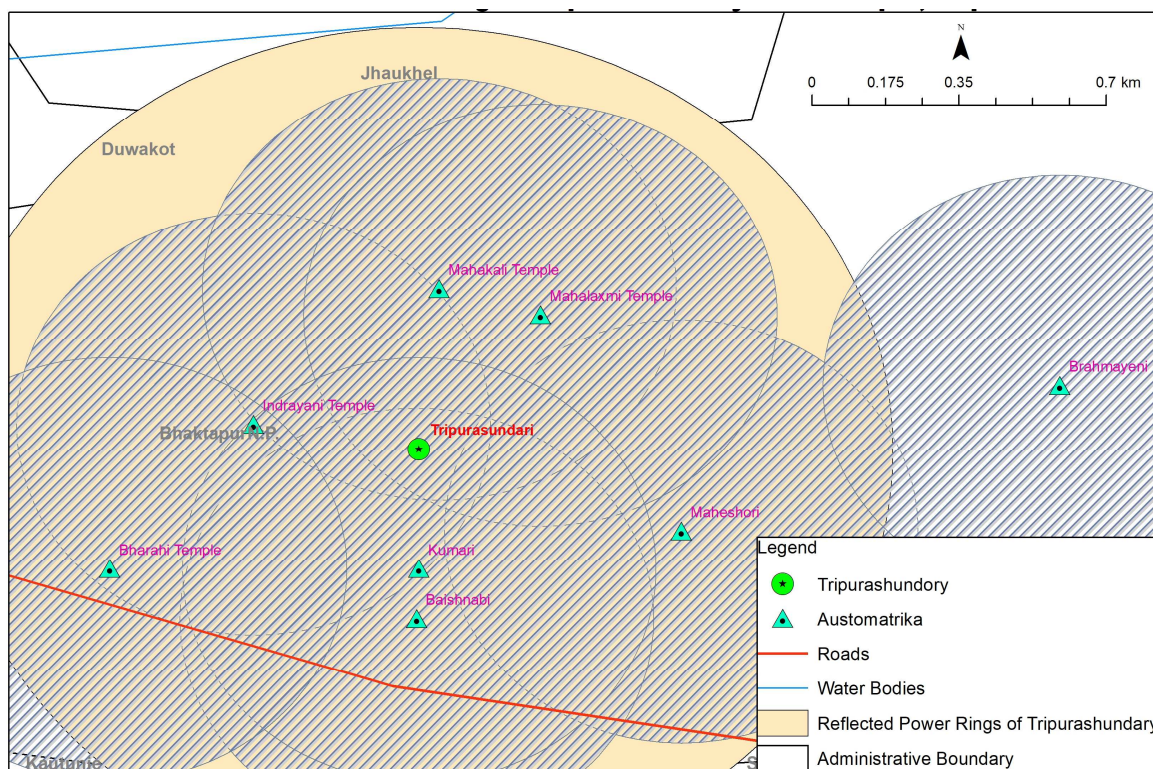


Figure 51 Power Reflection Ring of Tripurasundari in Bhaktapur, Nepal  
(Source: the author)

When *Tripurasundari* is established in the middle of the *Astamatrika*, it becomes *Navadurga* (*Astamatrika*+*Tripurasundari*). If examined spatially, it is found in the same manner. This is the spatial distribution of *Navadurga* in Bhaktapur.

This means Bhaktapur Town is actually a heritage town and all structures are logically connected by following the rules of Tantra. *Navadurga* and *Astamrika* powered the interconnection with the *Astaganesh* and *Astabhairaba*. The Mallar king designed the town according to the Tantra, and Durbar Square and *Dattatreya* Square are covered by the Tantric spiritual halo. However, UNESCO ignored the essence of Tantrism to outline the protected zone. Even after the earthquake of 2015, it did not reconsider the *Yantra* town plan. It should be noted that the “community” adopted by UNESCO in their “Five Cs” (credibility, conservation, capacity-building, communication, communities) has not yet considered the importance of culture and religion. Accordingly, the municipal authority of Bhaktapur also prioritised the

restoration works following the guidelines of UNESCO. They provided some incentives for restoring the resident’s houses and the community temples.

The same problematic categorisation process was imposed on the group of buildings of Bagerhat by the selection committee of UNESCO. The DoA of Bangladesh protects these buildings in the same manner, where the logical spatial relationship overlooked to identify this place as a 14<sup>th</sup> centuries Sultanate urban site. UNESCO inscribed this cultural site under the category “group of buildings.” As a member state, Bangladesh simply followed the categorisation and began safeguarding the Mosques individually. On the other hand, the established historical process failed to rationalise the distribution of buildings (e.g. Mosques, Mazar, and secular structures). Here, a couple of survived archaeological evidence of the Sultanate period, i.e. secular structures, water bodies and roads are excluded from the safeguarding mechanism. As the governing agency of Bangladesh, the DoA is safeguarding this cultural heritage site as a manager.

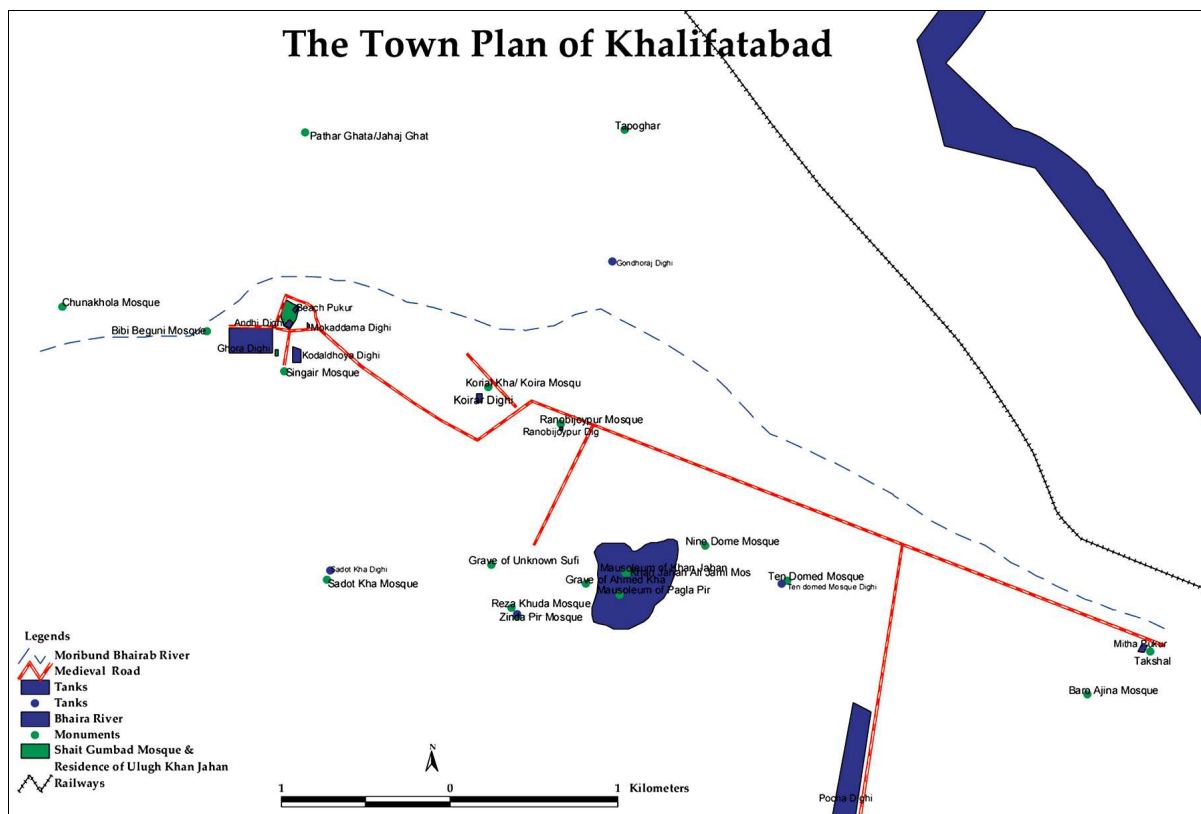


Figure 52 A Medieval Urban Space of Khalifatabad (Imran 2014)

The spatial distribution of the Historic Mosque City of Bagerhat connotes the Medieval Sultanate urban space. Its spatial pattern was analysed in the paper of “Quantifying the Spatial Pattern of Medieval Urban Space of *Khalifatabad*, Bangladesh” (Imran 2014), which estimated the systematic town plan (see Figure 52).

This entirely planned town was ignored because of the lack of systematic archaeological survey and spatial pattern analysis. The backdrop of the extensive systematic archaeological survey failed to understand the medieval sultanate’s urban plane; Khan Jahan’s urban space is historically identified as “Khalifatabad”. Interestingly, these different sized mosques, Mazars, and secular structures are internationally known by an inscription on the list of World Heritage as “the group of buildings of Bagerhat.”

### **3.4. The Normalisation of “Heritage” as Bangla Word “Oiytijho”: Colonial Governmentality**

“Heritage” became a buzzword after the initiation of the heritagisation<sup>14</sup> project of UNESCO. This generic word is adopted from the English term. It essentialises various meaning of pasts: history, tradition, memory, myth, memoir, and so on. European language groups adopted this dominating English term instead of their terms, i.e. the German “Kulturerbe”, the French “Patrimoine”, the Irish (Gaelic) “dùchas”, the Swedes and the Norwegians “kulturarv” (Ronström 2005).

Ronström (2005) found in the case of Sweden that the term “cultural heritage” conceptually shifted from the idea of “tradition”. There are a couple of similarities between these two terms, which are protecting the idea of endangering national patrimony and adding value by pastness, uniqueness, indigeneity for exhibiting the glorious past. Heritage is a global phenomenon. World heritage listing as an authorised heritagisation mechanism redefined and reformulated the concept of “cultural heritage,” which is conceptually quite different from the

“tradition” because of its conceived aesthetics, history, economy, and power for governmentalisation in the name of “safeguarding”.

Bangladesh entered into the authoritative heritagisation mechanism in the 1980s. From this decade, Bangladesh adopted the dominating English term of “heritage” as *Oiytijjho*. In popular domain, “tradition” is characterized with the essence of *protha*. Thus, in examining the differences between the two Bangla words – *Oiytijjho* and *Protha* – interesting variations can be found. The Bangla Academy of Bangladesh, dedicated to publishing an English to Bangla Dictionary, which is the most circulated and academically accepted source for the meaning of words, refers to “heritage” as *Uttoradbikar* meaning “heritable”; and refers to “tradition” as *Oiytijjho* meaning “heritage” (Siddiqui 2015: 334 & 778). On the contrary, the same “meaning” of “heritage” and “tradition” found in the Bangla Academy Bangali to English Dictionary defines *Oiytijjho* as “values”, “customs and accumulated experiences of earlier generations handed down to posterity”; “tradition” and for concerns on a national level, it will be called “cultural heritage.” It also defines *Protha* as usage; custom; practice; customary way; system; method; way (Ali, Moniruzzaman, and Tareque 2015: 97 & 463).

Both versions of the Bangla Academy dictionaries have generated an institutionalised dilemma brought about by its synonyms for “heritage” and “tradition.” Its having referred to the word “heritage” as “heritable” and the word “tradition” as “heritage” could imply that in the language of Bangla, the meaning of *Oiytijjho* is “tradition.” In spite of this, the DoA uses the word *Oiytijjho* as a synonym for “heritage” (not tradition). It is aligned with the conditional meaning in English of *Oiytijjho* in the Bangali to English dictionary, in which case the state-level evidence will be called “cultural heritage”; otherwise, this word should be understood to mean “values”, “customs” or “tradition.” Moreover, this dictionary generated further confusion when it positioned the Bangla word *Oiytijjho* as “cultural heritage.” A question, therefore, can be raised about the Bangla meaning for “natural heritage.” There is no word left for this term, because

*Oiytijjob* has been allocated as the meaning for “cultural heritage.” This dictionary normalised the meaning of *Oiytijjob* as “tradition.” Hence, it can be said that the heritagisation projects of transnational agencies and the mechanisms for their execution are dealt with by the managerial governmentalisation of nation-states such as Bangladesh, where the traditional practices of understanding the meaning of words have been shifted and new meanings are have been generated for “heritage” and “tradition.”

Finally, it should be noted that Bangla is a matured language and has earned lexical richness from the literature of Bangalee Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Thakur. According to his *Bangla Etymology* (বাংলা শব্দতত্ত্ব) book, the Bangla synonym of “tradition” is *Oiytijjob*. As part of this research, the contemporary Bangla Poet Sohel Hasan Galib was also interviewed in this respect. He gave his explanation, by way of example from the ancient text *Sankha* (সংখ্য). He referred to directives or advice that do not carry much authoritative voice but rather are transmitted through mutual exchange and sharing as *Oiytijjob* (tradition/heritage) (Galib, personal communication, September 2016).

The foremost present-day rationale for inscribing a heritage into the authoritative heritagisation is “tradition”. Heritage would have to be practised traditionally or historically bonded with tradition and past. Ronström (2005) found that tradition sets up a rural mindscape. The authoritative transnational interferences and their mechanisms of heritagisations have conceptually generated a binary opposition between “tradition” and “heritage” as expressed in the following ways.

*Table 1* The Binary Understanding between Tradition and Heritage  
(adapted from Ronström, 2005)

Tradition	Heritage
“folk”, “rural”, “local” and “premodern.”	urban”, “modern”, “national” “noble” and “international”/”transnational.”

rituals, customs, and expressive forms, i.e. narratives, music, dance	monuments, groups of buildings, sites and intangible objects like songs, music, dance, foods
Tradition produces a closed space; no one just enters it or exit from it. Tradition works much like ethnoscares: the membership is genealogical, it regulates with birth.	Much more open spaces are produced by heritage, which means almost anybody can enter it or exit from it. Membership is not essentialised by birth, the right kind of values. It does not require a master narrative of the heritage domain.

One question that can be raised is: How did *Baul* – Bangla folk songs become a cultural heritage and are *Baul* songs, from now, considered as folk songs? Cultural intangible heritage safeguarding is the mechanism which dictates that a “traditional event” is “heritage” by instigating the instruments of authentication and value of cultural, socio-economical, functional, educational, and political. It can be called the heritagisation of tradition. Heritagisation reformulates the aesthetics of culturalisation by using the past and its traditional practices. These processes are developed based on modernity and neoliberal thoughts.

. Paradigmatically, the idea of heritage is deeply rooted in the idea of tradition as both belong to the structures, desires, and projects of modernity. The technology of modern power is unique in the sense that it constructs and destructs the categories, cultures, and lifeways simultaneously. By doing so, it is articulated on different plains and in different trajectories at a different moment in time.

In a conversation with the residents, Hannan Patwary and Bablu Patwary, the conceptual differences between the idea of heritage and tradition became apparent, when they were asked about the popular oral myth of Mahasthangarh. Hannan and Bablu completed primary school, and both of them are in farming-related work. Gradually, they have been losing their land



because of the safeguarding programme of the Department of Archaeology. They spoke about the popular myth of Mahasthangarh.

The institutionalised and disciplined academic version of Mahasthangarh was the first capital town of the Bangla region in the period of Maurya between c. 322 and 187 BCE. It was known in that time as *Pundranagar*. On the contrary, the narration of the past given by Hannan Patwary and Bablu Patwary is entirely different from the dominating written-history. Their narratives of the past do not contain the elements of the academic version of the past, as explained below.

Mahasthangarh was the kingdom of King *Parashuram*. He was a very bad king. He gave pain to people. People's lives became miserable. God sent Mr *Mahisamar* here to teach the King a lesson. As a result, a huge battle occurred, and Mr *Mahisamar* managed to defeat him. After that time, people found a peaceful life. (H. Patwary and B. Patwary, September 2015).

Most of the residents narrate the same story about the past of Mahasthangarh like a collective mindscape about past/heritage/history. They narrate the very popular myth about this region, believing that such narration is “history”, on *Parashuram*, a Hindu King and *Shah Sultan Mahisamar*, a Muslim *peer* or saint, where Muslim saint *Mahisamar* defeated Hindu King *Parashuram*. The residents love to describe this story.

The systematic material-based history has contested traditional myth. So many archaeological excavations have been conducted and have generated a different “history”, which is entirely absent in the traditional domain. This history helps to identify the place as a “heritage” site and become a national pride. In Bangladesh, the institutionalised dominating idea of the “past” is very ambiguous and paradoxical. The idea of “past” has been articulated under the regime of colonialist and nationalist thoughts. Indeed, past defined a pre-colonial event and

identified it very often as *tradition*. In developmental history, tradition causes a distinct phase that is backward, primitive and pre-modern. As a nation-state, Bangladesh considered tradition as a reverse meaning of modernity. A different scenario has been extracted from the project of orientalism, especially, historiographic, archaeological, transnational, and developmental projects, where tradition essentially played an important role to build and identify the modern nation-state and its citizenship. Ironically, modern liberated power and its civilised humanity construed the political boundary of tradition. The projects of the nation-states promote the creation of specific options of traditions selectively.

### 3.5. Heritage Consumerisms



Figure 53 Campaign on celebrating the heritage of Bangladesh  
([www.thedailystar.net/city/stanchart-star-celebrate-countrys-heritage-year-75313](http://www.thedailystar.net/city/stanchart-star-celebrate-countrys-heritage-year-75313), April 3, 2015, Accessed on April 26, 2019)

These days, the heritage hype is huge and crisp. A case in point is Bangladesh, which, as shown in Figure 53, is an active global participant. This situation can be understood from the statement of David Lowenthal that “to neglect heritage is a cardinal sin, to invoke it is a national duty.” So, heritage has become a moral imperative, a cult - “from ethnic roots to history theme parks, Hollywood to the Holocaust, the whole world is busy lauding – or lamenting – some past, be it fact or fiction” (Lowenthal 1997). Heritage is the idea that has been constructed by the regulation of projects of governmentality and modernity, which is then legitimised by collective, universal humanity.

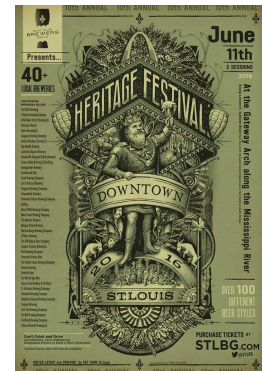


Figure 54 Examples of heritage festivals events.

(cited in [www.google.com/search?rlz=1C1CHMO\\_enJP635JP635&biw=1366&bih=657&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=tBjDXIuwI9H6wQPRrbegAg&q=heritage+festival&oq=heritage+festival&gs\\_l=img.12...0.0..14766...0.0..0.0.0.....0.....gws-wiz-img.d8FoPcW2nY8](http://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C1CHMO_enJP635JP635&biw=1366&bih=657&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=tBjDXIuwI9H6wQPRrbegAg&q=heritage+festival&oq=heritage+festival&gs_l=img.12...0.0..14766...0.0..0.0.0.....0.....gws-wiz-img.d8FoPcW2nY8), Accessed on December 20, 2016)

Along with the value-based safeguarding programme of cultural heritage, the idea of consumerism has developed, where artefacts are turned into products and, as shown as early as in the beginning stage of the analysis, value is equated to economic capital as explained by residents of Mahasthangarh when speaking about the unearthed artefacts. To develop heritage consumerism, within a neoliberal economy, in the name of heritage tourism and sustainable development of the community, the state is commodifying heritage with ideas of romanticism and the politics of the oldest. The state considered the heritage as a cultural capital, and heritage became an industry.<sup>15</sup> It is considered a very profitable financial and intellectual investment. Heritage developed its consumer branding by using its history; especially the idea of ageing and authenticity. Transnational agencies declared authenticity by giving a certificate, and archaeological research intellectually developed the identity of heritage to enhance the nationalistic sarcasm. It is an emotional-nationalistic brand; a commodity; a trading good on which intellectual and monetary investments are often created. The consumption of a product, especially in significant portions, can transform the identity of the patron. Mahasthangarh failed to be listed as a world heritage, but in November 2016, it earned the honour of being a cultural capital of SAARC for 2017. So many events will be held here, which will enhance the tourist gaze.

### 3.6. Heritageisation: The Apparatus of Constructing an Imagined Community

Laurajane Smith (2012) and David C. Harvey (2001), critically explained how heritage became a subjective political negotiation of identity, place, and memory. It is an apparatus of legalisation to reproduce a unilineal national value and memory to imagine a common past for the individual body and further the social body. Bangladesh is internationally well known as a Bangalee nation and its dominating written history and archaeological interpretation is proving every day that indeed it is a land of Bangalee culture. Referring to the archaeological evidence and historical events, the foreign minister of Bangladesh claimed that Bangalees are the indigenous people of Bangladesh in July 2011, at the very crucial moment when indigenous peoples were fighting for their constitutional recognition and rights in Bangladesh. It became apparent that a heritage site transformed into a spectacle – a celebration of civilised national identity – may easily be manipulated by the nation-state. Every day, the nation of Bangalees is being and becoming a unilineal historical event through the representation by media of heritage and archaeological excavation, which causes a growing “awareness” of the notion of a safeguarding programme.

Since multiple states are living within the references of this heritage discourse, how the residents at the heritage sites identify themselves was examined. The concept of *jati* comes to fore because as argued by Sen (2002), the idea of the nation in English when compared to *jati* – which is the idea of the nation in its Bangla translation – are not synonymous in Bangladesh and India. On point is a particular dialogue from “Kamalakanta,” a fictional work by Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay, where a lawyer in court “mocks the rational colonial knowledge” of modern national identity that tries to reorganise everything when faced with its own term. What happens if this modern and secular identity comes face to face with the identity of the past? When a small number of residents identified the concept of heritage as the history of their forefathers, the problem became acute. Since Mahasthangarh is a Buddhist and a religious site, the question of identifying it with the religious identity of their forefathers is essential; however, none of the

residents could interpret how they would connect the early historical capital of Bangla with the history of their forefathers. Interestingly, only five residents identified themselves as Bangalee. Most of the others narrated their identity in the sense of religious or communitarian perspectives. Mr Mohammad Samsul Haque, aged 45, a resident whose occupation is farming and has completed primary school commented,

“My previous religion was Hindu. Our family converted and became Muslim through Sultan Ibrahim Balkhi. I have known it generation after generation.” (Mohammad Samsul Haque, September 2015)

Of course, this problem of *Jati* and nation may have nothing to do with scientific and modern narratives of the past and the laws and regulations regarding their conservation. Nonetheless, rather than a discussion of a simple cause-effect correlation, the complexities in the interrelationship of the modern identity and modern narratives of past and heritage need to be examined. The matter of how and in which processes many ideas about the past and collective identity are being marginalised and excluded by the dominating academicians deserve ample attention.

### 3.7. Summary

There is a need to understand the discursive formation of cultural heritage, especially in producing the value of heritage on linguistic semiotic by the transnational agencies like UNESCO. The definition of OUV by UNESCO, in the context of the area of this study, is subject to problematisation so that there can be a possibility to own cultural heritage that is global and yet local, nationalistic yet at the same time subject of multiple ideas. The terms *value* and *universal*, along with a given an example, should be examined, considering how the subjectivisation of *value* is different from the view of the residents of Mahasthangarh compared to that of the transnational governmentality. The definition of OUV also proposed the homogenisation of

culture through the idea of “universal value.” It is a modernised conception that can reduce the beauty of the heterogeneity of culture.

Academicians have institutionalised this value of heritage with the support of the state and its instrument, e.g. the DoA in the name of safeguarding cultural heritage. The transnational value of cultural heritage and the residents’ version of perceiving the value of heritage is in contrast. This is straightway connected with the essence of economics. Moreover, the heritage sites contained a cultural value, which is subjugated through the oral tradition — a process instrumental to the essence of sociological value.

There is an added value to archaeological sites and artefacts when the state or the transnational agencies identify them as cultural heritage. The theory of value of cultural heritage is the mechanism that transforms the meaning of tradition to heritage. Upon the declaration of archaeological sites as heritage by UNESCO or the state, it becomes a consumer product, and tourism, especially heritage festivals, is the mechanism that drives the cultural heritage as a consumer product.

When heritage is located with nationalism and made to fit a chronological, linear historic relationship, cultural heritage is put at risk because the process submerges the heterogeneity of the past. Authorised heritage discourses (AHD) always value the collectiveness of nationalism, and the manifestation of identity is taken for granted (Waterton and Smith 2010). Archaeological works of “heritage” contribute to bringing back, to reconstruct and to interpret, the projected imagined community of a nation or ethnic group. The idea of heritage denotes that heritage is embodied and signifies the past. The generalised understanding of the bipolarity among the heritage-residents is based on religion, which pushes the heritage policymakers to the understanding that Muslim residents do not feel any connection with the cultural heritage, especially when the cultural heritage belongs to the Buddhist, Hindu or Jain Dharma. In this

chapter, this dominating notion of understanding the heritage-residents and their relationship with cultural heritage was problematised. This issue is examined more deeply in Chapter 5.

To conclude this chapter, it is stressed that transnationalisation's constructivist/ constructionist power over the heritage, heritage-residents and heritage state is being achieved by UNESCO, ICOMOS, ICCROM and IUCN through its generating the "norms" – conserving the global human patrimony, authorisation by listing as World Cultural Heritage, the OUV, conserving the past or conserving your/our history/pride. It is submitted that this is the constructionist approach to power. Here, the idea of welfare and help to conserve the people's history is the key constructionist position to govern the heritage-state, cultural heritage and heritage-residents. It is the process used to earn acceptance from the state-government and heritage-residents based on a moral ground that encourages their willingness to submit. Because the process generates the sense that all good things are happening in their favor, it becomes a benefactor for them, one that helps out to conserve the heritage and history. It also opens up a revenue-generating entity by consumerizing the cultural heritage. Thus, the state, as a member, adopted the "meaning" of World Cultural Heritage as defined by UNESCO. By having done so, a crucial and complicated situation has arisen where management is carried out under an imprecise understanding of "heritage" and "tradition."

## Chapter Four

---



## Chapter 4

### Discursive Analysis of Managerial Governmentality of the Safeguarding Programme in Cultural Heritage of Bangladesh

Foucault generated the idea of governmentality in between 1977 to 1984 (Foucault 1991) which was incorporated in the various discourses as post-Foucauldian studies to rationalise the techniques of governance, i.e., neoliberal governmentality, colonial governmentality, eco-governmentality. Foucault was very critical about modernity and liberalism. He had an outstanding acumen in observing the journey from liberalism, ordoliberalism to neoliberalism. He was very much conscious of the notion of management to understand the shifting of power. He pointed out the ordoliberal to develop the essence of owner-entrepreneurship, which is *homo economicus*. Neoliberal Governmentality depicted him as an advocate of the business enterprise rather than the market or the state. He clarified that “economic science cannot be the science of government, and economics cannot be the internal principle, law, rule of conduct, or rationality of government,” (Foucault 2008: 286).

Texier (2012) thought it might be “management” that can have the ability to rationalise the mechanism of management, the “power” to govern. According to Foucault, as to the question of understanding the mechanism of “power” to govern, it is more about how power is exercised rather than who governs. It means that to understand the mechanism of power, two things need to be dealt with. Texier (2012) located this governing mechanism to suppress the business enterprise and applied it to cultural heritage, public administration, social and educational institutions, and even to individuals and the church; while Deleuze first drew the possibilities of “managerial governmentality” (Texier 2012).

The governing process is used as the tool to manage the cultural heritage, where the two powerful agencies are the nation-state and transnational organisation. The power dynamics

between the two governing agencies are executed through developments and their execution of guidelines to govern the cultural heritage and heritage-residents at large. It can be defined as a “sharing-sovereignty,” wherein both the agencies are autonomous. The dominating culture of the safeguarding programme of heritage is practised in a diffusionist manner, where nation-states act as a “receiver agency.” It is also done by heritage diplomacy, where transnational organisations secure hegemonic power over the nation-state for the latter to adopt the prescribed measures of safeguarding the cultural heritage. The World Heritage Convention of 1972 held in Paris is a fine example of heritage diplomacy, which was ratified by nation-states like Bangladesh, thereby allowing some scope of governing power to be exercised over them. On the other hand, under heritage diplomacy, the transnational organisations turned themselves into “donner agencies” (e.g. ICCROM, UNESCO, ICOMOS), particularly in the production of the ‘definition’ of safeguarding the cultural heritage. The powers are vested mainly as the inscribing authority of the list of world heritage and its operational guidelines. It can be said that when a state enters neoliberal conditions like structural reform, decentralisation process, and emphasising market economy, the state becomes a managerial state. A managerial state is run by following the cardinal principles of managerial governmentality. The safeguarding programme of cultural heritage in Bangladesh is operated akin to a neoliberal nation-state where managerial governance is being rationalised.

Neoliberal power made the state the manager of the cultural heritage. As such, it practised subjective knowledge/power of repressive, constructionist and submissive nature. In the previous chapter, it has been discussed how a state enters the constructionist power realm based on “norm” and Bangladesh, as a member state of UNESCO, normalised the subjectivation of power. In this chapter, an analysis will be made of the normalisation of power mechanisms in both “repressive” and “constructionist” ways over the state as *subjectivation* and over the heritage-resident as *subjectification*. The ethnographic data, the popular oral tradition and archival

knowledge are discursively analysed in this section to understand the normalisation mechanisms. In this study, the safeguarding programme of the cultural heritage of Bangladesh is analysed after a better theoretical understanding is achieved with regard to managerial governmentality such as efficiency towards the policy of transitional and neoliberal strategy, organisational subjectivisation, controlling performativity, and power of knowledge.

#### **4.1. Organisational Subjective Performativity**

For nation-states, it is essential to require instruments of organisation and regulation to manage the cultural heritage. Bangladesh inherited these two instruments, which is the Department of Archaeology and the Antiquities Act. The Department of Archaeology (DoA), is a frontline organisation of the Government of Bangladesh, under the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, responsible for the safeguarding of archaeological sites in Bangladesh based on the Antiquities Act<sup>16</sup> of 1968. This act declared the power of the state to acquire land, particularly in its Article 7<sup>17</sup>. In a nutshell, the state has power to acquire the land if it “believes” that it contains antiquities. The definition makes use of the word “believe” for the DoA to determine if any antiquity is contained in the land. Ironically, in defining the heritage site, hopefully bearing in mind the sake of the people, DoA opts to not consider the definition given by the heritage-residents themselves (see detailed discussion in Chapter 3). The OUV-based knowledge and academic explanation leading to the definition of cultural heritage were the key instruments the DoA used to declare protected archaeological/heritage sites. Thereafter, the DoA established their governing power by acquiring and evacuating the land. Later, the residents’ opinion on and relationship with the cultural heritage are suppressed by the governmental agency of Bangladesh. The politics of excluding the heritage-residents from the knowledge system is analysed in Chapters 3 to 5 in a discursive manner.

The Antiquities law lays the mandate for the duties of the DoA. The colonial government initiated it in 1904, and after the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, the same Antiquities Act of

1968 was adopted with a minor amendment in 1976 (Article 32). The general understanding with regard to implementing this law is to use it as a means to control/restrict the people's liberalisation. These regulatory instruments help to shape the organisation and serve as the mechanism to make a powerful DoA. From the British colonial ruler to the Pakistani ruler, the DoA was transferred to the newly liberated Bangladesh, much like a relay baton with some minor changes but not in the essence of legalisation. Following is the Charter of Duties of the DoA (see Figure 55) and the safeguarding programmes:

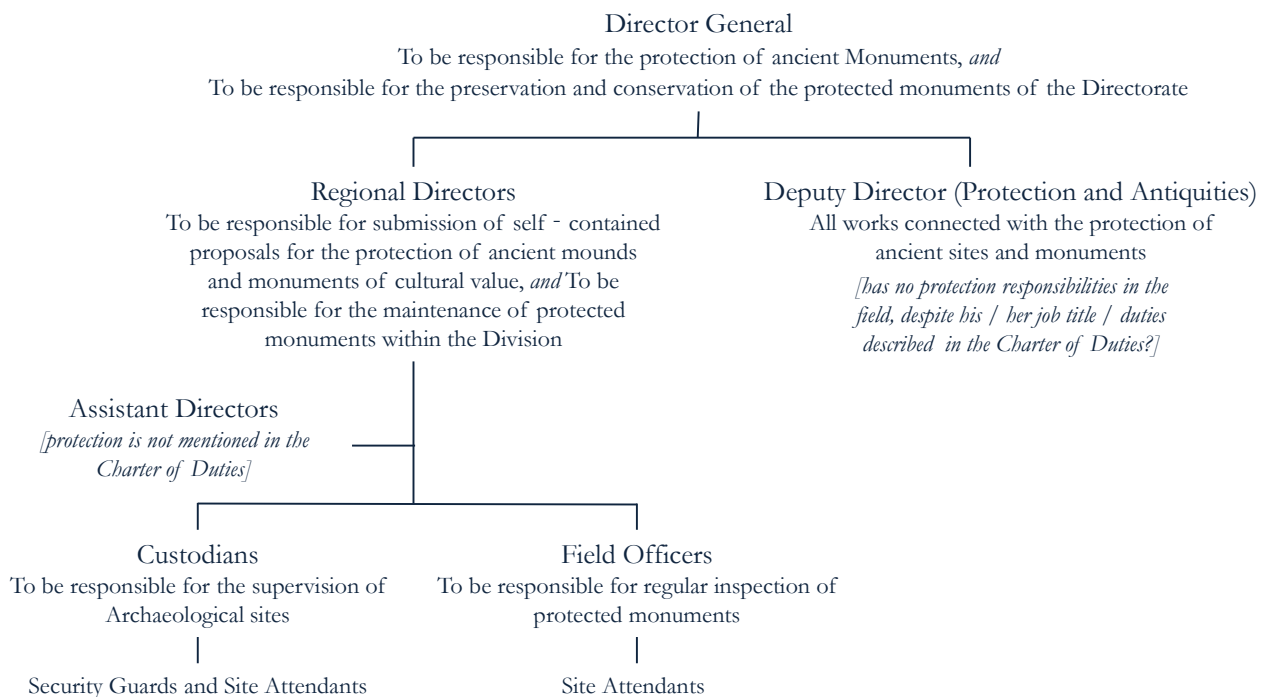


Figure 55 Organogram of the Department of Archaeology  
(Modified after [www.archaeology.gov.bd/site/page/647c9eae-b6bd-45cf-b1fe-89bd745496e0/-/](http://www.archaeology.gov.bd/site/page/647c9eae-b6bd-45cf-b1fe-89bd745496e0/-/))

Utilitarian history practitioners have introduced the systematic history-writing practices in the Indian subcontinent and established a couple of organisations, i.e. Asiatic Society and Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). James Mill is one of the key utilitarian historians who advised the colonial authority to change India through legalisation. As an imposing mechanism, legalisation is a controlling factor that can regulate people and organisations.

Interestingly, Bangladesh is using an aged antiquity protection legal instrument, dating back 1968, which is very much irrelevant and ineffective in the present managerial safeguarding system. It is treated as a safeguarding tool to protect the national heritage; however, in 1904, this law had, in itself, cited Article 31 (1), calling for necessary rules to strengthen it. There were a couple of conflicting articles that made this act irrelevant to present day Bangladeshi context for safeguarding the cultural heritage; specifically, Articles 5 and 7 expressed below. As can be gleaned, Article 7<sup>18</sup> is mandatory, and it is a very much preferable act for the DoA to perform their power; therefore, there seems to be no point for Article 5 to describe ownerless antiquities.

Acquisition of land containing antiquities	“Article 7. If the Government has reasonable grounds to believe that any land contains any antiquity, it may [acquire such land or any part thereof] under the Land Acquisition Act, 1894 (I of 1894), as for a public purpose.”(see <a href="http://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/the-antiquities-act_html/Antiquities_Act_1968_English.pdf">www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/the-antiquities-act_html/Antiquities_Act_1968_English.pdf</a> , December 22, 2018) <sup>19</sup>
--------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

This above article is describing the sole ownership of the cultural heritage by the government, yet the following article speaks of ownerless antiquities.

Custody, preservation, etc, of ownerless antiquity	“Article 5. Where the Director receives any information or otherwise has the knowledge of the discovery or existence of an antiquity of which there is no owner, he shall, after satisfying himself as to the correctness of the information or knowledge, take such steps as he may consider necessary for the custody, preservation and protection of the antiquity.” (see <a href="http://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/the-antiquities-act_html/Antiquities_Act_1968_English.pdf">www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/the-antiquities-act_html/Antiquities_Act_1968_English.pdf</a> , December 22, 2018) <sup>20</sup>
----------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

“Community” started to receive importance from the first World Cultural and Natural Heritage note of UNESCO convention in 1972 and stated in its Article 5 that

... [E]ach State Party to this Convention shall endeavour, in so far as possible, and as appropriate for each country: to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes; to set up within its territories, where such services do not exist, one or more services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage with an appropriate staff and possessing the means to discharge their functions. (see <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>, Accessed on December 22, 2018)<sup>21</sup>

On the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the World Heritage Convention in Budapest, the “Four Cs” (these were Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication)<sup>22</sup> was revised to become the “Five Cs”<sup>23</sup> and the word “Community” was added, thereby enhancing the community’s role to protect World Heritage. The Government of Bangladesh ratified the convention. Interestingly, at present, the DoA has yet to revise the corresponding regulations. However, there has been consideration of the new “Five Cs” of the World Heritage Convention as a strategy in an ad hoc basis.

The DoA is still far away from completing the Operational Guideline for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention and, for this reason, they have lost control over conservation works, such as the controversial conservation works on *Panam City*, *Shonargaown* or the *Baliati Jaminder Bari, Manikganj*. Most of the conservation works are blamed for violating existing laws, for being inadequate, flawed, and wrongly operated. However, the DoA claimed that they are following the conservation manual and Archaeological Works Code in their conservation, preservation, and restoration works. Interestingly, the existing Antiquities Act is

inadequate and ineffective under very changeable situations. Most academicians (e.g., Professor Sirajul Islam, Professor Sufi Mustafizur Rahman, and Professor Abdul Momin Chowdhury) resonates with the lack of expertise but do not mention the inadequacy of the law, which must be updated.<sup>24</sup>

The implementation of the Operational Guidelines for the World Heritage Conservation of UNESCO has prioritised the active participation of the local population; however, the Antiquities Act of 1968 includes no directive on the participation of heritage residents because of it being a century-old law. These days, for managing the cultural heritage, it is essential also to manage the buffer zone. The Antiquities Act, in Article 12 (3b), restricts the right to build on or near the site of antiquity; however, there is no definition provided for “near”. This gap in the law gives the DoA no control over the cultural heritage and the heritage residents, although they always claim that they have prior detailed conversations with the community before any decision is made. As proof of the negotiations with and approval of the people, the DoA keeps proper documents which shows the heritage-residents’ consent.

It must be noted that most of the dominant reports of the DoA ensure that all classes of residents in the heritage area have given approval. However, it turns out that only the names of the Member of Parliament (MP), Union Parishad Chairman, the Head Teacher of the local primary school and high school, and other influential residents of the heritage sites can be found. Finding the names of other heritage-residents on the reports is rare. This means that, within the society, it is normal for an influential segment among the heritage-residents to negate the position of the state. However, their participation has been rejected. Such rejection opens up a process of negation with the “self.” It has been clarified by the detailed and in-depth discussion with the heritage-residents of the studied sites. Especially, with reference to the list of those who are associated with the site or who live very near it, Samad and Rafikul, residents of the World Heritage site of Paharpure, narrated:

They maintain communication with the chairman.

...

O... brother, listen! Ok, what you are saying may be right. That may be the rule, but they sit with the chairman, and with his permission and support, they are doing and maintaining their work here. This is how they work here; maybe the rule is there, but they do not take our opinion. They do not take it, they do not, so what can we do, what can you do? There is nothing to do. Like, for this, they need a 25-acre land, and then the head of the village agreed with them. Although he has no land of his own in this project, he signed for some reason, and his followers also agreed to sign. There is nothing to do in this situation, other than selling our land. (Samad and Rafikul, January 2018)

When informed that the local authority of DoA has been reporting to its higher authority that they are talking with the heritage-residents, taking suggestions from them, and asking permission from landowners, the residents denied this saying, “No, no... maybe they are saying that, but they are not doing so.”

After coming to know of the fact that the DoA is in possession of completed forms with signatures affixed, as proof that the administration is supporting the people, they regretfully explained,

If they claim that, say the name of whoever supports this, show me the name and signature. There are so many people around this; there are nearly 200 households, and among them maybe 80 families agreed. What about the others show me their signatures.

...



Maybe, they came a few times, took some signatures and left. That is it. They never discussed it with all of us. Whatever they said, good or bad, it ended there. No further discussions. After that, they came with the “amin”, and after measuring the land, they just pointed out the boundary. That is it, nothing more. As a result, some people are now in bad shape economically. But it became a good thing for us. They shifted our house beside the Bazar, which became economically beneficial for us. In the end, we agreed that this became beneficial economically. (Samad and Rafikul, January 2018)

The preceding narration was made by Samad and Rafikul, both around the age of 40, who are now neighbours and are living beside the Paharpur bazar. They are good friends and happily married. Samad is a loving father to two daughters, aged 12 and about 20. Rafikul has an 18-year old son, who occasionally helps his father to take care of their shop.

The process of normalisation is evident in the above discussion where the subjectification involving Samad and Rafikul began with negotiations with their self and governing agency. They underwent the process of rejection and mentioned the gap of communication between the DoA and the heritage-residents. In their opinion, some criminal negligence should be imputed in the DoA’s process of collecting signatures of heritage-residents. They also talked about the repressive power practices of the DoA in not facilitating proper discussions. To them, DoA came to just inform them; with every meeting becoming an information giving session instead of a discussion. In the end, they found a fence between the Bihar and them. This process became painful for all of them with all the memories chasing them always. Economically, some residents have suffered. Nevertheless, Samad and Rafikul are now satisfied because of the exchange of land that transpired and made them beneficiaries. Receiving benefits coupled with a sense that “there is nothing that can be done” is descriptive of a docile self and a submissive body. This is the process of subjectification of heritage-residents.

Despite being a member state of UNESCO, Bangladesh has maintained its repressive power practices along with the normative knowledge/power dimension of UNESCO. The execution of the “Antiquities Act” is the finest example in this case. The prime question is what the essence of the “Antiquities Act” is. Whose benefit will be protected by the “Antiquities Act”? While the act objectified the artefacts to be protected, there have been no proceedings to protect the residents who are living at the heritage sites.

Examined against the various backdrops of the “Antiquities Act” of Bangladesh, it can be said that the DoA failed to perform as a central controller for safeguarding the cultural heritage. To begin with, the naming of the act is very much problematic. “Antiquity” means the age bound historical/archaeological objects, which period-wise would be the time before the middle ages. It can be said that if DoA would want to perform as the controlling organisation, the law should be reviewed and reorganised by following the present essence of safeguarding cultural heritage, where consideration is made for the “Five Cs”.

In the reformation of the act, there should be a critical gaze at the Principal Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Conservation of UNESCO because these guidelines and selection criteria were formulated under a homogenisation process. It already argued in chapter 3 that universalisation of the ‘value’ of the cultural heritage itself operated the process of homogenisation.

#### **4.2. The Legalisation of Transnational Governmentality**

Heritage, in recent times, has been connected to the modern and secular idea of the property that has consequently led the way to call archaeological records as *cultural property*. Sen (2003) claimed that this idea, as with the many other ideas of the project, is born out of western notions of religion, nation, individual and state. By the processes of the formation of the universal ideas of the modern nation-state and individual, various non-western ideas about

religion and the past were relegated and excluded. The modern legal and juridical system that has been expressed in different national and international laws and conventions regarding archaeological records and heritage, calling them cultural property, has acted as a key institution in this exclusion process. In these ways, the cultural remains that were historically connected to the value systems of different communities were appropriated, he suggested, by the state and international agencies by claiming that these cultures cannot safeguard their heritage, and as their heritage is a part of the global human race, they should be preserved and conserved in ways that are defined by those agencies and states (Asad 2003: 167-69). He claims further that the modern concept of property is related to the idea of John Lock and it validates these types of violence to the heritage and past of subaltern peoples, cultures and religions with the aid of juridical and academic institutions, (Asad 2003: 167-69). There are various debates on and subsequent legislation of the Cultural Property Act in the United States of America, which accepts the right of different nations to protect and conserve their properties, yet also suggests that properties of those nations that do not possess the capability to do so must be conserved by the US, because – in their words – these are common heritage of humankind. It is a very ambiguous law, and after the recent destruction of Iraqi museums, this law has been further amended (Sen 2003). Still, the question is: Who would define and identify which nation is incapable of safeguarding its heritage? What would be the parameters? How will the discussion be undertaken and in which power relations? Of course, the answers in the very new world order are available, and relatedly, it is noteworthy that Mahasthangarh failed to earn the title of world heritage.

The selection of world heritage by UNESCO, according to H. Cleere ( 2001), manifests this inequality in power. Moreover, the very words aforementioned connote that some nations are not capable of safeguarding their heritage, as defined by international laws and regulations. Therefore, the role of UNESCO is important, particularly for these vulnerable and disappearing communities.

Nevertheless, there is no question here regarding the inequality and the very reasons why these communities are disappearing or their heritage becoming extinct. As was illustrated by the relation of the US state with the American Indians and by the UNESCO-Australian State with the indigenous community, until very recent times, there was no recognition of the indigenous or Amerindian perspectives of the past. They were colonised, murdered and displaced to barren fields and then it was said that their cultural tradition needed to be preserved. Why? This is because they are unique in the sense that they preserve the features of the history of humankind, they have crossed over the path of progress, rationality and civilisation, and therefore, they are properly objects of scientific inquiry. Ironically, still, to save the cultural landscape of the Indian people, the protest against the Dakota oil pipeline installation remains ongoing.

These points are very relevant to Bangladesh, especially given the opinion of some national and international professionals and academics that the people of Bangladesh are not conscious and educated enough to understand and safeguard their heritage, or as a nation-state, her citizens are not sufficiently qualified to safeguard their heritage. While there is no intention to defend anybody or castigate anybody, this study submits that the problems are not as simple as usually thought, and possibilities for critical debate and dialogue can be opened up among different communities and sections by questioning a few taken for granted concepts.

Usually, the capabilities of the developing countries to safeguard their own cultural heritage are underestimated, and the recent restoration work of the *Durbar* square and *Dattatreya* square, the World Cultural Heritage of Bhaktapur, Nepal was contested at the UNESCO authority. The DoA of Nepal and the Municipality of Bhaktapur had a couple of disagreements with regard to the guidelines of UNESCO. Notably, the Municipality of Bhaktapur, Nepal, is the responsible authority to restore and conserve the World Cultural Heritage after the damage and destruction brought about by the earthquake of 2015. The DoA of Nepal acted as the supervisory authority. The conservation and restoration debate took place when the Bhaktapur

Municipality upheld its unanimous decision to restore the main gateway of *Durbar* Square. Before the damage caused by the last earthquake, architecturally, it belonged to the *Rana* Dynastic style (see Figure 57).



Figure 56 Rebuilt Central Gateway of Bhaktapur Durbar Square by following the Mollar Architectural Style after the destruction by the earthquake in 2015



Figure 57 Previous Feature of the Central Gateway of Bhaktapur Durbar Square before the destruction of the earthquake in 2015.

([www.nepalitimes.com/banner/clash-of-cultures-in-bhaktapur/](http://www.nepalitimes.com/banner/clash-of-cultures-in-bhaktapur/), Published on June 1, 2018, and Accessed on August 20, 2018)

History-conscious cultural activist and professional tourist guides of Bhaktapur, who were born and raised in this town with *Newar* ethnicity condemned the rebuilding of the main gateway of the *Durbar* Square. Mr Raj Sharma stated reasoning that;

Durbar Square was built by the Mallar dynasty. From childhood, we have come to know that the Rana dynasty rebuilt the main gateway. Purushottam Lochan Shrestha sir (Prominent historian of Nepal who is a resident of Bhaktapur) told us this fact. He also wrote in his book that a similar earthquake demolished this gateway a hundred years before. At that time, Rana decided to rebuild it in their style. Presently, the government wanted to rebuild it in the same manner. However, we resisted this decision and talked to the municipal authority. They agreed with our position. After that, they changed their rebuilding decision. Now, it stands as a Mallar-styled architecture, and we are so happy. (Sharma, personal communication, April 2018)

What is important, moreover, is the fact that the concepts and methods of safeguarding the past have been proved to be faulty and repressive in many conditions in the present, as aforementioned, and has mainly been identified through the acceptance of NAGPRA. The UNESCO and ICOMOS conventions, by setting the universal modes and methods of preservation that are historically formulated through colonialist and nationalist modernity, are taking an active part in the exclusion and subjugation of the subaltern and marginalised communities.

The problem here is not that certain nations are being termed as incapable because they are poor, or because they do not have a great deal of expertise and logistics. Rather, the generalisation is that the government agencies are unskilled and dishonest in properly handling funds or providing logistic support. The United States of America also followed this same generalised logic to formulate its law. When cultural heritage became property for safeguarding and developed consumerism, not only UNESCO/ICOMOS/ICCROM and similar transnational organisation but also other international non-governmental organisations (INGO) became involved and started to invest in the name of developmental help. Bhaktapur, Nepal went through the same experiences. After the earthquake of 2015, a couple of INGOs, transnational organisations, and the developed countries came. The German Development Corporation (KfW) signed an agreement with the Finance Ministry in December 2015 to invest 30 million euros.<sup>25</sup> In this agreement, there were specific clauses; i.e. audit, an international bidding process, the technicians, and specification of building materials, which were regretted by the Municipality of Bhaktapur. As a result, KfW suspended 10 million euro for the restoration of the World Heritage Sites of Bhaktapur.<sup>26</sup> The political position of Sunil Prajapati, the Mayor of Bhaktapur, was “Sovereignty is foremost, and we are very rich in technology.”<sup>27</sup> He clarified to the Nepal Times that

We have prepared our own designs for restorations, with a committee of 9 architects, two civil engineers and two senior advisors. Yes, we have some economic needs, and we have thanked those who come to our aid. But we do not agree to their conditions. In fact, we agreed that the operating procedures of KfW are not appropriate for this project. We should not forget our identity. We also want to convey this to all Nepalis. If you have self-respect, you will not bow to money or power, and you should not do so either. We should always think about what interests the other party has. It is wrong to be a slave for money.

We are so independent, and so were our ancestors. If we cannot even restore the monuments that our ancestors left for us, how can we claim to be citizens of the 21st century? Though our ancestors were not as educated as us, they were advanced in arts and crafts. And we want to do justice to their art by restoring them to their glory. If we work in this spirit, then it probably won't be difficult to bring change to the country. (see [www.nepalitimes.com/banner/clash-of-cultures-in-bhaktapur/](http://www.nepalitimes.com/banner/clash-of-cultures-in-bhaktapur/), Jun 1, 2018)<sup>28</sup>

The *Newari* craftsmanship is evident in Figures 58, 59, & 60, which supports the statement of Sunil Prajapati, Mayor of Bhaktapur. Bhaktapur is historically famous for wooden crafts, e.g. *Akbijhal* (wooden window), which is still practised in the same manner nowadays. It is a job passed on to generations. This group of people is known as *Shilpakar* (artist). Prakash Shilpakar narrates,

I have learnt this work from my father and grandfather. As a family, we have been doing this work generation after generation. After the earthquake, our community became busier than normal. Residents of Patan and people in neighbouring areas began hiring us. We, the shilpakar people, are in a huge rush. (P. Shilpakar, November 2017)



*Figure 58* Restoration Works by the Newari Stone Craftsman



*Figure 59* Wooden Craftsmanship at Bhaktapur



*Figure 60* Painter of Religious Figure

The problem of the destruction and vandalism of archaeological records lies in the fact that a country, like Bangladesh, is a non-Western country. It does not lie solely in the state or the absence of proper knowledge about a safeguarding programme. The most fundamental problem, suggested in this study, lies in the core ideas of the conception of the universal notions of heritage, civilisation, and humanity; and in the processes through with these ideas have been incorporated and implemented in different non-Western societies, cultures, and religions. That is, as explained earlier if the grave situation within the complex time matrix of the present has been understood and analysed, the core ideas and concepts of heritage that have been constructed,



appropriated and rejected under the modernity *as a project* should have been questioned. Here, nationalistic identity production has been the principal *telos* of archaeological practice. Some particular groups, such as the West, the elite professionals, majority religions, and transnational agencies have been the most powerful in decision-making not by reason of their self-conscious agency or autonomous action but rather owing to their ability to select and implement resolutions. Their location and knowledge in the power relations and structure have made it plausible. On the surface, arguably, it is soothing to be told that many words and expressions seemingly convey that every party is equal and that every nation has its share and identity in heritage and past. Yet in theory, as suggested in this study, everybody has never been equal, and many nations, religions, communities and culture have not played the same equal part in this entire process throughout the past three hundred years.

### 4.3. Developmental Governmentality and Elitist Destruction

The following photograph (see Figure 61) was published in the National Daily on November 2010, which shows workers digging in the premises of Mahasthangarh for the construction of a multi-storey building by the Sultan Mahisawar Mazar Development Committee with the support of the Deputy Commissioner (DC) office.



*Figure 61* Digging for the construction of a multi-storied building  
([www.thedailystar.net/news-detail-165276](http://www.thedailystar.net/news-detail-165276), Published on November 2010 and Accessed on December 5, 2016)

Initially, all written requests submitted by the local representatives of the Department of Archaeology to stop the construction on a prominent heritage site were ignored by the Mahasthan Mazar Development Committee and Bogra District Administration. At last, the High Court Division intervened and issued a ruling stopping the construction. After the colossal coverage by media, an expert committee was created by the Ministry of the Cultural Affairs, and the matter ultimately became an international issue. The significance of this technique of the elitist governmentality cannot be ignored as it is a disciplined legitimised destruction of the heritage site, where residents of Mahasthangarh were not made part of the issue. They may have hegemony over the residents given their Muslim identity, but, in the end, all are controlled by the local and regional leader. The matter is beyond their spatial power structure. It could be more understandable considering the weakness of the verbal order of Suraiya Begum, the former secretary of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, which was ignored by the Deputy Commissioner of Bogra.<sup>29</sup> The construction cost was BDT 2 crore, and the *Mazar* committee has already spent BDT 55 lakhs.<sup>30</sup> Ironically, it is the residents who have always been accused of vandalising the heritage site due to their “illiteracy”, “ignorance”, and “poorness”. In contrast to this urban middle-class perception, this series of events involving the demolition of the rich and unique cultural heritage of a significant site as Mahasthangarh overtly illustrates that the main agents and culprits were educated, conscious and powerful elite groups.<sup>31</sup> It is a blatant example of vandalism of cultural patrimony of Bangladesh by the modernist-elitist group. Still, this is an unresolved problem of Mahasthangarh and the Department of Archaeology, which has always — in the name of community participation in safeguarding programme — conducted meetings with the local elite class. Referencing Nancy Fraser’s work by Waterton and Smith (2010), it was firmly stated that “community” is explicitly political and systemic problems were found in the traditional notions of “community”, e.g., insubordination and hierarchies of cultural value. In the safeguarding programme for the heritage area of this study, it is apparent that the injustices of

representation of “community” are one of the obstacles, as mentioned by Fraser, in articulating the “parity of participation”.

When asked about this point, most of the residents answered with regret. Some of them tried to explain the fact from a neutral standpoint. In the beginning of fieldwork, I have developed a trusted friendship with a couple of heritage-residents and have attended a number of dinner invitations. During dinner at one of the heritage-resident’s home, while having multilayered discussions, this issue was also raised. Motalib’s opinion was:

I agree that *Mazar* of Sultan Mahisawar is part of the protected site of Archaeology Department, and without permission from them, no one can build any structure. It is true. But another truth is, there is a huge number of people who come here; particularly, every Friday is like a festival. Mostly devotee people come here for fulfilling their *Manat* (asking help from the saints to intercede to God to fulfill their wishes) by sacrificing the cows or goats or chicken. They sacrifice those animals and cook with rice for sharing among the visitors, beggars and *Bauls*. In order to manage all these things, how can the people manage if the Archaeology Department does not allow some structure to be built? (Motalib, January 2018)

In the same discussion session at the dinner table, Talebar added with a little anger,

Why did they want to remove the *Mazar of Sultan sab*? They do not care about the history of Mahasthan. Is Sultan *sab* not a part of history? (Talebar, January 2018)

Mariom, the wife of Motaleb stated;

They are sinners. They wanted to protect Mathasthan. But ten times more people come to *Mazar* than the wall of Mahasthan. In fact, people come to Mahasthan because of

Sultan *sab*, and after *ziyarat*, some of the people find some interest to see the wall. The Archaeology Department is a sinner. (Mariom, January 2018)

There was Sohag Aziz, who thought differently;

Uncle, see, Sultan *Sab* was a saint; it is true. But so many *shereks* (conflict with the rules of Islamic *Sharia* law) things are happening there. And so many unlawful things are being done by the visitors, particularly marijuana is being consumed by the so-called *pagols* (mad). All are *shereke* matters being performed. (Sohag Aziz, January 2018)

Bacchu Mondol supplemented Sohag Aziz with,

Exactly, these practices have no relation to Islam. Can you believe that Muslims and Hindu, both are pouring milk on the stone slab, named *Khodar Pathar Bhitā*? (Bacchu Mondol, January 2018)

Finally, Zabbar *Bhai* neutralised the discussion with his liberal mind;

Nobody can interpret religion and History in their own way. It is certainly true that Sultan *Sab* is the holy saint and people's desires have been fulfilled. So, you cannot reject in this way. Another thing is, without Sultan *Sab*, it is not possible to write the history of Mahasthan. (Zabbar, January 2018)

This narrative implies that the “community” is heterogeneous, and their perceptions of the past and heritage are multi-layered and that safeguarding the heritage should be done democratically. Hence, engaging popular perceptions is proposed by this study. The dominating historian, archaeologist, policymakers, and the state of affairs must endorse democratising the heterogeneous voices of the past(s).

At the same time, many developmental initiatives are being taken by the government to protect the cultural heritage and to enhance communications systems, especially constructing roads and culverts. In pictures taken by a resident (see Figures 62 to 63), it can be seen that the mound of *Chand Shawdagbar* has almost been effaced or cut-off brutally in the manner of building a road through the mound. Observations like these aid the interpretative process for a better understanding of development. In this case, the local government has been pursuing its developmental plan under the ideology of “sustainable development of territories.”



*Figure 62* The Road Runs through the Mound of *Chand Shawdagbar*



*Figure 63* Brick Bases of the Mound of *Chand Shawdagbar*



*Figure 64* Brutally Cut off the Mound of *Chand Shawdagbar* for Preparing the Farmland.



*Figure 65* Regularly dug out the Mound of *Chand Shawdagbar*

The safeguarding-governmentality of cultural heritage and its sustainable development took hold of the heritage from the residents, who became alienated from the land, cultural heritage, cultural practices, and their ancestral graveyards. DoA fenced cultivated land, ritual activities, and natural pathways. One of those directly affected by the history of Paharpur is a

resident named Kalam Patwary, 35 years old, who is living beside the Bihar of Paharpur. He is a loving father to two daughters who are around 10-12 years old. Academically, he was able to complete the eighth grade. Recently he lost his grandmother, who was so close to his heart. His family was once the owner of one and a half acre of land at the Bihar area. Initially, his family tried to oppose the government but as a result, the police arrested his grandmother, and she was imprisoned without trial for fifteen days. He narrated with deep emotion,

We have no interest in the heritage or Bihar or Paharpur. It is government property. It was ours, but now it is the property of the government. They do not even allow us to enter there. We grew up here, running over the Pahar. However, these days, our children have no right to play over there. The government has continuously been claiming to be developing this place. Yes, they did many developments like excellent gardening, cleaning. Our children like the gardens, especially the animal figures. They want to play there, but the officials did not allow the villagers even once to organise the *shinni* (food prepared by sweet date juice) in winter for kids who live around the area, to wish for the safety of children while at play around the Pahar. (Kalam, September 2015)

In the beginning of the narration, Mr. Kalam refused to talk about Paharpur. From his statement, it could be gleaned how alienated he must have felt. Especially when the DoA suspended their frequent entrance into the premises of the Bihar, the relationship became more complex between the heritage-residents and DoA. Kalam also claimed the subjective brutality of the “fence” – because it is something they have to encounter again and again, especially, by their children who became fond of the recently developed beautiful garden. Actually, he considers the adjacent area of Bihar as beautiful, clean and is true “development.” Despite all the brutal normative obstacles, they do wish to visit the garden. This response opens up the process of negotiation tactics with the “self.” The essential element of negotiation is power (De Dreu & Van Kleef, 2004; Magee, Galinsky, & Gruenfeld, 2007; Pinkley, Neale, & Bennett, 1994). Controlling

Tactics of Power are identified as “repressive” power, and managing tactics of power are defined as “constructionist/constructivist” power. In the case of Mr Kalam, power found persuasive means through both ways of “constructionist” and “repressive.” Power is received over life through the process of contestation and negotiation. It is the normalisation process of governmentalisation over the life of heritage-residents.

From this response, the perspective among residents has become clear, and that is how they are losing concern towards the heritage site due to the aggressive protection strategy, which is at variance with the “Five Cs”. The community participation in managing the cultural heritage has become a myth under the strategy of the DoA. Figures 66 to 69 show examples of this scenario in Paharpur and Mashathangarh.



*Figure 66* Heritage-resident's graveyard in the Protected Area



*Figure 67* Heritage-residents are fenced out to control their entry



*Figure 68* Paharpur Garden



*Figure 69* The Wall of the Citadel Area of Mahasthangarh has been fenced in

The performativity of the safeguarding-governmentality of cultural heritage, in the subjective term, is the evacuation of the heritage site. The DoA ensures performativity as a governmental agency to acquire the land of the resident of cultural heritage. The policing system

of the state provides security for visitors; however, given the scale of the area of heritage sites, such as Mahasthangarh, it becomes an impossible task to maintain security. At the time of conducting surveys for this study at Mahasthangarh, a murder, possibly of a visitor, transpired in an evacuated area. Mr Zabbar, the senior resident of the heritage site explained,

If they only wanted the land to use, they can take land from that side where there is no settlement, but they are not doing so, because they want something more, they want us to leave the place. They want to empty the area.

I do not know what benefit do they get from that? Who knows?

There will be no people; visitors will be murdered, what else? Day by day, the total situation of the environment is declining. (Zabbar, January 2018)

Mr Zabbar, about 65 years old, a senior citizen and an experienced excavator at the Mahasthan region, talked about the negotiation with the DoA and questioned how it can be considered as the protector of the heritage. Basically, the residents claim that they are protecting this heritage site. In any case, the repressive behaviour of DoA and the constructionist approaches by the academicians, DoA workshops, seminars, discussions and other mainstream media is making Mr Zabbar a docile neoliberal individual. The process normalises the essence of conserving cultural heritage, where the residents want to be a part of the safeguarding process.

It is clear that for a huge area, ensuring the security of all visitors is close to impossible if done by the DoA acting alone. Unfortunately, the DoA still does not consider the probable benefit from keeping the residents at the heritage sites as an excellent component of its security system. As a commodification of heritage site, homestays with residents who live within site can be a good touristic mechanism.



#### 4.4. Heritage Commodification Governmentality

Foucault's research on neoliberal governmentality does not take liberalism as a political theory, ideology or theoretical standpoint on modernity. Liberalism and neoliberalism are seen as practices, reflective modes of action, and particular ways of rationalising governance. This neoliberal developmental governance became a magical key to manage the cultural heritage as a revenue generating segment in the name of tourism — the Eurocentric global heritage movement for the development of heritage frameworks (Long, 2012; Winter, 2009; Winter & Daly, 2012). The fastest growing leisure and recreation trips in Asia these days are stimulating the economies of the developing and least developing countries hopeful of improving their heritage management projects. Historical events and monuments have become heritage products by a mechanism under the heritagisation process of national and transnational authorisation – this is the mechanism of the commodification of heritage. Ashworth (1996: 16) defined this mechanism as “a contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption.” Because of this trendy revenue generating mechanism, the DoA also accepts some transnational cultural heritage commodification projects.

SATIDP (South Asia Tourism Infrastructure Development Project for Bangladesh, India, and Nepal) is a project of the DoA aimed at commodifying the cultural heritage of Bangladesh through tourism. Funded by the ADB, the prime objectives of this project are to prepare the master plan and management plan for selected heritage sites, to establish the operating procedures for management, to design in detail bid document preparation, to supervise the construction and to monitor the project management and implementation unit of the DoA, Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

Nilan Cooray, a conservation specialist, and David Michelmore, a cultural heritage specialist, were the key speakers of the workshop held on the Management of Heritage Sites in

Bangladesh, as a part of the SATIDP projects on February 3, 2016. Both emphasised the importance of ensuring the economic benefit and livelihood development of local communities in protected heritage sites, particularly through tourism development. Based on this understanding, SATIDP developed certain structures and spaces, as shown in Figures 70 and 71.



*Figure 70* SATIDP tourism structural project in Mahasthangarh



*Figure 71* Heritage-Hawker's stationed beside the SATIDP Tourism Project

It can be seen that SATIDP developed, in four different cultural heritage sites in Bangladesh, a couple of outlets selling heritage souvenirs which are run mostly by the heritage residents. However, residents could also be found selling their locally-made handicrafts besides the outlets of the heritage sites. When asked why they prefer not to use the official outlets, they explained,

We are not sure what these outlets are for. The DoA has offered the use of these outlets, but we are not sure how much effort to put into this. I think it will be beyond our ability. In fact, most of us are not interested in investing here, because of the very

popular Mahasthan bazaar and hut which are within a couple of miles from here. Moreover, Mr Sultan's Mazar is very important. The huge number of outsiders who come to the Mazar regularly for *ziarat* and *manat* (donation for the fulfilment of certain wishes). Especially, Friday is an important day of the week for huge gatherings. Nearby Mr Sultan's Mazar is Mahasthan high school, and beside the school is a big field with huts for gathering and around the area is a bazaar. We prefer to invest our money there. In comparison, within a year, the visitors come here for only two to three months. (Selim, January 2018)

Another resident firmly and bluntly gave his opinion, which was supported by others, narrating,

I can assure you that people come here because of Sultan sahab. Because of his dowa (best wishes), the Mahasthan bazaar and huts are doing well. It became a centre point of the North-Bengal. People are attracted to Sultan sahab. After doing *Ziarat* and conducting business at the Mahasthan hut, people try to talk a walk through Ghar. (Bakar, January 2018)



Figure 72 Containers made from bamboo at the Mahasthan bazaar.



Figure 73 Wooden bed at Mahasthan Bazaar



Figure 74 Peoples gather in the morning at Mahasthan Bazaar



Figure 75 Vegetable on sale at Mahasthan Bazaar



Figure 76 Sweets on sale at Mahasthan Bazaar



Figure 77 Blacksmith shop at the Mahasthan Bazaar

This interesting Bangladeshi sub-urban bazaar failed to get the attention of heritage specialists which otherwise could have led them to commodify Mahasthangarh. SATIDP or the DoA did not consider the present spatial importance of cultural heritage sites, and there are a couple of live cultural events in situ, specifically *Mazar* (mausoleum) and *Hut* (a weakly marketplace). It can be said that the agency of the heritage-community and their agentic actions have not been considered. However, from the above discussion and statements of the people, it is clear that *Mazar* or *Hut* attracts the central concentration among outsider and the residents.

When this phenomenon is compared with the other prominent heritage site, Paharpur, a similar scenario could be found in Bagerhat. However, the project of SATIDP in Nepal dealt with it differently. During the fieldwork conducted in Nepal for this study, no homogenous gateways or other red coloured slip bricks structures were found. Nepal emphasised the infrastructural development, which was the primary objective of this project. Therefore, the

government of Nepal refurbished its Bhairahawa Airport and Lumbini stupa.<sup>32</sup> Among the South Asian Countries, there are different government organisations; i.e. the DoA of the Government of Bangladesh, and Tourism and Civil Aviation of the Government of Nepal.

For tourism commodification, SATIDP created a homogenous look with the design of the heritage entrance. Figures 78 & 79 describe the architectural homogenisation process. Academicians were completely surprised because of the illogical architectural relationship with the main cultural heritage. Typically, this type of architecture is popular in Sri Lanka (see Figure 79), and it can be said that as a Sri Lankan specialist of conservation, Mr Nilan Cooray would be heavily affected. He might find homogeneity with the Sri Lankan pattern of architecture. There is one similarity with the vernacular architectural style. The *Bangla Chala* (see Figure 81) system of architecture seems vernacular; however, there are many differences from material to style.



Figure 78 SATIDP -installed gateway at Bagerhat



Figure 79 SATIDP -installed Gateway at Paharpur



Figure 80 Traditional architecture in Sri Lanka (Dayaratne 2011)



Figure 81 Mud Architecture in Mahasthangarh Region (Das et al. 2007)

The architecture of gateways is so similar to the Sri Lankan vernacular architecture. Figure 80 is a classic reference to Sri Lankan vernacular architecture. Professor Sufi Mustafizure Rahman of the Department of Archaeology, Jahangirnagar University finds it a crime to impose this type of architecture. He is also against the newly installed iron-framed wooden staircase, which entirely contrasts with the architectural style and building material of the World Heritage Site of Paharpur (see Figure 82).



*Figure 82* Iron-framed wooden staircase installed by SATIDP in the Central Shrine of Paharpur

To attract tourists, the DoA designed a garden between the guest house and the main structure of Bihar. Different sizes and types of animal figures (e.g. elephant, giraffe, and deer) in various poses are shown as bonsai displays (see Figures 83 to 86). To date, this management project can be considered a successful initiative. The visitors liked it more than the monastery. On a school excursion, Prince, an undergraduate student of a class of 12, said,

See, we came here as a group from our college for an excursion. After reaching here, we found a couple of other schools and colleges on a trip. Usually, you know, two to three months in winter, is our excursion time. It is a change for us. Previously, I saw a picture

of it (Paharpur), but this is the first time I have met with this brick junkyard. You are surprised to hear this. Like you, this morning, I also was surprised to see it. There is nothing here exciting for us, except for the garden. It is really exciting, and we took so many photographs. (Prince, December 2017)



*Figure 83* Peacock gateway of the garden beside the Paharpur Monastery



*Figure 84* Giraffe-shaped plants in the garden of Paharpur Monastery



*Figure 85* The name of Allah sculpted on plants in the Garden of Paharpur Monastery



*Figure 86* Sculptured shrubs as fencing for the garden at the Paharpur Monastery

#### **4.5. The Apathy of Archaeological Research and Publication**

Archaeological excavation, a mechanism of destruction of the history of humankind, can be rationalised as an anthropogenic archaeological site-formation process. However, archaeological sites are considered as public property and cultural heritage. UNESCO<sup>33</sup> and other excavation manuals<sup>34</sup> put importance in publishing excavation reports because they provide information which will help produce the framework of or fill the gaps in knowledge of the story

of cultural history (Gordon 1952: 43). The DoA of Bangladesh conducts excavations regularly in different regional zones of the country; however, a complete excavation report yet to be published. Over the past, the excavation history turns to oral history instead of written history. Nevertheless, the excavation report is essential to enable academicians to research the past and generate a convincing interpretation of the past, which can add some value for heritagisation of the archaeological sites.

Therefore, the failure to publish an excavation report is a highly questionable matter. The responsibility for the excavation and the publication of the excavation report is lodged with the DoA. The law is required that every excavation in the landscape of Bangladesh shall be under the control of the DoA. Public universities or other organisations have no right to carry out any excavation work without prior permission from the DoA. Recently, there was a couple of small scales excavation attempts by professors of a public university (i.e., the Department of Archaeology, Jahangirnagar University) and NGOs (e.g. *Oitijjho Annesbawn*). However, the importance of publishing the excavation report was ignored. A complete report has not been published yet. There are a couple of papers, and a preliminary report published, which also failed to meet the criteria for an excavation report.

The officials of the DoA are being blamed for their inefficiency, inability, and ignorant behaviour in not publishing the excavation reports regularly. Maybe there is some academic gap in the operation of the archaeological excavation systematically and in the preparation of the excavation report for publication. This blame-game regarding safeguarding cultural heritage sites is prevalent in the DoA.

Based on results of field inquiries, in this case, it became apparent that it will be difficult for trained and efficient officials to manage the excavation and publish the report professionally. Usually, the excavations are operated by the Regional Director (RD) while the Assistant Director



(AD) of the museum near the site shouldered the on-field responsibility for excavation. The RD and AD jointly draw the strategy for excavation works. In a session, the RD would supervise a couple of excavations in different sites, then supervise field surveys and official jobs. In this case, the RD becomes the main excavator. The excavation itself demands keen concentration and time, which was problematic for the bureaucracy. The AD is not only engaged in the excavation work but also performs as head of the museum office responsible for managing guest houses, tourists, and VIP official guest. Following is an incident that occurred in January 2018 while I was doing fieldwork, which can give an insight into the bureaucratic situation of an AD.

One morning, in January 2018, I found Mr Islam (a pseudonym for the AD of the DoA) waiting in front of the main gate of the Museum at around 9 AM looking a little bit anxious. After exchanging morning greetings, I asked him what he was waiting for. “Receiving a VIP guest,” he answered. This explained why, on that day, I found every official of the museum and guest house in a huge rush to set the place in order. He responded with an interesting smile. After that, I moved towards the villagers for a regular chat as part of the field work. When I returned around 7 PM, I found Mr Islam at the same place. I was surprised and curiously asked him, “Have you been here all day long?” Very simply, he answered, “Yes.”

This presents an image of a government servant wasting his time to receive a senior civil servant/Minister/Parliament Member, who is regarded as a VIP in Bangladesh. At the same time, Mr Islam, AD was supposedly also conducting an excavation. Similar situations could be found in other cultural heritage sites. It is difficult for them to perform well under these different job patterns. One of the ADs claimed,

How can we conduct excavations properly? It is research work which demands sharp concentration and, for writing the report, we need to go through other print references. It demands time. Other than excavation, we have to perform our regular office jobs and

maintain the protocol for VIPs. Routinely, high officials come here with their family or friend for a visit. As included in our job description, we have to take care of their lunch/dinner. Sometimes we feel like a slave. (Assistant Director, DoA, January 2018)

Bangladesh inherited the bureaucracy from the British Colonial Government. Under the colonial administrative system, the bureaucracy was not only run according to official rules and procedures but also as imposed by hegemonic state society. Particularly, power formed with the centralised origin, systems and domination is interminable from one group to another. Power can be designated as the concatenated effort of a “moving substrate of force relations;” it is not a matter of singular strength or resources. Thus, Foucault said,

Power must be understood, in the first instance, as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly as the strategies in which they take effect whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies. (Foucault, Michel, & Hurley 1990: 93-94)

The power is not only disseminated vertically; however, although the general definition of the power of bureaucracy is also hierarchical, which is vertical. Colonial bureaucracy established an asymmetric power relationship, reflected in hegemonic state society. It involves a complex strategic scenario, typically known as “power.” It is domination distributed coercively. This unequal distribution of power created a “complex strategic situation” for the DoA officials, and is one of the barriers to the publication of the appropriate report and a proper excavation.

#### 4.6. The Resistance and Recommendation of Heritage-Residents

First, it should be stressed that resistance is embedded in power. The normalisation of resistance is power over the powerless in an oppressive fashion. In a discussion on resistance and power, Michel Foucault captured enormous attention from academicians who were trying to understand the reasoning and patterns of resistance and its relation to power. A popular quotation from Michel Foucault is “Where there is power, there is resistance” (Foucault 1978, cited in Vinthagen & Johansson, 2013). Exploring power occupied the concentration of Foucault. He, therefore, examined resistance objectively to understand power. He demystified the forces of power in resistance. However, Lila Abu-Lughod (1990: 42, cited in Foucault, Michel, & Hurley 1990) showed power in resistance, that “where there is resistance, there is power”. She had de-romanticised resistance. She is against locating resistance, as a whole, as the symbol of the ineffectiveness in the system of power, and that resilience is brought about by the denial to be dominated.

The resistance of peasants or the heritage-residents of the cultural heritage will not be understood linearly in this section. Every day, there is insecurity in the DoA’s acquisition of land and homes. A couple of residents have lost their lands and ancestral property and houses. They have even lost their graveyards and the right to frequent visit. Their frequent and easy access to nearby important places has been suspended. Scenarios of hate are brewing at the cultural heritage sites. Therefore, everyday form of resistances, which are active and passive, are collective and personal. The passive resistance can be articulated by the works of J. C. Scott (1985), which discusses that the *quiet, dispersed, disguised or otherwise seemingly invisible*, and “infrapolitics” are interchangeably identified as everyday resistance. He discursively showed how the subaltern groups, as a survival tactic, are using certain common behaviours (e.g. foot-dragging, escape, sarcasm, passivity, laziness, misunderstandings, disloyalty, slander, avoidance, or theft) from exploitations and repressive domination (especially when the rebellion becomes too risky).

The heritage residents, who were passive, took action when the discussion reached a point of resistance for protecting their land and rights to the cultural heritage. The heritage-residents of Paharpur did a couple of active performance of resistance collectively, especially a human-chain with local arms. However, they were brutally subjected to police actions by the special armed police who evacuated the area and demolished the residents' houses. As a consequence, the residents became passive resistant and nowadays do not feel any interest in the world cultural heritage of Paharpur. This can be more readily understood in Rafiqul's opinion, as follows:

... Protest? There is no benefit of a protest. I suffered a lot from protesting. I refused to agree with their proposal. I cut the ribbon after the measurement procedure. For this, they filed a case against me, then the police came and took custody of me and sent me to jail. I was there for one month. (Rafiqul, December 2017)

These days, the residents do not orally practice the history of the monument. They have gone through a transformation from curiosity to apathy: the denial of their rights vis-à-vis their relentlessness have turned them resistant, and their "avoidance" has become their resistance. While 15 years before, there was much attachment to the cultural heritage among Paharpur residents, now there is everyday resistance. On the other hand, the residents of Mahasthangarh, Bagerhat, and Bhaktapur in Nepal were found to be so much attached to, ritualistic, and enthusiastic about the cultural heritage. Other types of resistance can be considered, for example, *silence*, as an everyday resistance.

Foucault's mundane or non-dramatic resistance is also an understanding of the *continuum* between public confrontations and hidden subversion. It is the process of understanding the seeding mechanism of open rebellions and the reason why they fail to happen, despite "objective" situations. The active performance of resistance (e.g. rally, human-chain) is the

mechanism for the instant performance of rebellions, which are objectified as resistance. These are the collective pluralistic performance of the oppressed residents. In recent times, it has principally been organised collectively by the residents of Mahasthangarh, as clarified and contextualised in the following discussions with residents Tariful & Zafar of Mahasthangarh.

If we go with any suggestion, they will not listen to us. Once they called a meeting, Sir in the “Jyotkundo area”... there were so many people who joined that meeting. Everybody went there: men ... women...children... all.

In one word, everyone in this village went to participate in that meeting, in that meeting where the authority from the department said... “We will not go much deeper.” They wanted to clear the area straight from the Mazar area to the museum so that visitors can visit one place to another without any difficulty. Will they use a walkway between these two sites? At the same time, they will be able to see the view. But when they started acquiring land meant for more than that, then we tried to protest that. Moreover, the local political people suppressed our rights. Everybody... the people of MP, the chairman, members, even the rising local leader, everyone – they were all united.

There is no chairman from this Gar area, right! The chairman is from the other side of the museum. It is almost a half kilometre away from the museum. Even the Union Parishad, Thana – all are in that area.

You know, the M.P. did not call that meeting. It was the Authority that announced that everybody should go to the meeting, and when we gathered, the M.P. gave a speech, and then the authority from the department briefed us about the entire matter.

(Tariful & Zafar, December 2017)

It is evident that the residents are not to be the curious fellows who would visit the Museum or the fenced area of the DoA of Mahasthangarh. They remain silent because they did not like so many things, especially the recently installed fences. It obstacles the movement frequencies of the heritage-residents. If they used the fenced zone as a shortcut to reach somewhere even back to home, it became illegal trespass to the official of DoA. The irony is that the DoA has not enough workforce for surveillance this huge site, even the fenced zones. The period of conducting the field survey, an incident has been experienced, which is:

One fine morning, I waked up earlier for visiting the local *but* (a weakly market place) with Toffazzol *bhai*, the heritage-resident. In the early morning, when he came to my place to pick me, that time, he asked, have you heard anything. I answered, no and countarily questioned, anything wrong? He was so excited and told that we saved artefacts from theft in the fenced area. It was a coincidence, because, Bakar *bhai* backed to home late night and passed beside the fence. You know, his house near to the fenced area of *ghar*. First, he heard some sound of digging and to whisper. He felt suspicious and silently rang Motalib *bhai*. Motalib *bhai* called us to join Bakar *bhai*. We all went there with some bamboo sticks and farming tools. We covered the thieves circularly and able to catch one of two thieves. By this time, we sent one person to inform the custodian sir. Custodian sir came and handover the thief to the police. They already dug a very deep. As a result, custodian sir requested us to guard this place only for that night. We agreed, and Bakahab *bhai* stayed all night. In the morning, custodian sir will manage to fill the place. (Tofazzol, January 2018)

Here, heritage-residents have signified the resident as protector of the heritage. It evident the friendly attitude towards the DoA. The generalised connotation is that the 'local people' are robbed and destroyed the heritage sites are challenged. 'Their residency with the cultural heritage is the most threatful for safeguarding the cultural heritage' – the firm position of the DoA (Nahid

Sultana, Personal Communication, March 2016), which is challenged by this helpful and trusted gesture to each other between the heritage-residents and the DoA officials of Mahasthangarh.

By showing an open wall, which was dug out near about 50 to 60 years before beside the house of Thandu, gave a heart-rending expression that;

It was excavated near about 50 years before when I might 10 to 12 years old. That time, after excavation, there were no norms to cover. All over the *ghar*, you will find so many these type of exposed wall. It was done by the Archaeology Department. I worked with them as an excavator. They called it a test pit. See, we did not destroy it. I grew up to play in this place. But the painful fact is that they called us destroyer of the sites. Yes, I agree that some places are destroyed by people. But believe me, those were not from this place. They are an outsider. They did all those things mostly at night time. (Thandu, January 2018)

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the residents of Mahasthangarh are different from those of other regular heritage sites. The insiders of the *garh* area would be hired as excavators. These heritage-residents have had a long relationship with the cultural heritage sites, especially with Mahasthangarh and participation in excavation is a passion for them. However, this is not their profession because, actually, they are peasants. For the past 35 to 40 years, the fact of having experienced residents doing excavation works has been concealed by the officials of DoA even to the newly appointed officers. Their treatment of them is like a labour-slave. Therefore, the residents continue to keep their silence during excavation works and do not make any comments about their self-worth. They resist sharing their understanding of archaeology.

It is safe to say that active and passive resistance should no longer be tolerated as a phenomenon, and cultural heritage sites should not become a dead site. The DoA has only one option in evacuating the residents from the heritage sites. In this case, the residents of

Mahasthangarh, who are very close to artefacts and experienced excavators, tried to look for solutions to keep heritage-residents on site while safeguarding the cultural heritage and archaeological investigations during excavations. Thandu, Zabbar, and Motalab made the following proposals:

Thandu: See... we will try our best to stay here, and they will try their best to shift us, and somehow some solution will be found. The problem should be solved as it involves a place of historical interest and it has historical value in a world context. So... it has to be protected, and a solution should be found, and it is now famous as Pundranagar. So how did it become Pundranagar or what is its importance – there is more to be learned and more to discover. For this, different foreigners will come for research, they will study various areas, and even they need a place to stay. For this, the land is needed. So it is also essential to maintain all these...

Zabbar: Oh! See... what you are saying! It is needed, that is true, but they already took so much land for that, and that is enough for all these.

Thandu: I am also saying this... as for the land they have, it will take a minimum of 50 years to work on that... It is not possible to excavate this much land - what they already acquired – even if foreigners work on that, it will be more than enough.

Zabbar: in between this let me say something... the thing is a huge land from the east para to the museum, there is a small river in between this, but it is a huge land without any interruption without any human settlement.

Thandu: Hmm... it is a huge land, just beside the “Gobindo vita”.



Zabbar: Oi... Pundranagar... if they want to build anything, they can do so according to their wishes, such as a building ...structure, road construction...

(Zabbar and Thandu, January 2018)

Furthermore, they replied to the following specific questions posed to them during the discussions. If the DoA will become ready to listen to you, what will you suggest? Since you do not agree with them, what is a possible solution to this? Not only have you been doing archaeological work for a long time, but it is also your place; so you are associated with this in both ways. So now what do you prefer, what can be the solution? Since you do not like this, what do you want that can be good for archaeology, history for the country and at the same time good for you?

Zabbar: Right, we need a solution. According to my poor understanding, it is like... see for example, if they want to observe or excavate any land. After excavation, once they are done, if they hand over the land back to the landowner, we will all agree to this condition. This can be a possible way out.

Thandu: In this way, even when they need to buy land with this much money, they can spend this money on the excavation.

Zabbar: They will see... excavate; then afterwards, they will cover it; then we can use it again. Moreover, we will never harm them. We are looking for a trustworthy co-existence with the DoA.

(Zabbar and Thandu, January 2018)

It can be concluded that if the DoA aims to safeguard the cultural heritage while engaging with the residents in the process, in accordance with the suggestions of UNESCO, then they can consider adopting the proposal of the heritage residents.

#### 4.7. Summary

Organisationally, the DoA is performing as a colonial ruler, using the Antiquities Act as its legalisation instrument and behaving like a ruler/owner of the cultural property. UNESCO introduced this knowledge based on the view that universal humanity and property were very much prevalent in the dominant narratives on civilisation and evolutionism as has been discussed by one of the foundational figures of modernity, John Stuart Mill (Veer, 2001: 17-19). It means, humanity, despite its commonness, is not the same as they are in different stages of evolution; some are modern, civilised, scientific and secular, and the rest are not. Therefore, according to the words and arguments of Vikhu Parekh in his interpretation of Locke and Mill, the modern law and regulations have been shaped and formed in such ways and such power relationships that they are not applicable to all, although they claim to be universal and humane. Many recent events concerning the debates on the Geneva Convention support this. On the other hand, the 1968 Antiquities Act was developed and shaped with the essence of modern reflective power, where however the essence of “universal humanity” was not adopted. It was almost copied from the 1904 Antiquities Act, which was drafted by the British ruler of India. The universal humanity and property concepts might be a reason for the rejection of Mahasthangarh from being selected as a world heritage.

The Antiquities Act did not conceive of the idea of “community” to safeguard the cultural heritage – it was UNESCO that adopted this idea in recent times while the Antiquities Act was shaped in 1968. The DoA had also adopted this idea by their terms and conditions, albeit in a very superficial manner. Waterton & Smith (2010) argued: “the AHD works to marginalise and fails to recognise the legitimacy of subaltern communities or other competing concepts of heritage.” In the case of Mahasthangarh and community participation in the safeguarding program, the practice has been internalised in such a way that it remained unnoticed and taken as the norm. The government agencies render the notion of “community” within a homogenous

perspective and eliminate the heterogeneous notion of “community” as a subject of power. Subaltern voices became objectified under the regulatory rubric of community participation in the safeguarding program. On the one hand, it is bluntly overlooking the hierarchical power dynamics, and on the other hand, it legitimises the misrecognition within the realm of dominant expert knowledge.

Other than the DoA, there are powerful agencies taking so many actions. Mahasthangarh is an ideal example, with the DoA, the committee of Mazar, and the heritage-residents. The dominating agencies, i.e. the DoA and the Mazar committee, are both performers here as the developmental agencies, and these developmental works have become an elitist destruction mechanism of the cultural heritage.

Neoliberal-safeguarding-governmentality developed and shaped tourism as an apparatus, and this idea is ill-treated by the DoA, especially the project of SATIDP. They ignored the religion-cultural-occupational interests and actions of heritage-residents and visitors. SATIDP projects commodified the cultural heritage for the DoA, where the interest of heritage-residents is absent.

In not publishing an excavation report, the excavation was criticised in its methods and efficiency to safeguard the cultural heritage by academicians, media and the transnational organisations. This blame game is prevalent at the DoA office. These one-sided critiques have become in fashion among the so-called urban civic spaces.

It is necessary to stress the need to figure out the alienation processes that impact heritage-residents in safeguarding cultural heritage. It can be said that the attitude of action as a police state, where the peoples’ opinion and actions are suppressed by police, for safeguarding the cultural heritage by the governmental agency. In Paharpur, the residents’ avoidance of interacting and keeping to themselves was found, under this research, as resistance, more

specifically, a passive resistance. On the other hand, active resistance is taking place in the Mahasthangarh area, where people went on a rally and attacked the jointly organised public function of the local parliament member and the DoA. The residents also tried to erase the signatures of cultural heritage to save their residences and farmlands. In both cases, the present governmental mechanisms and apparatuses have been dealing with this resistance in a brutal and unfriendly way, which is further raising the insecurity of the cultural heritage.

To conclude this chapter, it should be stated that the State itself has always gone through the process of contestation and negotiation. It adopted the guidelines for conservation techniques as “norms”. It organised so many workshops and seminars to convey these “norms” to heritage-residents. It took various initiatives for the betterment of cultural heritage and heritage-residents, such as developmental works and commodification projects. In this way, it is the state that has become a docile character to UNESCO. However, the state could simultaneously maintain its repressive character by executing its judiciary powers. As a result, resistance grew among the heritage-residents as an extension of constructionist power, where the total rejection of the government policies is absent. These resistance became the process to open up the space for “negotiation” among the heritage-residents with the “self” and state parties.

## Chapter Five

---

## **Chapter 5**

### **Accommodating Heterogeneous Voices of the Past(s) of Democratising the History**

Chapters 3 and 4 have problematised the government mechanisms for engaging the local community to safeguard the cultural heritage in Bangladesh by a half-hearted adherence to the guidelines of UNESCO, specifically what is referred to as the “Five Cs.” Thus, the process has failed to address the residents’ autonomous agency. Residents have their own critical, enlightened, and autonomous subjectivity, which is prestigious for them and makes them a proud member of the community. Historicising, the storytelling by residents, subjectively can be an engaging mechanism to ensure the protection of the cultural heritage. However, the general perception that the heritage-residents, living in the village and semi-urban spaces, are illiterates, unconscious, savage, ahistorical, mythical, and mystic does not help. This can be clarified by the statement of Nahid Sultana, the Regional Director of Rajshahi and Rangpur Division, DoA, who stated,

...The peoples’ history is composed mainly of folktales, superstitions and fabricated stories. They have no point of historical truth. They are stories of the illiterates and half-educated persons’ history. In fact, the local people are also using this history by publishing books as an income source. That is why they published so many books, and tourists are buying those. However, it cannot be denied that those people’s mythical storytelling is related to history. However, you cannot know the history only through talking with grassroots level people. (Nahid Sultana, Personal Communication, February 2016)

By the end of her statement, she considered the storytelling of heritage-residents as a historical source enriching the systematic history. It is close to the Baconian<sup>35</sup> understanding of systematic evidence-based history, which emphasises writing the history systematically based on

evidence (cited in Nandy, 1995). Moreover, archaeology, as a discipline relies on material-based evidence. This idea is being appreciated widely as modern and dominant practice. Nahid Sultana is a trained archaeologist and historian, and also the regional director of DoA. With an understanding of the Baconian systematic evidence-based history, arguably, she raised the question on the differences between “historical fact” and “historical fiction” of the history being practised among the heritage-residents. She emphasised the point of scienticism of the storytelling by explaining, “They have no point of historical truth. They are stories of the illiterates and half-educated persons’ history” (Nahid Sultana, personal communication, March 2016).

The knowledge of the past in non-Western cultures, gained through archaeological enterprises, had made the Western cultures more powerful and dominant in complex ways. Various recent studies on Indian archaeology and history have revealed that the colonisers needed that knowledge mainly for hegemony, and to control and subvert the residents and their cultures and religions in the ways that were complex and sometimes contradictory to each other (Chatterjee, 1993; B. S. Cohn, 1987; B. S. Cohn, 1990; Veer, 2001; Chakrabarty 1997 and 2000; Lahiri 2000, 1999 and 1998; Mitter 1977; Cunningham and Lewer 2000). These studies have shown that they required that knowledge to construct their identity as a superior civilisation, race and culture as well. Moreover, and most importantly, by the knowledge produced by different orientalist and Indologist disciplines, it was possible for them to construct the logic and rationality for converting the Indians into a modern and secular nation. Heritage and identity, according to concepts and rationale of the modern Western nation, were being constructed through the colonial hegemonic institutions and practices especially by educational, religious and social reforms. Thus, as far as the power of modernity as a project suggests, the idea of nationalism in India was a derivative one from the Western notion of modernity, rationality, and progress. Bangladeshi archaeology/heritage studies carry the same flag of the modernity as a

project, because, Bangladesh is born as a state with the colonial legacy of the notion of knowledge-power of India. Of course, there were very complicated processes of amalgamation of the local ideas with the derivative ones; but the amalgamation was achieved by essentially various ways of inclusion and exclusion.

The mechanisms of assimilation and differentiation of the writing process of history have not made an impact on the residents who are living at the heritage sites. Rather, the idea, denoted as national pride, has a significant impact among the urban civil middle class. The *Mangal Shovajatra*: A Bangla New Year Festival Rally can be a clear example of understanding this phenomenon. In 2016, *Mangal Shovajatra* (a colourful rally for celebrating the Bangla New Year) earned the title of world heritage.<sup>36</sup> It is an expression of “Bangalines” which has been shaped after the language movement of 1952 by the urban modernised sovereign middle-class people taking pride in thousands of years of Bangalee civilisation and culture. As for the “illiterate” residents, their perception of history/heritage on this matter is explained below.

The heritage-residents: Lal Miah and Bhulu Miah are almost 70 years old. They completed the primary school level. Bhulu Miah lost his job after the Rangpur textile mill went bankrupt and, these days, he is living a retired life. While they recalled that, generation after generation, they have been living in this same place. Currently, they have no land inside the *ghar* area, because of the land acquisitions made by the Department of Archaeology. When asked about their perception of history and heritage and how they locate themselves within the dominating history, Lal Miah and Bhulu Miah explained in the same spirit,

History is nothing but stories of kings and queens. I am very poor, and I have no history. I have some memories of my ancestors. But those are not history. Memories and history are not the same. I have no idea about “heritage”. The Archaeology Department can explain. Sometimes, I would hear it from them. But I do not know. I



just understand that this “Mahasthan” is a heritage. People come here from various parts of the country to visit this. Due to this, we got a chance to do some small business like the hotel business. (Lal Miah and Bhulu Miah, February 2016)

As residents of a heritage site, Lal Miah and Bhulu Miah have not interpreted their memories of “history.” Neither have they taken responsibility to interpret “heritage.” They stated straight to the point that this is not their issue, but rather it is all about the business of DoA. On the other hand, the published books on Mahasthangarh by the heritage-residents claim that they are presenting the ‘History of Mahasthangarh or *Pundranagr*’ (see Figure 87). Here, an initial similarity could be seen between the statement of Nahid Sultana of DoA and Lal Miah and Bhulu Miah. The writers of the published book, who are also heritage-residents and have claimed the mythical stories of Mahasthangarh as “history” are the individuals directly referred to by Nahid Sultana of DoA – those she identified as “half-educated” in history. Based on field data, therefore, this study examined the residents’ concern about the heritage site by trying to explore their understanding and actions towards the artefacts. It became clear that the artefacts have earned subjective power by forcing peoples’ actions and counter-histories. The following section will draw out the mechanism for generating the operational meaning of the intention and consciousness of the residents’ action. In addition, this research also attempts to understand the semiotics of commodification of print capitalism, especially regarding the heritage-resident’s publications, mass media, and academic publications.

This chapter discursively deals with democratising history through a successful mechanism for safeguarding the cultural heritage of Bangladesh. As has been stressed earlier, the dominating history writing is problematised under the view that the dominating historical practices are single-ended and excludes the general people and their thoughts on the past. Therefore, it can be said that residents of cultural heritage sites in Bangladesh are living outside the dominating history writing.

### **5.1. Problematised the Dominating Hi(story) Writings: Ownership of the Past in Bangladesh<sup>37</sup>**

The objective of this research is to understand the dominating history writing, both epistemologically and ontologically, which is – and becoming more of – the controlling factor in interpreting history. Recent works by the archaeologist and historians of Bangladesh have essentialised the Bangalee nationalism. Every archaeological finding in Bangladesh is claimed as the pride of Bangalee. Mass media have been commodifying these evidence as Bangalee nationalism. Titles and contents of dominating history books<sup>38</sup> have been portraying Bangalee nationalistic essence from the very beginning of history writing. Epistemologically, Bangalism is the controlling factor to describe the history and, in this regard, historians have excluded the non-Bangalee people's participation in the past. Historians exclude the non-Bangalee people demanding their right to live as an indigenous people from the beginning of history writing. Even their contributions in the liberation war in 1971 are rarely inscribed in the dominating history books on the liberation war. These are the very people who have been demanding for their status as indigenous peoples. Even in the dominating books on liberation war history of 1971, indigenous peoples as freedom fighters, victims or collaborators are rarely mentioned. There was much hype surrounding the mainstream news media's majestically featured "Wari-Bateshwar" as the oldest civilisation of Bangla. This intellectual paucity was demonstrated by no other than the former foreign minister (2008-2014) and present education minister, Dr Dipu Moni,<sup>39</sup> of the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (GoB). Justifying Article 6(2)<sup>40</sup> of the 15<sup>th</sup> amendment to the Constitution, she held a meeting with journalists and diplomats at her ministry on July 26, 2011 and read out a statement to clarify the alleged "misperceptions" about the nation's history, its identity, the "ancient archaeological roots" of Bangalees, who are the "original inhabitants" and who are "late settlers" to this land. Before her statement, Bangladesh abstained from the United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People on September 13, 2007. The reason for abstaining and disguising the demand for constitutional recognition as

indigenous peoples by GoB is rationalised through dominating history writing and mass media hype of archaeological discoveries. Unfortunately, this problematic ownership of history in Bangladesh has not been contested widely in academia yet. This study could be considered an initiative to reveal the debate on the exclusion of indigenous peoples. It is in close relation to the "politics of exclusion," where the ambitions and aspirations of mainstream and ideologically dominating historians, mass media, politicians and archaeologists, in complementing one another, excludes the very critical principles and methodologies of the discipline and their historical transformations.

If the former Foreign Minister's briefing had been profoundly scanned, which was;

... Hence, in Bengal, termed as the ancient *banga* and now independent Bangladesh, the original inhabitants or first nations of this soil are the ethnic Bengalees by descent that constitute nearly 150 million people of Bangladesh (99%). They all have been the original inhabitants of this ancestral land for 4,000 years or more according to archaeological proof found in the Wari-Bateshwar excavations. We, ethnic Bengalees, are neither foreigners nor non-indigenous to our own native land, which it will never be; I repeat to colonial settlers who came to the land of Bengal through the passage of time. We had a very distinct culture, ethnic heritage, and language when our colonization took place and we still uphold the same despite our subsequent religious conversions... (The Daily Star, Published on July 27, 2011, Accessed on October 5, 2015)<sup>41</sup>

It would reveal that she espoused the argument, through the interpretation of archaeological pieces of evidence, that the Bangalees are the indigenous people and the rest of the ethnic groups are migrants. She clearly stated, "They came here as asylum seekers and economic migrants." This would mean that they are similar to the present Rohingya<sup>42</sup> refugees in

Bangladesh. However, the difference is that the Rohingya people have been living inside Bangladesh as refugees for the last two decades.

On the other hand, 47-year old Bangladesh has been providing shelter to those people living here for generations after generations. Interestingly, on October 26, 2013, the same interpretations were copied by the eminent academicians in a seminar on “A unified people of all sects in Bangladesh and public attention to Chittagong Hill Tracts”<sup>43</sup>, organised by *Satyannveshan* (The search for truth), a research organisation, and held at Dhaka University’s Nabab Nawab Ali Chowdhury Senate Bhaban. In that seminar, Professor Syed Anwar Hussain interpreted the meaning of “indigenous” etymologically, concerning the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, and anthropologically under the indigenous concept referring to the work of Louis Morgan, a classical anthropologist<sup>44</sup>. He raised the question: How can the CHT people claim to be “the sons of the soil”?<sup>45</sup> He accused that UN of ignoring the knowledge of social science and anthropology and inventing a very peculiar word, “Adivasi”.<sup>46</sup> He categorised this recent phenomenon of the indigenous issue as politics of the West and claimed that the demand of identification as *Adibasi* is essentially and historically irrational as they are minor ethnic groups who have immigrated to the CHT region around the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>47</sup>. However, he did not mention any systematic reference supporting his argument.<sup>48</sup>

The eminent archaeologist Professor Sufi Mostafizur Rahman presented another paper in the said seminar. For nearly two decades, he has been excavating the Wari-Bateshwar area, an archaeological site in Bangladesh heavily celebrated by media. He stated that “the ancient land was formatted around 1.8 million to ten thousand years before. It can be told, based on the prehistoric artefacts that around ten thousand years before, humans settled in this region.”<sup>49</sup> He also stated,

Bangla was known by various names such as *Pundra*, *Samatata*, *Gouda*, *Banga*. *Pundra*, *Samatata*, *Gouda* failed to survive as the political entity, but *Banga* did. *Banga* became known as Bangla, and we are the Bangalee inhabitants. The history of Bangalee civilisation has been discovered in Wari-Bateshware. We found the pits for a dwelling – who were they? They were our ancestors. We have to tell the truth. The demand for identification of CHT people as *Adibasi* is not a historical fact and it will not last.<sup>50</sup> (Parbattanews, Published on October 27, 2013, Accessed on October 5, 2015)

It is evident that both history writing and archaeology are being used as instruments to resist the demand of establishing the *Adibasi* identity in the constitution of Bangladesh by GoB and pro-government academics. It is essential to scrutinise the historical accounts to understand when today's Bangalees became a nation. A very popular saying is "*hajar bochorer bangalee samaj*," which means a "thousand-year-old society" of Bangalee, which is not supported by a single piece of evidence. Ghulam Husain Salim (2004) declared in *Riyazu-s-Salatin* that the people of Banga settled in ancient Bangladesh about seven thousand years before. However, scholars do not consider this book as a historical reference, because of its inadequate evidence (e.g. Tarafdar, 1995, Shanawaz, 2004, Murshid, 2006). Therefore, this statement failed to garner any more importance than a non-accommodating reference. Because of the dominating history text, it is quite established among history readers that Bangla was divided into various *Janapada*<sup>51</sup> (e.g. *Gouda*, *Pundra*, *Samatata*, *Harikela*, *Banga*). The principal ancient texts signified that Banga was a sea-faring nation which extended to the sea. The very wide geographical territory of Banga might be an enclosed region by Bhagirathi, Ganges and Padma rivers. Surprisingly, Wari-Bateshwar, the media ventured popular archaeological reference of Bangalism, is situated a bit far from the *Banga Janapada*.

In the reign of Shamsuddin Iliyas Shah around 1342-1358 AD, an undivided Banga, politically, became known for the first time. After the seize of Lucknow, Satgaon and Sonargaon

regions, Sultan Illiyas Shah proclaimed himself as “Shah-i-Bangalah”, “Shah-i-Bangaliyan” and “Sultan-i-Bangalah” (Tarafdar, 1995: 17). In that time, historian Zia Ud Din Barani in his book *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Zill, 2015) referred to Illiyas Shah as “Shah-i-Bangaliyan”, which means the “Sultan of Bangalees”. According to these references, Tarafdar (1995: 17) thought that from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the region of Bangla speaking people was known as “Bangalah”.

In 1952, a language movement conclusively characterised the language-centred nationalism in this region. Based on the *Charyapada*, popularly acclaimed as the first ancient written literature, the Bangalee-nationalist scholars claimed the thousand year’s age of Bangla language. It enshrined the nationalist pride of Bangalee culture/society as a thousand years old (in Bangla, *basar bochorer bangalee shomas*). Haraprasad Shastri, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was the first claim to that *Charyapada* is the specimen of ancient Bangla language (Murshid 2015: 17). However, Suniti Kumar Chattarji and Sukumar Sen did not agree with Mr Shastri. Based on the methodology of comparative philology, it was written around the tenth to twelfth century AD (Murshid 2015: 17). Muhammad Shahidullah was not convinced with identifying it as Bangla language, and according to his analysis, it may have been written around the seventh to eighth century AD (Murshid 2015: 17). After these, Murshid (2015: 17) was convinced that the age of Bangalee culture is less than a thousand years. Ironically, devoid of logic, he wanted to identify the Bangalee culture to be a thousand years old (Murshid 2015: 17).

If the other ancient texts [i.e. the ancient eminent linguistic Panini’s text *Ashtadhyayi* in 500 BC, Harisen’s text *prayag prashasti* in the fourth century AD, Vatsyayana’s text *Kamasutra*, *Veda* Text *Rigveda*, Kautilya’s (also known as Chanakya, c. 350-275 BCE) *Arthashastra* ] were scrutinised to find “Banga”, then, in most of the cases, the word “Banga” would be totally absent (Murshid 2015: 267-275). Abdul Karim (1987: 5) tried to identify the word “Banga” in some ancient texts (e.g. *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana* and *Aitareya Aranyaka*) but those findings are still debatable. However, the historians in Bangladesh used these sources to prove the ancientness of Bangla.

The popular connotation of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji's political venture was a "Banga conquest". However, he published a coin with the declaration of *Gour bijoy*/Gaur conquest in *Sanskrit* (Shanawaz, 2004: 89). Before Khilji's invasion, the Kings of the Pala Dynasty and Sena Dynasty announced themselves as *Gauradhipati*, meaning the Lord of Gaur (Shanawaz, 2004: 89). Therefore, it can be said that the entire region of Bangladesh was not identified as "Bangla" before the title declaration of *Shah-i-Bangalah/Shah-i-Bangaliyan* of Shamsuddin Iliyas Shah. Actually, for the first time in history, this region officially became recognized as *Subah Bangala* in the reign of the Mughal.

Identity politics and history-writings are related to symbiotically. This study discursively examined the stimulating practices of power and knowledge, which describes the intimacy of history writing and nationalism. Perception of national identity is shaped by the social relation of power and knowledge. Although the nation is represented as a historical subject, it was also shaped through the historical process with a social relation of power and knowledge. By following Mazhar's (2008: 101) argument, it can be concluded that Bangalee is not only an anthropological concept but also a historical concept and should be understood from the class-ethnicity resistance in history. This resistance was an assimilation mechanism of *Adibasi* and Bangalee. However, history-writing and archaeological interpretations excluded the participation of *Adibasi* peoples in the history of Bangladesh, as well as in the history of the Liberation War of 1971.

Badruddin Umar (2000: 26) emphasised the democratic rights of *Adibasi* people, especially the right to flourish their ethnicity and language. Majoritarianism took away the constitutional rights of *Adibasi* people with the knowledge and power of history writing and archaeological interpretations. This phenomenon also complemented the recent revisionist approaches in India, especially in Maharashtra's history textbooks, by reducing the role of

Emperor Akbar to a space of three lines, with all focus now on Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire.<sup>52</sup> In the end, as quoted from Witzel (2006: 203);

... “[P]atriotic” and increasingly nationalistic reinterpretations of the (early) history of the subcontinent, re-evaluations of past attempts to write that history and fantastic descriptions of lost littoral lands or whole continents, or of great rivers with early advanced civilisations. ... This alarming revisionist trend cannot be evaluated properly without briefly reviewing a historical heritage that reaches back 200 years”.

## **5.2. “Doing (Hi)story” by the Heritage-Residents**

As an introductory discussion, it has already been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter how the positionality of the meaning of “history” is different among the DoA, the heritage-residents, and the author of locally published books. Occasionnaly, some visitors point to some structures and ask the residents, “What is it?” In response, the residents willingly begin to explain, telling stories which have been passed on from generation to generation. Yet, they do not feel comfortable mentioning that those stories are “history” (i.e., specifically in the case of Lal Miah and Bhulu Miah). When asked if the narration is “history,” then the storyteller becomes confused as to how to answer. In any case, they do believe that these stories have some significance. However, the writers among the heritage-residents have profoundly declared these stories as “history” in their published book (see Figure 88) beginning from the title up to the ending. In light of this positionality of the meaning of “history,” this section of this chapter is titled “Doing History.” The ultimate goal of this chapter is to figure out the heterogeneity of voices of the past and generate some logical argument to accommodate these heterogeneous voices in history. To reiterate, the motto of this research is to place in mainstream the heritage-resident’s voices of the (hi)story in a democratic way.



The Mahasthangarh area is full of stories, and storytelling is the passion of the heritage-residents. They have the (hi)story regarding every archaeological structure and monument. Two stories are very popular in the Mahasthangarh region, which heritage-residents believe are (hi)story: the bridal suite of *Behula-Lakhindar*, and the war between Hindu King *Parashuram* and Muslim Sufi-saint *Shah Sultan Mahisawar*.

### 5.2.1. The Behula – Lakhindar Elegy: A Popular Oral Tradition



*Figure 87* The Mound of the Bridal Suite of Behula-Lakhindar in Mahasthan.

In front of the main gateway of the mound of the bridal suite of Behular-Lakhindar (see Figure 87) in Mahasthan, there can be found a small number of tea stalls. In one of these tea shops, a 60-year old resident named Dulu Mondol lit up with interest when asked – “What is it?” In what quickly led to an informal conversation over a cup of tea, he gave an astonished look and replied, “Oh! You do not know this well-known story!” He started to narrate the myth enthusiastically:

Actually, Behula and Lakhindar were residents of the land of God. Their real names were Usha and Aniruddha. They were cursed to be reborn as humans. Usha was born as Behula, the daughter of Sayven of Ujaninagar. On the other hand, Aniruddha was born as Lakhindar, the youngest son of Chand Sawdagarh. Behula was well known for her beauty and intelligence. She was then married to Lakhindar. You see – the mound of the bridal suite of Behula-Lakhindar. The story becomes so pathetic, interesting, and emotional after the marriage because of the clash between Chand Sawdagarh, a

businessman and devotee of Shiva, and the Padma, the snake-goddess. The Padma claimed devotion from Chand Sawdagarh because it was a challenge for her assigned by Shiva. The challenge was that if Chand Sawdagarh offers his devotion to the Padma, then the people would accept her as a goddess. But Chand Sawdagarh rejected to pay respects to Padma. As a result, Padma ruined his business and killed all of his sons. Somehow, his younger son Lakhindar survived. The story returns to the time after the birth of Lakhindar, when a fortune teller portended danger to his life on his wedding night. For this reason, Chand Sawdagarh installed an iron chamber for Lakhindar, which unfortunately, in the end, failed to save him. Padma sent a snake with magical powers that could change shape. Therefore, the snake changed shape and became like hair and could enter the suite. It bit Lakhindar.

During those times, the dead body of a snake-bite victim was not to be buried or burnt. Instead, the ritual was to float the body in the river on a banana raft. People believed that the body would reach God following the river. Behula joined the hazardous journey with her husband's dead body to know the reason for the misfortune and receive mercy from God. During this journey, she encountered various dangers and temptations. Despite all obstacles, Behula managed to reach the abode of the Gods. She satisfied the goddess Padma by pleading for her husband's life. In return for her husband's life, she made a promise to make Chand Sawdagarh worship Padma. In return, Padma not only restored the life of Behula's love but also returned the rest of the brothers of Lakhindar.

Along with her husband and brothers-in-law, Behula happily returned home. At last, Chand Sawdagarh agreed to bow before the mighty snake-goddess Padma. Finally, the Padma restored all the wealth of Chand Sawdagarh. (Dulu Mondol, January 2018)

This story is famous due to the strong female protagonist, *Bebula*. It is a story still widely cherished by the residents and visitors alike. *Bebula* became a symbol of an ideal bride, wife, and daughter-in-law, who saved the life of her husband as well as the life of her brothers-in-law. Moreover, she recovered the lost wealth of her father-in-law *Chand Savdagar*. It speaks of the lesson: no human being is greater than the god/goddess. It also plays to the hidden desire of most of the heritage-residents to have a wife like *Bebula*, who will be loving and be a true protector of the family. She has become their definition of what is beautiful. This story is not only popular in the region of Mahasthan but is renowned throughout Bangladesh. In fact, there have been feature films, stage drama, and adapted poetry based on *Bebula's* story.

### **5.2.2. A Brief History of Hindu King *Parashuram* and Muslim Sufi-saint *Shah Sultan Mahisawar***

The people's versions of the very popular myth of this region are based on the Hindu King *Parashuram* and the Muslim saint Shah Sultan *Mahisawar*. As the (hi)story goes, *Shah Sultan Balkhi Mahisawar* arrived at Mahasthan by using fish as a fakir (a mystic saint pedlar in Islamic philosophy). (*Mahisawar* is a Sanskrit-Persian word meaning a person who rides a fish). He came from Balkh, Afghanistan, with a couple of followers. There are various versions of the period of his arrival, which are in the 5th century AD, 11th century AD or 17th century AD. In any case, in the same period, *Parasuram* was the ruler of Mahasthangarh. *Mahisawar* requested *Parasuram* to allocate a place for prayer. King *Parasuram* granted his request but the allocated land turned out to be limited in respect to the area necessary under the practice of Islam. Based on the established myth, the ground area for expansion used by *Mahisawar* reached the palace area of King *Parasuram*. This generated huge irritation to the King and he declared war against *Mahisawar*. At the beginning of the battle, *Mahisawar* came to know that it is not easy to defeat the royal regiments because of the well of *Jyotkundo*. The well waters, when consumed, have the power to resurrect the soldiers. Upon knowing this, *Mahisawar* took a tricky strategy. He used a kite to drop a piece

of beef into *Jiat Kunda*, and he did it successfully. Because of this, the well lost its powers. *Parashuram* lost his mystic secret for resurrecting and curing his royal regiments for a successful battle. In the end, *Mahisawar* gained control over the *Mahasthan* area. Because of his defeat and lost control over *Mahasthan*, *Parasuram* and other royal family members committed suicide. This is the summary of a well-known oral narration told by heritage-residents (e.g., Abu Bakar, Bhulu Miah, Zabbar, Toffazzol, Mahasthangarh, September 2015) about the defeat of local Hindu King *Parashuram* by the saint *Shah Sultan Mahmud Balkhi Mahishawar*.

Taking a step further, some heritage-residents (e.g. M. Tabibur Rahman, Azizul Haque) published a couple of Bangla booklets [e.g. *The Homicide of Parashuram*, *The Bridal Suite of Behula-Lakhindar*, *The History of Mahasthangarh and the Biography of Hazrat Shah Sultan Mahmud Bakhi (R.)*] on this story, along with other stories, as a (hi)story of Mahasthangarh. These books became a popular trend among the tourists. M Tabibur Rahman, a resident, *Mazar* official, and local postmaster, was the pioneer author to have published the booklet. His first book was entitled “History of *Pundrabardhan* or *Mahasthan Garh* and Biography of *Hazrat Sultan Balkhi (R.)* with History of Bridal Suite of *Behula*” (see Figures 87 to 92). M. Tabibur Rahman was born in 1945 and passed away in 1995. The Gokul union is his birthplace, where Mahasthangarh is situated. He received formal education only up to seventh grade and he is basically a self-taught and self-proclaimed poet. He published nearly ten books and has ten more manuscripts that remain unpublished.

In his book “The Homicide of *Parashuram*,” M. Tabibur Rahman used poetry and portrayed himself in detail using poetry, following the style of *Punthi*, one of the most practised traditional styles of writing folktales. The book can be said to be his autobiography. From the autobiographical poetry, the author talks about how he lost his first wife early in life, which made him a bohemian. He started to play musical instruments (e.g., *table-dugi*- the local drums) but his pious father smashed those musical instruments and set them on fire because they were illegal

(*Haram*) under the rules (*Saria*) of Islam. Rahman left the house and roamed around remote areas for a couple of months. When summoned by his old mother, he returned home. It turned out his mother has chosen a girl for him to marry, someone as beautiful as *Bebula*, the famous mythical character. He found love in his second wife. However, he experienced a very poor life, and as a postmaster, his salary was BDT 22 only. Frequently, his wife would mock him for this, saying it was insufficient for the cost of raising a family. Because of his written works, he gained honour but was also banned by the local government authority. The residents of Mahasthan proceeded to rally against him and declared him an “atheist.” Social hatred pained him much. However, by his next book, “History of *Pundrabardhan* or *Mahasthan Garb* and Biography of *Hazrat Sultan Balkhi* (R.) with History of Bridal Suite of *Bebula*” (see Figures 88 to 93), there was not any hatred. Eventually, the book became well-received.

In the preface (see Figure 91) of his book, he mentioned the inadequacy of evidence-based history. He stated that the legends have no historical evidence, and the wave of mythicization affected the people heavily. Therefore, in his opinion, there is a need to produce history based on archaeological evidence. He claimed that he revealed the historical truth in this book (see Figures 92 & 93). Ironically, he detailed the popular stories, particularly the famous battle between the Hindu King *Parashuram* and Sultan *Mahisamar*. He tried to utilise some historical sources and archaeological evidence to make a materialistic ‘fact’ of the legendary stories.

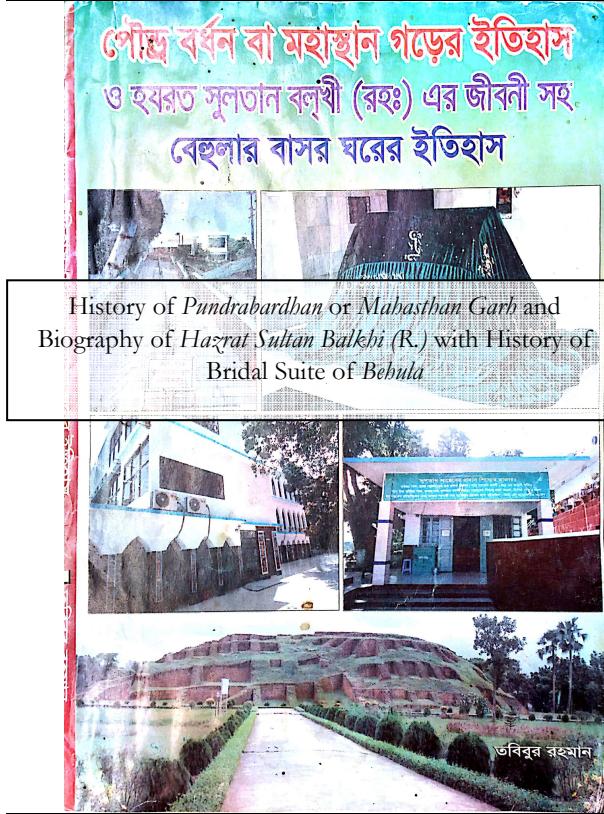


Figure 88 Original cover page of the book of Rahman, annotated with English translation by Author.

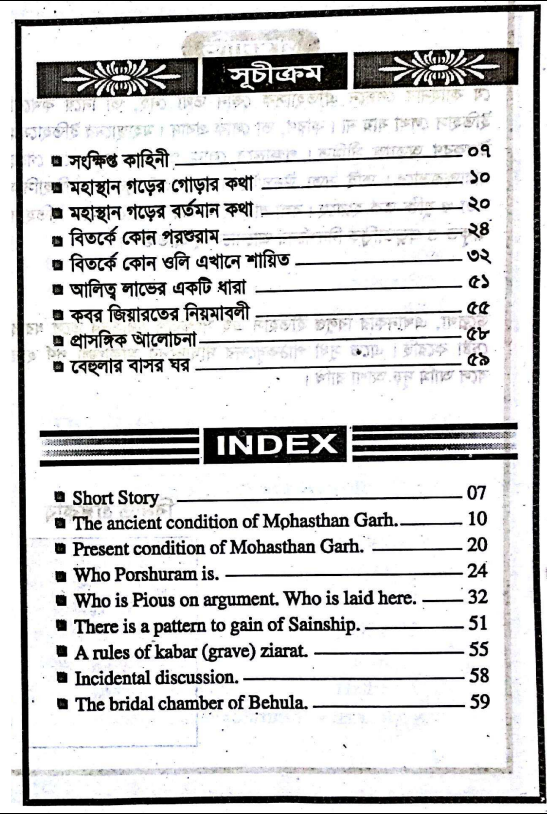


Figure 89 Contents page of the book of Rahman.

Publisher  
 Mohammad Minarul Islam (Minar),  
 Gokul, Bogra

Copyright  
 Publisher

Circulation  
 Borendri Library  
 Mahasthan, Bogra

Associate  
 Mohammad Shariful Islam Jinnah  
 Former Upazila Chairman,  
 Shibgonj, Bogra

2nd Edition, August 2013

Price: 65 BDT

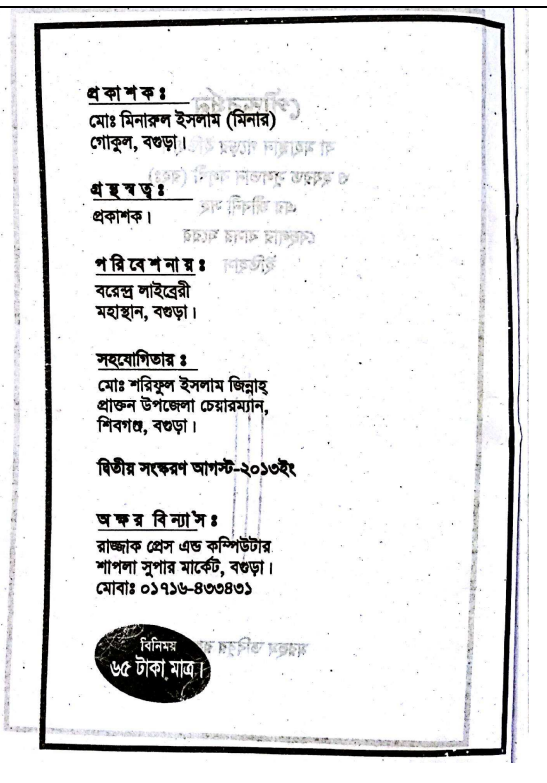


Figure 90 Original inner cover with publication information of the book of Rahman, with corresponding English translation by Author.

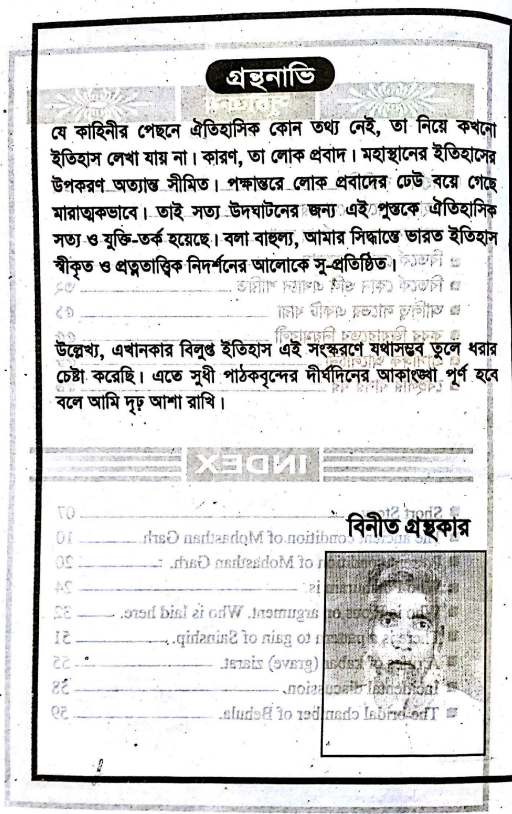


Figure 91 Original preface page of the book of Rahman, with corresponding English translation by Author.

## Preface

As these legends have no historical evidence, it is quite impossible to write history through them. The historical evidence of Mahasthan is very limited. On the contrary, the wave of mythicization affected the people heavily. This is why so many logical-debates have been raised to reveal the historical truth in this book. In fact, in my opinion, the history of India is well-established by archaeological evidence. Therefore, in addition, I have tried to discuss the extinct history of this region in detail. So, I firmly believe that the lingering desire of the readers will be fulfilled.

Figure 92 A brief summary of the (hi)story of Sultan Shah Sufi Balkhi Mahisavar in the book of Rahman, as translated to English by Author.

Bogra is a small town in Bangladesh. Mahasthan Garh is situated 10 km away from Bogra City. Mahasthan Garh has a historical context. (Dhaka to Rangpur) The highway is on the eastern side of Garh. An artificial mud hill is situated very near to the highway. Presently, this mud hill is known as “Mahasthan Garh”.

The ancient name of Mahasthan Garh is *Barendry* or *Pundra Nagar*. Once, this Ghar or fort was the capital of the emperors of *Mouries*, *Guptas*, *Palas* and *Senas*. It is very difficult to tell the timespan of *Mourya* and *Gupta* reigns. However, *Pala* kings ruled from 750 AD to 1124 AD. When the last *Sena* king, *Lakshman Sen* ruled the *Gaur*, Mahasthan Garh was unprotected. It is popularly known that King *Knol* (1082-1125) ruled this land. *Neel*, the younger brother of King *Knol*, was the Prime Minister.

	<p>In the meantime, a cursed <i>Brahman</i> came to this place from <i>SriKhetra</i>, the southern part of India. His reason for coming was to do penance for his sins as he was cursed for murdering his mother by an axe (in Bangla, <i>porshu</i>). This cursed <i>Brahman</i> had the chance to be the main priest. After that, he earned the guardianship of <i>Knol</i> and <i>Neel</i> to solve the quarrel between these two brothers. He betrayed the two brothers and became the king of Mahasthan Garh. The name of this cursed <i>Brahman</i> was <i>Ram</i>. This <i>Ram</i> is popularly known as <i>Porshuram</i>.</p> <p>The <i>majar</i> (mausoleum) of Hazrat Shah Sultan Mahmud Balkhi (R.) is located to the west of the bus stand. Sultan Balkhi was the mighty king in Balkh Province of Afghanistan. There are so many myths popularised about him. Some incidents made him change his mind, and as a result, he left the throne and became a student of the very learned <i>pir</i> (saint) in Damask city. There, he studied spirituality for around 12 or 36 years (debatable). After that, he came to Bangladesh to spread Islam. The popular myth is that he travelled on a fish to come here; that is why he was known as <i>Mabi Saowar</i>.</p>
<p><i>Figure 93</i> A brief summary of the (hi)story of the war between Sultan <i>Shah Sufi Balkhi Mahisawar</i> and King <i>Parashuram</i> in the book of Rahman, as translated to English by Author.</p>	<p>As popularly known, after <i>Parashuram</i> grabbed the throne, he became the self-titled King <i>Narshingha</i> of the land of <i>Barendra</i>. He turned into an oppressor and sacrificed human life at the temple. This place became hell for the general people.</p> <p>By this time, Shah Sultan Balkhi <i>Mabisawar</i> came to this region and started to stay here. He found the oppressive King <i>Parashuram</i>. He also learned of a terrible incident which transpired concerning Borhan, the closest associate of <i>Mabisawar</i>. King <i>Parashuram</i> slaughtered the son of Borhan to a Goddess as a part of his offering. The precursor to this was Borhan's defiance of King <i>Parashuram's</i> ban on the slaughter of cows, meant to save the <i>Dharma</i> (the Hindu religion). It happened that Borhan was obliged to sacrifice a cow in the name of Allah for his newborn baby boy. It took very long before he could become a father. One prayer time, he promised to Allah,</p>



---

whom he calls *manat*, that if he should become a father, he would sacrifice a cow. Blessed finally with a newborn baby, he organised an event for sacrificing a cow in the deep forest, which is far away from the palace of King *Parashuram*. Borhan was so cautious that, after slaughtering the cow, he buried everything. However, a bird caused a problem. When Borhan was engaged deeply in the sacrifice ritual, a bird came and took a piece of meat, flew and dropped it in the compound of the royal palace of King *Parashuram*. Due to this, the King came to know that Borhan slaughtered a cow secretly as gratitude for his having a baby. As punishment, the King slaughtered the son of Borhan.

Due to that, war was declared against the King *Parashuram* by Shah Sultan Balkhi *Mahisawar*. In the initial stage of the war, *Mahisawar* failed to be victorious because of the very popular well (*Jyotkundo*), named *Jyot Kundo*. King *Parashuram* used this well to resurrect his soldiers who have lost their lives. When *Mahisawar* understood the magic of this well, he used a kite to drop a piece of meat into that well. As a result, *Jyot Kundo* lost its magical power. Consequently, King *Parashuram* lost his power and was finally defeated by Sultan *Mahisawar*. In the end, King *Parashuram* committed suicide along with close members of his family.

---

Tabibur Rahman is very much critical of the historical references to King *Parashuram* and the Mazar of Shah Sultan Balkhi *Mahisawar*, because-

- Historically *Pundranagar*/Mahasthan had a good link with mighty King Ashok;
- After his defeat to Sultan Balkhi *Mahisawar*, certainly the other Hindu King would have rescued him;
- However, there is no evidence or myths on a counter-attack;
- He also talked about the *Mazar* of *Mahisawar*, because, in Mymensingh District, there is another *Mazar* that has been identified as inscribed in a stone slab.

### 5.3. “Doing Hi(story) by the Academicians

There are several academic books and research papers (e.g. A. K. M. S. Alam 1985; Rahman 2000; Zakariah 2011; Allchin and Allchin 1968; V. A. Smith 1924; Prasad 1970; Kosambi 1965; M. S. Alam and Salles 2017) published on the history and archaeological evidence of Mahasthangarh. Among all those published researches, an entry in Banglapedia has been chosen here as a representative example, which states:

<p><i>Figure 94</i> The History of Mahasthan, Banglapedia, National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh</p>	<p>Mahasthan or Mahasthangarh represents the earliest, and the largest archaeological site in Bangladesh consists of the ruins of the ancient city of pundranagara. The site is 13 km north of Bogra town on the Dhaka-Dinajpur highway. The ruins form an oblong plateau measuring 1500m N-S and 1400m E-W and are enclosed on their four sides by rampart walls that rise to an average height of 6m from river level. The highest point within the enclosure at the southeast corner is occupied by the Mazar (tomb) of Shah Sultan Mahisawar and by a mosque of the Mughal Emperor Farrukh Siyar. The latter has been enclosed by a modern mosque, which has been extended recently, a development that precludes the scope of excavation here in future.</p> <p>The northern, western and southern sides of the fortified city were encircled by a deep moat, traces of which are visible in the former two sides and partly in the latter side. The river Karatoya flows on the eastern side. The moat and the river might have served as a second line of defence of the fort city. Many isolated mounds occur at various places outside the city within a radius of 8 km on the north, south and west, testifying to the existence of suburbs of the ancient provincial capital.</p> <p>Many travellers and scholars, notably Buchanan, O'Donnell, Westmacott, Beveridge and Sir Alexander Cunningham, visited this site and mentioned it in their reports. But it was Cuningham who identified these ruins as the ancient city of Pundranagara in 1879.</p>
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

	<p>...</p> <p>The city was probably founded by the Mauryas, as testified by a fragmentary stone inscription in the Brahmi script (mahasthan Brahmi inscription) mentioning Pudanagala (Pundranagara). It was continuously inhabited for a long span of time.</p> <p>(Shafiqul Alam, en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Mahasthan, Published on March 30, 2015. Accessed on May 10, 2019)</p>
--	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

This piece of text can now be considered as the materialistic truth, which can be used as archaeological evidence. It was written by Shafiqul Alam, the former Director General of the DoA. He generated this hi(story) by following the systematic history writing process, which was formulated based on the understanding of scienticism. Here, *Purana* and *Mahabharata* epics and myths have been excluded as a source to generate the archaeological hi(story).

#### **5.4. The Discursive Analysis of the (Hi)story of Heritage-Residents and the Dominating Hi(story) Writing**

The (hi)story of heritage-residents criticises in popular and academic domain of various ways. The introductory section of this chapter also mentioned the understanding of officials of DoA, where Nahid Sultana raised the question of the “historical fact” of the (hi)story of heritage-residents. Another blame-game is exercised in the popular domain, which is “communal” expression. Particularly, where the residents belong to the opposite religious belief of the heritage. Here, the following segments are discursively analysed step by step, which are;

##### **5.4.1. Analyse the Communal Issues of the (Hi)story of Heritage-Residents and the Dominating Hi(story) Writing**

The oral tradition that narrates the (hi)story of Mahasthangarh contrasts with the myth of the dominating written history which espouses that since the early historical time to the British

period, Bangladesh had glorious communal harmony. The popular history denotes the two rival religious groups, Hindu and Muslim, which following the oral myth of Mahasthangarh, as explained in the previous section, both have religious sovereignty. The conquest of the local Hindu King *Parashuram* at the hand of *Mabishamar* is described in the story. Most importantly, from field experience involving in-depth conversations with different groups, villages, and religions, there appear to be three different versions to the conclusion of the story. One version describes the conquest of the Hindu Raja as a consequence of the supernatural power of the Muslim Saint. The second version resonated the betrayal and treachery of the Muslim saint to throw a piece of beef in the palace of the king to cease the king's spiritual supremacy. The third version, speaks of King *Parashuram* being cursed, and he seized the kingdom by treachery against the original the Hindu King *Knol* and his brother *Neel*. Sultan *Mabisamar* did the justice to defeat him.

These three versions of the oral narration of the history of this region connote communal hatred and disrespect. Presently, within the *Garh* region of Mahasthan, there are no Hindu/Buddhist residents; thus, the Muslim residents have no sense of connection with historical events, which mostly refer to Hindu/Buddhist religion and culture. While the Department of Archaeology has tried to protect structural evidence, the local Muslim residents and the local government have no intention of doing the same. They are more concerned with the *Mazar* and Shah Sultan Balkhi *Mabisamar*. From the oral history of residents, it is clearly stated that the Hindu Raja was an evil power and a Muslim saint saved them. By the Saint, they have lived a good life, and most of their ancestors have converted to become Muslim. Another version from the Hindu residents, living a couple of kilometres away, narrates that the Hindu King *Parashuram* is a cursed evil king and they are happy because of the defeat by the Sultan *Mabisamar*. However, the Hindu King *Knol* was the kind ruler. To them, *Mabisamar* was too kind and a good ruler.

Interestingly these local practices of doing (hi)story are “accommodative” in the sense that these books accommodate the oral history and the archaeological findings. Notably, the book of M. Tabibur Rahman can be said to be an excellent example to democratise history. The authors of these history books are also sceptic about the protagonists in the oral history. M. Tabibur Rahman’s book claimed, concerning the archaeological evidence, that the Shah Sultan Balkhi’s mausoleum replaced a Hindu temple. Surprisingly, Muslim residents were not sensitive to this issue, which is a bit opposite to the dominating idea of religious-communalism. In a national level, intolerances have been taking place in most of the cases of publishing controversial religious issues in Bangladesh (e.g. writer and poet Taslima Nasrin, Professor Humayun Azad, and some bloggers were recently banned). Nowadays, Bangladesh has also been facing similar religious-political situations and extreme Bangalee secularism. Secularisation is the process of exclusion from traditional society. The middle-class Bangalee entered this process of exclusion within or without the mechanism. When a person within the popular domain writes on a debatable religious issue, like M. Taibur Rahman of Mahasthangarh, there is no resulting anger from society. It does not mean that M. Tabibur Rahman did not experience social hatred for any of his written work. It is true that his book, “History of *Pundrabardhan* or *Mahasthan Garh* and Biography of *Hazrat Sultan Balkhi (R.)* with History of Bridal Suite of *Bebula*” (see Figures 88 to 93) was well-received from the beginning until present time. It is available in every bookshop and souvenir shop in Mahasthangarh and acknowledged as a bestselling book. However, it cannot be generalized that heritage-residents of Mahasthangarh are always sensitive to other voices. Yes, they allow for a different opinion, but they do so within some range. While they appreciated the said book of M. Tabibur Rahman, they showed their extremely violent and hateful reaction to two of his other published books. One was “There is no answer to the question: It is not for the General People”( *Je Proshner Jabab Nei: Sadharaner Jonno Nobe*) in July 1987 and the other was “Answer to those Questions, which have no answer” (*Je Proshner Jabab Nei tar Jabab*) in July 1987. In these books, he raised some questions on the fundamental issues of the religious practices of

Islam. As a result, these two books were banned, and he was became infamous as an “atheist” at that time. A heavy protest-rally with hate-slogans against him took place. His elder son, M. Atiqure Rahman (personal communication, January 2018) said that “he was compelled to make an apology publicly to mute the violent situation quickly.” Interestingly, the referred book of doing (hi)story by a heritage-resident did not experience such a violent reaction despite the opinion it gave on the sensitive issue of “the Hindu temple was replaced by the Shah Sultan Balkhi *Mahisamar*’s mausoleum.”

From the colonial period until now, throughout this long period of struggle, historical narratives epistemologically and ontologically have played a significant role in constructing the ambiguity and conflicts in which these religious-nationalistic discourses are based. This discipline has helped institutionalise the narratives of the nation-state as the only valid and pure form of identity. The processes of secularising institutionalised historical narratives, e.g. the work of A.K.M. Shahnawaz (1999) and R.C. Majumder (1966), have produced communal tension which expresses itself only in narratives of destruction and appropriation of temples and mosques indicating syncretic progressive nature.

These narratives of communal harmony of dominating history are contested by the statement of a Hindu heritage-resident, whose name is Ratan. He is living within the close vicinity of the mound of the bridal suite of Behula-Lakhindar. His opinion is important, particularly in this specific segment, because confusion may be aroused in knowing a third version to the story of *Parashuram* and *Mahisamar*. Previously, of the war between Hindu King *Parashuram* and Muslim Sultan *Mahisamar*, and its interpretation, a story was told from the perspective of a Hindu resident of Mahasthangarh. The narration stated that *Parashuram* did treachery against the good Hindu King *Knol* and so he became King *Parashuram*, an extreme oppressor. Sultan *Mahisamar* ensured justice to defeat him. As can be gleaned, this version is not portraying communal harmony. Here, the relationship was found unhealthy between the two religious groups. This statement is

contested by the explanation of the dominating history and in the analysis of the reaction of religion-tolerant Muslim heritage-residents in the book of M. Tabibur Rahaman, where he stated with reference to archaeological evidence that a Hindu temple was replaced by the Shah Sultan Balkhi *Mahisamar*'s mausoleum. Ratan shared his thoughts about the relationship between the heritage-residents of Hindu and Muslims:

One of the main reasons for the declining Hindu community in the entire Bangladesh is the suppression by the Muslim community. This is the number one reason. You get it! This is the principal reason, for example... they are kidnapping our girls forcefully, after that the family faces terrible social harassment, so to avoid that they left the village. They are selling their land at a very cheap rate, even sometimes five times less than the legal value.

This is the main issue. Besides, this happens in society, actually everywhere across the country. Unlike Muslims, the value of Hindus are less. For example, you are a high official in Bangladesh Government, according to designation he has power, but if you observe closely you will see he cannot practice his power.

I work in a courthouse, and I got my first promotion after 22 years of service working as a *jarikarak* (issue summons) position as an office assistant. I was in the same position for the last eight years. For the last eight years, I am working in the same position in the same place. In this position, there are 17 people in total, and except for me, they get transferred from one place to another, but I am in the same place. It is empty; empty means nobody will even ask you for a cup of tea. But people who work in a courthouse can earn tens of thousands. But why can I not? Because I am a Hindu and I do not have the ability to pay the bribe. I am from a poor background and I just managed to get some education.

But I can give a guarantee that what I do, I try to do that perfectly. Even the judge thinks positively before talking with me because I am not negligent in my work, but I will not get any promotion or better transfer. What is my fault! Number 1, I am a Hindu. Number 2, I have to give something, something means undue advantage. Now the thing is, I could not complete my education for lack of money, how could I arrange money for that. If I could finish my education, even I could be more than the Judge.

In the previous period, a PWD engineer told one judge, “Sir, Ratan was a really good student, we were in the same batch, he was in Gokul-di, and I was in Hajar-di School. Because of his financial problem, he could not finish his education. Ratan was so good that even I cannot compete with him in English subject.” Not only that, I am a low level employee but I can also transcribe dictations by the Judge. Once a judge said, ‘Hey... I heard you were an outstanding student, then why do you make mistakes at work?’ I directly replied, “No...it is not my fault; you can check it. I did not. How? For example, you made a dictation to the stenographer, he took the handwritten note, and you saw the corrections, so once you approved it, I just re-composed it on the computer and just printed it. So if there is any mistake in that, the fault is all yours, not mine.” And then I added, “Do you prefer that once, I can compose the note and when it gets to your hand again, there will be no mistake. If you want that, I can do that.”  
(Ratan, January 2018)

Sarkar (1997) and Chatterjee (1999) have provided a vivid explanation for how the interdependence of discourses of colonial power, nationalistic identity, religion and past have been established through the systematisation of the discipline of history. In the last two decades, the Subaltern Studies Group and many others have made significant contributions to understanding the colonial power relations of unequal encounters and their multi-dimensional modes within the discursive domain of religion (Bhadra and Chattopadhyay 1998, Guha 1982a, 1982b, 1983a).



However, in Bangladesh, historians and archaeologists have not yet attempted to understand the processes by which the boundaries of identity within the space of community are eliminated, as well as concurrently redefined, by the discursive powers of modern Western categories.

These days organised religion is still a powerful political force in most parts of the world (Nettler and Marqand, 2001). In fact, one of the most dramatic and surprising developments of the last twenty years was the proliferation of aggressive political movements linked to religion (Allen, 1992). The political significance of religion has grown, and it is gradually becoming the enemy of pluralist democracy. South Asian powerful political forces seek to make India a Hindu state, Bangladesh, a Muslim state and Pakistan, which was founded as a Muslim state, into a Taliban state. Religious ideologies have fomented tensions between the Hindus and the Muslims, and the subsequent development of communal violence. Along with many other causes, this violence is being incited by religion-based historical consciousness, a colonial legacy which was later adopted by the successive governments as the instrument for political gain. The historical construction of “golden age” and narratives of “the most progressive communal-friendly Muslim era” made for relational inequality. In 1947, India partitioned into two independent states. Here, “independent” or “partition” and “liberal” or “secular” are very significant narratives of the religious connotation. After the liberation under the discourse of the nation-state, there were several communal riots between Hindu and Muslims and between Muslims and Sikhs that occurred. After “independence”, the struggle between the two principal collective identities or nations – Pakistani and Bangalee became overt, and in 1971, the state of Bangladesh emerged. Throughout these processes of destruction and assertion, religious identity was the central theme of reference. The invocation of religious identity was countered and negated through the secularised politico-cultural terms of “Bangalee” nationhood. Moreover, after 1975, the identity of the Bangladeshi nation, as a counter to the Bangalee nation, was propagated by a democratised military junta on the grounds of liberalised religious and ethnic discourses. Bangalee nationalism

is a Hindu one that not only negates the ideals of Muslim identity but also other “minority”, “indigenous” identities within the state of Bangladesh.

However, the dominating written history, supported by archaeological evidence and objective proof, continues to be invoked by the experts, media, and academia for proclaiming a nationalistic past. The nation had communal harmony with a glorified past. The ownership of the past of a nation, always dominated by elitist groups, has reproduced a unilineal harmonic history that built an imagined community as an apparatus of the mighty sovereign state. The institutionalised history of Mahasthangarh claims and proves by archaeological researches that even thousands of years ago, “Bangla” was civilised. At that time, the first urban city centre was established by the ancestors of Bangalee. The archaeologists and historians have provided proof, using the archaeological findings of Jain, Hindu, Buddhist, and Muslim structures and artefacts that date thousands of years back, that there was a peaceful and communal harmony among the people of Bangladesh.

#### **5.4.2. Analysis of the Performativity of Reflective Subjectivity of the Muslim Heritage-Residents with Hindu-Buddhist Archaeological Remains**

The generalised perception is that the Muslim heritage-residents have no do not feel any connection with the heritage associated to a different religious belief. It brings to the fore how a cultural heritage can be called a “dead heritage site” in the absence of the performance of any religious activity by believers of the faith the heritage is associated with. The likelihood in a case like this is for residents to always destroy these sites because they are irrelevant to their belief system. On the contrary, if these heritage structures belong to their religious belief system, for example, a Mosque to a Muslim, then these would not be destroyed by them. Thus, the meaning of reflective actions and performative actions can be generated in the storytelling by heritage-residents; the interpretation of artefacts done by archaeologists/ historians/ academicians; and the interactions with artefacts/things by heritage-residents and site visitors (pious and fun lovers

alike). Stated in another way, “meaning” is to be constructed. This refers to a constructing mechanism on artefacts/things which create meaning, and “doing” which produces meaning through performances of heritage-residents and researchers.

The photograph where visitors are pouring milk on a stone slab as an offering (see Figure 95) was taken at 12:45 p.m. on Friday, January 2018 at *Khodar Pathar Bhita* (the house of God) in Mahasthangarh. It shows a mound located within close vicinity to the mausoleum of *Mahisavar*. This mound has become popular, because of the big sized door lintel, a 2.84m X 0.71m X 0.74m sized granite stone. DoA of Pakistan made excavations here in 1970 and reported that different sized and curved stone pavements, foundation walls, huge brickbats were found. The found artefacts are stylistically dated around the early Pala period (c 8<sup>th</sup> century AD). Interestingly, this archaeological mound, academically known as *Khodar Pathar Bhita*, was given much importance by the heritage-residents and visitors, especially among the pious Muslim and Hindu. Most of them



Figure 95 Visitors are Offering Milk on the Stone of *Khodar Pathar Bhita* in the Mazar area of Mahasthan

believe that Sultan *Mahisavar* first came here by floating on this stone slab. He is a charismatic person chosen by God, who can do anything that he wishes. Among those who came and made an offering here were Iktidar and Barun. Iktidar is a Muslim believer and resident of Sirajgong,

the neighbouring district of Bogra, while Barun is a Hindu believer. Both of them came to offer milk on the *Khodar Pathar Bhita* to ask for some cure from an unknown illness of his mother in the case of Iktidar and for getting a good job in the case of Barun. Iktidar offered two bottles of milk, and Barun offered one bottle of milk and *shindur* (vermillion colour). As can be seen in the photo, while offering the milk on *Khodar Pathar Bhita*, bore is barefoot. This is subjective performativity of faith, constructed under the social values of the *Khodar Pathar Bhita*. There are other visitors shown in the photo who, by observing the offering performances of the believers, can appreciate mimetically that the simple granite stone is not simply a stone. The performances of the offering were made under a mental intention to put some value on the stone. It generates a linguistic code to shape the visitor's performance towards the *Khodar Pathar Bhita*. It is a circumstance of negotiation between private thoughts and other meaning of the artefacts, constructed in the social arena while performing and using the text of storytelling in regard to the floating phenomenon of the stone. It is an attestation of Stuart Hall's (Hall 2003) argument that the meaning of things is not dependent on the material quality of the sign but on its symbolic function. Further, the meaning is constructed by reflective performativity and social subjective construction.

Ferdinand de Saussure (cited in Hall, 2003) showed that the signifier and signified the meaning of signs are arbitrarily connected. Hall identified this representational construction of the meaning of things as something done by the signifier, constructed by the conceptual understanding of the artefacts, which is classified and organised in the mental universe; and the story reflected by the people with the artefacts constructed by linguistic codes, which are governed by faith. In essence, therefore, meanings are constructed by the signifier of the things with intentionality, reflectivity, and performativity, where the relational socio-political environment governs every code. However, there are counter-narratives in the act of honouring the *Khodar Pathar Bhita* by offering milk. Heritage-residents claimed that these types of *shereki*

things are actually done by outsiders, who have come from distant places. They claim that it is not allowed under *Sharia* rules. In fact, they tried to stop this practice, but not all people are aware of this. The popular belief system has been too deeply entrenched to put a stop to it. Iktider claimed that he knows a couple of people from their area whose several problems were solved by the grace of the Sultan *Mahisamar* and his transporter stone slab. Therefore, the dominating version of the myth related to the *Khodar Pathar Bhita* carries the meaning generated by regular reflective performative subjectivity.

The same performativity of reflective subjectivity is found in the mausoleum of *Ulugh Khan Jaban* of Bagerhat, popularly known as *Khan Jaban Ali*. Shown in Figure 96 is Ibrahim's family who is performing as a devotee. They are giving honour to *Khan Jaban Ali*, but they did not enter the mausoleum. Among the uninitiated, there could be a presumption of a rush among visitors to enter the mausoleum. However, the story is different from the perspective of devotee visitors. They believe that there is spiritual power at the north-west corner pillar of the mausoleum, which is close to the right side of the mysterious warrior-saint *Khan Jaban Ali* in his grave. Especially, devotee visitors offer their *manat* and other activities; i.e. lighting a candle and putting mustard oil on the pillar. Both the north side pillars receive the same importance from the devotee visitors. Under their rules, Muslim people bury the dead by positioning the grave in a north-south direction, where the head is always kept to the north side. Muslim visitors perform *ziyarat* and recite *ayat* from the Quran. They also perform *dowa*, the mechanism to offer their desire and well wishes. They believe that *Khan Jaban Ali* is very much devoted to Allah/God, and he will help to send their wishes to Allah/God. Hindu visitors also come to this pillar and light some candles here. They believe that the basement stone of the pillar "sweats" sometimes, especially the north-west corner pillar, a sign that the pillar is alive for the heritage-residents and devotee visitors. Certainly, the meaning of this pillar is transformed from these performances and has become a powerful entity.



Figure 96 Visitors are offering mustard oil and performing *Ziyarat* at the Mazar of Ulugh Khan Jahan, Bagerhat.

The mysterious mythical identity that has become an anecdote is still beyond the explanation of archaeologist and historians. It is near to impossible to figure out the identity of Ulugh Khan Jahan according to dominant historical and archaeological accounts. The hyperbole of oral traditions portrays Ulugh Khan Jahan as a mythical hero. However, historian Habiba Khatun and others have failed to assemble the archaeological evidence to prove their hypothesis about the identity of Ulugh Khan Jahan.

A *dighi* is known as *Thakur Dighi* among the local people. It is named after Taher Thakur, a follower of Ulugh Khan Jahan. At that time, some from the *Thakur* family was also known as *Pieraly Thakur*. Another from the famous *Thakur* family is Rabindranath Thakur, whose family migrated to Kolkata from this region. The title was given to those *Thakurs*, who had a connection with Ulugh Khan Jahan at *pieraly* village of Satkhira region. This evidence and so many similar fashioned *dighi* and monuments pronounced his travelling routes from Satkhira to Bagerhat via Jessor and Jhenidah. The geospatial location of Satkhira is closer to Gaur than Sonargaon. It is a popular assumption that Ulugh Khan Jahan had come from the Gaur region, although no

material proof has been found yet to support this. However, it has been proven that Khawaja Jahan and Khan Jahan were not the same people.

Ulugh Khan Jahan's independent mindset can be confirmed from his architectural style. Some archaeologists thought that the Shait Gumbad Mosque was used for many purposes. This is owing to the existence of two front towers, the rear towers being made solid up to the roof level, and the arched chambers with windows above could only be reached from the roof of the mosque. These front towers may have been used as watchtowers. It seems that Ulugh Khan Jahan was not only a saint but also a warrior. The inscription found in his mausoleum did not give any indication of his paternal identity.

The discussions have tried to elucidate on the debates as to the identity of Ulugh Khan Jahan. However, there has been no answer to the ultimate question: Who was Ulugh Khan Jahan? They also fail to define historical consequences connected to him and the reasoning for identical architecture named after him as "*Ulugh Khan Jahan style.*" What was made clear is that, as a character, he is a mythical one who saved the people from every sort of evil elements?



Figure 97 Visitors are offering chicken to the crocodile at the Lake of the Mazar of Khan Jahan in Bagerhat

In the present day, not only under Islamic religion but also other religions, especially Hindus, people are offering chicken to crocodiles living beside the *dighi* of Khan Jahan Ali's mausoleum as a way to solve their various problems. He has earned the honour and love of the local people. His mysterious, loving, heroic personality has made him a mythical character. The following photographs (see Figures 97 & 98) attest to the construction by the signifier of a compelling mythical character through the performativity of the heritage residents and devotee visitors.

Devotee visitors come to offer crocodiles living at the big pond beside the mausoleum of *Khan Jahan Ali* (see Figure 97). People have been performing this act for nearly seven hundred years. It is the reflectivity of the visitors to reconstruct the text of the mythical character. Another similarly faith-based performance is being done in the big sized pond (*dighi*), where the same crocodiles are living. Figure 98 shows the devotee visitors bathing, especially a mother bathing her 4-year old daughter to be cured of health issues.

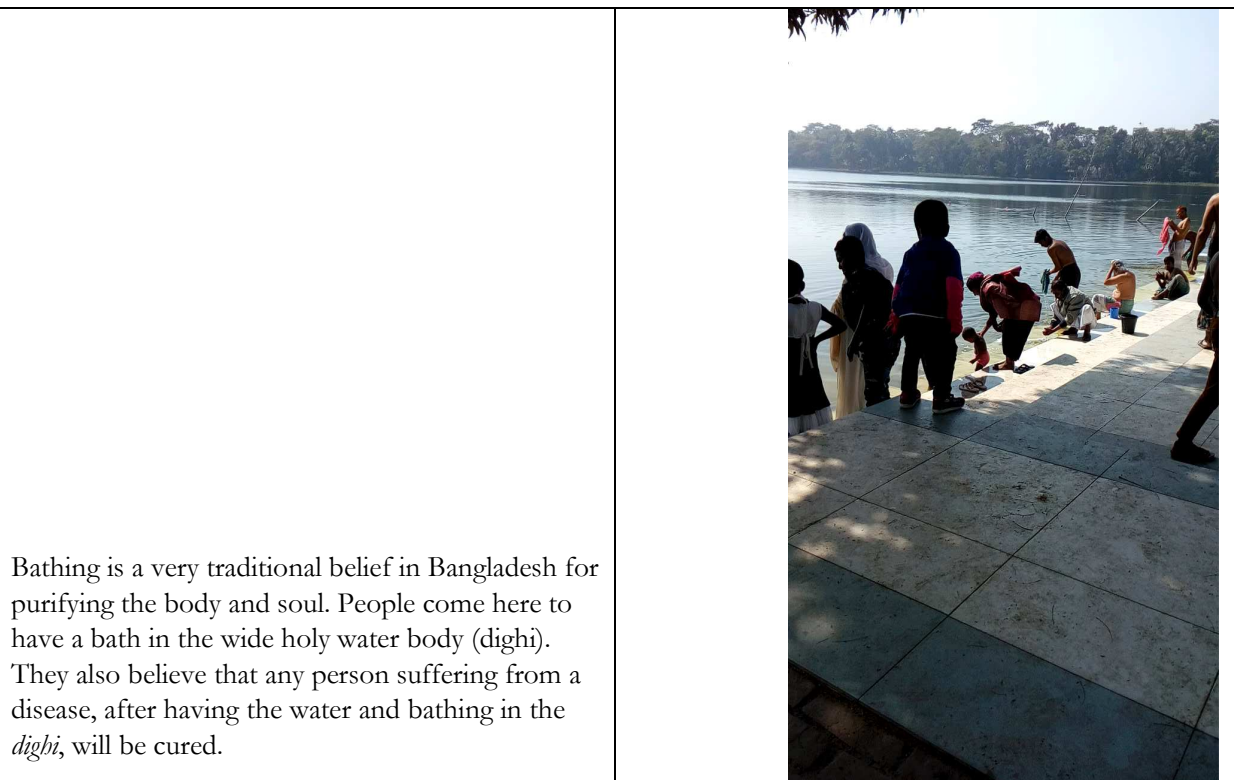


Figure 98 Ritual of Bathing and Drinking Water in *Dighi* of Khan Jana



The visitors believe, and the stories reflect that the crocodile is represented as the pet of *Khan Jahan Ali*. Therefore, if anyone provides food for the crocodiles, then *Khan Jahan Ali* will favour this gesture and will help the devotee visitors and fulfil their desires. The pet crocodiles are living in the big sized pond (*dighi*), where *Khan Jahan Ali* used to bathe and play with his pet crocodiles. People believe his regular presence is reflected in the power of the water, which has earned the code of holy water. It is also a mental engagement, reflected by one visitor to another, which constructed a transformative signifier from simple essence of water to the essence of holy water by the performativity of devotee visitors.

Jahaj Ghata, the river port, was used by Ulugh Khan Jahan, the warrior-saint, when he first came here with his troupes.

People still worship at this place and especially at the pillar, under Hindu religion, with vermilion colour (*shindur*).

The mother Goddess of Mahish Mardini is depicted on the pillar.



Figure 99 Jahaj Ghata (River Port)

Bagerhat is listed as a World Heritage Site because of its series of historical buildings, which are distributed in a planned way. Bagerhat is historically identified as *Khalifatabad*. *Jahaj Ghata* (see Figure 99) is one of the signatures of *Khan Jahan Ali* though there is a figure of the Hindu Goddess *Mahish Mardini*. Devotee visitors worship the said pillar with vermilion colour and milk. The mental engagement of Muslim and Hindu devotees impose a meaning, which is constructed in the communal harmony of faith. The heritage-residents believe that, as a therapy for headache, they use mustard oil and put it on the top of the pillar. The signifier of spiritual

subjectivity of *Khan Jahan Ali* through the reflectivity of subjective performativity is constructed in a communal harmonic faith as a code.

These reflectivities towards the archaeological evidence make one curious about the perception of the heritage-residents in Paharpur considering that no such reflective interactions (e.g. rituals, *manat*) could be found. Therefore, long conversations were had with them during the fieldwork to know the underlying reason. Compared with field experiences at other heritage sites, it can be said that there is no probability of interaction by heritage-residents here with the archaeological evidence, regardless of them being religious Muslims or Hindus. Hence, the question is why these are absent in Paharpur, which were experienced by the heritage-residents before the exploration and excavation organised by Sir Alexander Cunningham or the DoA as a “Pahar”/mountain in the first half of twentieth century. When asked for the reason why they choose not to perform any ceremony or interaction at the sites, some residents explained that they have began to regret doing these types of practices. Kanchan, a 20-year old boy said, “These are *shereki* (not in line with the Shariya Law of Islam) things. Previously people did these. But I found some religious books which says that these are strictly forbidden (Kanchan, September 2015).

However, his mother, Amena Khatun, rejected the opinion of Kanchan, and she disclosed that up to some point in time, some rituals were practised by them in front of the central shrine of Paharpur.

Shut up! What do you know about this? You have no experience. You cannot dishonour the ancestral practices. My son recently became a *hujur* (speaker of Islam). Listen (gives a glance at me); it was practised previously. I also did that for my son. In front of the central “Pahar” (the central shrine), we offer *shinni* (sweet rice desert) or *khichuri* (mixed rice with pulses). All children are enjoined to have these. People did that

for the security of their children, particularly, to avoid getting injured while playing games (ranging from indoor to outdoor). Previously, children would painfully be hurt as they used to be roaming everywhere. These days, this is not happening anymore. How could it? The forest and playground have disappeared. These days, after this area was fenced in, people did not feel comfortable to do that offering practice. That is why it became rare. (Amena Khatun, September 2015)

After Paharpur was fenced in, frequent patrolling of the grounds by the authorities was instituted as a part of safeguarding-governmentality. These decisions of the DoA turned this World Heritage Site into a dead heritage, an action that could be identified as an approach to impose the academic meaning of the heritage. It can be taken to mean as the imposition of an apparatus to mechanise the process of alienation of the heritage-residents from the archaeological evidence. Understanding the past of heritage-residents is thus ignored and they are alienated from their self-conscious reflectivity towards the “Pahar” / mountain.

#### **5.4.3. Analyse the Mechanism of Historicising the Text and Narration of the Past by Heritage-Residents: Dilemma between “fact” and “fiction.”**

Hayden White, a key figure for theorising the “New Historicism” erases the dividing line between “fact” and “fiction”. It challenged the dominating genres of history. “New Historicism” represents the past by focusing on the borderline between “fact” and “fiction”, “past” and “present”, and “myth”/ “storytelling” and “history”. H. Aram Veesser found “New Historicism” as an opportunity for scholars to remove the differences between history and art/politics/literature. However, “New Historicism” grew by problematising the dominating historicism, especially its factualisation, objectification, politicising, universality, and generalisation of the past. Dominating historicity presents the text of the past concretely, unquestionably, chronologically, and progressively until the past became a case proven by the materiality of the evidence. This practice is popularly known as “materialistic truth of history” (White 1975: 49). As

an example of textualising the past, the Mahasthan Brahmi “script” or “inscription” (see Figure 100) is a good example. It is the earliest epigraphic record of Bangla, where the dominating version of interpretation excluded the other ethnic group's participation in order to help *pundranagar* flourish. It is a small size (3.1/4'' x 2.1/4'' x 7/8'') limestone with seven lines in Brahmi, a local form of *Prakrit* (Tinti, 1996: 33). The historical importance of the inscripational record is that it is the earliest evidence from Bangla, which made evident the close relationship with the *Mauryan's dynasty*, and that Mahasthan was known as *Pundravardhana* according to the expert of Brahmi inscription. It is considered to be the first definite evidence of urbanisation in ancient Bangla region (?). The inscription is about a message from the then authority to distribute relief among the people.



Figure 100 Mahasthan Brahmi Inscription  
(Imran 2018)

Paleographically, different interpretations of the script were actually given by scholars. A most popular reading of this inscription was given by Sircer (1965) and Mukharji and Maity (1967). According to their reading, it records an order, issued by some ruler to the *Mahamatra* stationed at *Pudanagala* (*Pundranagar* is Mahasthana in Bangladesh) intending to relieving the distress caused by some agency to the people called *Samvamgiyas* (*Savagiyanam* as in the inscription), who have settled in and around the town. Sircer (1965: 80) and Mukharji and Maity (1967: 40) contended that the *Samvamgiya* is a word rooted in the Sanskrit and Indo Aryan languages. However, Bhandarkar (1931: 85, cited in Tinti 1996: 35) contested Sircer and others and gave a

reverse interpretation that *Samvamgiya* is closely related to the local ethnic group's language and it is not Sanskrit. Bhandarkar then points out (Tinti 1996: 35) that “*Vamgiya* could be the name of a tribe. The name would designate the tribes of the Vanga region. Those tribes, being confederated, would subsequently be referred to as *Samvamgiya*...” The royal order was issued for the name of *Vamgiya*, who might be the leader of the ethnic group. It could be a group of *Mandi*.

The historians could have agreed with Bhandarkar’s argument that the local “Mandi” community might be considered as one of the ruling class and might be a driving force of history. However, self-conscious Bangalee historians chose to go with the idea of Sircer (1965) and Mukharji and Maity (1967) and made the history of their own. Richard Eaton (2003) also remarked that different nationals were living in this region before the Muslim invasion. The eminent Bangalee history writers [e.g. Kaliprasanna Bandhopadhyay’s *Banglar Itihas* (8<sup>th</sup> Century) (1315 B<sup>53</sup>), Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyay’s *Bangalar Itihas* (1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> part) (1915), Niharranjan Roy’s *Bangalir Itihas* (Early Period) (1949), R.C. Majumdar’s *Bangla Desher Itihas* (Middle Age) (1948), Abdul Karim’s *Banglar Itihas* (Sultanate period) (1977)] totally forgot the contributions of various ethnic groups to help flourish the culture of this land. History writing and archaeological practices have yet to take any initiative to determine the contribution of various nationalities in this distinctive period. Historians and archaeologists commenced history writing to take the “Bangalee” as a given term. Certainly, the Adibasi/indigenous discourse has been clarified that the history books under the title of “Bangla” failed to portray the participation of various nationalities as one history. However, the (hi)story of the popular oral traditions contests the dominating versions or written history. This kind of conventional representation of history, with a unilineal objective universality, is questioned by the “New Historicism” regularly.

Regretfully, the storytelling of the past of Mahasthan, and its textuality, as told by the heritage-residents are treated as fictional events by the academic historians in Bangladesh. However, Hayden White showed that history and fiction writing are way too similar, regarding

the characteristics and techniques of narrating the (hi)story. He is against drawing the line between history and fiction/myths/storytelling. Historical consciousness and pattern of structures are his prime concerns. He recommended examining various kinds of “explanatory effect”, and advocated four modes of strategy to explore an explanation: by formal argument, by explanation, by employment, and by ideological implication. Their methods are named Formism, Organicism, The mechanism, and. Contextualism.

The dominating hi(story) writing process found here with two different interpretations. A plurality of the voices with the understanding the past(s) is found here. The heritage-resident of Tabibur Rahman claimed in his book (see Figure 88-93) as the history of Mahasthangarh. The first part of chapter of “the ancient condition of Mahasthan Garh” (see Figure 89) in the book, he used every archaeological and historical source like a professional academician, especially, by using the reference of the Mahasthan Brahmi Stone Inscription in figure 100 that *Pundranagar* and Mahasthan Garh is the same place. It was inscribed in a stone slab of *Mourya* Period. However, he wrote it along with referencing of *Mahabharata*, the famous epic of Indian Subcontinent, in this manner;

The famous English historian Cunningham and other writers undoubtedly proved that Mahasthan Garh is the ancient *Pundranagar* a certainly. But the question is not that much less-important, why the ancient name of Mahasthan Garh became *Pundranagara*.

It is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* that under the kingdom of Ashur, there were five bastard children got birth because of the unauthorised sexual relationship between *Sudarshana*, the queen of *Baly*, and *Dirghatama*, a blind priest. These children failed to be hereditary of the *Baly* kingdom. Therefore, they moved towards the east direction and established five state- *Anga*, *Vanga*, *Kalinga*, *Sukba*, and *Pundra*. This *Pundra* is that *Pundra*

*Nagara* of Mahasthan Garh. The stone inscription of the *Maurya* period also mentioned this place as *Pundra Nagara*.

The heritage residents (hi)story writing accommodated the archaeological and historians sources and explanations along with the popular mythical stories of the Mahasthangarh. He also went to the source of the famous epic of Indian sub-continent is *Mahabharata*. But the academic writing hi(story) did not allow the mythical stories of the Mahasthangarh as a source of past. It is exemplified in the segment of “doing hi(story)” by the academicians (see Figure 94). There hi(story) is interpreted by the materialistic truth of archaeological evidence. Mythical stories are not considered as sources, but they used some of the location names, which belong to the mythical characters of popular mythical stories.

Tabibur Rahman, a resident of Mahasthan, textualises the storytelling of residents as a (hi)story. For the visitors, residents, and academic researchers, these texts are historicised. The normal understanding is that histories objectify past. However, objectification mechanisms are difficult to recognise, because of narrative techniques, subjective interest, contextualise the interpretation by choice. These authoritative grand-narratives and temporal continuity of history are challenged by the “New Historicism” by erasing the borderline between history and fiction. Therefore, it is in the texts of Mahasthan, employed by heritage-residents, where folktales and material evidence are (re)shaped. On this matter, Asish Nandy (1995) contested the 19<sup>th</sup> century’s intervention of the British in the field of knowledge in India with the modernised idea of science to develop a systematic history. Nandy found that Girindrasekhar Bose’s work *Purana Pravesa* (Calcutta 1934, cited in Nandy, 1995) was a nationalistic project to tell history through *Puranas*, among other things, a significant commentary on ancient Indian epics, now entirely forgotten, even in his native Bangla. By using the myth-based work of Bose as an example, Nandy drew out the grey line between history and fiction to problematise the dominating history writing by raising a couple of arguments.

#### **5.4.4. Analyse the Project of “Scienticism” as an Apparatus to construct the “Historical Fact” differentiated from “Historical Fiction”**

It was a long conversation with Dulu Mondol at the cultural heritage site of Behula-Lakhindar in Mahasthan. He told in detail the (hi)story of Behula-Lakhindar and Chand Sawdagar, as has been presented in the earlier section about doing (his)tory by heritage-residents. In the middle of the conversation, when asked whether he believed these stories or he thought them fictitious, he replied with a laugh, a strange look, and said,

... You can call it fictitious or a true story. Basically, it is the modern people who thought that these are fictitious. When (did they think it), you would like to ask me? I must go with your idea that these stories are fictitious. I would not do any argument with you. Around two years before, the Archaeology Department had a meeting in this place and taught us to call these stories fictitious. These stories have no bearing to be considered as history. They insisted for us not to share these stories with visitors. They told us that it was a temple with a schematic architectural plan, which is very difficult to understand for me. But I do not care about the true history or other. For me, the story of Behula-Lakhindar is so touching. Behula was a great bride. When I recall this story, I get teary eyed. It can be proved that it was the structure for the bridal suite of Behula-Lakhindar. I do not care, what is true or false. You know, it touched our hearts. (Dulu Mondol, January 2018)

It has been found in conversations with the heritage-residents that they do not bother at all with regard to which is historical fact and which is historical fiction. Even if these stories are history or not is none of their concern. They are very happy with their understanding of cultural heritage. They love to live with these stories.



On the other hand, the dominating history writing is a self-proclaimed systematic explanatory system of the past, and scientism is the logical power force of the systematic history writing. Therefore, scientism is the base of the historian and archaeologist arguments in revealing the past. Hayden White (1975 cited in Ashcroft, B., G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin 1995: 355) gave an explanation of scientism of history, which is;

...[I]t was important that history, seeking the title of “scientific discipline” in the nineteenth-century mould, should suppress the modality of interpretation which has always given it its form. The appeal to a moral or political authority underlying all interpretation had to be sublimated by dissolving the authority to interpret into the interpretation itself. This and the desire for the “scientific” generated a particular historiographic ideology: a single narrative truth which was “simply” the closest possible representation of events. (White, 1975 cited in Ashcroft, B., G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin 1995: 355)

Tapati Guha-Thakurta figured out the limits of science in the case of the archaeology of Babri Mosque, where it was found that “a constant blurring of boundaries between ‘science’ and ‘myth’, ‘fact’ and ‘conjecture’ despite the persistent attempts by historians and archaeologists at resolving this cardinal line of divide” (Guha-Thakurta 1997: 13). Ideology is self-evident to history-writing. The frameworks of historical research and analysis, used as the historical subject matter by historians and archaeologists, are evidently shaped and influenced. History is essentialised as a discipline to objectify the historical matter. It is not a matter of either one version or another version. In history writing, there are divergent, even contradictory, interpretations of historical events. These critical heterogeneous viewpoints invariably reflect aspects of complexities and contradictions of the past social realities. All history, unless based on distortion and falsification of evidence, contains the partial truth. Historian's perceptions have objective reality depending upon a complex interplay of their conceptual framework, tools, and

techniques of their investigation, availability of information and their politics. The eminent professors overlooked the politics of knowledge production of history under the colonialist and nationalist regimes of thought to homogenise the idea of the nation.

In the last 18 years, a specific archaeological site has been dominating as a reference to understanding the ancient Bangla, especially in mass media. Almost every year, as the national pride of Bangladesh, the Wari-Bateshwar appears in mass media featured as the oldest civilisation of Bangla with a wild interpretation of archaeological evidence. Bangalee politicians, historians and other intellectuals have questioned the origins of the Adibasi/indigenous people. They have turned it into a bipolar debate between Bangalee and CHT people. Even lawmakers of the Bangladesh government have demonstrated this intellectual paucity.

Wari-Bateshwar is perhaps one of the most notable examples of news media-centric archaeological visualisation in the world. Even though (pseudo)excavations have been conducted on this interesting locus of archaeological records for the last 18 years, only one preliminary excavation report has been published to date. Other than that, one popular book was published in Bangla under the title, *Wari-Bateshwar shikorer sondhane/Wari-Bateshwar: seeking roots* in 2013, where Rahman and Pathan (2013) assembled the last 12 years excavation finds. However, they did not follow the norms of a proper excavation report. Excavation is considered as destruction, but archaeological sites are the history of human-kind. So, archaeological sites are considered as public property. UNESCO<sup>54</sup> and other excavation manuals<sup>55</sup> put importance on publishing the excavation report because it provides information that will help produce the framework of or fill the gaps in knowledge of the story of cultural history (Gordon 1952: 43). However, hundreds of articles, commentaries, monologues with varieties of photographs are published each year in various print media in Bangladesh. Electronic media transmitted various episodes, and chunks of a documentary like features, talk shows and interviews on this site claimed as the “oldest”

archaeological site of Bangladesh. This site has been referred to as the “oldest” urban centre-cum-port-cum-industrial area.

The recent phenomenon of history writing of Bangladesh is copying the colonial knowledge-aggression of the West. History writing and archaeological thoughts are controlled by the idea of chronology, where “time” is the main actor that defines the intensity and originality of historical events. As suggested by some recent thinkers, throughout the modernising project, the colonialist and nationalist regimes of thought have homogenised and marginalised the non-Western concept of time. This process of transformation is often hegemonic and forceful because the conception of the modern and secular notion of time has replaced the others. Benedict Anderson (2006), one of the prominent analysts of nationalism, has identified this shift in the conception of time as a crucial element in the formation of a national imagination (Anderson 2006: 24). Following Reinhard Koselleck, in the context of the west, Talal Asad has argued that “older, Christian attitudes towards historical time (salvational expectation) were combined with newer, secular practices (rational prediction) to give us a modern idea of progress” (Asad 1993: 19). Non-western nation-states and knowledge producing institutions appropriated this concept under the spell of modernity as a project where the teleology lies in the rationale of “progress” and “civilisation.” Therefore, the media speaks of “oldest civilisation.” Present aspirations and sensibilities to be “modern” and “civilised” are projected to the “past” to build up a national identity that could be compared and idealised regarding “ancient glories of urbanisation and civilisation.” This process can be understood as an ascendancy in the universal application of Gregorian calendars in measuring and comparing “times” in archaeology. Archaeology, thus, becomes a field for predicting and comparing the “future” and the “past” in the “present.” as in the case of Wari-Bateshwar, it has become of essence for the “politics of the oldest” to be like some sort of addiction towards discovering more and more fallacious data to push time backwards.

The modern urban residents are generally identified as history-conscious people, who very much depend on the scienticism of history. The “politics of the oldest” and the role of history to construct an identity have made this perception strong about the educated urban residents. It is a curious phenomenon which this study found essential to explore specifically with respect to some urban visitors of the Mahasthan region. Thus, a good number of people were interviewed in this case.

To begin with, Figure 87 shows the very popular bridal suite of *Behula-Lakhindar*, which is the iconic mound for Bangladeshi tourists. The story of this mound is one of the major reasons why tourists, in general, go on tour in Mahasthan. The story of the bridal suite of *Behula-Lakhindar* became one of the national oral traditions in Bangladesh. Generally, it is easy to understand, through one’s own childhood experience, why a good number of people would grow up hearing these kinds of stories, specially in a setting when internationally popular animated cartoon characters (e.g. Superman, Batman, Shinhan, Doraemon) were not familiar. Munshi Masud, a visiting professor of graphic design of IIT, was interviewed when he was visiting the bridal suite of Behula-Lakhinder with his daughters. He is very much aware of history and heritage. He went through every signboard installed by DoA, which explains academic stories. After gaining an understanding of the systematic academic history, he stated,

See, you can ask me, “Why am I here? What has pushed me to come here?” Of course, historical facts. Moreover, ideally, I can tell you that it is to make room for my children to meet history and heritage. But for me, this place is very intimidating because of my childhood bedtime stories. The mystical characters, Chand Sawdagarh, Snake-Goddess Padma/Manasha, bride Behula, and groom Lakhindar influenced me a lot. This mound (refers to the mound) is the factual proof of the story of Behula-Lakhindar to the general people. I do not know which is right or wrong, but the mythical story has urged

me to visit them and this place again and again. I love to tell those mythical stories to my daughter. (Munshi Masud, personal communication, January 2018)

The tail end of his statement is very much similar with that of Dulu Mondol, the heritage resident, stressing that they do not care about fact or fiction regarding stories of the cultural heritage. They take it as a moral learning. He stated that he loves to convey these stories to the next generation. It is worthy to note how this understanding is in contention with the dominating understanding of history, with the latter denying the reality of history in the lives of the residents of Bangladesh. Here, the idea of scientism has lost the meaning to perceive the past.

The politics of the oldest is essentialised for the scientism of history. However, this has been contested with regard to its concept of “certainty.” Problematising the scientism of dominating history will open up a way to democratise the history by overcoming the barrier of “fiction.” This issue of fiction could be examined more deeply in order to treat with equal concern the heterogeneous voices of the past. In line with this argument, the following exemplifies the problem of scientism in regard to the  $^{14}\text{C}$  dating of the popular archaeological site of Wari-Bateshwar.

At first, on April 2, 2004, the Daily Star front page article titled “Oldest civilisation dug out: Road, fortified citadel, artefacts in Narsingdi date back to 450 BC”<sup>56</sup>, claimed that the date was arrived at by using the  $^{14}\text{C}$  dating method. Scientism omitted the grey area of scientific understanding of  $^{14}\text{C}$  dating methodology and techniques, it is impossible to express and report a  $^{14}\text{C}$  date by using a special calendar or historical date, for example, as 450 BC, 315 AD, 545 BC. Although it has been reported that this date was obtained from the Netherlands’ Centrum voor Isotopen Onderzoek<sup>57</sup>, this claim is doubtful and can be challenged as not being true. If the scientific basis and methodological complexity of  $^{14}\text{C}$  dating were considered, this assertion

would possibly be validated. According to the inventor Willard Libby, the radioactivity of any sample becomes half after 5568 $\pm$ 30 yr. It is called the Half-life of  $^{14}\text{C}$ . This mechanism continues until there is no more radioactivity. Anything or any sample containing carbon could be dated, thus, by measuring the residual radioactivity. For different inherent erroneous factors (e.g., geological and geochemical context of the examined sample, treatment before lab testing, reference to particular radiocarbon reservoir, type of technology that has been applied, the background of the sample, laboratory error) the date is published in BP (Before Present) with a correction. Say, for example, 1230 $\pm$ 40 BP, 2450 $\pm$ 50 BP, 5530 $\pm$ 80 BP. According to the standard, 1950 is assumed as 0 BP by correcting the radioactivity of 1890 wood for reducing the fossil wood effect and consequent increases in atmospheric carbon content after the industrial revolution. This expression of age in BP is called Conventional Radiocarbon Age (CRA) that is in no way equivalent and comparable to calendar age expressed in the AD (anno domini) and BC (Before Christ). So, it cannot be said that the date of a sample that is dated 2450 $\pm$ 50 BP would be 2400 or 2500 years old or that its date is 450 BC or 350 BC. This is because some basic assumptions in the principle of  $^{14}\text{C}$  dating have been proved to be incorrect.<sup>58</sup>

It is only possible to convert CRA to calendar years after applying the method of calibration<sup>59</sup>. The simplest example of calibration could be the Leap Year, where the rule is to add one day after three years to reduce error in the counting of the solar year. To calibrate a date in “BP”, it is compared with data derived either from dendrochronology, a method of counting time from tree rings and their growth rate, or from varve analysis, a method of dating based on counting particular sedimentary strata that are deposited on the bottom of some lakes. This comparison followed a particular statistical procedure and resulted in plotting calibration curve. The dating equivalent to and comparable to historical or calendar years is generated from the calibration curve. The most important point here is to note that the date in BC/AD counted from Calibration Curve could not be discerned and expressed in a definite calendar date, like 450

BC. Rather the date is expressed by a time range in which there could be some dates with maximum probabilities. This is because the measurements on both the tree rings and the samples have limited precision. This time range is called the Calibration Interval. Moreover, given the way the atmospheric radiocarbon concentration has varied, there might be several possible ranges. For example: according to the First Interim Report of Bangladesh-France Joint Excavation 1993-1999, after calibration, the CRA 1590 +/-55 BP becomes a time range from 361 to 594 AD with the maximum probabilities 444, 490, 594 AD. There is also a convention of counting “precision” and “accuracy”. To cite an example, only for the sake of argument, if radiocarbon dating were a sample of Harold 1's (d. 1066) remained and obtained a date of  $1040 \pm 40$  AD, it would have been dated the event of the death accurately. If, however, the date were  $1000 \pm 15$  AD inaccurate, regarding meticulousness; however, the concluding comparisons would be inaccurate based on the previous. It can be understood that the date of  $1000 \pm 15$  AD while being highly precise is, in this instance, inaccurate.<sup>60</sup>

Therefore, <sup>14</sup>C date in principle and methodology can never give a date in the calendar year as has been published in the report of the Daily Star. After calibration, expressed as a time bracket, it only becomes referable and comparable to historical or calendar time scales. The nature and context of the <sup>14</sup>C date from Mahasthangarh and their reporting conventions are completely different from the dates from Wari-Bateshwar (see [www.c14dating.com](http://www.c14dating.com) and Dincauze 2000: 117) for reporting and citation conventions). These dates from Wari-Bateshwar have been published in the newspapers, and the reporting does not conform to the internationally accepted conventions. The difference helped out to argue that any attempt to compare dates from these two archaeological sites would be inappropriate and a violation of scientific standards. It does not necessarily mean that Wari-Bateshwar cannot be older than Mahasthangarh. Maybe it is or not. However, it is not possible, by the present status of evidence, dates, and extent of research, to decide on which the oldest archaeological site is in Bangladesh. After claiming the date, 12 years

have already gone and more than 8 to 10 times of excavations were conducted, but those excavation findings still failed to prove the claimed date.

The date of this site goes back further and further every year. From “2500 years” old citadel site in 2002-2004, it has now transformed into being 4,500 years old habitation with pit-dwelling in 2007 and the capital of *Gongaridai* kingdom in 2010. There are now hunches in media about the possibilities of dating going back to the Neolithic period. It should be stressed that some archaeologists and historians have contested the identification of the archaeological feature as a road, pit-dwelling, Lotus temple, the outcome of 14C dating, the identification as the capital of ancient *Gongaridai* kingdom - all. Some have also questioned the suggested date and have claimed that the date is invalid. Most of them have said that the work by which the claims are being made should be evaluated. Thus, further studies are necessary, and a review must be made as definitively, arrogantly and suspiciously as done by the media about some archaeologists. Surprisingly, the debate on this entire issue was not covered by newspapers and cable networks in the way they had done before to make the hype. A few of publications had pushed the issue to the inner pages to make it quite unnoticeable.

Thus, critiques of these politics are quite common in the academia of South Asia; yet the media would usually censor and erase those critiques. These refer to, for example, the uncritical and judgmental interpretation of the “evidence”, improper and spurious excavation methods, erroneous citing of radiocarbon method and other dates. The vigour and nationalistic pride with which this site is referred and represented in the popular elitist domain could be compared to the claims of discovering the world's oldest civilisation in the Gulf of Cambay in India (Witzel 2006: 226).

It is necessary to point to the fact that in dominating practices of “fact” construction, one essential component is to identify opposite views such as “jealous” and “emotional” in order to



exclude and avoid polemics regarding methodology and politics. In fact, in a joint article (Imran, 2002)<sup>61</sup>, I had questioned the conclusions on Wari-Bateshwar by Hoque et al. (2001). In another article (Imran 2005: 37), etymologically, I tried to understand the meaning of “Wari” as a topographic name, where Wari < *Upakarika*, means the royal court and this place is also considered as high land, locally known as *Garb*. The same word “Wari” is found in the *Mandi* language; a place, which is surrounded by perennial water. The Wari word which originated from the *Mandi* language indicates that the area is supposed to be surrounded by water, which implies the topographic characteristics of a place (see Figure 101) (Imran 2005: 37).

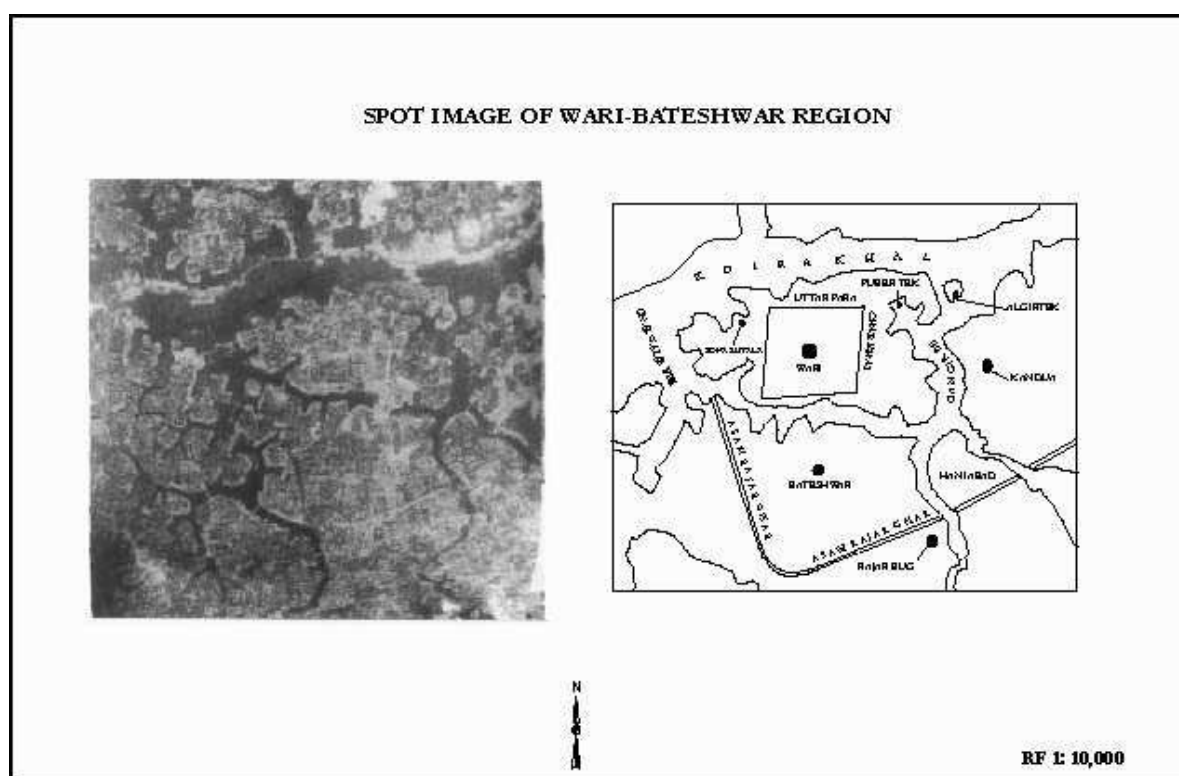


Figure 101 Surrounding Water Bodies of Wari and Bateshwar Villages  
(Imran, 2018)

At present, *Chargaciar beel*, *Dangir beel*, *Koira khal*, *Gharkhi* and some other water bodies are surrounded Wari, which all support the above view. The Aerial Photograph and Landsat TM imagery prove that, in the past, these water bodies were interconnected and made the Wari region mostly navigable (Imran et al. 2002: 109). Besides, *Mandi* settlements at present are not far away from the Wari site. It can be presumed that, in ancient times, the *Mandi* community might have

lived at Wari, and they might have coined the word (Wari) by observing its physical features. In the same article (Imran 2005: 37), Bateshwar was destructed in *Bat* (the banyan tree) + *Eeshwar* (the god). The banyan tree has always been a ubiquitous word for naming a place since the early historical period (Sen 1993: 5). That is, to assign a name to a place, “Bat” had been commonly used as the prefix. According to Muhammad Shahidullah (1993 cited in 2005: 37), the spelling of Bateshwar is *Bateshsbar*, which means one kind of *Aausb* paddy, that suggests *jhum* crops in the area. This shifting method of cultivation has a close relationship with the *Mandi* population and therefore, the Bateshwar word would also suggest the Mandi existence in this locality (Imran 2005: 37).

The representation of archaeology of Wari-Bateshwar in the Bangladesh media is made through various means and technologies of visualisation. The success of the visualisation mode and its interconnection with the “modern” mode of history telling and knowledge formation will be sought within the discursive and non-discursive space constructed (and destroyed) by the colonial modernity as a “project”. The interpretations will also point at the modern conception of temporality and its embedded relation to the imagination and visualisation of a grand narrative of past under nationalistic ideology and the formation of the modern and secular nation-state. Therefore, this study could be considered as a continuous contestation of the epistemologically dominating and essentially simplifying practice of some archaeologists and “objective” and “neutral” media. This segment of this dissertation aims to open a space for polemics on this highly significant issue with claims for a “re-reading (or re-writing) the history of Bangladesh through archaeology”.

## 5.5. Summary

Democratising the past in history to safeguard the cultural heritage of Bangladesh is one of the aims of this dissertation, and this chapter has been developed to negotiate this objective. It is submitted that the mindset of the heritage-residents about their understanding of (hi)story does

not contest the dominating idea of hi(story). From the statements made by the heritage-residents, it was clarified that the popular stories need not necessarily be “fact” and “history.” These are simply their understanding of the past. They found themselves attached to artefacts like *Kbodar Patbar Vita*. The heritage-residents do not practise the modernised understanding of organised religion. They feel some relationship with the artefact based on their autonomous self-perspective. These voices and relationships do not contest the dominating understanding of history.

On the contrary, the project of modernity successfully developed and practised a mindscape of colonial governmentality, which always rejected the understanding of the past of heritage-residents. This mindscape has always provoked a systematic history-writing where traditional practices have been deduced as an element of history-writing. This study does not endorse the perception of the past and heritage at the popular level. Instead, it suggests that there is an undemocratic terrain in history-writing and the generated heritage have been identified under this dominating practice of history in Bangladesh. It is also suggested that the narrative of communal harmony and the apolitical ideal of heritage in the institutionalised hi(story) are not valid.

On the other hand, institutionalised history-writing claims itself to be a scientifically materialistic fact-based mechanism. Although the used approaches and mechanisms have already been problematised in the end, the perceptions of the past/history/heritage are heterogeneous within the common people. Therefore, popular perceptions should be engaged in a democratic way to protect heritage. The following chapter has generated a design of action to preserve, conserve and represent the past(s) digitally in the Museum empirically through the dialectical negotiations between doing (hi)story by heritage-residents and writing the dominating hi(story) in order to accommodate the heterogeneous voices democratically.

## Chapter Six

---

## **Chapter 6**

### **The Democratisation of Representing the Past(s) in Museum as the Design of Action for Safeguarding the Cultural Heritage**

Museums are essentially represented in the dominating systematic history-writing, which is predominantly of materialistic “fact”. However, the previous chapter of this dissertation has presented a critique of the blurry boundary between fact and fiction of the people’s storytelling and the dominating history. The operation of the DoA is mostly limited to conducting a few awareness programmes and installing differently sized signboards with a brief description of the history and importance of cultural heritage sites. Understandably, it has failed in creating sufficient awareness among the heritage-residents. This has been one of the major reasons for evacuating the heritage sites, which has been discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Specifically, this research points to the problematic governmentalisation of safeguarding cultural heritage as the core reason. Chapters 4 and 5 have explained that the DoA’s engaging mechanisms regarding heritage-residents have been immensely problematic, the most notable of which is the authority’s intention to impose their agenda, system, and understanding of history with little regard to the perception of heritage-residents.

One of the ideas behind this research is the development of a mechanism for confirming the participation of the resident’s voice (and perception) of the past in history-writing. This study submits that the museum of a cultural heritage site can be a good venue to confirm this participation. It can provide a positive psychological effect on the residents who will find that the voices of their past have been included in the perceived structure of history. It would be a reflective engaging mechanism for safeguarding the cultural heritage institutionally. The field experiences can be the finest example, in this case, to generate the design of action for engaging a

heritage-resident to protect the cultural heritage. This is manifested in the following narration of Motaleb, a heritage-resident of Mahasthangarh, appreciating the value of this research.

You are a person who is educated and a researcher listening to our stories, giving importance to our understanding about Mahasthan, and doing research based on our understanding of this area. It is very much an honour for us. The Sir/Madam of the Archaeology Department would sometimes come to the villagers and hold a meeting. They would always tell us the importance of the site and archaeological history. They tell us to listen to those histories carefully. But they did not ask about our own understanding. If anyone tries to tell our stories, they would scold us and stop us from continuing. They told us: these are not history. All are superstitions, myths and these stories are fabricated. But you are the first person who listens to us attentively. (Motaleb, January 2018)

This statement has made it clear that to create a simple space for heritage-residents to speak about their own understanding and their relationship with the archaeological evidence will get them more engaged. Clearly, it will be an honourable move to engage the heritage-residents in the protection of the cultural heritage. With this in mind, one practical step that can be taken in museums is to develop separate spaces to exhibit the residents' voices.

Besides accommodating the engaging mechanisms by the reflexivity of visitors and residents, the archaeological predictions on the site should be digitalised and provided 3D generated models for representing the imagined past. These techniques could be negotiated with demystification, de-romanticising, de-sensitisation, or de-utopianism of the (hi)story of the resident. Residents and visitors would have a journey through their self-identical (his)story and the archaeological imaginations. What this will achieve is a mental engagement between the resident's (hi)story and the archaeologist's predictions of the residents as well as reproduce the

reflective subjectivity of the residents. This journey will take the residents from predictability to unpredictability and construct the reflective performativity for safeguarding the heritage as their self-identity. The books written by the likes of the aforementioned heritage-resident Tabibur Rahaman can be considered as an accommodative democratised mechanism of representation of history in the site museums of cultural heritage.

A design of action for safeguarding the cultural heritage of Bangladesh, therefore, could be democratised the voices of the past(s) through the digitalised representation in the Museum, which could be generated an interactive, engaging mechanism for visitors and heritage-residents. These interactive three dimensional representation of the past also be the conserving mechanism for safeguarding the existing tangible and intangible artefacts digitally from the destruction by natural and anthropogenic causes. The objective of democratising the past is not only to represent the heritage-resident's voices and the academic history in Museum but also make a space for interaction and engagement with the ideas of past(s). As a by-product of this design mechanism of action to safeguard the cultural heritage, a digital conservation and 3D predictive tools are developed for conserving the cultural heritage digitally.

UNESCO adopted the digitisation mechanism to preserve cultural heritage in 2003 and adopted a Charter on the Preservation of the Digital Heritage on October 17, 2003 at the 32<sup>nd</sup> session of the General Conference of UNESCO. The preamble of the charter put emphasis on its "Memory of the World" Programme and stated,

*Recognizing* that such resources of information and creative expression are increasingly produced, distributed, accessed and maintained in digital form, creating a new legacy – the digital heritage.

*Aware* that access to this heritage will offer broadened opportunities for creation, communication and sharing of knowledge among all people.

*Understanding* that this digital heritage is at risk of being lost and that its preservation for the benefit of present and future generations is an urgent issue of worldwide concern. (adapted from Taylor 2016: 755)

Since the considerations and reflections of Violett-le-Duc on heritage, the interpretation of ruins has been a controversial topic (Plevoets and Cleempoel 2012). From its establishment, the criteria of intervention by ICOMOS is being diluted. These have been published in the guidebook for physical reconstruction of cultural heritage, which is known as *Charter 2*. However, the apparent freedom that virtual tools offer, as they can intervene in the heritage, has led to a set of new rules and standards. These new rules and standards are being applied so that the resulting models can be used as research tools. Interesting discussions have emerged on how these rules and standards should be implemented in archaeology on measures which are now being called “knowledge representations” (Frischer and Stinson 2007: 57). Therefore, in the same manner, more projects are needed to fine-tune the intuitive judgements of the team promoting, guiding and stimulating the active discussion of this topic.

As an engaging mechanism, this chapter will examine a way to preserve and represent the memories and reflective, subjective performativity of heritage-residents. At the same time, the point of preservation, documentation, spatial distribution, and predictive archaeological imagination modelling representation will also be given importance.

### **6.1. The Representation of the Narratives of Self and Performativity of Reflective Subjectivity in Museum**

Memories of the past are rejuvenated, preserved, and represented by the technology of the museum as essentialised instruments for the people living in those memories (Davis, 1979; Goulding, 2001). The National Museum and the object-centred museum are the stereotypical museology practices in Bangladesh. Apart from these, narrative-centred, client-centred, and



community-centred museum are other common museum categories. Notably, the site museums of Mahasthangarh and Paharpur are the material-based museum, which proclaims it contains the “history” of the nation. Here, the past is exhibited through artefacts, e.g. broken pieces of sculptures, pottery, terracotta, and coins. However, the residents feel no relationship with the artefacts because these artefacts do not help them relate to the mythical stories that the community finds endearing. Thus, these artefacts have become alien objects to them, making the museums unrelatable and outlandish. According to Mr Abdus Salam, a heritage resident of Mahasthangarh;

Usually, we the people do not go there. Sometimes, we go there because of a guest who has come here for roaming. Most of the time, we just push them to enter, and we wait outside the museum. If you ask me, in fact, I have no interest to visit the museum. Sometimes, those objects are so hilarious and unfathomable for me. The written description of the tags of objects, written by the archaeology department, is ambiguous for me. There is nothing to learn, and I have not insisted on any of my children to visit the museum. (Abdus Salam, September 2015)

The statement of Mr Salam brings to memory the prior history of the “museum” under the reign of colonial Britain. The “Kolkata Imperial Museum”, established in 1814, was the first such experience for the Indian subcontinent, which was proposed by the Asiatic Society (Guha-Thakurta 2004: 46). The image of the colonial museum was quintessentially adopted from the idea of “Wonder House” of Lahore. It means an “*Ajaib Ghar*” in Kolkata to the general people, where the different and sometimes relentless unknown objects are displayed. Still, it is known in Bangla as *Jadu Ghar*, meaning a “wonder house”. Thus, the perception of a museum in India is not just as part of the extensive knowledge-producing apparatus, which was so central to the experience but also the “fantasy of empire.”<sup>62</sup> The DoA of Bangladesh is maintaining the same quintessential image of the colonial museums, with deposits and representations of the history of

Bangladesh. This representation mechanism for showcasing the history of the cultural heritage of Bangladesh becomes ambiguous concerning the visitors and the heritage-residents.

A visitor at Paharpur expressed thoughts almost similar to the previous narrative. Sabrina Khanom, an undergraduate student, attending an annual picnic with friends and teachers of her college stated,

The museums are funny, childish, and sometimes ridiculous for me. Not only this one but last year, I also felt the same with the Mahasthan museum. Our history told us that these are precious historical evidence of the nation, but all are related to the Hindu religion. However, when I asked them whether our ancestors were Hindu or of another religion, in most of the cases, they did not answer. They then labelled me as a student who incites problems and asks stupid questions. All of these are supposedly the history of our nation, but I found myself outside of this historical alignment. (Sabrina Khanom, September 2015)

These two statements describe both heritage-residents and visitors are not experiencing any nostalgic moment, which can trigger them to travel in their memory narratives. Nostalgia is a mechanism to locate the people in the present back to the past through the ancient artefacts, and Brown and Humphreys (2002:143) believe that “nostalgia helps us to take stock of our lives and past accomplishments... they are thus placing us in time and space in ways which permit a better understanding of ...who and where we are presently.” Nostalgia is not only a reminder of the “good old days” but is also self-conscious scrutiny of the reflexivity of the past for interpreting the self.

The heritage-residents’ self is interconnected with the cultural heritage site, artefacts, and narratives of the heritage spaces. By offering milk on a stone slab in Mahasthangarh or pouring mustard oil on the base of the corner pillar of the Mausoleum of Ulugh Khan Janahn, the Muslim

and Hindu religious people have together expressed their religious sensitivity. They desire a wife like Behula of Mahasthangarh, although she is of a different religion; honouring her as the ideal example of a wife. There is a moral to these stories for managing the everyday life among the people. The famous mythical war between *King Parashuram* and Sultan *Mabisavar* is revered by the heritage-residents and recalled for its moral that “greed is the gateway to your downfall.” In this story, both Hindu and Muslim heritage-residents can relate as "survivors” and see Sultan *Mabisavr* as their “saviour.” Stories and storytelling help the self to make sense of lives (Shankar et al. 2001: 429). Therefore, people have located their self-identity through stories and by telling stories (Shankar et al. 2001: 431). It can be possible to engage heritage-residents by live performances or video graphics representations of those mythical stories, which they themselves have written as a stage play, and have these plays staged in various villages in the Mathasthangarh region. There are already two examples of drama books existing for this purpose: “The Homicide of *Parashuram*” and “The Bridal-suite of *Behula-Lakhindar*” by Tabibur Rahman, a heritage-resident of the Mahasthangarh region, Gokul Union, Bogra., which are (see Figure 102 & 103);

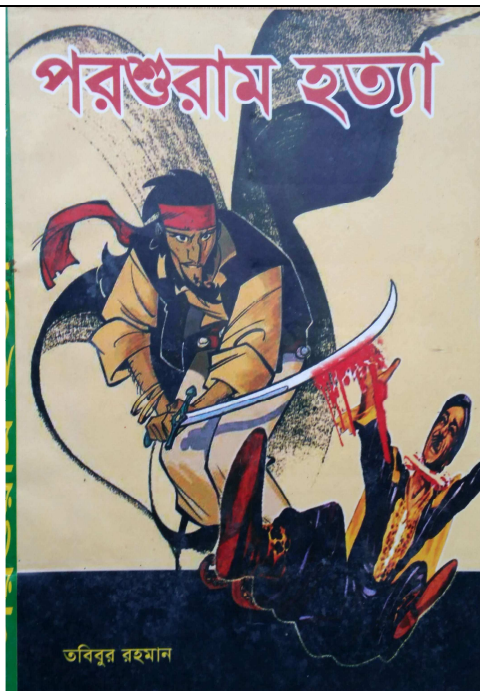


Figure 102 The stage Play of the Homicide of Parashuram by Tabibur Rahman



Figure 103 The stage play of the bridal-suite of Behula-Lakhindar by Tabibur Rahman

Another fine example would be Bhaktapur, Nepal, where heritage-residents have been talking about, practising their rituals and festivals, and believing that they are living in a protected machine of *Yantra* and worshipping *Yantra* within their religious time constraints. This is why *Durbaar* Square or *Dattatreya* Square are not especially different to them, unlike the DoA of Nepal or UNESCO or international tourists. All these places are vital for them because of their logical bonding of *Yantra*. Therefore, the heritage-residents identify themselves as *Newar* Tantric Hindu. The Mahasthangarh and Paharpur heritage site museums can be reorganised to represent the artefacts, narratives of resident's storytelling, and regenerate the reflectivity of people with the artefacts.

A form of engaging mechanism and reflective subjectivity can be generated by installing the digitalised instruments of storytelling. Reflective subjectivity of visitor's performativity with the artefacts – in this case, the people's performances of storytelling – can be recorded audio-visually and presented in a gallery. This can be done along with keeping books which are published by the residents. Organising live performance shows of storytelling by the residents regularly could be another technique. All of these could be given a chance to be represented under the title of "People's History" in the museums. In this way, the people's faith centred reflective performativity with the artefacts can be easily visualised as a "live history." As a consequence, when heritage-residents and visitors have had the chance to appreciate the "people's story" presented with the significant artefacts, they will be able to find mental engagement and eventually, nostalgia. Nostalgia will inspire a journey towards the past, engaging them through the existing records of cultural heritage. Thus, they will begin to be cautious about the protection of the cultural heritage once they connect the cultural heritage to their changing meanings. These meanings are not constant phenomena. Phenomenologically, the museums also provide some spatial distribution pattern of cultural heritage sites and archaeologist's academic interpretations through 3D modelling and a screen in a particular gallery. The following section

explains the digital documentation and 3D modelling of the historic mosque city of Bagerhat, which is historically identified as *Khalifatabad* and Paharpur, archaeologically interpreted as *Somapura Mahavihara*. These two world cultural heritage of Bangladesh are bound for digital conservation and 3D model generation.

## 6.2. Mapping the Cultural Heritage<sup>63</sup>

Mapping the spatial distribution of archaeological records is essential for documenting cultural heritage. It is an essential phenomenon of academia in archaeology and cultural heritage. After 1990, the fastest growing digitalisation mechanisms and instruments opened enormous possibilities for acquiring spatial data and generate, manipulate, analyse, and represent those as a map. It is, therefore, surprising that while generalised critiques of mapping as a modernist practice. These are ubiquitous, direct and focused. The critiques of the archaeological map are rare.

Generating a map is one of the essential skills of an archaeologist because maps enable one to visualise the connectivity of archaeological records and the landscape. These associations are referred to as the spatial pattern of archaeological records on the landscape. Archaeological mapping is also systematic documentation for understanding the distribution of archaeological records on an extensive scale. It accommodates more than two or more ancient villages or settlements. Hence, the information on map records is perhaps more important than all the other information recorded by archaeologists.

Before the mapping of cultural heritage sites, a couple of queries on research and sites made to begin the archaeological research. To address questions about ancient societies, usually, interpretative archaeology would look into material remains. Surveying is one of the primary data collection techniques for field archaeologists. Before generating a map, the survey is essential to identify the archaeological records on the landscape. The generalised notion of the survey in

archaeology is a non-destructive inspection of archaeological evidence (e.g. artefacts, houses, religious monuments, pits, hearth). Archaeologists have developed various types of archaeological survey techniques based on contexts and circumstances.

Digital mapping is generated by the full coverage systematic site surface survey. Mainly, this research deals with the development of a preliminary spatial database of archaeological record through a systematic ground survey. This type of survey entails a systematic on-field inspection of cultural features and the collection and documentation of all archaeological records on the surface. Site surface survey always helps to determine the site boundaries and understand the distribution of artefacts (Renfrew and Bahn 1991). By examining the data from the artefacts and features, archaeologists gain better knowledge about a site.

A GIS (Geographic Information System) and GPS (Global Positioning System) are two techniques frequently used these days for surveying archaeological sites and digitalising the spatial data to generate maps. Generating, manipulating, and creating spatial distribution maps of archaeological records are very recent phenomena in Bangladeshi archaeology.

This study, hopefully, will be considered as an experimental approach to generating the micro-level spatial database. Many problems occurred during this research. The absence of previous examples, lack of budget and lack of experience are the foremost limitations. To conduct the field survey, the identification of the archaeological records is very critical due to the densely populated landscape. Getting an abundant or unused land is extremely rare. Previously, it was mentioned that the timescale of archaeological records was considered from the British period going backwards. Conducting a pedestrian survey in every mouza<sup>64</sup>, talking with the local people, and identifying the archaeological records on the landscape were the main methods used. In the case of architecture, the architectural style and purpose of use are considered by the local people. Thus, many discarded, lost or abandoned part of structures have so far been found. Some

mosques or temples were found reconstructed. In most of the cases, the archaeological records are found by conversing with the local people.

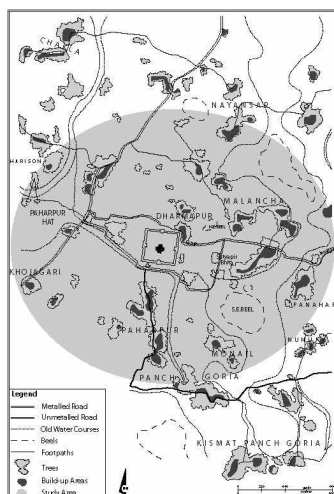
The most challenging part of this survey is describing the discarded, lost or abandoned archaeological records. It could be speculated that the deposition process may be cultural, as in the case of burial or materials in pits; more often, however, natural processes contain fluvial, Aeolian, lacustrine or residual aggradation. Binford (1982: 16) explained this deposition process stating, “the nature of the deposited archaeological record is not simply the result of discard, but rather of the “tempo” of the occupation or use of a place and its relationship to the periodicity of depositional processes.” However, during the field survey, no attempt was taken to expose the deposition profile. The ultimate goal of the field survey was to identify the spatial distribution of archaeological records. Hopefully, after generating the spatial database of archaeological records, the geoarchaeological endeavour can be started.

Therefore, the concluding aim of this research is to generate a spatial database of archaeological records and map these archaeological records. By doing this, it starts from the micro level single unit. It was found that if a single unit could be generated, then it will help to move the process toward detail mapping. Thus, GPS was considered from the beginning to collect spatial archaeological data. The GIS technology, used in this research, is the primary concern in tackling the mapping process. A visual representation of archaeological records was generated by using and creating various data tables, shapefiles, layers, and maps. These digital spatial map-documents recorded and represented the distribution and density of different kinds of artefacts. The surface data are analysed by using GIS, which was required to establish specific steps. Moreover, to fulfil the different archaeological interests, qualified data were needed. The distribution of surface artefacts could not possibly be interpreted effectively, considering the complex dynamics of the survey. However, it is a useful tool to gain a basic knowledge of the site.

Accountability is essential for an archaeologist to secure the results of the study from the possible displacement of archaeological records over time. A single survey, typically, provides inadequate information on a site so this initiative can produce only basic information albeit trustworthy. For in-depth information, other archaeological methods were used in conjunction with the site surface survey. Given the complex dynamics of the site and the uncertainty of the field, there was a possibility of misleading interpretation about the site based on the surface survey.

Regarding the surface survey, archaeologists must accept the uncertainty and the uncontrolled environment. While perfect understanding is impossible to achieve, it is mandatory to conduct an extensive archaeological surface survey to better understand history. This is the reason for an archaeologist to use a variety of methods before reaching a conclusion. Different methods present various kinds of data and, when used in combination, present a clearer picture. With these considerations, it is emphasized that the intrinsic goal here is to generate a digital spatial database of archaeological records and their mapping as a part of GIS techniques and GPS survey strategy.

The outcomes of the studied cultural heritage sites in Bangladesh and Nepal are shown in Figures 104 to 107:



*Figure 104* Spatial location of Paharpur Monastery.  
(Sen et al. 2006)



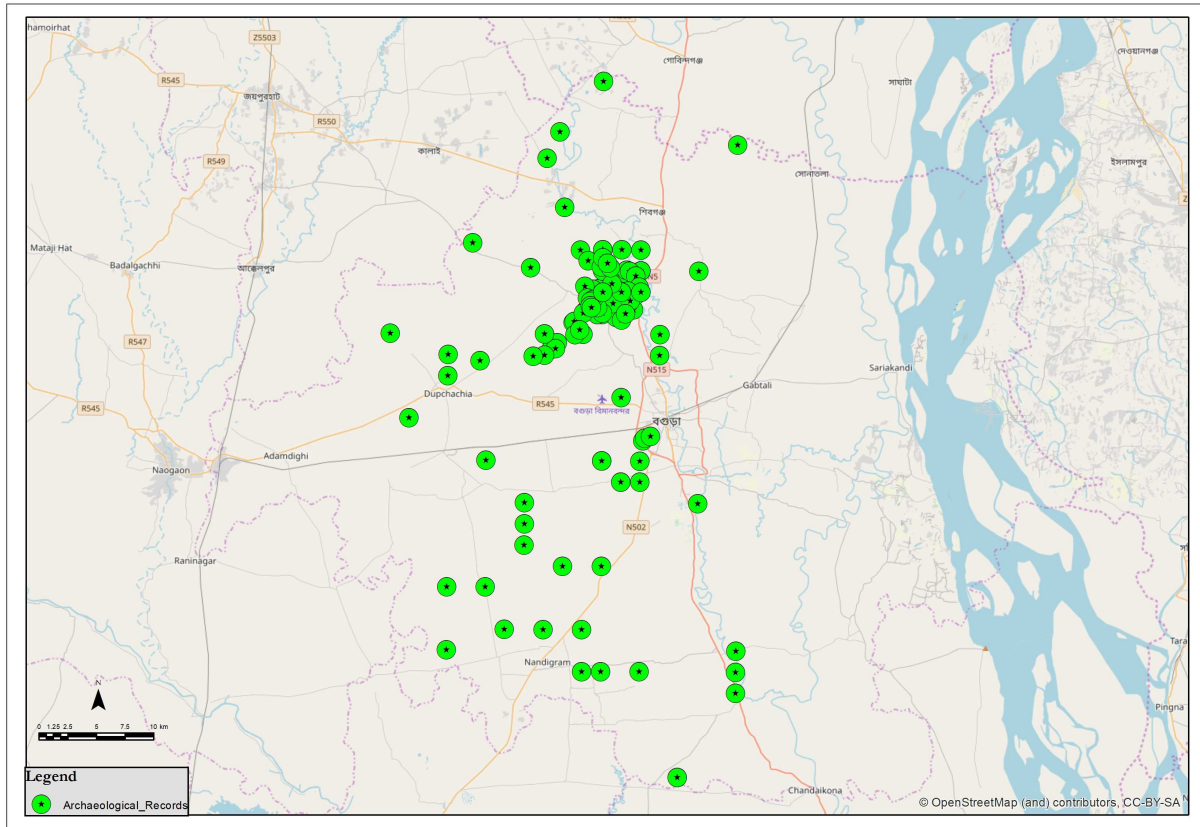


Figure 105 Spatial Distribution of archaeological records in the region of Mahasthan.  
(Source: the author)



Figure 106 Spatial distribution of the historic monuments of Bagerhat  
(Imran 2014)

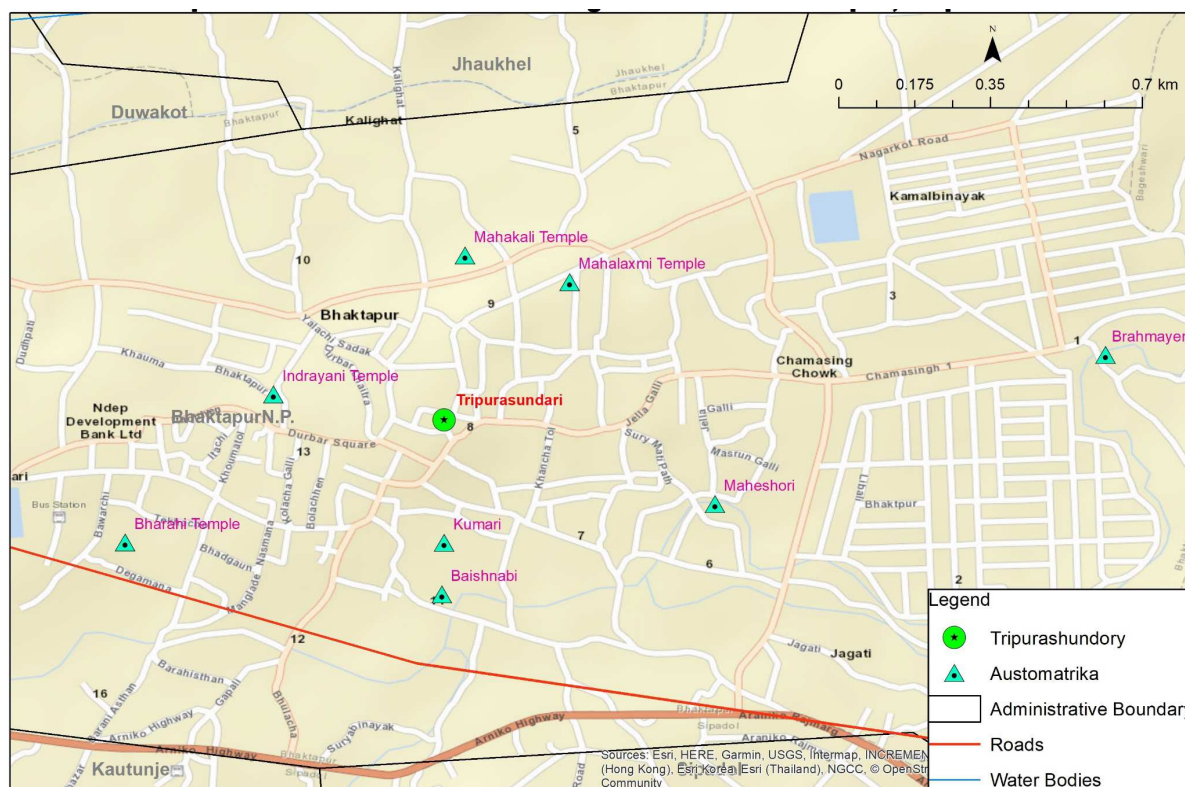


Figure 107 Spatial Distribution of the patterns of *Austomatika* and *Navadurga Ghana* in Bhaktapur, Nepal (Source: the author)

### 6.3 Generating 3D Models: Digital Safeguarding-governmentality of the Future-Past of cultural heritage

The ultimate goal of the research is to study and conserve the history of architecture and urbanisation in Bangladesh digitally. The notion of achieving this is to generate some methods and tools for testing and analysing the theories and hypotheses for historical settings (Vasáros, 2008) through the use of 3D modelling tools and Virtual Reality (VR) engines. If truth be told, learning from the past is a much better way to understand the present and to predict the future. Visualisation and manipulation of the archaeological objects is the first procedural step, and the second step is to test the various theories to finally achieve the objective of generating a predictive model of disappeared architectures and their environments. Subjectively, the virtual past essentially associates with an interactive method of inference in archaeology. Generally, in archaeological research for getting virtual results, CAD is an essential tool to create accurate and reliable 2-Dimensional (2D) drawings. These data are technologically advanced and can evolve to

3D. Consequently, data processing time becomes much less. Hence, it is an important tool for conserving the cultural heritage and generating the predictive model of archaeological structures and landscapes, which in this study would be the Mosque City of Bagerhat, historically known as a *Khalifatabad* but more popularly known as Shait Gumbad Mosque region; Paharpur, historically known as *Somapuramahabihara*; and Mahasthangarh which is academically identified as *Pundranagar*.

At first, this paper describes the research, investigation and application of computational modelling to the virtual generation of predictive 3D model of the Sultanate period town *Khalifatabad* and aims to: (a) report on the systematisation of procedures followed in situations where fieldwork data is obtained intermittently over prolonged periods; (b) evaluate the potential of applying computational graphics programmes regarding archaeological records. Secondly, this study digitally conserved the present monumental features of Paharpur and generated the predictive 3D model of *Somapuramahabihara*. Finally, the monumental 3D outlines were created for the citadel area of Mahasthangarh, and by using the field experience of Bhaktapur, the distributions and pattern of structures were predicted to initiate futuristic archaeological research.

### **6.3.1. Modelling the Present and Predicting the Past Khalifatabad<sup>65</sup>**

The 3D tools which allow the recreation of virtual environments has countless advantages. The construction of a virtual model of the Shait Gumbad Mosque region has allowed for different hypotheses and helped in cross-referencing. Notably, the work in the Shait Gumbad Mosque region can be an experimental and immersive<sup>66</sup> archaeological study by using the 3D tools to generate a predictive model. The sequence of procedures undertaken to reconstruct the structure and landscape of the study are described using the field data collected by traditional processes and archaeological surveys. Then, the stages that led to the structure being modelled are shown while explaining how the modelling was done in such a way as to reproduce the existing state while preserving the quality of the data. Finally, the hypotheses for reconstruction

are explored step by step. In this study, previous arguments I have made in earlier research (Imran 2014) are cross-checked. Firstly, information technology and archaeological data have been used to generate a predictive 3D model with very high-quality outputs of the historic site. Secondly, virtual reality (VR) accelerated the predictive 3D modelling with the support of the integrated and interactive consideration of data and the guidance of established methodology for the generation of cultural heritage.

These photographs, GPS, and archaeological survey following the procedure mentioned above were used to generate the predictive 3D model of the Sultanate period town of *Khalifatabad*. 3D modelling is the journey from the known to the prediction. In a previous article (Imran 2014), I made a statistical prediction that *Khalifatabad* was a planned town, which means that the town centre and others were distributed with a planned road network. It was a static visualisation of the past. However, the present work is to create an inhabited historic scenario. Previously, with the spatial point references, the town has been imagined. Now, this work visualised that imagination.

Because the Sultanate Mosque City has been declared a World Heritage site, its main Mosques have been renovated by the authority. As to the 3D modeller, the present structures are generated by using photographs and surveying.

The Shait Gumbad mosque is the earliest and ideal example of Ulugh Khan Jahan's style (see Figure 108). It is a massive building, measuring 48 × 32.5 m, located on the bank of the artificial waterbody *Ghora Dighi*. The name of the monument meaning "sixty-domed mosque" is a misnomer because seventy-seven domes actually cover the brick building (See Figures 108 to 111), which are supported by sixty slender stone pillars. Most of these domes are hemispherical, but seven in the central row are *Char-Chala*, i.e. four-sided. "These are believed to be the earliest known examples of the well-known hut-shaped roof of Bangladesh" (Hasan, 1980: 90).



Figure 108 Shait Gumbad Mosque  
(Imran 2014)



Figure 109 Bird's eye view of Shait Gumbad  
Mosque  
(Imran 2014)



Figure 110 Bird's eye view of Shait Gumbad  
Mosque (Extreme Close)  
(Imran 2014)



Figure 111 Bird's eye view of Shait Gumbad  
Mosque with *Ghora Dighi* and *Kodal dhoya*  
(Imran 2014)

A structure with more or less curvilinear cornice exemplifies the earliest mosque of Bangladesh. This cornice, however, is rather unusual: it is not precisely curvilinear but slopes away in two straight lines from a small pediment over the central doorway. A compound wall surrounds this structure (see Figure 110). On the front or the eastern side, the mosque has eleven arched doorways, the one in the centre being larger than the others (see Figure 111). On each of the four corners are sturdy domed towers, two of which served as minarets. Their tapering walls, the likes of which are not encountered in any other building in Bangla, are complicated the Tughluq style of architecture at Delhi. This is an interesting feature that seems to point back to Ulugh Khan Jahan's place of origin.

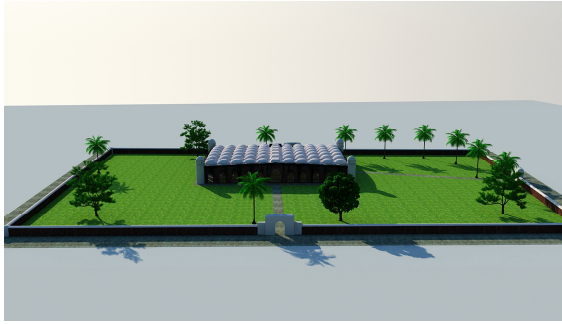


Figure 112 3D Model of Shait Gumbad Mosque (Imran and Masud 2016)



Figure 113 Frontal Perspective of Shait Gumbad Mosque (Imran and Masud 2016)



Figure 114 Main Gateway of Mausoleum of Khan-i-Jahan (Imran and Masud 2016)



Figure 115 Perspective view of Mausoleum of Khan-i-Jahan and one domed Mosque (Imran and Masud 2016)

The corner circular towers are an architectural speciality among the sultanate style. The top of the corner towers is slightly crossed towards the roof level. A small-sized dome crowns the top of the corners, and each corner contained an open-arched chamber. The front two towers have four arched windows each. However, the rest of the two towers contained only two windows each. The rear tower's windows are not on the same axis. Each of the front towers has a 26-step staircase which leads to the arched chamber. The doorway connects the staircase and the mosque. Both the doorways are filled with bricks. The rear towers are filled up until the roof level (Imram 2016: 21).

The extraordinary architectural features, like, *Char-Chala*, curvilinear cornice and tapering walls of the corner towers are exemplifying the independent mindset of Ulugh Khan Jahan. It shows his confident and controlling power over this area. These features are showcasing his character as a self-ruler and a warrior-saint (Imran, 2016: 21).

The top-down approach is the ultimate technique to generate the 3D model; especially when the point clouds objects create the entire structure and the modules. Here, the relative location is maintained precisely and each module (a set of independent units, which may be used to build a more complex structure, such as the number of nodes, number of edges, diameter, average path length, average degree of architecture) was taken from the total model as per requirement. Digital preservation also includes the detail of modules, and all are parted by roof, body and base (see Figures 116, 117, & 118).

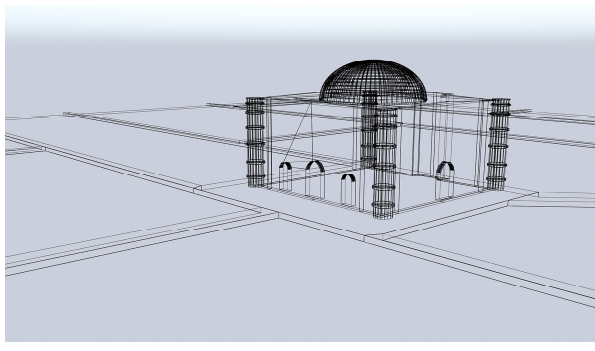


Figure 116 3D Wireframe of One Domed Mosque  
(Imran and Masud 2016)

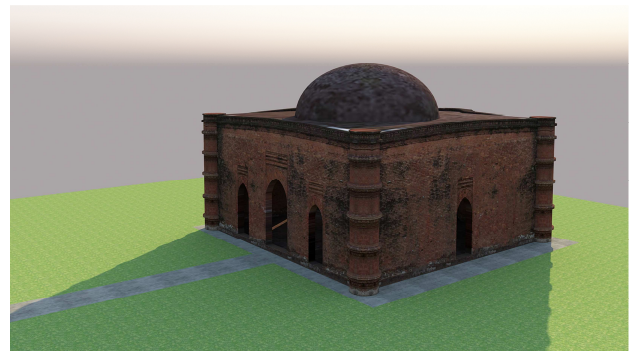


Figure 117 Using photographs to generate the 3D  
Drawing of One Domed Mosque  
(Imran and Masud 2016)

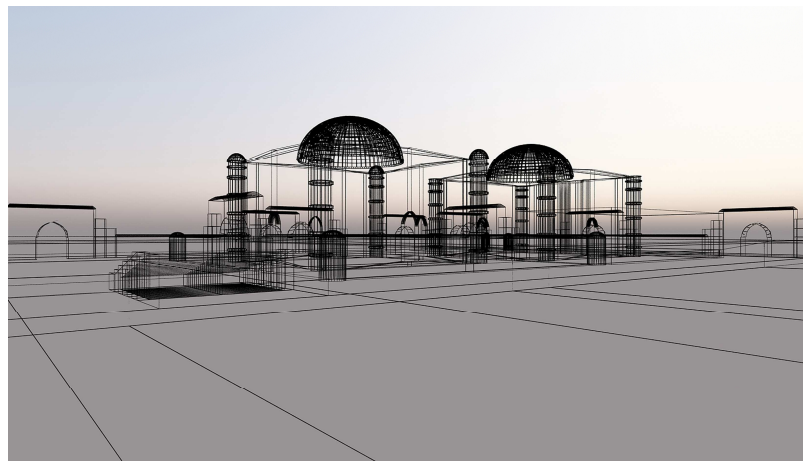


Figure 118 3D Drawing of One Domed Mosque and Mausoleum of Khan-i-jahan  
(Imran and Masud 2016)

#### *Predictive 3D Models of the Medieval Urban Space of Khalifatabad*

As noted by M. Habib and K.A. Nizami (as cited in Akhtaruzzaman 2009: 133), in the case of medieval urbanisation in India, we find that “The immediate and the most significant

effect of the Turkish occupation ... was the liquidation of the old system of city planning.” However, during the Muslim reign, some of the pre-Muslim urban centres somehow had survived as non-commercial settlements under the guidance of apolitical authority (Akhtaruzzaman, 2009: 132). According to Akhtaruzzaman (2009: 135), some of the pre-Muslim urban centres got converted, renovated, or rebuilt by a Muslim power. Lakhnauti (Gaur) could be an ideal example of this.

Usually, the streets, shops, drains and fortifications can deliver a good impression of the urban settlement. Some fortifications have been traced in some instances, and these indicate the need for security. Akhtaruzzaman (2009: 135 and 143) characterises the medieval town plan and explains that particular relics like administrative building, *Thanas*, *Khanqahs*, Mosques, *Madrasah* structures seem to be the basis of the medieval town. The rulers used to consider its topographical position first — the urban centres (e.g. Lakhnauti, Pandua, Sonargaon, Satgaon, Chittagong) have been located on the banks of the rivers or the converging points of trade routes. Usually, these are situated on a higher level of land than the surrounding areas. This very nature of the location has offered a comparatively easy communication, defence and security, drainage facility, water supply, trade and commercial links as well.

Moreover, Sonargaon, Dhaka, Bangladesh, might be the best examples of a medieval urban centre. Three types of medieval towns have been categorised into administrative capital cities (e.g. Lakhnauti, Pandua, Sonargaon.), religion-based towns (e.g. Tabrizabad or Deotala) and mint towns (e.g. Muazzamabad, Fatehabad, Khalifatabad) (Akhtaruzzaman, 2009: 133–44).

In an earlier paper, I have developed a model using the spatial analysis techniques, where the mean centre, weighted mean centre, median centre, physical centre, standard distance and nearest neighbour analysis techniques were followed with the support of GIS technology and GPS survey (Imran, 2014: 93). For developing a 3D model of the town of *Khalifatabad*, I used



statistics and GIS technology (see Figure 119). Here, we put the virtually developed models of structures and road network and so on. The various perspectives of the predictive 3D model have been displayed in Figures 119 to 121.

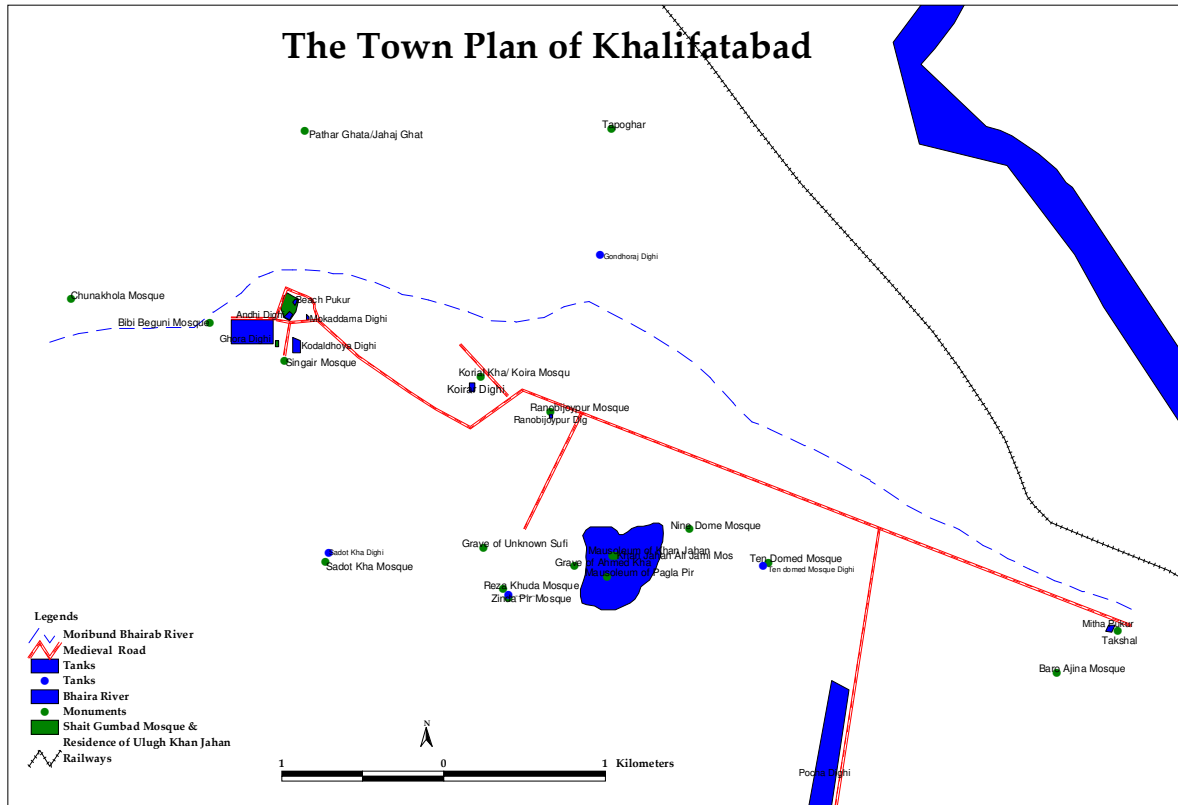


Figure 119 Predicted model of the Sultanate Town of Khalifatabad, Bagerhat. (Imran 2014)



Figure 120 Top View of Predictive 3D Model of Khalifatabad Town, Bagerhat (Imran and Masud 2016)

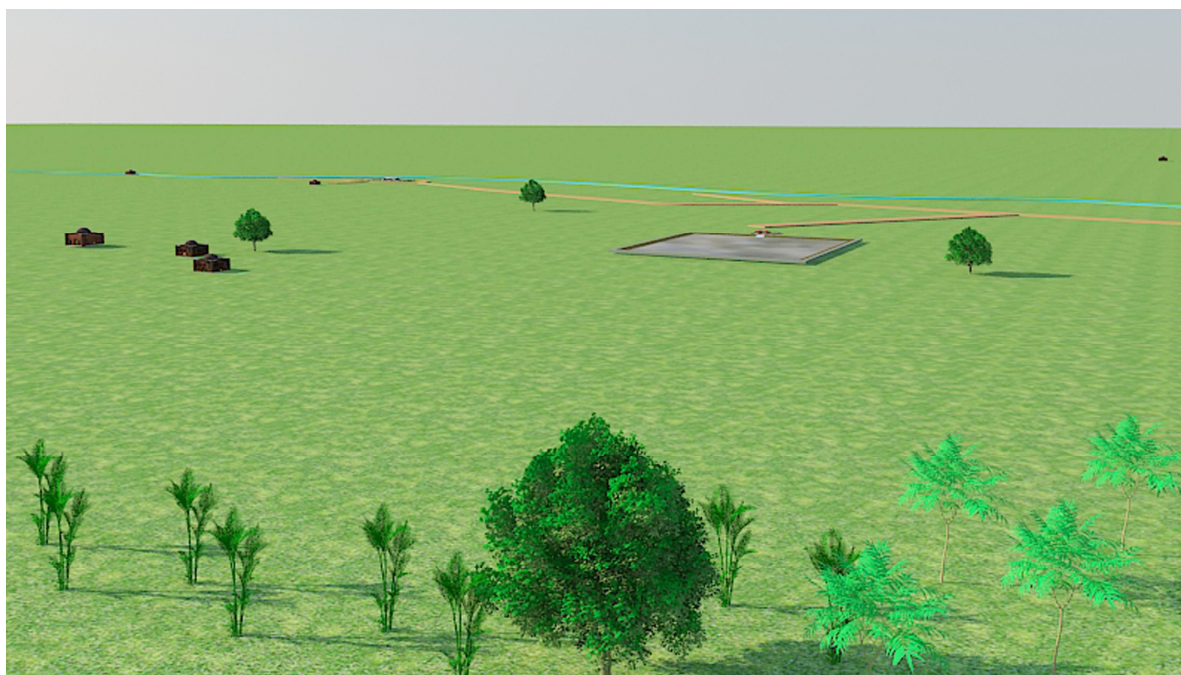


Figure 121 Partial View of Predictive 3D Model of Khalifatabad Town, Bagerhat (Imran and Masud 2016)

### 6.3.2. Predictive Modelling of *Somapura Mahavihara*

In statistical analysis, predictive modelling is related to data mining, and it forecasts the probability of outcomes. This forecasting always depends on several predictors to understand the future move. It is a futuristic prediction format despite the archaeologist's motto, which is to predict the past. Usually, an archaeological predictive model is a map that indicates the relative potential of encountering an archaeological site. Primarily, predictive location models were attempted to locate and identify the pattern of distribution of archaeological records. In this research, the ruins of *Somapura Mahavihara*, popularly known as a Paharpur World Heritage, is anticipated through a 3D model by using the existing archaeological and technological knowledge. The ruins of *Somapura Mahavihara* are located at Naogan District, Rajshahi Division in Bangladesh.

The *Somapura Mahavihara* is a square shaped Buddhist Vihara. The length of each wing of the Vihara is 281m. Historically this belonged to Pala Dynasty, and King Dharmapala (781-821 AD) was the main patron to establish this Vihara. During the era of the Pala Dynasty, two major structural reforms were made. No boundary wall was identified, but a thick exterior wall may

have been used as the boundary wall. The north and east side contained two grand entrances. A series of monastic cells with ruins of a long-running corridor were exposed. Pedestals were located in a few cells, which were distributed unevenly. Apart from the north wing, there were small-scale worship spaces featured in the near to middle point. These spaces were linked to the courtyard of the monastery except at the southern part. There are a couple of structures (e.g. four-faced shrine, *Panchavede*, which is a group of five votive stupas situated at the southeastern corner; a miniature structure of the central shrine, which is situated to the north of *Panchavedi*) which were uneventfully distributed in the open courtyard, except at the half area of the West, which was almost barren. The central shrine is stylistically Vajrayana, which is also an identical feature of the cruciform ground plan.

Various kinds of artefacts were found from the archaeological surveys and excavations (particularly, pieces of sculptural pieces, terracotta plaques, pottery, tools, ornaments, coins, seals, sealings, votive stupas, etc.) The first phase of artefacts collections were housed in the Asutosh Museum Kolkata, India, and in the Varendra Museum, Rajshahi, Bangladesh. The second phase collections, during the Pakistan era and after 1971, were housed in the Bangladesh National Museum, Paharpur Museum and other site museums in Bangladesh.

The essence for this initiative, particularly for generating predictive modelling of *Somapura Mahavihara* is:

- First, information technology and archaeological data enable the 3D model generation of a known structure, producing very high-quality outputs of the historic site for digital conservation.
- Second, 3D predictive modelling can be achieved with the support of the integrated and interactive consideration of data and the guidance of an established methodology for the regeneration of cultural heritage.

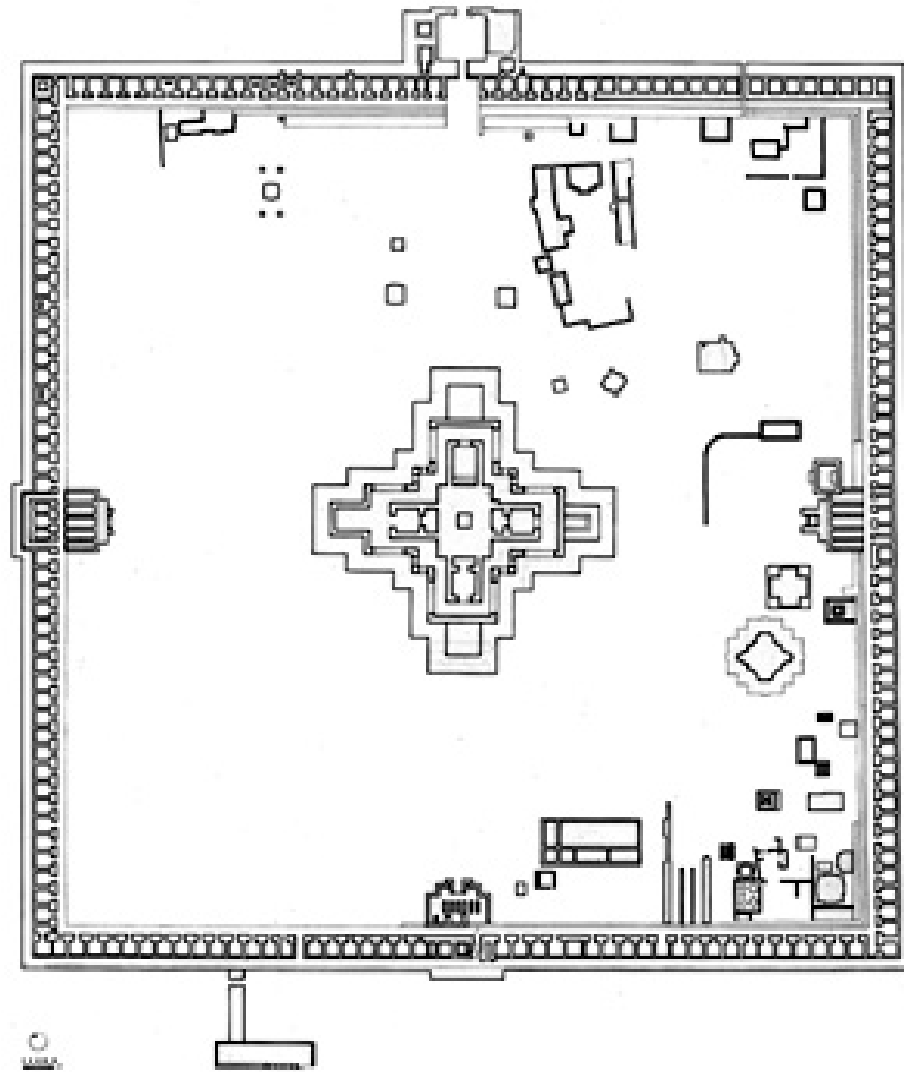


Figure 122 The Ground Plan of Somapura Mahavihara, Paharpur (Dikshit 1999)

**MAIN TEMPLE AT PAHARPUR  
DISTRICT RAJSHAHI  
NORTH ELEVATION**

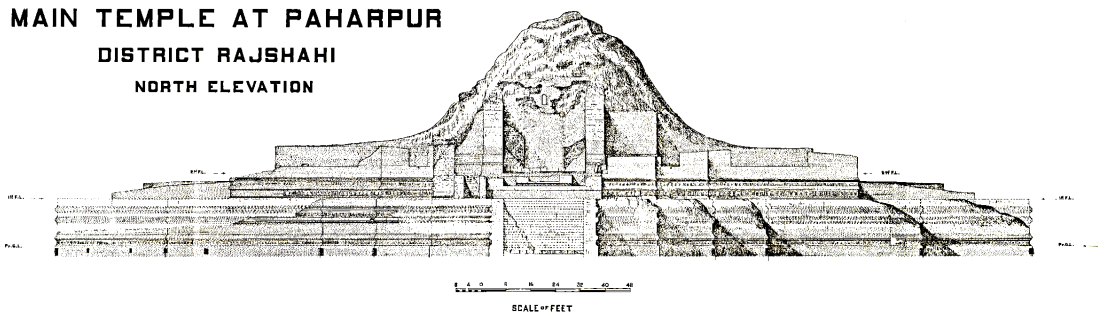


Figure 123 2D Model of Somapura Mahavihara generated by Dikshit (1999)

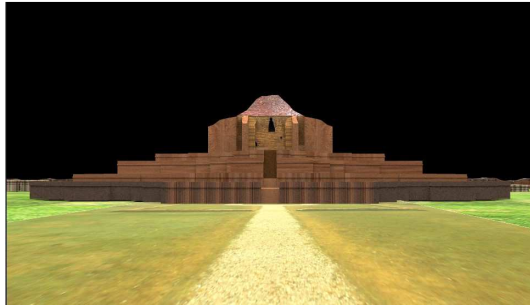


Figure 124 3D Model of the front view of the resnet structure of *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.

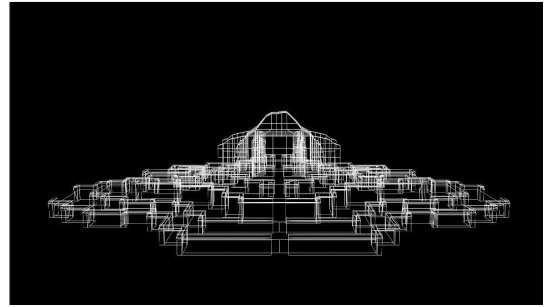


Figure 125 Wire Frame for generating the 3D Model of the Central Shrine of *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.



Figure 126 Long View of the 3D Model of existing *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.

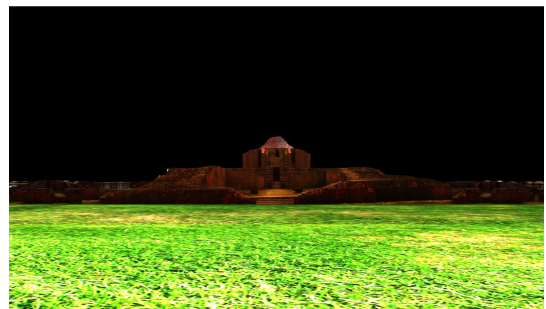


Figure 127 Close View of the 3D Model of *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur, with central entrance.



Figure 128 Mid Shot of the Central Shrine of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.

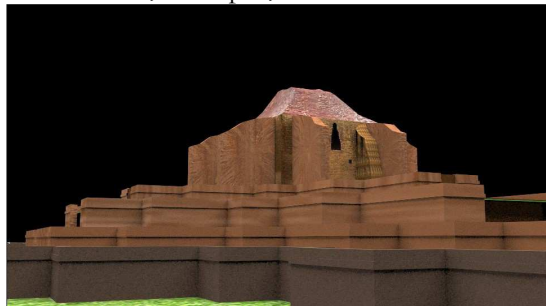


Figure 129 Partial Close View of the Central Shrine of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.

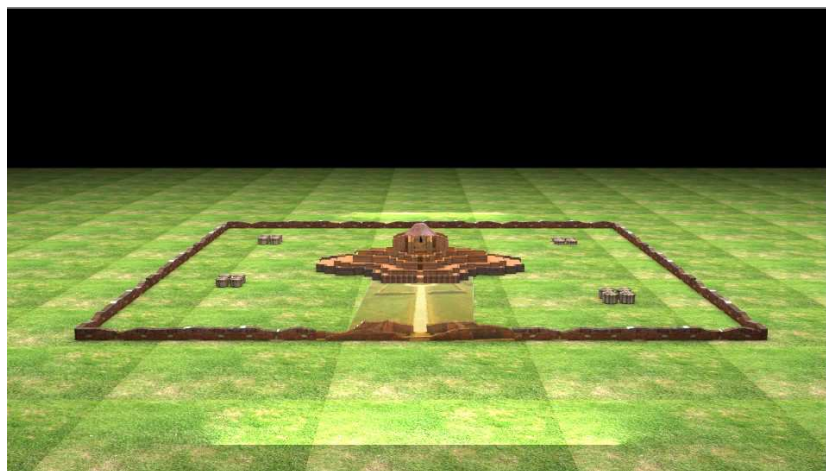


Figure 130 Top View of the 3D Model of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur. (Source: the author)

The purpose of the 3D modelling of *Somapura Mahavihara* is to revisit the logical historical predictive explanations. K.N. Dikshit compared *Somapura Mahavihara* with a four-faced *chaumukha* Jain temple, i.e. Guhanad Jainvihara in Arhats. S.K. Saraswati tried to compare it with a *Sarvatobhadra* style of the temple. Ali Naki and his team compared the style with that of *Barabudur* and *Angorkot* Temple, regarding structural, morphological similarities, and they developed the first 3D of *Somapura Mahavihara*. Seema Hoque and M.M. Hoque explain the stylistic and teleological comparison with the *Vajrayana* Style. Basically, for generating the predictive 3D model of *Somapura Mahavihara*, a logical understanding of the *Vajrayana* style was necessary; and to determine the monumental architecture, the *Vastu Purusha Mandala*, discussed by Kautilya, was taken as the stylistic background. As a practical reference, the *Vastu Purusha Mandala* and *Yantra Vajrani Mandal*, both styles composed in Bhaktapur, Nepal, were considered.

This is the ground plan of the central shrine of *Somapura Mahavihara*, which is published in the excavation report by Dikshit (1938, reprint 1999). The 63 sculptures are noted in every corner of the basement. Along with only one Buddha sculpture, there were other sculptures of Hindu deities (e.g. the Yamuna, Krishna & Radha, Indo, Brahma, Siva) which were recorded. It is evident that the *Somapura Mahavihara* may have belonged to the *Yantra Vajrayani* theology.

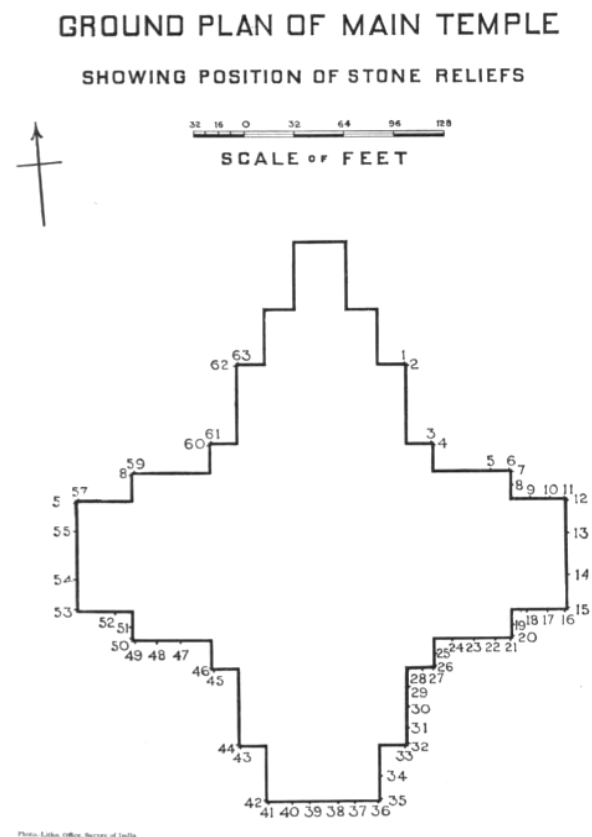


Figure 131 ground plan of the central shrine of *Somapura Mahavihara* (Dikshit 1999)

The Generalised Buddhist Theological Features of Central Shrine of Vastu Mandala

*Vajrayana* introduced the polytheism theory of five *Dhyani* Buddhas as embodiments of five *Skandhas* or cosmic elements. The five cosmic elements are: *form (Rupa)*, *sensation (Vedana)*, *name (Samjna)*, *conformation (Samskara)* and *consciousness (Vijnana)*.

In *Vajrayana* mythology, the five cosmic elements are given anthropomorphic forms as *Pancha Dhyani* Buddhas. Each *Dhyani* Buddha is one aspect of the *Sunya*. These are *Vairochana*, *Ratnasambhava*, *Amitabha*, *Amoghasiddhi* and *Akshobhya*. According to *Vajrayana* philosophy, these five *Dhyani* Buddhas are placed in five directions, i.e. *Vairochana* is in the centre, he is always placed in the sanctum of the stupa, *Amoghasiddhi* at the north, *Ratnasambhava* at the south, *Amitabha* at the west and *Akshobhya* at the east.

Structural References for Generating the 3D Model of Central Shrine of Somapura Mahavihara

Bronze votive stupa from the Ashrafpur (Saraswati, 1976), and Shallban Vihara (Rashid, 1997) also represent the same kind of structure, a bell-shaped stupa in the centre and images of Buddha facing four cardinal points in the niches having *Bhadra* type of superstructure. This could be a replica of the evolved form of stupas constructed in the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards. This type of replica was also found from various Buddhist sites at Mainamati during excavation.



Figure 132 Bronze votive stupa, Shallban Vihara (Ghos 2016)

This is a *Garbhadhatu* mandala, representing the *Vairocana* Buddha surrounded by eight Buddha and bodhisattvas (clockwise from top: *Ratnaketu*, *Samantabhadra*, *Samkusumitaraja*, *Manjusri*, *Amitabha*, *Avalokitesvara*, *Dundubhinirghosa*, *Maitreya* (de.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Datei:Mandal a1\_detail.jpg&filetimestamp=20041210200904)

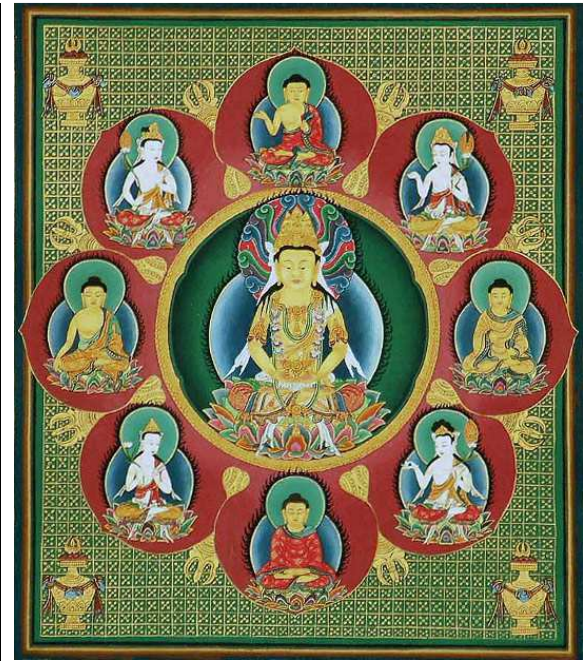


Figure 133 Garbhadhatu Mandala

### Structural Principles for Generating the 3D Model of Mahavihara

The basic principles of Vastu Shastra are applied in constructing buildings, i.e. residential buildings, commercial complexes, industry layouts, towns, temples. The Vastu Mandala always follow five basic principles, which are;

- Examination and Selection of Site: Bhu Pariksha.
- Orientation: Dik Nirnaya.
- Planning of various component: Padavinyasa (Vastu Purusha Mandala)
- Proportion and Measurement of building: Manna and Ayadi.
- The aesthetics of the building: Bhulambamana or Chanada.

### Generating the Predictive 3D Model of Somapura Mahavihara

Going with the aforesaid logical background, the following predictive 3D model has been developed. Shown here is the ground plan to develop the structure morphologically using the *Yantra Vajrayana* Mandal as the ideal to erect the predictive 3D model of *Somapur Mahavihara*.



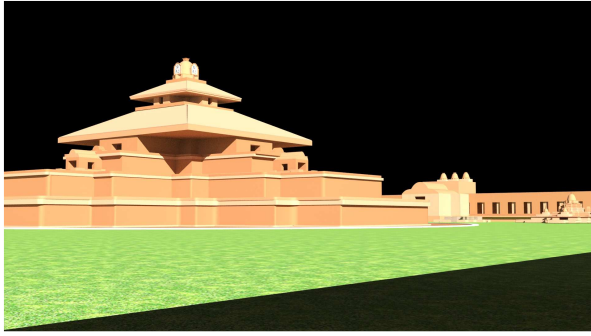


Figure 134 Partial View of Predictive 3D Model of the Central Shrine of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.  
(Source: the author)

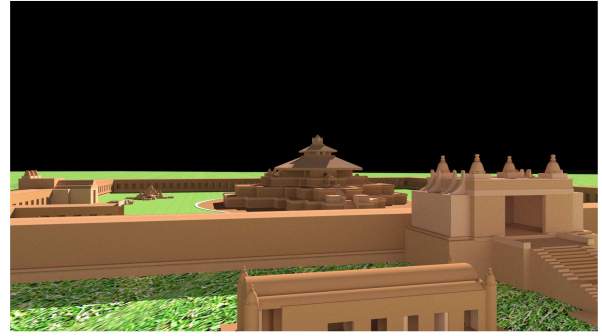


Figure 135 Partial Top View of the Predictive 3D Model of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur, with the Central Gateway.  
(Source: the author)



Figure 136 Front View of the Predictive 3D Model of the Central Shrine of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.  
(Source: the author)

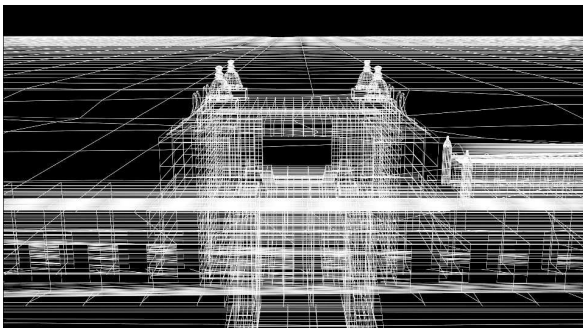


Figure 137 Wire Frame of the Central Gateway of the Predictive 3D Model of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.  
(Source: the author)

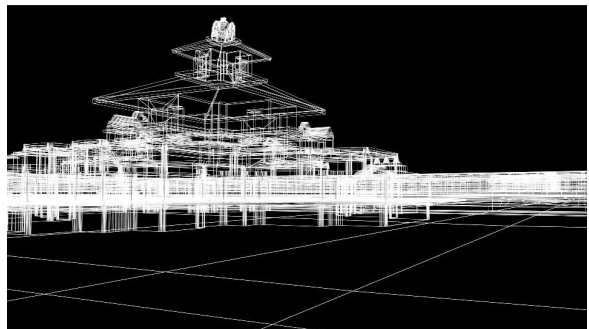


Figure 138 Wire Frame of Partial View of Predictive 3D Model of the Central Shrine of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.  
(Source: the author)

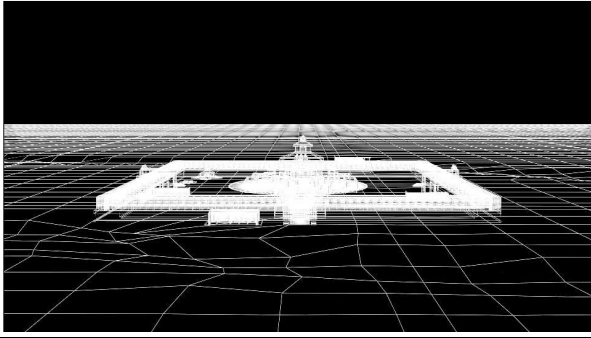


Figure 139 Wire Frame of the Horizontal View of the Predictive 3D Model of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.  
(Source: the author)

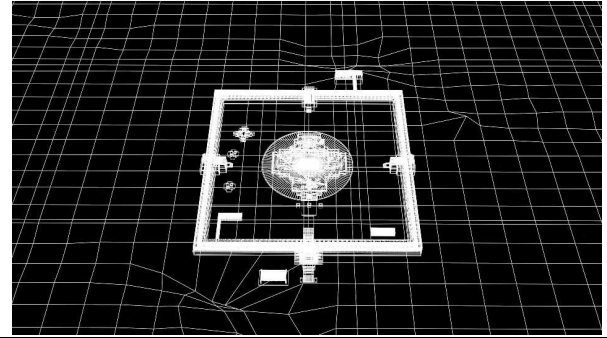


Figure 140 Wire Frame of the Vertical View of the Predictive 3D Model of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.  
(Source: the author)

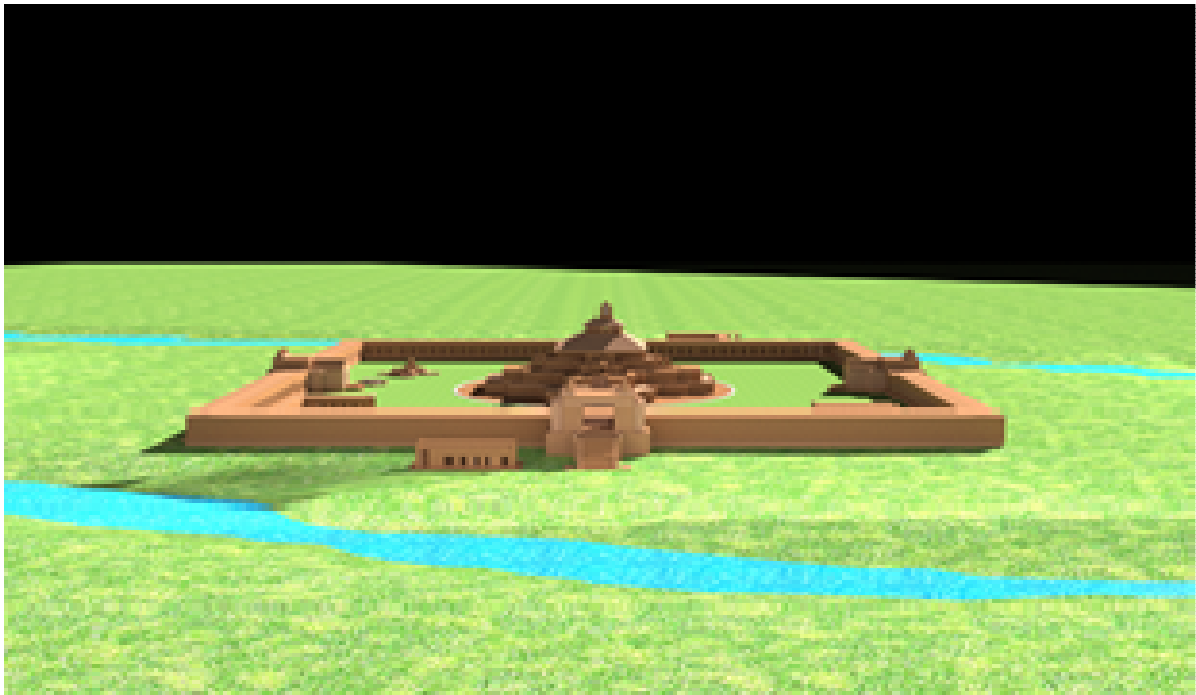


Figure 141 Top View of the Predictive 3D Model of the *Somapura Mahavihara*, Paharpur.  
(Source: the author)

#### 6.4. Summary

This chapter has discussed various proposals for an engaging mechanism for heritage-residents and visitors. The archaeological site museums were chosen as an engaging representation of subjective artefacts and subjectivity of heritage-residents and visitors. It is worth emphasising that heritage-residents are very emotionally attached to their own idea of history; this is why the

previous chapter tried to negotiate the academic idea of history juxtaposed with the residents' version of history. To address this factor, the beginning of this chapter proposed a different idea of representation, which almost brings to life such as residents' history. This involves a live performance of the resident in a storytelling format, use of easy-to-understand visual representations, and the inclusion of the history books written by the residents themselves.

Finally, a systematic GPS survey for generating the spatial distribution of archaeological records provides a complete idea of the cultural heritage sites. These maps may be printed as life-size for museum representations. It will be helpful to visitors who, in most cases, easily lose their concentration while roaming the cultural heritage sites. Of course, mapping the cultural heritage sites also provides the primordial benefit of preserving the spatial database of cultural heritage sites.

Clearly, the 3D models of the present can feature architectures, monuments, and artefacts, which would then make it possible to generate the predictive 3D models to aid in understanding the future-past. This chapter has presented a proposal for arranging some 3D presentations of the structures of the cultural heritage. 3D modelling in archaeology is not a recent phenomenon. In fact, in the last 30 years, it has been practised for digital conservation systems and predictive modelling of archaeological objects and architectures. Some papers have been published in this regard. Unfortunately, in Bangladesh archaeology, these tools are yet to be introduced.

It is submitted that this study can be considered as one of the in-depth introductory research where a digital initiative has been made. A paper on 3D modelling of the *Khalifatabad* has already been published (Imran, 2017) but this dissertation may be the first complete published work on 3D conservation of cultural heritage site.

As a first author, in a previous paper (Imran, 2014), I have argued that *Khalifatabad* was a planned city and it should be considered as a sultanate period town of the past undivided Bangla.

To save the world heritage and to make a digital database, specific initiatives were made under this study. It is argued that digital technology is essential to visualise the unknown past for it to be known. Technologies and techniques are getting updated every day and archaeologists may easily grasp these useful techniques and tools to establish their hypothesis. It is very unusual to find in situ archaeological records. In most cases, fragmented and ruined archaeological records have been dug out. In this case, typo-technology and spatiotemporal reality have only been imagined hypothetically. The 3D modelling tools help to make this virtually-real. It is the virtual reality which was used to visualise the predictive model of the hypothesis and eventually develop the 3D models of Shait Gumbad Mosque, Singair Mosque, Chunakhola Mosque, Mausoleum of Khan-i-Jahan and the predictive 3D model of *Khalifatabad* Town. These structures are well preserved and renovated by the Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Meanwhile, a question has been raised inquiring into the real necessity to regenerate these structures virtually. The answer is: yes, it is vital for a better understanding of accuracy and preservation capability. A case in point is the predictive 3D modelling of *Somapuramahavihara* shown earlier in this chapter. The 3D model was generated on the idea of Yantra Mandala and the central shrine predicted on the idea of Vajrayana. Heritage sites are continuously exposed to threats such as weathering erosion and anthropogenic erosion, and especially, the problematic safeguarding mechanism (Ahsan and et al. 2004). Therefore, it is necessary to conserve the *Somapura Mahavihara* digitally.

As an introductory work, it will help to counter check the findings of this study. Hopefully, it will help open up a new avenue to use the accessible resources of both information technology and archaeological data for Bangladesh archaeology. It accelerates the model created according to the established methodology for the regeneration of cultural heritage with the support of the integrated and interactive consideration of data.

An automated data collection procedure with a great degree of technical accuracy in the field has not been implemented before in archaeological research. For similar archaeological research in the future, this research initiative can be considered as a reference. However, archaeology is and always will remain uncertain. Usually, there is not enough data for a definitive conclusion. In the case of the historic mosque city of Bagerhat or *Khalifatabad* and Paharpur or *Somapura Mahavihara*, space could be regenerated resulting in the possibility of the primary observation of the structures as they would have looked to those who prayed there when it was in use. The surrounding issues, such as subjectivity<sup>67</sup>, were not ignored. The models of this research are developed within its context and highlight the distinction between reality and inference.

The traditional method of graphic recording methods is used massively, for example, in the case of the staircase, dome and floral designs. There are a couple of different types of opinion received from experts; however, there were a few occasions when all of their advice could be accommodated.

Experimentally, this newly approached technique – creating a 3D environment that was static in 2D drawings – has produced successful results. Therefore, it can be stated that 3D models are far more than just a simple medium for visualisation. It is a digital way of exploring the past for Bangladesh archaeology. In the end, it should be again stressed that these approaches are introductory, and it would take a long way for this initial proposal to establish a total sequence of procedural adaptation to do cultural heritage modelling.

## Chapter Seven

---

## Chapter 7 Conclusion

It is argued, throughout the previous chapters, that “safeguarding” of cultural heritage essentialised the notion of “national patrimony”. Through the governing mechanisms of conservation, preservation, restoration and protection, it further created the “global patrimony” which has the “Outstanding Universal Value”. These governing mechanisms, containing visible and divisible power dynamics, have a heterogeneous dimension. These power relations could be understood by the instruments of “form” and “rationalisation” of the processes. Here, both cultural heritage and heritage-residents are governed by the mechanisms of safeguarding. These controlling mechanisms have earned acceptance on the moral ground. These are often explained by imposed terms; e.g. “masterpiece of human genius”, “unique or at least exceptional testimony”, “outstanding example”, “outstanding universal significance”. These presumed and imposed virtues work as the ethics generating a kind of validation to the laws and legislations behind controlling the safeguarding mechanisms.

The OUV (Outstanding Universal Value), set by UNESCO as the apparatus to define cultural heritage, has been found to be extensively problematic as expounded on Chapter 3 of this research. The definition of OUV has also proposed the homogenisation of cultures through the idea of “universal value”. It is a modernised conception that can reduce the beauty of the heterogeneity of cultures. The declaration of World Cultural Heritage by UNESCO is a de facto authorisation process which allows a cultural heritage to enter the heritage discourse. This process of “becoming” the world cultural heritage bears a resemblance to consumer products. Neoliberal-safeguarding-governmentality developed and shaped tourism as an apparatus, and this idea is ill-treated by the DoA, especially the project of SATIDP. They have effectively ignored the religion-cultural-occupational interests and actions of heritage-residents and visitors. SATIDP

projects commodified the cultural heritage for the DoA, where the interest of heritage-residents is absent. It can be clarified by exemplifying the development of heritage tourism, where history, aesthetics, and past are sold as the pride of a nation and also as global patrimony.

The Management Guidelines for the World Cultural Heritage Sites, set by ICCROM, UNESCO and ICOMOS (Feilden and Jokilehto 1998), is the apparatus of rationalisation used to validate the controlling of the safeguarding governance of the member-states as the safeguarding programmes of member-states are regulated by it. The evolution of these member-states, especially, the South-Asian nation-states, to a managerial authority controlling the narratives have been discursively analysed in Chapter 4. These intangible powers invisibly liquefy the sovereignty of these states. This research work identifies these as “transnational governmentality”, and the role of the state for safeguarding the cultural heritage as “managerial governmentality”. These neoliberal genres of knowledge to protect the cultural heritage are the sovereign action of dominant agencies as a project of modernity in Bangladesh.

By following the transnational guideline, DoA works as an autonomous body, where the participation of heritage-residents is deemed as a routinary job. Chapter 4 of this research explains the governing mechanism of DoA is idealised from a colonial mindset which, as interpreted by Edward Said in “Orientalism”, is the transformation of the “rule of force” to the “rule of law”. The modernisation project is triggered to endure the colonial essence in the governing of heritage and residents. The governing techniques of DoA are found as a policing agency for safeguarding the cultural heritage. As a result, in Paharpur, this research has found an “avoiding and keeping to themselves attitude” among the residents, which can be recognised as a passive resistance. On the other hand, active resistance took place in the Mahasthangarh area, where the resistance of the residents translated into rallies and attacks on the jointly organised public function of the local parliament member and the DoA. The residents also tried to erase the signatures of cultural heritage to save their residences and farmlands. The present



governmental mechanisms and apparatuses are dealing with these in a brutal way which is, again, raising the insecurity of the cultural heritage.

The stereotypical perception of the destructions of the cultural heritage in Bangladesh have caused resistance among heritage residents, especially since the residents are Muslims and the archaeological remains are characteristically Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim. This argument is explored in Chapter 5, where different opinions have been narrated highlighting mismatches in the generalised perceptions. In fact, these perceptions were seeded by the modern idea of religion. Talal Asad (2003) found that the idea of religion is problematic, and strongly showed that “the Enlightenment's claim to universality: Muslims, as members of the abstract category "humans," can be assimilated or (as some recent theorist have put it) "translated" into a global ("European") civilization once they have divested themselves of what many of them regard (mistakenly) as essential to themselves. The belief that human beings can be separated from their histories and traditions makes it possible to urge an Europeanisation of the Islamic world”.

The irony is that the heritage-residents of Mahasthangarh have not left their tradition and histories behind, but have only changed them so that now, they practise orally. From the conversations with the Hindu and Muslim residents, it became clear that residents from both religious groups believe that Hindu King Parashuram was the oppressor when Shah Sultan Mahisawar came to rescue them. The latter is the saviour for them. Even nowadays, the heritage-residents ask for support by *Manat* and sacrifice animals (e.g., cow, goat, chicken). The heritage-resident's past cannot be explained away as a simple communal event. He earned the respect of Hindu and Muslim heritage-residents because the Hindu religious people also believed that King Parashuram was an autocratic ruler and they blamed him for the killing of their King *Knol* (see Figures 92 & 93).

The cultural heritages as this study's research sites, especially Mahasthangarh and Paharpur, are identified as "dead sites" because the residents therein are Muslim, who seem not to feel any religious attachment to them. This necessarily is the stereotypical outsider's perception. On the contrary, from the extensive field observations, it has been found that the residents and visitors have been keeping the cultural heritages of Mahasthangarh alive. Figure 95 in Chapter 5 and its explanation can be a good example for understanding the performativity of reflective subjectivity of heritage-residents and visitors. Different performativity of residents is interpreted here even when the residents are Muslims. It can be said that the reflective performativity of residents can be considered as a safeguarding mechanism of cultural heritage.

It is aforesaid that heritage-residents are not finding space to engage themselves in safeguarding the cultural heritage with their own understanding of past/history/heritage. Therefore, one of the projects of this research work is to find out the engaging mechanism for resident interest to safeguarding the cultural heritage by accommodating their heterogeneous voices of the past in the "history". Here, "history" means academic history, the formation of which has been discursively analysed in Chapter 5. In this chapter, a critical approach was made to problematise this dominating history writing. It contested the idea of "scientism of history", which has generated the differentiation between "fact" and "fiction". In the Indian sub-continent, these modernised scientific history writing projects were developed and practised from a mindscape of colonial governmentality. This mindscape has always provoked a systematic history-writing where traditional practices have been deduced as an element of history-writing. This study does not endorse this perception of the past and heritage at the popular level. Instead, it suggests that there is an undemocratic terrain in history-writing and the generated heritage have been identified under this dominating practice of history in Bangladesh. It is also suggested that the narrative of communal harmony and the apolitical ideal of heritage in the institutionalised hi(story) are not valid.

On the other hand, institutionalised hi(story)-writing claims itself to be a scientifically materialistic fact-based mechanism, although, in this study, its approach and mechanism have already been problematised. In the end, the perceptions of the past/history/heritage are heterogeneous within the common heritage-residents. Therefore, popular perceptions should be engaged in a democratic way to safeguard the heritage.

Chapter 6 has focused on figuring out the engaging mechanism of heritage-residents and formulating a proposition to develop an apparatus to conserve and represent the cultural heritage digitally in the museums, which would include both the narratives of the heritage-residents and the dominating archaeological understanding of the past. Here, Archaeological Site Museums have been selected to represent the popular history digitally, i.e. live performance of residents in a storytelling format, visual representations, and inclusion of the history written by the heritage-residents and academic history. The proposal also included the mapping of the spatial distribution of archaeological evidence surveyed by GPS, represent these maps in one gallery, and generate 3D models of the cultural heritage by following the existing academic understanding and self-generated predictions. Generation and representation of these “known to known” and “known to unknown” 3D models of existing structures and 3D predictive models are in the site-museums that have been proposed.

It can be concluded that the dominating paradigm of safeguarding programme of the cultural heritage as a project of neoliberal governmentality has been found discursively problematic. It was critically examined in this research work, and the formation of received genres of protection knowledge are, covertly or overtly, recognised to be insufficient to understand the complexities of the forces acting in the mechanisms of safeguarding cultural and archaeological records. Therefore, a theoretical apparatus has been developed, through this research, which is “safeguarding-governmentality” for discursively analysing the formation and rationalisation mechanisms of the safeguarding programme in Bangladesh. Heritage-residents and

the heterogeneity of their social dynamics and forces are contextualised and historicized under the academicians and government agency's normalised modern ideas and practices of safeguarding programme. The study meticulously analysed the actions of government agencies and found reflexivity of active and passive resistance among heritage-residents.

Despite the institutional history writings, the residents have their own past conservation mechanisms by practising oral storytelling and publishing. By the extensive ethnographic survey, different types of reflective actions have been discursively analysed, which could be defined as the engagement of the residents and visitors with the cultural heritage, especially, the reflectivity towards the artefacts (see Figures 94 to 98).

*Khodar Pathar Bhita*, the Mausoleum of Sultan *Mahisawar*, *Jyot Kundo* (see Figure 95 to 99); the story of the battle between King *Parashuram* and Sultan *Mahisawar* (see Figure 92-93) in Mahasthagarh; the Mausoleum of Khan Jahan (see Figure 114-115); crocodiles (see Figure 97); *Jabaj Ghata* (see Figure 99) in Bagerhat and temples of Bhaktapur (see Figure 42 & 50) in Nepal – all these exemplify the performativity of subjective reflectivity of the heritage-residents with regard to the heritage evidences. It can be said that “doing” history/ heritage/ religion/ belief/ safeguarding/communal harmony has been preserved by heritage-residents. This is true despite the general perception that where there is no group of devotees with religious affiliation similar to the heritage, then the heritage site becomes “dead.” Another big argument on the treatment of heritage is the “other people’s culture” mentality and the lack of any feeling of importance among the residents to preserve it. In this case, Bhaktapur, located in Nepal, is the finest example where heritage-residents are keeping on their effort to conserve their heritage again and again after facing regular natural disasters like earthquakes. Even in the last massive earthquake of 2015, the conservation processes kept on continuing with the support of the government and the committees of heritage-residents. There, every temple is a living temple with performance of the religious actions by the heritage-residents. Almost the same experiences can be found in the

heritage site of Bagerhat in Bangladesh. This site is very active, and the heritage-residents have vibrant performativity of reflective subjectivity. Nevertheless, this site is different in the case of reflexivity of the heritage-residents. Here, performativity of the subjective reflexivity is the self-conscious belief system of both religious groups: Hindu and Muslim. This is evident, as can be gleaned in Figures 95 and 96 in Chapter 5, in the act of Hindu devotees also joining in the same Muslim rituals, such as pouring mustard oil on the base of the pillar of the Mausoleum of Khan Jahan, offering chicken to the crocodile at the same mausoleum, and worshipping the place called *Jahaj ghata* of Khan Jahan for the fulfilment of their wishes and protection from any evil.

On the contrary, Mahasthan is where the majority of the heritage-residents and visitors are Muslims, yet this could not be designated as a dead site because of the reflective performativity of both the heritage-residents and visitors. In this case, the Mausoleum of Sultan Mahisawar, the stone slab named *Khodar Pathar Bhita*, the water well known as *Jyot Kundo*, or the bridal suite of Behula-Lakhindar are the archaeological evidences among others, which prove the reflexivity of both religious groups of heritage-residents – Hindu and Muslim – through their performances towards these archaeological evidences.

Finally, there is the case of Paharpur which can be considered a dead site – abandoned by the heritage-residents as a consequence of the safeguarding-governmentality of the DoA of Bangladesh. The DoA fenced in the entire heritage site and brutally suppressed the frequent traversing of the heritage-residents. It did so to specially treat this cultural heritage as highly sensitive for conservation. Previously, the heritage-residents could frequently enter the premises and offer some food (e.g. *Khichuri*) at the base of the central shrine of Paharpur for the healthy life of their children. Nowadays, with a heavy heart they have stopped this ritual. This study has found that the DoA's analysed knowledge on religion, rituals and Islam have been developed with a very modernised essence. Their failure to recognise various types of reflective performativity of heritage-residents towards the archaeological evidence is hugely problematic.

Therefore, it can be argued that extreme governmentalisation mechanisms are making the heritages more vulnerable. It is necessary to draw an action based on the knowledge mechanisms of the past and the performativity of the reflective subjectivity of the heritage-residents towards the archaeological evidence for safeguarding the cultural heritage in Bangladesh.

The challenge of this research work is figuring out, together with the institutionalised understanding of history, a mechanism to engage the heritage-residents with their reflective performativity in order to safeguard the cultural heritage. To achieve this goal, the idea of democratising history and digitally conserving – representing the past in the museum – has been theoretically formulated and developed. The cultural heritage site museums are targeted in this case to accommodate the heterogeneous voice of the past in history, which will not cross the disciplinary boundaries. The proposal formulated here tried to accommodate and represent all of the voices in the museums. The multi-vocal histories are represented and conserved with the action of interactive performativity of the resident's narratives and dominating archaeological understanding of the past, where the present form and predictive 3D models of structures are generated for safeguarding the cultural heritage of Bangladesh entailing the future-past.

In the end, it can be arguably hoped that this research work can be exemplified as an approach of neology to understanding the discursive formation of a safeguarding programme, which is yet to be attempted in the field of safeguarding programmes of cultural heritage in Bangladesh.

## Endnotes

- 
- <sup>1</sup> Heritagisation refers to the transformation of objects, places and practices into cultural heritage as values are attached to them, essentially describing heritage as a process.
- <sup>2</sup> *Laissez Faire in Nineteenth-Century Britain: A Bibliographical Essay* by Ellen F. Paul, <https://oll.libertyfund.org/pages/laissez-faire-in-nineteenth-century-britain-a-bibliographical-essay-by-ellen-f-paul>, Published on April 13, 2016, Accessed on April 11, 2019
- <sup>3</sup> Foucauldian history of the post-colonial present would be oriented towards social justice and the contestation of domination (Legg 2007). Scott very consciously followed Foucault's work on colonial world giving an emphasis on the practicalities of rule and drew out a well-known work: 'Colonial Governmentality' (D. Scott 2008). Scott (D. Scott 2008) is committed to tracing the effects of colonial history in the present, and he admits that this sort of analysis must begin with the rationalities of rule that colonialism established.
- <sup>4</sup> Because Dean (1998: 185 cited in Legg, 2008: 12) explicitly suggests that problematisations should be central to an analytical approach that '... proceeds from an analysis of, if not their congenitally failing character, their local and particular instances of problematisation and re-problematisation'
- <sup>5</sup> Partially this segment was published in the following paper: Imran, M. (2016). 'Keeping Alive the Sultanate Past of Bangladesh by Using 3D Modelling and Virtual Reality as Tools for Assisting Archaeology and Generating the Predictive Models of World Cultural Heritage Sites— The Case Study of Town and Mosques of Shait Gumbad Mosque Region', *Pratna Samiksha* 7: 161–169, Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training, Eastern India, Kolkataersity.
- <sup>6</sup> Code-name, it has been used like a database ID.
- <sup>7</sup> Surface, texture, quality, varnish.
- <sup>8</sup> In Foucauldian approach, *eventalisation* is to make visible and classify the subject.
- <sup>9</sup> "governmentalisation in the name of safeguarding": the process of normalization and rationalization for controlling, producing and practicing the knowledge of governing the heritage and resident through the programme of safeguarding.
- <sup>10</sup> SAARC- South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation, was formed in 1985 among South Asian nations for achieving developmental partnership. Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, the Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka were the founding members of this regional association.
- <sup>11</sup> Mahasthan, Shafiqul Alam. Please browse <http://en.banglapedia.org/index.php?title=Mahasthan>, Published on March 30, 2015, Accessed on December 16, 2018.
- <sup>12</sup> This segment has already been published: Imran, M. (2016). "Beyond Anecdotalism: Questioning about Ulugh Khan Jahan, Founder of World Heritage of Shait Gumbad Mosque, Bangladesh from the Dominating Historical and Archaeological Account", *ICON: Journal of Archaeology and Culture*, Wakankar Rock Art and Heritage Welfare Society, Bhopal, Research India Press, India, New Delhi: pp. 15–23.
- <sup>13</sup> Given the operational guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO Document WHC-97/2, February 1997), some parameters have been defined by ICOMOS, in the evaluation of all cultural nominations. According to that, a cultural property (to use the UNESCO term) should:

- 
1. represent a masterpiece of *human creative genius*; or
  2. exhibit an important interchange of *human values*, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town-planning and landscape design, or;
  3. bear a unique or at least *exceptional testimony* to a civilization or cultural tradition which is living or which has disappeared, or;
  4. be an *outstanding example* of a type of building or architectural ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history, or;
  5. be an *outstanding example* of a culture (or cultures), especially when it had become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change, or;
  6. be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of *outstanding universal significance* (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion on the list only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria, cultural or natural).

<sup>14</sup> Heritagisation refers to the transformation of objects, places and practices into cultural heritage as values are attached to them, essentially describing heritage as a process.

<sup>15</sup> Please visit: <http://www.thedailystar.net/lifestyle/special-feature/heritage-tourism-76991>

<sup>16</sup> Please visit the Antiquities Act in 1968 from the website of [https://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/the-antiquities-act\\_html/Antiquities\\_Act\\_1968\\_English.pdf](https://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/the-antiquities-act_html/Antiquities_Act_1968_English.pdf), Accessed on December 22, 2018

<sup>17</sup> *ibid*

<sup>18</sup> *ibid*

<sup>19</sup> *ibid*

<sup>20</sup> *ibid*

<sup>21</sup> Please visit the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, from the website of <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>, Accessed on December 22, 2018

<sup>22</sup> World Heritage, <https://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-13be.pdf>, Published on May 23, 2007, Accessed on April 4, 2019.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid*

<sup>24</sup> Heritage sites left in ruins, The Daily Star Web Portal: <https://www.thedailystar.net/news-detail-83242>, Published on April 08, 2009 and Accessed on November 01, 2018

<sup>25</sup> Clash of cultures in Bhaktapur, Sewa Bhattarai, Web Portal: <https://www.nepalitimes.com/banner/clash-of-cultures-in-bhaktapur/>, Published on Jun 1, 2018 and Accessed on November 11, 2018

<sup>26</sup> *ibid*

<sup>27</sup> *ibid*

<sup>28</sup> *ibid*

<sup>29</sup> Please visit the Daily Star Web portal: <http://www.thedailystar.net/news-detail-165276>



- 
- <sup>30</sup> Please visit the Daily Star Web portal: <http://www.thedailystar.net/news-detail-165276>
- <sup>31</sup> Please visit Web portal: <http://www.hrisouthasian.org/blog/32-elsewhere/263-save-the-mahasthanagarh.html>
- <sup>32</sup> Please brows <http://satidpnepal.gov.np/gallery.php>, Accessed on November 10, 2018.
- <sup>33</sup> Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations, December 5, 1956, Source [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=13062&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13062&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html). Accessed on August 8, 2017
- <sup>34</sup> Policy and Guidelines on Archaeological Excavation, Published on 1999, Source: <http://www.tipperarycoco.ie/sites/default/files/Publications/Policy%20and%20Guidelines%20on%20Archaeological%20Excavation.pdf>, Accessed on August 08, 2017, Requirements for Archaeological Excavation, updated March 2017, Source: <https://www.suffolk.gov.uk/assets/culture-heritage-and-leisure/suffolk-archaeological-service/SCCAS-Excavation-Requirements-2017.pdf>, Accessed on August 8, 2017, Guidelines for archaeological excavation and recording techniques, by Northumberland National Park, English Heritage and Council for British Archaeology, Source: <http://www.isgap.org.uk/docs/16c>, Accessed on August 8, 2017, Code of Professional Standards, January 05, 2008, Source: <https://www.archaeological.org/news/advocacy/132>, Accessed on August 8, 2017 and The excavation report as a literary genre: traditional practice in Britain, by Richard Bradley, in *World Archaeology*, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. 38: 4: 664-671, Source: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40024062>. Accessed on August 8, 2017.
- <sup>35</sup> Baconian concepts of scientific method, which will be done by following the hypothesis to investigate the truth, Baconian method, by the editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, Published on July 20, 1998 and Accessed on April 16, 2019.
- <sup>36</sup> Mangal Shobhajatra on Pahela Baishakh, Bangladesh, Inscribed in 2016 (11.COM) on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/mangal-shobhajatra-on-pahela-baishakh-01091>, Accessed on April 17, 2019
- <sup>37</sup> I have partially published this segment in Imran, M.M. (2018). "Banalism": Ownership of the Past in Bangladesh', *Bangabidya* 10: 446–467, International Journal of Bengal Studies, Tokyo, Japan.
- <sup>38</sup> Please see *Banglar Itibash* (History of Bengal) (1915) by Rakhal Das Bandhopadhyay, *Bangla dasher Itibash* (History of Bangla Desh) (1948) by R.C. Mojumder, *Bangaleer Itibash*, *Adi Porbo* (History of Bengalees) (1949) by Niharanjon Roy, etc.
- <sup>39</sup> "FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT 'Bengalis are indigenous to their land' — an archaeologist contests" by Rahnuma Ahmed, Published in *New Age*, Monday, April 9, 2012. Source: <http://www.shahidulnews.com/fifteenth-amendment-bengalis-are-indigenous-to-their-land-an-archaeologist-contests#ixzz4pdtDjhlf>, Accessed on August 13, 2017.
- <sup>40</sup> In 2011, Bangladesh Awami League enacted the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment where citizenship was declared in the following manner:
- “6. Citizenship.— (1) The citizenship of Bangladesh shall be determined and regulated by law.
- (2) The People of Bangladesh shall be known as Bangalees as a nation and the citizens of Bangladesh shall be known as Bangladeshies.”

The constitution of Bangladesh firmly declared that the people of Bangladesh shall be known as Bangalees. A very simple understanding is that all self-proclaimed indigenous nationalities are now identifying as a Bangalee nation. This implies that Bangladesh is refuting the recognition of the

---

Adibasi/indigenous people as 'nation'; i.e. Chakma nation, Marma Nation, Santal Nation. The 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment was precise in inserting a new Article 23A in the Constitution, which states,

"23A. The culture of tribes, minor races, ethnic sects, and communities. – The State shall take steps to protect and develop the unique local culture and tradition of the tribes, minor races, ethnic sects, and communities."

This nationality-homogenisation process proceeded in the name of majoritarian democracy through the first constitution of Bangladesh in 1972. The people became indiscernible from the draft of the first constitution of Bangladesh in 1972. Abdul Razzak Bhuyian, a member of parliament from the ruling Awami League, proposed that "citizens of Bangladesh will be known as Bengali" (Mohsin 1991: 59, cited in Alam 2015: 134). In protest, Manabendra Narayan Larma, an Adibasi /indigenous parliamentarian moved for an amendment as shown in the quoted transcript below.

"Sir Manabendra Narayan Larma: "Honorable Mr. Speaker, Mr. Abdul Razzak Bhuyian proposes an amendment that all Bangladeshi citizens be known as 'Bengali.'

Honorable Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that the constitution bill argues that the "citizenship of Bangladesh should be based in and controlled by law." Regarding Mr. Abdul Razzak Bhuyian's proposal that the Bangladeshi citizens be known as "Bengali," I have reservations. The definition of Bangladeshi citizenship needs to be properly considered.

I come from the Chittagong Hill Tracts area that has been part of Bangladesh for ages. We have been educated in Bangla and speak Bangladeshi. We are closely linked with the crores of Bangladeshi. In every aspect, we live together. But I am Chakma. My father is Chakma, as are my grandfather and forefathers. They never claimed to be Bengali. I appeal to member brothers and sisters. I do not know why this constitution identifies us as Bengali . . .

Mr. Speaker: You do not wish to be Bengali?

Sir Manabendra Narayan Larma: Honorable Mr. Speaker, no one ever called us Bengali. We never think we are Bengali. Today in this independent sovereign country if this amendment is passed, our national identity will be eradicated. We are the citizens of Bangladesh. We consider ourselves Bangladeshi and believe in it. But we are not Bengali."

Mr. Speaker: Sit down. Please resume your seat." (Quoted in Mohsin 1997: 59–63; emphasis added by Alam 2015: 134-135)

But his argument was overruled.

<sup>41</sup> Ethnic minority, not indigenous, the Daily Star, 27 July 2011, Source: <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=195963>, Accessed on October 5, 2015

No indigenous people in Bangladesh! Govt official tells UN, the Daily Star, May 28, 2011, source: <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=187527>; Accessed on 5 June 2017  
Indigenous issue draws arguments, the Daily Star, August 8, 2011, source: <http://archive.thedailystar.net/newDesign/news-details.php?nid=197739>; Accessed on 5 June 2017

<sup>42</sup> The Rohingya are often said to be the world's most persecuted minority. They are an ethnic Muslim group in a majority Buddhist country and make up around one million of the total 50 million population. They hail from the country's northwest and speak a Bengali dialect. Almost all live in Rakhine, one of the poorest states, with a population of three million. About 140,000 Rohingya in the Rakhine state live in ghetto-like camps that they cannot leave without government permission. They are not regarded as one of the country's 135 official ethnic groups and are denied citizenship under Myanmar's 1982 Citizenship Law, which effectively renders them stateless. To get citizenship, they need to prove they have lived in Myanmar for 60 years, but the paperwork is often unavailable or denied to

---

them. As a result, their rights to study, work, travel, marry, practise their religion and access health services are restricted. They cannot vote and even if they jump through the citizenship test hoops, they have to identify as "naturalized" as opposed to Rohingya, and limits are placed on them entering certain professions like medicine, law or running for office. [Who are the Rohingya?, Aljazeera, October 28, 2015, source: <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2015/10/rohingya-151024202611276.html>, Accessed on 16 June 2017]

<sup>43</sup> Land dispute resolution key to CHT peace: Satyanweshan seminar told, October 27, 2013, source: <http://www.thedailystar.net/news/land-dispute-resolution-key-to-cht-peace>; Accessed on 8 June 2017

<sup>44</sup> বাংলাদেশ নাগরিকের রাষ্ট্র, কোন আদিবাসীর নয় (Bangladesh is the state for citizen, but not for any adibasi/indigenous people), Professor Syed Anwar Hussain, parbattanews, October 27, 2013, source: <http://parbattanews.com/tag/independence/>, Accessed on 5 June 2017

<sup>45</sup> ibid

<sup>46</sup> ibid

<sup>47</sup> ibid

<sup>48</sup> ibid

<sup>49</sup> পার্বত্য চট্টগ্রামের ক্ষুদ্র আতিসন্নাগুলোকে ক্ষুদ্র নৃগোষ্ঠী বলা উচিত – ড. আনিসুজ্জামান, parbattanews, October 27, 2013, source: <http://parbattanews.com/%E0%A6%AA%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%B0%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%AC%E0%A6%A4%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%AF-%E0%A6%9A%E0%A6%9F%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%9F%E0%A6%97%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%B0%E0%A6%BE%E0%A6%AE%E0%A7%87%E0%A6%B0-%E0%A6%95%E0%A7%8D%E0%A6%B7/#.WTltvxOGN-U>, Accessed on 9 June 2017

<sup>50</sup> ibid

<sup>51</sup> The Janapadas were the realms, republics, and kingdoms of the Indian Vedic period late Bronze Age into the (Iron Age) from about 1200 BCE to the 6th century BCE.

<sup>52</sup> Mughals Are Out as Maharashtra History Textbooks Turn State-Centric, August 07, 2017. Source: <https://thewire.in/165360/maharashtra-education-board-removes-traces-mughals-history-textbooks/>. Accessed on August 10, 2017. ভারতের মহারাষ্ট্রে পাঠ্যবই থেকে মুঘল ইতিহাস বাদ, Shuvojit Ghosh, August 08, 2017. Source: <http://www.bbc.com/bengali/news-40864349>. Accessed on August 10, 2017.

<sup>53</sup> The Bengali era is called *Bengali Sambat* (BS) or the *Bengali year* or *Bangla Són*, or *Bangla sal*, or *Bangabda*.

<sup>54</sup> Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations, December 5, 1956, Source [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=13062&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13062&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html). Accessed on August 8, 2017

<sup>55</sup> Policy and Guidelines on Archaeological Excavation, Published in 1999, Source: <http://www.tipperarycoco.ie/sites/default/files/Publications/Policy%20and%20Guidelines%20on%20Archaeological%20Excavation.pdf>, Accessed on August 08, 2017, Requirements for Archaeological Excavation, updated March 2017, Source: <https://www.suffolk.gov.uk/assets/culture-heritage-and-leisure/suffolk-archaeological-service/SCCAS-Excavation-Requirements-2017.pdf>, Accessed on August 8, 2017, Guidelines for archaeological excavation and recording techniques, by Northumberland National Park, English Heritage and Council for British Archaeology, Source: <http://www.isgap.org.uk/docs/16c>, Accessed on August 8, 2017, Code of Professional Standards, January 05, 2008, Source: <https://www.archaeological.org/news/advocacy/132>, Accessed on August 8, 2017 and The excavation report as a literary genre: traditional practice in Britain, by Richard Bradley, in *World Archaeology*, Taylor & Francis, Ltd. 38: 4: 664-671, Source: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40024062>. Accessed on August 8, 2017.

- 
- <sup>56</sup> Oldest civilization dug out, by Shamim Ashraf, in April 02, 2004. Source: <http://archive.thedailystar.net/2004/04/02/d4040201011.htm>, Accessed on August 06, 2017.
- <sup>57</sup> *ibid*
- <sup>58</sup> please, see [www.c14dating.com](http://www.c14dating.com)
- <sup>59</sup> please, see the homepage of internationally reputed journal Radiocarbon at <http://www.radiocarbon.org> for different aspects and debates on calibration
- <sup>60</sup> Please, see [www.c14dating.com](http://www.c14dating.com) and <http://www.rlaha.ox.ac.uk/orau/calibration.html> for detail
- <sup>61</sup> Jointly authored by S. M. K. Ahsan, Sheikh M. Manjurul Hoque and Swadhin Sen, published in *Pratnatattva* [Journal of the Department of Archaeology, Jahangirnagar University; Vol.8; June 2002]
- <sup>62</sup> Richard Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), opens with a similar account of the discovery of the Didarganj *Yakshi*:
- <sup>63</sup> Partially, this segment has been published in a paper I wrote: Imran, M.M., A. Sohag, J.N. Jhumur, & W. Ahmed (2017) Mapping the Landscape of Archaeo-history as a part of a GIS Techniques and GPS Survey Strategy: The Archaeological Heritage of Bangladesh, *ICON, Journal of Archaeology and Culture*, Wakankar Rock Art and Heritage Welfare Society, Bhopal: 4: 83-105.
- <sup>64</sup> Mouza/Mauza is an administrative district before the 20<sup>th</sup> century for revenue collection in the Indian Subcontinent. In the reign of Mughal period, this term was used extensively.
- <sup>65</sup> Partially, this segment has been published in a paper I wrote: Imran, M. (2016). "Keeping Alive the Sultanate Past of Bangladesh by Using 3D Modelling and Virtual Reality as Tools for Assisting Archaeology and Generating the Predictive Models of World Cultural Heritage Sites— The Case Study of Town and Mosques of Shait Gumbad Mosque Region", *Pratna Samiksha* 7: 161–169, Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training, Eastern India, Kolkata city.
- <sup>66</sup> Relating to digital technology or images that actively engage one's senses and may create an altered mental state.
- <sup>67</sup> Here, "subjectivity" is used as a term which was discursively used by Foucault. His approach to subjectivity in these texts is correlative to a study of "techniques". He takes subjectivity to be something constituted, and specially something historically constituted. He associates subjectivity with "a reality ontologically distinct from the body". This, however, is form rather than substance. Lastly, the subject for Foucault is constituted through practices.

---

## References

- Alam, A.K.M.S. 1985. *Sculptural Art of Bangladesh*. Dhaka: Department of Archaeology and Museums.
- Alam, Md. Shafiqul, and Jean-Francois Salles, eds. 2017. *France-Bangladesh Joint Venture Excavations at Mahasthangarh: Second Interim Report 1993-1999*. Dhaka: Department of Archaeology, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and Mission Francaise de Cooperation archaeologique au Bangladesh, Maison de l' Orient Meditteraneen-Jean Pouilloux, Lyon, Ministry of Foreign Affa.
- Ali, Mohammad, Mohammad Moniruzzaman, and Jahangir Tareque, eds. 2015. *Bangla Academy Bengali-English Dictionary*. 1st ed. Dhaka: Bangla Academy.
- Allchin, F.R., and B. Allchin. 1968. *The Birth of Indian Civilisation*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. <https://www.versobooks.com/books/2259-imagined-communities>.
- Arefeen, H.K.S. 1975. "The Hindu Caste Model and the Muslim System of Stratification in Bangladesh." Memorial University of Newfoundland. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>.
- Asad, Talal. 1986. "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology." In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus, 25th ed., 141–64. Berkeley: University of California Press. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1463499609356043>.
- . 2003. *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. History. Redwood City: Stanford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.religion.2004.09.005>.
- Bode, Brigitta, and Mick Howes. 2002. "The North West Institutional Analysis." Dhaka.
- Brady, Michelle. 2014. "Ethnographies of Neoliberal Governmentalities: From the Neoliberal Apparatus to Neoliberalism and Governmental Assemblages." *Foucault Studies*, no. 18: 11–33.
- Butler, Judith. 1988. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40 (4): 519–31. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3207893>.
- Campbell, Gary, and Laurajane Smith. 2016. "Keeping Critical Heritage Studies Critical: Why 'Post-Humanism' and the 'New Materialism' Are Not So Critical." In *The Third Association of Critical Heritage Studies Conference*, 1–12. Montreal. [https://www.academia.edu/26027979/Keeping\\_Critical\\_Heritage\\_Studies\\_Critical\\_Why\\_Post-Humanism\\_and\\_the\\_New\\_Materialism\\_Are\\_Not\\_So\\_Critical](https://www.academia.edu/26027979/Keeping_Critical_Heritage_Studies_Critical_Why_Post-Humanism_and_the_New_Materialism_Are_Not_So_Critical).
- Cesari, Chiara De. 2011. "Cultural Governmentality: Government Through Heritage Conservation in Old Hebron." 23. *Divided Cities/Contested States*. Cambridge. [www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html](http://www.conflictincities.org/workingpapers.html).
- Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton Studies in Culturepowerhistory. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2168288>.
- Cleere, H. 2001. "The Uneasy Bedfellows: Universality and Cultural Heritage." In *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*, edited by R. Layton, P.G. Stone, and J. Thomas, e-Library, 22–29. New York: Routledge. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/5105760>.
- Cohn, Bernard S. 1987. "Representing Authority in Victorian India." Edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*, 165–209. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107295636.005>.

- 
- . 1990. “An Anthropologist among the Historians and Other Essays.” *Oxford India Paperbacks*, 682. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2803804>.
- Coombe, Rosemary J. 2012. “Frontiers of Cultural Property in the Global South.” In *Routledge Companion to Cultural Property*, edited by Jane Anderson and Haidy Geismar, 373–400. London: Routledge. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320851809\\_Cultural\\_Property's\\_Futures\\_and\\_Frontiers\\_in\\_the\\_Global\\_South\\_In\\_Jane\\_Anderson\\_and\\_Haidy\\_Geismar\\_eds\\_Routledge\\_Companion\\_to\\_Cultural\\_Property\\_London\\_Routledge\\_374-400](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320851809_Cultural_Property's_Futures_and_Frontiers_in_the_Global_South_In_Jane_Anderson_and_Haidy_Geismar_eds_Routledge_Companion_to_Cultural_Property_London_Routledge_374-400).
- . 2013. “Managing Cultural Heritage as Neoliberal Governmentality.” In *Heritage Regimes and the State*, edited by Regina F. Bendix, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann, 2013th ed., 6:375–87. Göttingen: Göttingen University Press. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.gup.405>.
- Coombe, Rosemary J., and Lindsay Weiss. 2015. “Neoliberalism, Heritage Regimes, and Cultural Rights.” In *Global Heritage: A Reader*, edited by Lynn Meskell, 43–69. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2644495>.
- Das, A, MS Islam, MJ Alam, and N Hoque. 2007. “Housing Report: Mud House of Bangladesh.” *World Housing Encyclopedia*. Earthquake Engineering Research Institute (EERI) and International Association for Earthquake Engineering (IAEE) Housing. <http://www.world-housing.net/WHEReports/wh100161.pdf>.
- Dayaratne, Ranjith. 2011. “Reinventing Traditional Technologies for Sustainability: Contemporary Earth Architecture of Sri Lanka.” *Journal of Green Building* 5 (4): 23–33. <https://doi.org/10.3992/jgb.5.4.23>.
- Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. 2017. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications. 5th ed. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. <http://books.google.com/books?hl=en&lr=&id=X85J8ipMpZEC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=the+sage+handbook+of+qualitative+research&ots=D2JdP4P2ht&sig=2yyX34kiOQECsXb5-7QtsIU6rq8>.
- Dikshit, K. N. 1999. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India. Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal*. 1999th ed. New Delhi: The Director General, Archaeological Survey of India Janapath.
- Eliassen, Knut Ove. 2010. “The Archives of Michel Foucault.” In *The Archive in Motion : New Conceptions of the Archive in Contemporary Thought*, edited by Eivind Rossaak, 29–51. Oslo: Novus Press.
- Feilden, Bernard M., and Jukka Jokilehto. 1998. *Management Guidelines for World Heritage Sites*. 2nd ed. Rome: ICCROM - International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property.
- Foucault, Michel. 1991. “Governmentality.” In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, edited by Colin Gordon and Peter Miller Burchell, Graham, 87–104. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Foucault, Michel, and (Translator) Hurley, Robert J. 1990. *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction*. New York: Vintage.
- Garner, Ben. 2009. “When Neoliberalism Met Postcolonialism : The ‘Dual Nature’ of Culture at UNESCO.” In *British International Studies Association Annual Conference*. United Kingdom: University of Leicester.
- Ghos, Suchandra. 2016. “Mainamati: An Enigmatic Centre of Buddhism in Southeastern Bangladesh.” In *Nalanda, Srivijaya and Beyond: Re-Exploring Buddhist Art in Asia*, edited by Gauri Parimoo Krishnan, 37–50. Singapore: Asian Civilisations Museum. [https://www.academia.edu/32345899/Mainamati\\_An\\_enigmatic\\_Site?auto=download](https://www.academia.edu/32345899/Mainamati_An_enigmatic_Site?auto=download).
- Golder, Ben. 2007. “Foucault and the Genealogy of Pastoral Power.” *Radical Philosophy Review* 10 (2): 157–76. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1348831>.
- Guha-Thakurta, Tapati. 2004. *Monuments, Objects, Histories*. New York: Columbia University Press. <https://cup.columbia.edu/book/monuments-objects-histories/9780231129985>.

- 
- Gunay, Zeynep. 2008. "Neoliberal Urbanism and Sustainability of Cultural Heritage." In *Neoliberal Urbanism and Cultural Heritage. 44th ISOCARP Congress 2008*, 1–12.
- Hall, Stuart. 2003. "The Work of Representation." In *Representation*, edited by Stuart Hall, 8th ed., 13–74. New Delhi: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Harrison, Rodney. 2013. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. 1st ed. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, David C. 2001. "Heritage Past and Heritage Present: Temporalities, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7 (4): 319 – 338. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13581650120105534>.
- . 2003. "'National' Identities and the Politics of Ancient Heritage: Continuity and Change at Ancient Monuments in Britain and Ireland, c. 1675-1850." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28 (4): 473–87. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-2754.2003.00105.x>.
- Higgitt, Ryan, and Mazharul Islam. 2013. "Colonialism, Casteism and Development: South-South Cooperation as a 'new' Development Paradigm."
- Hodder, Ian. 2003. "Archaeological Reflexivity and the 'Local' Voice." *Anthropological Quarterly* 76 (1): 55–69. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3318361>.
- Iftikhar-ul-Awwal. 2003. "Heritage Management in Bangladesh: An Appraisal." *Jadughar Samachar (Bangladesh National Museum Newsletter)* 5 (4): 7–10.
- Ileto, Reynaldo C. 1979. *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines 1840-1910*. 1st ed. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press. <http://www.ateneo.edu/ateneopress/product/pasyon-and-revolution-popular-movements-philippines-1840-1910>.
- Imran, Masood. 2014. "Quantifying the Spatial Pattern of Medieval Urban Space of Khalifatabad , Bangladesh." *Pratna Samiksha: A Journal of Archaeology* 5: 87–95. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269036053\\_Quantifying\\_the\\_Spatial\\_Pattern\\_of\\_Medieval\\_Urban\\_Space\\_of\\_Khalifatabad\\_Bangladesh/citations](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/269036053_Quantifying_the_Spatial_Pattern_of_Medieval_Urban_Space_of_Khalifatabad_Bangladesh/citations).
- . 2016. "Beyond Anecdotalism: Questioning about Ulugh Khan Jahan, Founder of World Heritage of Saith Gumbad Mosque, Bangladesh from the Dominating Historical and Archaeological Account." *ICON Journal of Archaeology and Culture* 3 (1): 15–24. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/307863949\\_Beyond\\_Anecdotalism\\_Questioning\\_about\\_Ulugh\\_Khan\\_Jahan\\_founder\\_of\\_world\\_heritage\\_of\\_Saith\\_Gumbad\\_Mosque\\_Bangladesh\\_from\\_the\\_dominating\\_Historical\\_and\\_Archaeological\\_Account](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/307863949_Beyond_Anecdotalism_Questioning_about_Ulugh_Khan_Jahan_founder_of_world_heritage_of_Saith_Gumbad_Mosque_Bangladesh_from_the_dominating_Historical_and_Archaeological_Account).
- . 2018. "'Banalism': Ownership of the Past in Bangladesh." *Bangabidya: International Journal of Bengal Studies* 10: 446–67. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323275472\\_Banalism\\_Ownership\\_of\\_the\\_Past\\_in\\_Bangladesh](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323275472_Banalism_Ownership_of_the_Past_in_Bangladesh).
- Imran, Masood, and Minar Masud. 2016. "Keeping Alive the Sultanate Past of Bangladesh by Using 3D Modelling and Virtual Reality as Tools for Assisting Archaeology and Generating the Predictive Models of World Cultural Heritage Sites— The Case Study of Town and Mosques of Shait Gumbad Mosque Re." *Pratna Samiksha: A Journal of Archaeology* 7: 161–89. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309857794\\_Keeping\\_Alive\\_the\\_Sultanate\\_Past\\_of\\_Bangladesh\\_by\\_Using\\_3D\\_Modelling\\_and\\_Virtual\\_Reality\\_as\\_Tools\\_for\\_Assisting\\_Archaeology\\_and\\_Generating\\_the\\_Predictive\\_Models\\_of\\_World\\_Cultural\\_Heritage\\_Sites-\\_The\\_C](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309857794_Keeping_Alive_the_Sultanate_Past_of_Bangladesh_by_Using_3D_Modelling_and_Virtual_Reality_as_Tools_for_Assisting_Archaeology_and_Generating_the_Predictive_Models_of_World_Cultural_Heritage_Sites-_The_C).
- Kosambi, D.D. 1965. *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*. London: Routledge and Kegan Poul.
- Kwame, N. 1965. "Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism." London. Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1965. <https://doi.org/10.2307/40199801>.

- 
- Latour, Bruno. 2004. "Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern." *Critical Inquiry - Special Issue on the Future of Critique* 30 (Winter 2004): 225–48. <https://doi.org/10.1086/421123>.
- Layton, R., and J. Thomas. 2004. "Introduction: The Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property." In *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*, edited by Robert Layton, Julian Thomas, and Peter G. Stone, 4th ed., 1:1–21. London: Routledge. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/5105760>.
- Legg, Stephen. 2007. *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*. *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities*. 1st ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470712856>.
- Lewis, D., and A. Hossain. 2008. "Understanding the Local Power Structure in Rural Bangladesh." Vol. 22. Dhaka. [www.sida.se](http://www.sida.se).
- Long, Thang, Huong T Bui, and Timothy J Lee. 2015. "Commodification and Politicization of Heritage: Implications for Heritage Tourism at the Imperial Citadel of Thang Long, Hanoi (Vietnam)." *ASEAS – Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies* 8 (2): 187–202. <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-2015.2-5>.
- Lowenthal, David. 1997. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. 1st ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Luciano, Pellegrino A. 2006. "Neoliberalism, Heritage Conservation, and the Resulting Dispossession at Machu Picchu, a Protected Area in the Peruvian Andes." *The Applied Anthropology* 26 (1): 1–13.
- Meskill, Lynn. 2013. "UNESCO's World Heritage Convention at 40." *Current Anthropology* 54 (4): 483–94. <https://doi.org/10.1086/671136>.
- Metcalf, T. R. 1998. "Past and Present: Towards and Aesthetic of Colonialism." In *Paradigms of Indian Architecture: Space and Time in Representation and Design*, edited by G. H. R. Tilloston, 1st ed., 12–25. London: Routledge.
- Morley, David, and Kuan-Hsing Chen. 1996. "Introduction." In *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, edited by Stuart Hall, David Morley, and Kuan-Hsing Chen, 1–23. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203993262>.
- Nandy, A. 1995. "History's Forgotten Doubles." *History and Theory* 34 (2): 44–66.
- Prasad, I. 1970. *History of Mediaeval India*. 3rd ed. Allahabad: Indian Press.
- Prideaux, Bruce. 2003. "Commodifying Heritage: Loss of Authenticity and Meaning or an Appropriate Response to Difficult Circumstances?" *International Journal of Tourism Sciences* 3 (1): 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15980634.2003.11434537>.
- Raffnsøe, Sverre, Alan Rosenberg, Alain Beaulieu, Sam Binkley, Sven Opitz, Jens Erik Kristensen, Morris Rabinowitz, and Ditte Vilstrup Holm. 2009. "Neoliberal Governmentality." *Foucault Studies*, 2009.
- Rahman, S.S.M. 2000. "Preliminary Report on Trial Excavations at Govinda Bhita and Khansher Dhap in Mahasthan Region." *Pratnatattva* 6 (1): 33–38.
- Rayhan, Morshed. 2012. "Prospects of Public Archaeology in Heritage Management in Bangladesh: Perspective of Wari-Bateshwar." *Archaeologies* 8 (2): 169–87. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11759-011-9177-5>.
- Ronström, Owe. 2005. "Memories, Traditions, Heritage." In *Memories and Visions*, edited by Ulf Ronström, Owe & Palmenfelt, Studies in, 1–15. Estonia: Departement of Estonian and Comparative Folklore & Department of Ethnology, University of Tartu.
- Samuels, KL, and I Lilley. 2015. "Transnationalism and Heritage Development." *Global Heritage: A Reader*, no. July: 217–39.



- 
- Scott, David. 1999. *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Post Coloniality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. <https://press.princeton.edu/titles/6653.html>.
- . 2008. "Colonial Governmentality." In *Anthropologies of Modernity: Foucault, Governmentality, and Life Politics*, 21–49. Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Scott, James C. 1985. "Weapons of the Weak Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 136 (1).
- Sen, Swadhin. 2002. "Community Boundary, Secularized Religion and Imagined Past in Bangladesh: Archaeology and Historiography of Unequal Encounter." *World Archaeology* 34 (2): 346–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0043824022000007143>.
- . 2003. "Essential Dilemma in the Liberal Understanding of Heritage: On Recent Looting and Destruction of Museums in Iraq and Its Reactions." *Meghbarta: An Online Journal of Activism*, 2003.
- Sen, Swadhin, Masood Imran, Afroza Khan, Majeda Rahman, Nurul Kabir, Syfur Rahman, Nazmus Sakeb, Khandakar Mehabubul Islam, and Arifur Rahman. 2006. "We Can Protect Our Past?: Re-Thinking the Dominating Paradigm of Preservation and Conservation with Reference to the World Heritage Site of Somapura Mahavihara, Bangladesh." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 6 (1): 71–99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14696053060060563>.
- Siddiqui, Zillur Rahman, ed. 2015. *Bangla Academy English-Bangla Dictionary*. 3rd ed. Dhaka: Bangla Academy.
- Silva, Kapila D. 2015. "The Spirit of Place of Bhaktapur, Nepal." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 1–22. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2015.1028962>.
- Smith, Laurajane. 2001. "Archaeology and the Governance of Material Culture□ : A Case Study From." *ARTICLE Norwegian Archaeological Review* 34 (2): 97–105.
- . 2006. "Uses of Heritage." *Archaeology*, 369. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203602263>.
- . 2012. "Discourses of Heritage : Implications for Archaeological Community Practice." *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos*. <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.64148>.
- Smith, Laurajane, Anna Morgan, and Anita van der Meer. 2003. "Community-Driven Research in Cultural Heritage Management: The Waanyi Women's History Project." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9 (1): 65–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1352725022000056631>.
- Smith, Laurajane, Paul A Shackel, and Gary Campbell. 2011. "Heritage, Labour, and the Working Classes." *Key Issues in Cultural Heritage*, no. July: xv, 309 p. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2151-6952.2012.00145.x>.
- Smith, Laurajane, and Emma Waterton. 2009. "Introduction: Heritage and Archaeology." In *Taking Archaeology out of Heritage*, edited by Emma Smith, Laurajane, and Waterton, 1–9. London: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Smith, V.A. 1924. *The Early History of India*. 4th ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Taylor, Ann C. M. 2016. "United Nations Educational, Scientific And Cultural Organization (UNESCO) / Organisation Des Nations Unies Pour L'education, La Science et La Culture (UNESCO)." *World List of Universities / Liste Mondiale Des Universites*, no. October: 755–57. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-12037-6\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-12037-6_6).
- Texier, Thibault Le. 2012. "The Uses and Misuses of Foucault for Thinking Management: A Case for a Theory of Managerial Governmentality." *Paper, Gredeg-Cnrs, Law, Economics and ...*, no. February: 1–19. [http://www.letexier.org/IMG/pdf/LeTexier-Foucault.ManagerialGovernmentality\\_02.2012\\_.pdf](http://www.letexier.org/IMG/pdf/LeTexier-Foucault.ManagerialGovernmentality_02.2012_.pdf).

- 
- Veer, Peter Van Der. 2001. *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*. *Imperial Encounters*. Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Vinthagen, Stellan, and Anna Johansson. 2013. "“Everyday Resistance”: Exploration of a Concept and Its Theories.” *Resistance Studies Magazine*, no. 1: 1–46.
- Waterton, Emma, and Laurajane Smith. 2006. “Introduction: There Is No Such Thing as Heritage.” *Taking Archaeology out of Heritage*. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2011.00246>.
- . 2010. “The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16 (1–2): 4–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250903441671>.
- Waterton, Emma, Laurajane Smith, and Gary Campbell. 2006. “The Utility of Discourse Analysis to Heritage Studies: The Burra Charter and Social Inclusion.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12 (4): 339–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250600727000>.
- Waterton, Emma, Steve Watson, and Helaine Silverman. 2017. “Heritage in Action,” 3–16. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-42870-3>.
- White, H.V. 1975. “Historicism , History , and the Figurative Imagination.” *History and Theory* 14 (4): 48–67. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2504665>.
- Wijesuriya, G., J. Thompson, and C. Young. 2013. “Managing Cultural World Heritage.” Paris.
- Winter, Tim. 2015. “Heritage Diplomacy.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 7258 (May). <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2015.1041412>.
- Zakariah, A.K.M. 2011. *The Archaeological Heritage of Bangladesh*. 1st ed. Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bangladesh.

---

## Enclosure-1

### The List of Surveyed Heritage Records in Mahasthangarh Area;

ID	Name	Village	Union	Upazila	Latitude	Longitude
1	Agomaji	Agomaji	Khorna	Bogra	24.81666667	89.35
2	Akrail	Akrail	Paikar	Kahaloo	24.90461111	89.27252778
3	Arola Dhap	Arola	Paikar	Kahaloo	24.90980556	89.27766667
4	Salban Rajar Bari	Arola	Paikar	Kahaloo	24.90516667	89.27613889
5	Salban Rajar Kachari	Baghahali	Paikar	Kahaloo	24.92566667	89.29136111
6	Ciringi Dhap	Baghahali	Paikar	Kahaloo	24.92666667	89.29222222
7	Skandar Dhap	Baghopara	Gokul	Bogra	24.91666667	89.36666667
8	Gabtalir Dhap	Bamanpara	Namuja	Bogra	24.65	89.3
9	Kanai Dhap	Bamanpara	Namuja	Bogra	24.94541667	89.3225
10	Sultaner Dargah	Banavita	Kharna	Bogra	24.94975	89.34794444
11	Bansbaria Dhap	Bansbaria	Bhatgram	Nandigram	24.75	89.25
12	Balai Dhap	Bara Saralpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.94241667	89.32244444
13	Bairagir Dhap	Bara Saralpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.95244444	89.31266667
14	Failar Dhap	Bara Saralpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.95227778	89.30822222
15	Kumragari Mound	Bara Saralpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.95	89.31666667
16	Panch Pিরer Dhap	Bara Saralpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.94586111	89.31244444
17	Naudapara	Barbakpur	Nishindara	Bogra	24.9	89.36666667
18	Bhasu Vihar	Bhasu Vihar	Shibganj	Shibganj	24.983	89.29733333
19	Bihar Dhap	Bihar	Shibganj	Shibganj	24.96666667	89.31666667
20	Masore Dhap	Beel Hamla	Buriganj	Bogra	24.96886111	89.25436111
21	Ghuchi Dhap	Chakalma	Bhatgram	Nandigram	24.68333333	89.23333333
22	Deolar Dhap	Chak Deola	Burail	Nandigram	24.65	89.31666667
23	Chala	Chala	Bhatra	Nandigram	24.66666667	89.18333333
24	Burir Than and Sannyasir Than	Chandmua Haripur	Gokul	Bogra	24.93225	89.31633333
25	Dolmancha	Chandmua Haripur	Gokul	Bogra	24.93297222	89.31288889
26	Sati Tala	Chandmua Haripur	Gokul	Bogra	24.93222222	89.31222222

27	Chapachil Dhap	Chapachil	Pirob	Shibganj	24.98838889	89.20397222
28	Andhar Kota	Chingashpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.96666667	89.35
29	Bismardan	Chingashpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.95755556	89.33472222
30	Burir Bari	Chingashpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.957	89.32986111
31	Khulnar Dhap	Chingashpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.96152778	89.32611111
32	Kutir Dhap	Chingashpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.94258333	89.30636111
33	Lizanar Dhap	Chingashpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.95727778	89.32927778
34	Madarir Than	Chingashpur	NAMuja	Bogra	24.95661111	89.32925
35	Padmar Bari	Chingashpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.96666667	89.35
36	Siddah Bari	Chingashpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.95841667	89.33280556
37	Yogir Dhap	Chingashpur	Namuja	Bogra	24.96063889	89.33247222
38	Berer Bari	Chilimpur	Fapore	Bogra	24.83277778	89.35216667
39	Koter Bari	Chilimpur	Fapore	Bogra	24.83483333	89.35386111
40	Chinal Chilul Dhap	Chinal	Kichak	Shibganj	25.05561111	89.26805556
41	Dargapar	Dahapara	Syedpur	Shibganj	25.06666667	89.43333333
42	Chagal Naiddha	Dakhin Syampur	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96330556	89.32405556
43	Dhaniker Dhap	Dakhin Syampur	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96605556	89.32408333
44	Dolmancha	Daulatpur	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96666667	89.31666667
45	Devkunda	Deogaon	Durgapur	Kahaloo	24.71666667	89.21666667
46	Hat Dhap	Dhap	Dupchanchia	Dupchanchia	24.88333333	89.18333333
47	Jora Dhap	Dharmapur	Namuja	Bogra	24.95	89.31666667
48	Dumargaon	Dumargaon	Murail	Kahaloo	24.81666667	89.31666667
49	Basu Bania Saudagarer Bari	Erulia	Erulia	Bogra	24.86666667	89.33333333
50	Bulur Chawk	Ghagurduar	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96427778	89.34472222
51	Eidgah	Ghagurduar	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96388889	89.34347222
52	Fakirpara	Ghagurduar	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96436111	89.34258333
53	Fakirpara	Ghagurduar	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96666667	89.35
54	Juran Tala	Ghagurduar	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96441667	89.33816667
55	Khalipha Para	Ghagurduar	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96727778	89.3375
56	Kumbara Dhap	Ghagurduar	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96641667	89.34027778
57	Gokarna Rajar Bari	Gokarna	Maidanhatta	Shibganj	25.11666667	89.31666667

58	Gokarna Siva Temple	Gokarna	Jamgram	Kahaloo	25.78333333	89.25
59	Highway to Kakla Dighi	Gokul	Gokul	Bogra	24.94303333	89.34080556
60	Lakhindarere Medh	Gokul	Gokul	Bogra	24.93558333	89.33633333
61	Netai Dhapanir Dhap	Gokul	Gokul	Bogra	24.93597222	89.34369444
62	Pir Borhan Ali Majar	Gokul	Gokul	Bogra	24.94733333	89.34547222
63	Satya Pিরer Bhita	Gokul	Gokul	Bogra	24.95	89.35
64	Gorna Dhap	Gorna	Atmul	Shibganj	25.01666667	89.28333333
65	Harrabari Sri Kala Ara Dhap	Hazrabari	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.98333333	89.31666667
66	Oza Dhanvantarir Bhita	Hazradighi	Noongola	Bogra	24.92988889	89.32894444
67	Chander Dhap	Hukmapur	Namuja	Bogra	24.93494444	89.30202778
68	Gonsayer Dhap	Hukmapur	Namuja	Bogra	24.95430556	89.30138889
69	Shib Bari Dhap	Jamgram	Jamgram	Kahaloo	24.76666667	89.25
70	Jarai	Jarai	Gunahar	Dupchanchia	24.91666667	89.13333333
71	Jora Raj Bari	Jora	Ashekpur	Bogra	24.8	89.35
72	Kalai Raj Bari	Kalai	Kalaimajpara	Kahaloo	24.89538889	89.21108333
73	Hindu Para	Kalyanpur	Norhatta	Kahaloo	24.9	89.26666667
74	Kaichar	Kaichar	Fapore	Bogra	24.81666667	89.31666667
75	Kanar	Kanar	Fapore	Bogra	24.81666667	89.31666667
76	Bagicha Dhap	Katham	Bhatgram	Nandigram	24.68333333	89.26666667
77	Dheep	Kazipur	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.98333333	89.35
78	Khadash Raj Bari	Khadash	Gohail	Bogra	24.73333333	89.31666667
79	Khanpur Dhap	Khanpur	Talora	Dupchanchia	24.85	89.15
80	Khengasher	Khengsher	Burail	Nandigram	24.68333333	89.3
81	Kholash	Kholash	Dupchanchia	Dupchanchia	24.9	89.18333333
82	Kosas	Kosas	Bhatra	Nandigram	24.71666667	89.18333333
83	Govinda Bhita	Mahasthan	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.96261111	89.34544444
84	Mahsthan Citadel	Mahasthan	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.95419444	89.34841667

85	Mahsthan Citadel	Mahasthan	Rainagar	Shibganj	24.95077778	89.33888889
86	Sultan Saheber Dargha	Malgram	Fapore	Bogra	24.83630556	89.35877778
87	Dinga Duba	Mathura	Gokul	Bogra	24.95	89.33333333
88	Godar Bari Dhap	Mathura	Gokul	Bogra	24.94213889	89.32597222
89	Mathura-Palashbari	Mathura	Gokul	Bogra	24.94741667	89.33447222
90	Dhata Tarar Dhap	Palashbari	Gokul	Bogra	24.94647222	89.32994444
91	Ghon Para Dhap	Palashbari	Gokul	Bogra	24.94091667	89.32608333
92	Kakla Dighi Dhap	Palashbari	Gokul	Bogra	24.94302778	89.34080556
93	Khansher Dhap	Palashbari	Gokul	Bogra	24.95	89.35
94	Naria Dhap	Palashbari	Gokul	Bogra	24.95	89.33333333
95	Mangalkot	Palibari	Namuja	Bogra	24.95647222	89.32516667
96	Panai Dhap	Panai	Jamgram	Kahaloo	24.78333333	89.25
97	Dhantala	Panchgaon	Kalaimajpara	Kahaloo	24.89913889	89.257
98	Uchubari	Panchgaon	Kalaimajpara	Kahaloo	24.91666667	89.26666667
99	Uttar Para Mazar	Panchgaon	Kalaimajpara	Kahaloo	24.91666667	89.26666667
100	Panch Dulia Dhap	Panch Deuli	Bisalpur	Sherpur	24.56666667	89.38333333
101	Nishanghata	Panartica	Bihar	Shibganj	24.97472222	89.30405556
102	Burir Than	Pirapat	Paikar	Kahaloo	24.91666667	89.3
103	Ghopa Dhap	Pirapat	Paikar	Kahaloo	24.91619444	89.29291667
104	Panch Piner Dhap	Pratappur	Durgapur	Kahaloo	24.81666667	89.21666667
105	Ramsahar	Ramsahar	Gokul	Bogra	24.92808333	89.33336111
106	Khamar Bari	Ramsahar	Gokul	Bogra	24.93291667	89.33691667
107	Chand Saudagarer Bari	Rajakpur	Noongola	Bogra	24.93222222	89.31222222
108	Dhana Bhandar	Rajakpur	Noongola	Bogra	24.93333333	89.3
109	Jhiltala	Rajakpur	Noongola	Bogra	24.92002778	89.29691667
110	Singhinather Dhap	Rajakpur	Noongola	Bogra	24.93333333	89.31666667

111	Mukunda	Rajbari Mukunda	Mirzapur	Sherpur	24.63333333	89.43333333
112	Nagar Para	Sabrul	Ashekpur	Bogra	24.8	89.33333333
113	Bara Mandal Para	Sabrul	Ashekpur	Bogra	24.8	89.33333333
114	Santa Dhap	Santa	Jamgram	Kahaloo	24.73333333	89.28333333
115	Sajapur	Sajapur	Majira	Bogra	24.78333333	89.4
116	Gazi Kalur Bari	Satshumulia	Lahiripara	Bogra	24.96666667	89.4
117	Kanjir Hari Dhap	Sekendrabad	Rainagar	Bogra	24.97405556	89.31791667
118	Lizanir Dhap	Sekendrabad	Rainagar	Bogra	24.96991667	89.31547222
119	Malinir Dhap	Sekendrabad	Rainagar	Bogra	24.96936111	89.32372222
120	Mal Pukuria Dhap	Sekendrabad	Rainagar	Bogra	24.98333333	89.31666667
121	Prachir Dhap	Sekendrabad	Rainagar	Bogra	24.97708333	89.31669444
122	Sur Dighir Dhap	Sekendrabad	Rainagar	Bogra	24.97266667	89.32083333
123	Yoginir Dhap	Sekendrabad	Rainagar	Bogra	24.98333333	89.33333333
124	Dhar Mokam	Serua	Mirzapur	Sherpur	24.65	89.43333333
125	Sher Mokam	Serua	Mirzapur	Sherpur	24.66666667	89.43333333
126	Sirajnagar	Sirajnagar	Bisalpur	Sherpur	24.56666667	89.38333333
127	Solagari Rajar Bari	Solagari	Kichak	Shibganj	25.07647222	89.27894444
128	Banshi Chapar	Tengra	Namuja	Bogra	24.95	89.31666667
129	Batpara Dhip	Tengra	Namuja	Bogra	24.94144444	89.31080556
130	Bhagur Dhap	Tengra	Namuja	Bogra	24.94511111	89.30369444
131	Dulur Bari	Tengra	Namuja	Bogra	24.93783333	89.3125
132	Kangra Chapar	Tengra	Namuja	Bogra	24.94391667	89.30866667
133	Kutir Ara Dhap	Tengra	Namuja	Bogra	24.94258333	89.30636111
134	Madya Para Masjid Dhap	Tengra	Namuja	Bogra	24.93916667	89.30611111
135	Manner Dhap	Tengra	Namuja	Bogra	24.95	89.31666667
136	Nara Dhap/Narapatir Dhap	Tengra	Namuja	Bogra	24.93769444	89.30722222
137	Sannyashir Dhap	Tengra	Namuja	Bogra	24.95	89.31666667
138	Zamur Dhap	Zamur	Kusumbia	Sherpur	24.65	89.35

---

## Enclosure-2

### The List of Surveyed Heritage Records in Bagerhat Area;

ID	Site	Mouza	Upazila	District	Latitude	Longitude
1	Shait Gumbad Mosque	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.290	89. 44.310
2	Shait Gumbad Mosque	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.290	89. 44.300
3	Shait Gumbad Mosque	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.270	89. 44.300
4	Shait Gumbad Mosque	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.270	89. 44.310
5	Bibi Beguni Mosque	Mogra	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.350	89. 44.060
6	Chunakhola Mosque	Mogra	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.430	89. 43.560
7	Ajoddha Moth	Ajoddha	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 44.310	89. 46.210
8	Residence of Khan Jahan	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.430	89. 44.380
9	Residence of Khan Jahan	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.440	89. 44.360
10	Residence of Khan Jahan	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.450	89. 44.340
11	Residence of Khan Jahan	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.440	89. 44.330
12	Residence of Khan Jahan	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.400	89. 44.320
13	Residence of Khan Jahan	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.370	89. 44.330
14	Residence of Khan Jahan	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.360	89. 44.350
15	Residence of Khan Jahan	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.390	89. 44.370
16	Singair Mosque	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.220	89. 44.330
17	Korial Kha/ Koira Mosque	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.170	89. 45.040
18	Sadot Kha Mosque	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.540	89. 44.480
19	Grave of Unknown Sufi	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.590	89. 45.050
20	Ranobijoypur Mosque	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.050	89. 45.290
21	Zinda Pir Mosque	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.420	89. 45.140
22	Reza Khuda Mosque	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.450	89. 45.140
23	Mausoleum of Khan Jahan Ali	Thakur Dighi	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.310	89. 45.310
24	Khan Jahan Ali Jami Mosque	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.440	89. 45.300
25	Nine Dome Mosque	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.310	89. 45.200
26	Baro Ajina Mosque	Sonatala	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.170	89. 47.120
27	Ten Domed Mosque	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.540	89. 46.080
28	Takshal		Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.310	89. 47.340



29	Mausoleum of Pagla Pir	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.530	89. 45.500
30	Grave of Ahmed Kha	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.560	89. 45.460
31	Tapoghar	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 41.010	89. 45.510
32	Pathar Ghata/Jahaj Ghata	Mogra	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 41.000	89. 44.400

**Database of the Dighi of the site:**

<b>ID</b>	<b>Water Body</b>	<b>Mouza</b>	<b>Upazila</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>Latitude</b>	<b>Longitude</b>
1	Ghora Dighi	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.280	89. 44.310
2	Ghora Dighi	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.280	89. 44.140
3	Ghora Dighi	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.360	89. 44.150
4	Ghora Dighi	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.350	89. 44.290
5	Andhi Pond	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.360	89. 44.350
6	Andhi Pond	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.370	89. 44.330
7	Andhi Pond	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.390	89. 44.350
8	Andhi Pond	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.380	89. 44.360
9	Beach Pond	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.420	89. 44.360
10	Beach Pond	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.430	89. 44.370
11	Beach Pond	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.430	89. 44.380
12	Beach Pond	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.410	89. 44.370
13	Korial Kha/ Koirar Dighi	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.130	89. 45.000
14	Korial Kha/ Koirar Dighi	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.140	89. 45.000
15	Korial Kha/ Koirar Dighi	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.150	89. 45.020
16	Korial Kha/ Koirar Dighi	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.120	89. 45.020
17	Kodal Dhoya Dighi	Shait Gumbad Mosque	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.300	89. 44.360
18	Kodal Dhoya Dighi	Shait Gumbad Mosque	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.290	89. 44.390
19	Kodal Dhoya Dighi	Shait Gumbad Mosque	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.250	89. 44.390
20	Kodal Dhoya Dighi	Shait Gumbad Mosque	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.250	89. 44.360
21	Sadot Kha Dighi	Sundarghona	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.570	89. 44.490
22	Ranobijoypur Dighi	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.040	89. 45.300
23	Ranobijoypur Dighi	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.030	89. 45.300
24	Ranobijoypur Dighi	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.030	89. 45.290
25	Ranobijoypur Dighi	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	23. 40.030	90. 45.290
26	Dighi of Zinda Pir & Reza Khuda	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.430	89. 45.140
27	Thakur Dighi	Thakur Dighi	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.380	89. 45.310

---

28	Thakur Dighi	Thakur Dighi	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.380	89. 45.230
29	Thakur Dighi	Thakur Dighi	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.250	89. 45.220
30	Thakur Dighi	Thakur Dighi	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.220	89. 45.380
31	Thakur Dighi	Thakur Dighi	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.380	89. 45.400
32	Pocha Dighi	Sonatala	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.110	89. 46.370
33	Pocha Dighi	Sonatala	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 38.540	89. 46.280
34	Pocha Dighi	Sonatala	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 38.560	89. 46.200
35	Pocha Dighi	Sonatala	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.140	89. 46.310
36	Mitha pukur		Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.310	89. 47.320
37	Mitha pukur		Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.310	89. 47.300
38	Mitha pukur		Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.330	89. 47.330
39	Mitha pukur		Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.330	89. 47.310
40	Ten domed Mosque Dighi	Ranobijoypur	Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 39.530	89. 46.060
41	Gondhoraj Dighi		Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.580	89. 45.470
42	Mokaddama Tank		Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.380	89. 44.410
43	Mokaddama Tank		Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.370	89. 44.420
44	Mokaddama Tank		Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.360	89. 44.420
45	Mokaddama Tank		Bagerhat	Bagerhat	22. 40.360	89. 44.410

---

---

### Enclosure-3

#### The List of Surveyed Heritage Records in Bhaktapur Area;

ID	Name of Temples	Name of Location	Latitude	Longitude
1	Maheshori	Paachakhyo	27.671	85.436
2	Khoreh , hanumanghat	Hanuman Ghat	27.67	85.434
3	Bhaktapur Jame Mosque	Khoreh, (hanumanghat	27.67	85.434
4	Bramhamayani	Brahmayeni	27.674	85.444
5	Yatu Ganesh Temple	Kamal Pokhari	27.677	85.439
6	Nava Durga	Kwathandau	27.675	85.436
7	Wakupati Narayan	Suryamari	27.673	85.437
8	Dattatrya Temple	tachapal	27.673	85.435
9	Taleju (Old) wane layaku	तचपाल tachapal	27.673	85.435
10	Nasa Dya	Kwathandau	27.674	85.435
11	Dharma Kriti Bihar / Yang Bahi	Kwathandau	27.676	85.435
12	Indrayani Temple	Indrayani ईन्द्रा यणी	27.673	85.427
13	Mahakali Temple	Mahakalasthan महाकाली स्थान	27.676	85.431
14	Aacha Pukhu	Mahakalasthan महाकाली स्थान	27.676	85.431
15	Mahalaxmi Temple	Mahakalasthan	27.676	85.433
16	Nasa Dya	Byashi व्यासी	27.674	85.43
17	Tripurasundari	Byashi व्यासी	27.673	85.43
18	Baishnabi/Bhadra Kali	Yosinkhyo/Bhelukhel	27.669	85.43
19	Kumari	Bhelukhel	27.67	85.43
20	Bharahi Temple	Barahasthan बाराहीस्थान	27.67	85.424
21	Jetha Ganesh	तालाक Pottery Square	27.67	85.428
22	Taleju (Dominating)	लायकु Durbar Square	27.673	85.429
23	Bokhadyo	Bhelukhel	27.668	85.431
24	Shiva Temple/Sradhan Naye	Bhelukhel	27.668	85.43
25	Bhairab	त:मरी Tamari( taumadhi)	27.672	85.429
26	Shidhi Laxmi	त:मरी tamari (taumadhi)	27.671	85.429

27	kha:ma dhwaka	Khama ख:मा ,लायकु ,	27.672	85.427
28	Batauk Bhairav	Bulcha बुल्चा	27.67	85.429
29	Mangal Tirtha Gate	Mangal Tirtha मंगल तिर्थ	27.668	85.426
30	Macho Ganesh	Mangal Tirtha मंगल तिर्थ	27.669	85.426
31	Mangalachhen Ganesh	Mangalachhen मंगलाछे	27.67	85.427
32	Kali	Khala खँ: ला	27.67	85.43
33	Tara	Bhelukhel खँ:ला	27.668	85.431
34	Chandi Bhairabi	Bhagawatisthan	27.67	85.431
35	Bhubeneshori	त:मारी Tamari (taumadhi)	27.671	85.429
36	Chinnomasta	त:मारी tamari (Taumadhi)	27.671	85.429
37	Dhumawati	Tibukchhen/Sukuldogo टिबुकछे	27.672	85.43
38	Shodashi	Byashi व्यासी	27.673	85.43
39	Chuma Ganesh	Chochhe चोछे	27.674	85.431
40	Kamala/Bhokhadyo	Dugumala दुगु मला	27.674	85.432
41	Balakhu Ganesh	Balakhu बालाखु	27.673	85.429
42	Malangi	लायकु Durbar Square	27.672	85.428
43	Bagala (Old)	Indrayani ईन्द्रायणी	27.673	85.427
44	Bagala in Indrayani	Indrayani		
45	Chalakhu Ganesh	चलाखु	27.671	85.429
46	Bokhadyo	त:मारी Tamari ( taumadhi)	27.671	86.429
47	Chayamhashing Dhwakachhe Ganesh	च्याम्हासिह Chayamhashing	27.673	85.438
48	Ashistang Bhairab	Tulache/Jella तुलाछे/ जेला	27.673	85.437
49	Sala Ganesh	तचपालtachapal (Dattatrya)	27.674	85.435
50	Indrayani Dhwakachhe Ganesh	Indrayani	27.672	85.427
51	Kapali Bhairab	ख:मा khama	27.672	85.427
52	Byasi Dhokashe Ganesh	Byashi व्यासी	27.675	85.429

53	Bhishan Bhairab	Yachhen याछे	27.674	85.433
54	Yachchen Ganesh	Yachhen याछे	27.673	85.433
55	Tekhacho Ganesh	Tekhacho तेखाचो	27.671	85.426
56	Bharbacho Gate/White Gate	Bharbacho भार्वाचो	27.672	85.423
57	Itachhen Gate?	Itachhen ईताछे	27.672	85.423
58	Itachhen Ganesh	Itachhen ईताछे	27.673	85.427
59	Indrayani Gate	Indrayani	27.673	85.427
60	Byasi Gate	Byashi	27.675	85.43
61	Muldhawaka	Muldhwaka मुलध्वाका	27.677	85.435
62	Chayamhashing Gate	Chayamhashing च्याम्हासिंह	27.674	85.438
63	Sanhar Bhairab	Nag Pukhu नाग पुखु	27.674	85.434
64	Muldhwaka Dhokachhe Ganesh	Muldhawaka मुल ध्वाका	27.676	85.435
65	Maheshori Dhwakachhe Ganesh	Maheshoristhan माहेश्वरी स्थान	27.671	85.435
66	Ruru Bhairab/Sheto Bhairab	Maheshawari माहेश्वरी	27.672	85.436
67	Baishnabi Dhwakachhe Ganesh( paataal ganesh)	Gahiti गहिटी	27.67	85.429
68	Kumari (Gate)?	Golmari गोमरी	27.67	85.432
69	Kumari Dhokache Ganesh ??	Golmari गोमरी golmadhi	27.67	85.432
70	Chand Bhairab	Khwahchhen काछे	27.679	85.431
71	Krodh Bhairab	Lakolachhen लाकोलाछे	27.67	85.429
72	Unamata Bhairab	Kolachhen कोलाछे	27.671	85.427
73	Na-puku Gate	Itachhen ईताछे	27.673	85.424
74	Golmadhi Ganesh	golmadhi (gomaari)	27.672334	85.432529
75	Mulakhu Ganesh	mangalachhen	27.670488	85.426801
76	Bhote Baha	Icchu Gali	27.671021	85.427969
77	Pu Baha	Ta:maari	27.671185	85.428913
78	Chuping Ghat	chhuping ghat	27.667923	85.430085
79	Bramhayani Pitha	bramhayani	27.673892	85.444177

80	Bramhayani Dyochhe	Suryamari	27.673551	85.43661
81	Mangal Ghat	mangalghat	27.668418	85.425473
82	Kasang Ghat	kashang	27.679372	85.429338
83	Peki Dola Ghat	dekocha	27.679629	85.431397
84	Bramhayani Ghat	bramhayani	27.674017	85.44461
85	Maheswari Ghat	maheshori	27.671049	85.436238
86	Kutu Bahi	Baharocho	27.671761	85.422879
87	Jayakirti Bahi/Thathu Bahi	Itachhen	27.672768	85.422947
88	Tadhi chhen Bahi	Chatribrama	27.671965	85.429296
89	Subarna Bahi	Sukuldhoka	27.67247	85.431506
90	Jhour Bahi	Golmadhi	27.672492	85.43312
91	Indravarta Bahi	Incho	27.672175	85.43411
92	Muni Bahi	Incho	27.671034	85.434089
93	Khore Bahi	Hanuman Ghat	27.669544	85.434362
94	Dipankar Bahi	Khwathdou	27.674883	85.434273
95	Prashanashil Bahi	Khwathdou	27.674736	85.4342
96	Manjubarma Bahi	Khwathdou	27.674809	85.43972
97	Innareh Ganesh	Suryabinayak	27.656635	85.422788
98	Ganesh Mata (Parbati)	Suryabinayak	27.656052	85.422768
99	Faitoka Ganesh	Dampfo	27.69011	85.40892
100	Sanhar Bhairab	nagpukhu	27.67404	85.43354
101	Ruru Bhairab	maheshori	27.6716	85.2349
102	Chand Bhairab	khwachhen	27.67069	85.43069
103	Bhadra Kali dyochhen	ichhu	27.67124	85.42741
104	Barahi dyochhen	bansagopal	27.67082	85.42508
105	Indrayani dyochhen	khauma	27.67243	85.4268
106	Tripurasunday dyochhen	tulachhen	27.673	85.43
107	Mahakali dyochhen	bholachhen	27.67461	85.43187
108	Mahalaxmi dyochhen	ahalaxmisthan	27.67479	85.4331
109	Kumari dyochhen	khwachhen	27.67129	85.43003
110	Maheswari dyochhen	inchho	27.67241	85.43416
111	Chhonga Ganesh	Chhonga Pakhe/Sallagari	27.67423	85.411114
112	Degina Ganesh	Bramhayani	27.67379	85.44095
113	Napali Ghat	salaghari	27.670937	85.413473

114	Jet Barna Mahabihar/ Bahi	sakotha	27.67123	85.42544
115	Unknown_Maheswari	Maheswari	27.67165	85.43502
116	Bramhayani Dyochhe	Suriyamari	27.673551	85.43661
117	Dubasi Baha	Near the Main Gate of Durbar Square	27.67218	85.42711
118	Nasamana	khauma	27.67051	85.42712
119	Barahi dyochhen		27.67082	85.42508
120	Banshagopal		27.67199	85.42557
121	Tekhapuku		27.67138	85.4247
122	Itachen		27.67263	85.42448
123	Indrayani dyochhen		27.67243	85.4268
124	Layku	infront of siddhi laxmin	27.67207	85.42888
125	Lakhapati Ganesh		27.67229	85.4288
126	Silu Mahadev		27.6723	85.42916
127	Balakhu Ganesh	Balakhu	27.673	85.429
128	Arniko Shava Bhawan		27.67254	85.42975
129	Corner of Tripurasunday		27.6726	85.43009
130	Tripurasunday dyochhen		27.673	85.43
131	Sukuldhaka Corner of Tripurasunday		27.67274	85.43061
132	Center of Chhochhen		27.67319	85.43095
133	Chuma Ganesh	Chochhe	27.674	85.431
134	Coner of Chuma Ganesh		27.67459	85.43082
135	Bholachhen		27.67415	85.43195
136	Mahakali dyochhen		27.67461	85.43187
137	Corner of Mahakali dyochhen Bholachhen		27.67515	85.43186
138	Mahalakshmi Pith	Mahalakxmisthan	27.67552	85.433087
139	Bhadra Kali dyochhen		27.67124	85.42741
140	Corner of Nag Puku		27.67397	85.43313
141	Thalachhen Nag Pukhu		27.67375	85.43395
142	Thalachhen		27.67382	85.43402
143	Corner of Salla Ganesh		27.67381	85.43519
144	Back way of Salla Ganesh	Kwathandwo	27.67437	85.43528
145	Kwathandwo		27.67431	85.43518

146	Corner of Navo Durga Dyochhen		27.67554	85.43593
147	Nava Durga	Kwathandau	27.675	85.436
148	Corner of Sachhen		27.67462	85.43615
149	Near Tony Heggen House	Chaphal	27.67461	85.43683
150	Twachha		27.67432	85.43733
151	Suryamari		27.6742	85.43715
152	Dattatrya Temple	tachapal	27.673	85.435
153	Corner of Dattatrya Temple		27.67338	85.43804
154	Innacho		27.67257	85.43406
155	Jhour Bahi	Golmadhi	27.672492	85.43312
156	Subarna Bahi	Sukuldhoka	27.67247	85.431506
157	Salla Ganesh	तचपालtachapal	27.674	85.435
158	Sukulhwaka Bazar		27.37264	85.43098
159	Sukulhwaka		27.6723	85.43064
160	Matangi		27.6716	85.4282
161	Kumari dyochhen		27.67129	85.43003
162	Tamadhi Square		27.67112	85.42928
163	Chhochen Baha		27.674022	85.43031
164	Kutu Baha		27.67182	85.42357
165	Khauma Baha		27.67192	85.42686
166	Santan Baha		27.67193	85.42688
167	Khauma Bahi		27.67224	85.42598
168	Lokeshwar Mahavihar		27.67221	85.42597
169	Barbacho Chy Chuko (Upper Courtyard)		27.67162	85.42362
170	Barbacho Kyo Chuko (Lower Courtyard)		27.67133	85.42367
171	Chand Bhairabi		27.67062	85.43036
172	Bishankhu Narayan	Chasukhel	27.67159	85.43154
173	Ichangu Narayan	Golmadhi	27.67254	85.43239
174	Shesh Narayan	Layaku	27.67221	85.12789
175	Changu Narayan	Nasamana	27.67046	85.42739
176	Likha Narayan	Suryabinayak/Kaluze	27.65205	85.4189
177	Wakupati Narayan	Suryamadhi	27.673647	85.43701



---

178	Tilmadhav Narayan	Tamadhi	27.67076	85.42923
179	Machhe Narayan	Chaling	27.70494	85.45463
180	Subarneshor Mahadev	Katunje-8	27.65932	85.40893
181	Sipareh Mahadev / Doleshor Mahadev	Sipadol	27.63891	85.43845
182	Kileshor Mahadev / Changu Narayan	Changu Narayan	27.71642	85.42779
183	Bishankeshor Mahadev / Yatu Mahadev	Changu Narayan	27.68237	85.44836
184	Nandi Keshor Mahadev	Nankhel	27.64909	85.45118
185	Champakeshwor Mahadev	Klacha	27.66618	85.42979

---

## Enclosure-4

### Accommodating Heterogeneous Voices of the Past(S) of Democratizing the History;

Academicians		Heritage-Residents	
<b>Academician A</b>	<b>Academician B</b>	<b>Local History writer,</b> like Tabibur Rahman, Chapter-5, Page 183	<b>Local Orator,</b> like Dulu Mondol, Chapter-5, Page 182
On Mahasthan Inscription interpreted differently, which I mentioned in the segment of 5.3.3 in chapter 5.		This book incorporated the Academic materialistic sources + Mahabharata + local popular myths	This group telling the past based on the local popular myths
These groups are writing history based on the materialistic truth. They are not having any reference from the Mahabharata, Puranas, and the local popular myths.			
In thesis this groups discussion is added under title of “doing hi(story) by academicians” in 5.3 and 5.4.1 to 5.4.4 of the chapter 5.		This thing is discussed in the segment of 5.2.2 and 5.4.3 and 5.4.4, specially to get the plurality	This thing discussed in the segment of 5.2.1 and 5.5.

---

## Enclosure-5

### Accommodating Heterogeneous Voices of the Past(S) of Democratizing the History;

<b>Doing Hi(story) by Academician</b>	<b>Doing (Hi)story by Heritage-resident</b>	<b>Doing (Hi)story in the Published book by Heritage-resident</b>
Pundranagar	Mahasthan	Mahasthan and Pundranagar
Maurian Civilisation	Established by Hindu King Knol	Maurian Civilisation
It established by Buddhist religious people	Famous Battle between Hindu King Parashuram and Muslim Warrior-saint Shah Sultan Mahisawar	It established by Buddhist People
Around First Century AD	Mounds and other structures are locally known after name of the mythical character	Famous Battle between Hindu King Parashuram and Muslim Warrior-saint Mahisawar
<i>No myths</i> Based on Material Truth (Artefact)	<i>Myths based</i> Heritage-Resident also fond of the myth of the Bridal Suite of Behula-Lakhindar. Behula became a image of an ideal wife.	<i>Myths + Artefacts</i> Emphasise the myth of the Bridal Suite of Behula-Lakhindar. Behula became a image of an ideal wife.

---

## Enclosure-6

### The Design of Action for Governmentalisation the Cultural Heritage and Residents;

Gallery	Gallery	Gallery
Representing the hi(story) of heritage-resident	Mapping the Distribution of Archaeological Sites	3D Modelling and Predictive Modelling
Based on the Knowledge of heritage-resident	Based on the Academic Understanding	Based on the Academic Understanding
Selected and Performed by heritage-resident	GIS generated Map	3D Max, Adobe Aftereffect,
Open Stage/mic	Interactive	Interactive

---

## Enclosure-7

### Examples to understand the normalisation of power over heritage residents as a governmentalisation mechanisms;

#### Step-1

### The Story of Mr. Kalam Patwary

#### The Story of Governmentalisation

- His house is located beside the Bihar of Paharpur
- Age 35 and married
- 2 daughters (around 10 -12 years old) made him happy father
- He completed grade 8 school level study
- Recently he lost his grand mother, who was so close to his heart
- They were owner one and a half acres of land of the Bihar area.
- Initially, his family tried to make some obstacle
- As a result, police arrested his grandmother and she was imprisoned without trial for fifteen days.
- However, they love to visit the recently developed garden



#### Step-2

### Normalisation of Power

(willingness)

Rejection / Exclusion

We have no interest in the heritage or Bihar or Paharpur. It is government property.

It was ours, but now it is the property of the government. They do not even allow us to enter there. We grew up here, running over the Pahar. However, these days, our

Complex Relationship with the State

Self Conscious Acceptance

children have no right to play over there. The government has continuously been claiming to be developing this place. Yes, they did so many developments like excellent gardening, cleaning. Our children like the gardens, especially the animal

figures. They want to play there, but the officials did not allow the villagers even once to organise the shinni (food prepared by sweet date juice) in winter for kids who live around the area, to wish for the safety of children while at play around the Pahar.

Subjective Encounter with the fence

(Kalam, age: around 35, farmer, personal communication, September 2015)

The Process of Contestation and Negotiation  
“avoiding and keeping to themselves attitude”

---

### Step-3

#### **In a Nutshell;**

- Control/govern over Mr. Kalam
- Mr. Kalam contested by rejection
- Mr. Kalam negotiation through the understanding of 'development' and sense of 'beauty'
- Mr. Kalam found the 'fence' subjectively, which is making obstacle to enter their
- But Mr. Kalam and his children desired to enjoy the garden
- Mr. Kalam considered the beautiful garden and clean the adjacent area of Bihar is true 'development'.

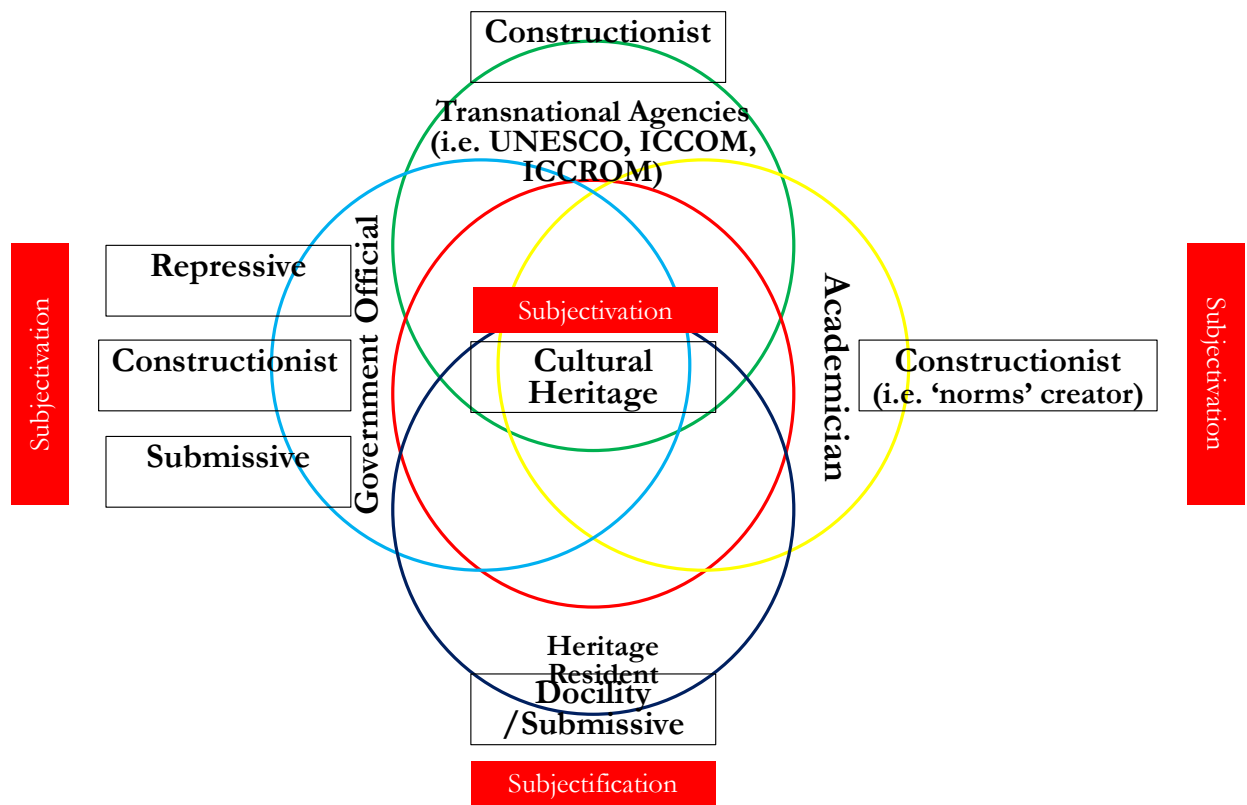
Therefore,

- Power found persuasive means the both way of 'constructionist' and 'repressive'
- Power received over life through the process of contestation and negotiation
- It is the normalization process of governmentalisation over life of heritage-residents

---

## Enclosure-8

Background: Active Players and Power Dynamics;



---

## Enclosure-9

This dissertation work has been funded by TAOYAKA programme. Particularly, the following events have been conducted;

1. 2018: Conducted International Workshop on Building Resilient Communities: Merging Traditional Culture and Child-Centred approach for Disaster Risk reduction in Bhaktapur, under the On-site Project of Bhaktapur, Nepal, funded by TAOYAKA Program, Hiroshima University (jointly with Henriquez Millon Adriana Maria).
2. 2018: Conducted On-site Team Project on Enhancing the cultural heritage-residents resilience through managing the faith-based knowledge of Bhaktapur, Nepal, as a team member of group ten, funded by TAOYAKA Program, Hiroshima University, Japan.
3. 2017: Participated in International On-site Training program in Uttarakhand, India, under the program of TAOYAKA, Hiroshima University, Japan.
4. 2017: Participated International On-site Training program in Oki-Island, Shimane Prefecture, Japan, with a collaborative program of Austin University, USA, under TAOYAKA program, Hiroshima University, Japan.

Specially, the on-site project in Bhaktapur, Nepal, was one of the studied heritage sites out of the four included in the research.



---

## Enclosure-10

### Acknowledgements: The List of Contributors

Finally, the long journey of writing of this dissertation has come to an end. At this moment, I must acknowledge the aids of those who helped me abate the agony of this struggle. First, I would like to convey my gratitude to my academic advisor, Professor Seki Koki, whose expertise was invaluable in the formulation of the research topic and methodology in particular. Secondly, I want to thank Professor Togawa Masahiko, Research Institute for Language and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, who insisted me to join the PhD Programme of TAOYAKA and later, introduced me with my advisor.

And along with their invaluable and direct contribution to this dissertation, I would also like to extend my gratitude to the few without whom it felt to be nearly impossible to complete this research work. They are;

- Goto Daisaku, Associate Professor and co-advisor of my PhD dissertation.
- Nakazora Moe, Lecturer and co-advisor of my PhD dissertation.
- Tomozawa Kazuo, Professor, Graduate School of Letters, Hiroshima University and co-advisor of my PhD dissertation.
- Minar Masud, Adjunct Faculty, IIT, Jahangirnagar University, Dhaka, who assisted me to generate the 3D models.
- Binod Raj Sharma, Tantric Priest, who taught me about the *Yantra* of Bhaktapur, Nepal.
- Professor Purushottam Lochan Shrestha, Advisor, Bhaktapur Tourism Development Committee, Bhaktapur, who taught me about the history of Bhaktapur, Nepal.
- Ram Sundar Bhele, President, Bhaktapur Tourism Development Committee, Bhaktapur, who taught me about the tourism, management system and *Yantra* of Bhaktapur, Nepal.
- Deepesh Raj Sharma, General Secretary, Bhaktapur Tourism Development Committee, Bhaktapur, who guided and traveled me to meet with the cultural heritage of the valley of Khathmandu, Nepal.
- Sonish Suwal, heritage-resident and freelance photographer of Bhaktapur, who gave me the primary lesson of the culture of Bhaktapur, Nepal.
- Sohag Ali, lecturer, Department of History and Archaeology, Begum Rokeya University, Rangpur, who assisted me to conduct the field.
- Sohag Aziz, a freelance researcher, who assisted me to conduct the field.

- 
- Samia Deeba, Adjunct Faculty, IUB, who assisted to translate the huge ethnographic data.
  - Chatt Seki, the language editor, who meticulously help to debug my extra-large dissertation paper.
  - Golam Azam and Md. Khalid Bin Kamal, my two friends from Hiroshima University, who had enthusiastically borne the pain of debugging the language errors.
  - Shamim Hasan and Jahangir Alam, another two friends from Hiroshima University, who were my support system in every aspects.
  - Moiyeen Zalal Chowdhury, the lab-met of 702, it was a great fun to discuss with him about critical theories and politics.
  - Thanks to all my lovely zemi-mets from Seki seminar.
  - Thanks to heritage-residents of my studied cultural heritage sites, specially, Zabbar bhai, Thandu bhai, Motaleb, Rafiqul.

The last but not the least, Majeda Rahman Jharna, my wife, who managed my uneven behavior with graceful patience and lots of love. Her contribution to my research was invaluable not only for the mental support she provided, but also for the struggle she went through to manage and provide for me and our little child. I love you, dear. And at the same breath, I must note the sacrifices of my lovely daughter Medha Manyata. And I want to finish this part by mentioning Ms. Khadiza Wahed, my sweet mother, who is always there for me with her love and prayers. My love to you all. Arigatogozaimashita, Thanks a lot.