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CULTURAL ROOTS OF ART & ARCHITECTURE OF THE PUNJAB

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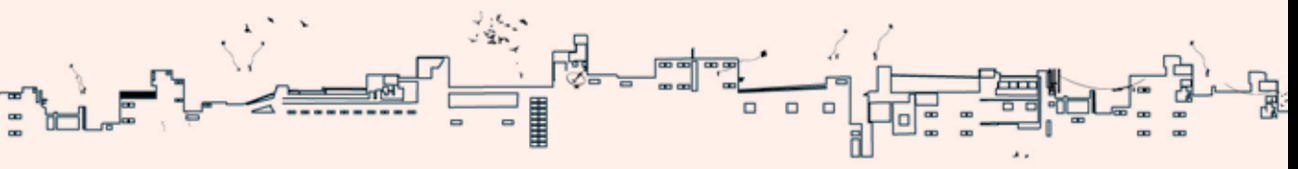

Cultural Roots of Art & Architecture of The Punjab

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Introduction

Pervaiz Vandal

The Indus Valley, our home, has a living history since the end of the last Ice Age and the beginning of Human Civilization. As the Ice receded and the Earth warmed, about 20,000 years ago, pockets of varying climates were generated wherein humans had to congregate around water sources, usually rivers, and evolve a new social contract to guide their continued survival. The successful experiment of harnessing of natural resources of land, water and fire, through agriculture, attracted other people living in more harsh pockets and the population swelled. Similar instances of people living together creating their own social contracts were generated in China, Egypt, Mesopotamia and Central America.

The Indian Subcontinent at the time, 10-15,000 years ago, comprised three distinct regions, that is, (a) the very large and dense mass of forests covering Ganga Jumna valley into which poured the Brahmaputra from the east and then drained into the Bay of Bengal; (b) the Deccan, drier than the Ganjetic Valley, heavily forested cut up into series of valleys watered by the Narmada, Godavari, Krishna and Kaveri rivers with only the coastal strips along the two sides of the peninsula that continued around to the island of Sri Lanka, having ocean-trade-based cultures of sizeable population; and (c) the western region, the Indus Valley, comprising two main rivers, Indus and the Hakra, running parallel with a number of tributaries in the north. The Indus Valley drying faster than the rest fostered the earliest large scale agglomerations to give rise to a unique civilization. Another such area was generated around the River Helmand in the present day Afghanistan which for many centuries was a bridge between the Indus and Mesopotamian centers of culture. In Persia, at the period there developed a number of fertile valleys housing people with their own distinct culture.

The Indus Valley attracted vast numbers from all directions who mostly came to settle, avoiding any large scale violence and found enough room and resources to flourish and develop. The Aryans, a people of the Central Asia, escaping the more rapidly drying regions, migrated to India, Iran and Europe. In India, having settled in the Punjab for a few centuries, they led the march into the Ganga-Jumna valley using fire to clear the forest to create arable land. They also gave birth to social organizations to better exploit the difficult environment which over

centuries congealed into the Caste System. The word Punjab (a Persian word meaning Five Rivers) came into use during the Medieval Period to denote the northern regions of the Indus Valley comprising the areas watered by Upper Indus, Kabul, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej and Bias, accurately described in the Rig Veda as the *Sapta-Sindhu* (seven rivers).

Comparatively speaking, the Punjab was rich in terms of agriculture produce and cattle, and therefore also attracted invaders and violence. The earliest invaders came from the relatively drier lands of the west, present day Persia, Afghanistan, Central Asia, followed by the Greeks who retreated in face of resistance. The Punjab stopped being the perennial host and began to resist the new comers. That was a major change. Henceforth, the Punjab became a battle ground, yet allowing merchants and travelers in and out of India. They also found time to sing, laugh, read and write to develop a cultural identity of their own. The Punjab has been indeed the melting pot of people and ideas. The native culture was influenced, modified and developed as a continuous and a linked phenomenon. The Persians, Greeks, Arabs, Sufis, Turks, Afghans, Kashmiris, Brahmins, Rajputs and merchants of Gujrat and Deccan, contributed to the social ethos of the Punjab. Thus, a synthesis of the foreign and local traditions of cultures, started centuries ago has continued to influence, modify and develop the indigenous society of the Punjab. Colonization by the British changed the continuum in a profound manner to leave us as we are today.

The big question therefore is What are we then? What are the Cultural Roots of our Art and Architecture?

Clash versus Commonsense

Prof. Rajmohan Gandhi

This paper suggests that a continual dialectic between "clash" on the one hand and "commonsense" on the other has from the start shaped Punjab's culture.

More than a thousand years ago, the notion of pure and impure beliefs – the view that some beliefs were idolatrous and inferior – hurt some people. At the same time, others were wounded by the notion that some persons were high-born while others were polluted – the view that unless you were born into a high caste you were inferior and your touch was polluting.

The elites in particular nursed their injuries. One set of elites clashed with an opposite set of elites. However, these clashing elites were outnumbered by ordinary Punjabis who seemed to value commonsense and who got on with life – with their common life – setting aside notions of superiority or inferiority, whether from belief or birth.

This was indicated by my survey of Punjabi history, which focused on the period between Aurangzeb and Mountbatten but also touched on the earlier past. Whether or not considered "pure" by others, "ordinary" yet wise Punjabis stayed away from bitter clashes, laughed at slurs, carried on with life and got along with their neighbors and with those on whom their livelihoods depended. They had to do so, for survival depended on the neighbor's co-operation. Fortunately, "commonsense" found inspired advocates in persons like Baba Farid and a host of others.

Surviving a difficult month, enjoying a peaceful day and appreciating a hard-working peasant or artisan, or a beautiful flower, bird or poem, became more important to Punjabis than "purity". Baba Farid and persons with similar perspectives became loved figures across the length and breadth of the vast Punjab region and ordinary Punjabis always found a verse or a proverb with which to weaken or deflect a current of intolerance.

The marches of a succession of conquerors from outside Punjab – Afghan, Mughal, Iranian and European – also produced clashes that from time to time destroyed normal Punjabi life. But Punjabi commonsense again came to the rescue and the great majority on Punjab's soil managed to stay largely uninvolved, or to return to normality once combatants had passed through or exhausted themselves. Such an unceasing contest between "clash" and "commonsense" was bound to foster Punjab's culture and shape its poetry, art and architecture.

Amazed by the under-reported story of 1947 – by the fact that during the trauma of 1947 Punjabis who quietly *saved* lives from the "other" group greatly outnumbered those who *took* lives, I tried to see whether Punjab's earlier history showed co-existence or enmity at ground-level.

As already indicated, commonsense had easily trounced clash during Baba Farid's time. A scion of an aristocratic Muslim family – a descendant, it was said, of Omar, the Prophet's Companion, and apparently a son-in-law of Sultan Balban of Delhi – Baba Farid (1173-1226), a second-generation immigrant who spent many years in Multan, prescribed union with God as the ultimate human goal. But he was also a sensitive poet conscious of the hardships of ordinary Punjabis around him.

He composed poems in a language closely related to Punjabi, as, much later, Guru Nanak too would do, though in Farid's time his language may have been called 'Multani', even as 'Lahori' was apparently the name for the Punjabi variant spoken in and around Lahore.[1] Like Guru Nanak after him, Baba Farid suggested that at a basic level a Muslim and a Hindu were the same, sharing the joy and pain of being human.

Baba Farid and the Sufis who preceded or followed him, attracted a large Punjabi following by demonstrating a distance from wealth and power, by stressing God's love and mercy rather than his wrath, by not focusing on ethnic or religious labels, by speaking and composing poetry in the language of the people, often singing with the aid of a one-string instrument, and connecting in several ways with the people and the land. Thus Baba Farid seems to have said to his disciples, 'Give me not a knife but a needle. I want to sew together, not cut asunder.'[2] We know, too, that Farid's 13th century verses refer to Punjab's flowers and fruits, trees and thorns, birds in flight and in ponds, the tiger, the swan, the falcon, the crow and the dog.[3]

We can safely assert that one who was curious and observant about Punjab's birds, animals, trees, fruits and flowers was surely also interested in the human denizens of Punjab, irrespective of their sects or religious beliefs.

That some of Baba Farid's poetry was included in the Sikh scripture is widely known, and the similarity in the messages of Baba Farid and Guru Nanak, who was born almost three centuries later, has often been commented upon.

Guru Nanak's famous statement, 'There is no Hindu, there is no Muslim,' may not have found acceptance from all jurists and scholars but significant sections of Punjabis seemed to accept his teaching, which was also Baba Farid's teaching, that an individual's *insaniyat* was a more interesting focus than his or her sect.

Many have pointed out that Guru Nanak aimed at establishing a great Hindu-Muslim bridge. Yet, the tensions between the Mughal rulers

and governors who controlled Punjab and several of the Sikh Gurus are undeniable. These tensions form part of the oft-painful memory of our Subcontinent. But again and again *insaniyat*, which may be seen as a twin of commonsense, trumped conflict. The story of Guru Gobind Singh's clashes with Mughal rulers and some Hindu rajas of the hills of eastern Punjab is well-known.

Although the Guru, two older sons of his and some others eluded attackers in eastern Punjab, his wife, mother and two other sons, who were minors, were separated from him. In a one-sided fight that ensued in December 1704, in a place called Chamkaur, between Mughal troops and the Guru's remaining band, the two older boys and all followers were slain. Apparently 'the Guru had insisted … that if not the first, his sons must not be the last to die.'[4]

But the Guru survived. Evidently two horse-dealers, Nabi Khan and Ghani Khan, who were present near the Guru when a Mughal patrol confronted him, saved the Guru's life by describing him as a Muslim *pir*. The patrol moved on. Two Muslims living on Punjab's soil had saved the Guru from imprisonment and possible death.

The story of the risky service performed by Nabi Khan and Ghani Khan is available to us because it was preserved carefully and gratefully in Sikh tradition. For every recorded act of *insaniyat* of this kind, there probably were hundreds of other acts, equally ingenious and brave, that were not recorded or passed down, in part because they did not involve the great or the famous.

A possible clue to the nature of ground-level Muslim-Sikh or Muslim-Hindu relations during Aurangzeb's reign is offered by the tone and content of *Khulasat ut-Tawarikh*, written in Persian in 1695, twelve years before the emperor's death, by Sujan Rai Bhandari, a Hindu from the *Bari doab* town of Batala, which in British times would belong to the Lahore Division.

In this work, which among other subjects deals with the rulers, rivers, landscapes and heroes of Punjab, Bhandari refers to the saints honored by the region's Muslims, the Gurus of the Sikhs and the shrines of the Hindus. He presents no picture of hostility between the different communities.[5]

The absence of hostility in Bhandari's account may not by itself prove the prevalence of peace throughout Punjab's extensive surface but the fact that a Hindu like him wrote and circulated his positive appraisal merits our attention.

To return to Guru Gobind Singh, shock followed his escape, for the Guru learned that his minor sons, Zorawar and Fateh, had been put to death

by Wazir Khan, the Mughal *faujdar* of the *sarkar* of Sirhind, into whose hands the boys, their mother and their grandmother had been betrayed.

The Muslim ruler of Malerkotla, not far from Sirhind, had objected to the killing of the boys. His protest, expressed for the sake of *insaniyat*, has never been forgotten by Punjab's Sikhs. The continuing memory of the Nawab's brave if unavailing protest was an important element in the remarkable fact that in Punjab's 1947 killings, the Muslims of Malerkotla were spared.

Punjab's story after Aurangzeb's death in 1707 is of invasions from the west, first by Nadir Shah in 1739 and then the chain of raids by Ahmed Shah Abdali. Also prominent in the 18th century were bitter Sikh-Afghan clashes.

Yet, it would appear that during the invasions of Punjab by Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali, when Punjabis of all classes, sects and faiths were trampled upon, Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus helped one another.

A remarkable story of mutual help can be found in the career of a humble gardener named Chunnu who built ties with Lahore and also Jullundur and rose to become Adina Beg Khan, first a *faujdar*, then a *nazim*, and finally, in 1758, the *subahdar* or viceroy of Punjab as a whole.

It was a Hindu banker called Lala Shri Niwas who first noticed young Adina's drive and ability and obtained for him the revenue contract for five or six villages in the Jullundur *doab*. The next year Adina started collecting revenue from a whole *pargana.* Impressed by his reliability, the Sultanpur *faujdar,* with whom Adina deposited his collections, entrusted Adina with the responsibility of carrying all the revenues from his *sarkar* to Lahore, where Adina came to know the *suba*'s treasury officer.

When, towards the end of the 1730s, the Sultanpur *faujdar* died, Adina, armed with an introduction from the treasury officer in Lahore and accompanied by Shri Niwas, promptly called on the Mughal viceroy of Punjab, Zakariya Khan, and sought the position that had fallen vacant. 'What security can you provide?' asked Zakariya Khan.

'I will provide a bond,' said Lala Shri Niwas.

Appointed *faujdar* by the viceroy, Adina, formerly known as Chunnu, became 'Adina Beg Khan'. Adina Beg made Shri Niwas his immediate assistant and the banker's brother, the Persian-knowing Bhwani Das, his office superintendent. However, Adina's personal elevation was followed by the plague of the Nadir Shah invasion, of which the Jullundur *doab* and its Sultanpur *sarkar,* the latter situated on the main road between Lahore and Delhi, were major victims.

Adina Beg Khan's work during and after the invasion was impressive. He restored order, provided relief and secured by ransom the release

of some prisoners. Learning of Adina's performance but anxious also to curb growing Sikh influence in the Jullundur *doab,* Zakariya Khan named him the *nazim* or governor for the *doab* as a whole, ordering him at the same time to punish the Sikhs.

Nazim Adina Beg Khan affirmed that he would indeed punish the Sikhs but, as Punjab moved into the 18th century's fourth decade, he did not quite do so, for his clear eyes saw that times had changed. Mughal decline was irreversible and the future was wide open.

But we observe more than opportunism in Adina's story. Nadir Shah having denuded the Lahore treasury, Zakariya Khan had no money to pay his soldiers. His way of raising it was to imprison the *diwan*, Lakhpat Rai, whose brother, Jaspat Rai, then proceeded to demand arrears from all *nazims* and *faujdars.* Lakhpat Rai was released but Adina found himself behind bars for being in arrears.

Zakariya's second son Shah Nawaz replaced Adina as the Jullundur *nazim.* After a year, however, Adina was freed largely because of the loyalty to him, in the teeth of persecution and torture, of the Hindu brothers, Shri Niwas and Bhwani Das.[6] Not only was Adina freed, he was named deputy governor under Shah Nawaz.

That in Lahore Zakariya Khan had Hindu ministers and advisers is well known. But we should linger with the loyalty that Shri Niwas and Bhwani Das showed in the Jullundur *doab* towards Adina – in the teeth of torture. This trust and bond between the Muslim Arain and the Hindu Banias (or Khatris or Aroras, we do not know) is a significant element of the story of 18th century Punjab.

Adina later became the viceroy of Punjab – under the distant umbrella of the Marathas – we, therefore, know his story. The Adina story is not the only pointer. Bulleh Shah and Waris Shah not only wrote, in the 18th century, their poetry of humanity, love and co-operation but they recited it to large audiences, which indicates that commonsense and *insaniyat* were overcoming clash even in the turbulent 18th century.

There is no reason to think that Adina Beg Khan's ability to work closely with Hindus and Sikhs on a round-the-clock and daily basis was exceptional. We are entitled, I believe, to infer from his story the probability of links and bonds between Muslims and Hindus in villages across Punjab countryside. It should be possible for new research to document this in some detail, and it would be wonderful if that could happen.

We may not know their individual names but there were other Adinas who at different levels and in different sites in Punjab – crop-fields, ferry-points, *bazaars*, *karkhanas*, offices of the empire's functionaries and elsewhere – worked closely with persons from a variety of religious traditions.

As for Adina, we should note that when the Afghans took control of Lahore and summoned him there, being a cautious man he chose to send emissaries with presents rather than go himself. Among the emissaries were at least two Hindus, Dharamdas Taranjia and Chaudhri Jodha Nagri, and the Muslim chief of Kapurthala, Rai Ibrahim Bhatti.[7]

About ten years later, when the Sikh rule over Lahore began and three Sikh chiefs divided up control over the city, prominent Hindus pleaded with the Sikh trio not to tyrannize Lahore's Muslims. The appeal worked and the city's Muslims evidently felt thankful for 'a kind senior person' called Nathoo Shah.[8] Apparently 'most of the upper-caste Hindus stood by the Muslims' at this time.[9]

As for the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh that followed, it is true that cow slaughter was banned during this period. Also, while Muslims were free to worship in mosques, the *azaan* was not allowed. However, Muslims held high offices in Ranjit Singh's administration and played a major role in his army.

It is worth recognizing that the forebears of major Muslim Punjabi figures of 20th century Punjab were Ranjit Singh's officers or allies. This was true, for instance, of Mian Fazl-i-Husain, the Bhatti Rajput founder of the Unionist Party, and Khizar Hayat Tiwana of Shahpur/ Sargodha, who was Punjab's controversial Premier between 1942 and 1947. This connection suggests that at the end of the 18th century and in the first quarter of the 19th century, commonsense and co-operation were present even among sections of the elites of the Punjab.

In their century-long rule, the British transformed and developed Punjab and managed to recruit Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus into their armies. But while Muslim, Sikh and Hindu soldiers were separately drawn into relationships with the British, they (Muslim, Sikh and Hindu soldiers) were successfully prevented from continuing or forming relationships with one another.

Outside the army, too, the British established separate and rewarding relationships with Muslim, Hindu and Sikh organizations in Punjab and happily watched the failure or reluctance of these Punjabi organizations to come closer to one another. Separation was fostered and clash was encouraged by Punjab's British rulers and separation was also embraced by large sections of Punjabi elites.

Between 1919 and 1922, however, there was an amazing coming together of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh Punjabis. This happened at almost every level – among the elites, on the ground and in between – and across Punjab's broad terrain, in towns and in the countryside. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre had spilled the red blood of Punjabis of all backgrounds; the treatment of Turkey and European control over Islam's sacred sites had wounded not only Maulana Zafar Ali but

every Muslim in Punjab; Punjab's Hindus and Sikhs seemed willing to stand alongside Punjab's Muslims. That large-scale coming together, fostered by Mahatma Gandhi, did not last beyond three years, but it influenced many Punjabis for the whole of their lives and remains a powerful and hope-providing memory.

A few years later, in 1930 and 1931, many in Lahore and elsewhere in Punjab – Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs – were inspired by the willingness of young Bhagat Singh, the leftist radical, who offered his life and defied the Empire by his prolonged hunger-strike in defence of the rights of political prisoners. While stirring, that episode did not however produce a large enough, united or sustained anti-imperialist movement across Punjab. The Unionist Party, which seemed to dominate Punjab for two decades from about 1922, was openly feudal and openly pro-Empire – the Empire had played an open role in its formation. Yet, the Unionist Party did bring together Muslim, Sikh and Hindu landlords. This was a summit-level rather than ground-level coming together. This cross-community alliance at the highest rungs of the Punjabi ladder collapsed when waves of communal blame flooded Punjab in 1946 and 1947.

Regarding the uprooting, carnage and trauma of the 1947 Punjab, I will only say a couple of things. The pride of the Empire, the large sub-continental army, half of it Punjabi, was not used by the Empire to quell the violence. Yes, a small Punjab Boundary Force headed by an Englishman and manned by Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus played a positive role and saved many lives. But the Empire did not use the army to stop the killings. World War II had ended in the summer of 1947 and India-based British officers and soldiers were eager to return home. They were unwilling to risk lives to protect Indians from one another. As for the army's Indians, they were deemed communal and undependable in what easily was the greatest challenge the Subcontinent had faced since 1857.

The irony is that the communalism that India's British rulers detected in the Indian army in 1946-47 had been carefully injected and fostered over decades by the Empire. Not only was the army written off as useless in 1947 Punjab, many among the soldiers who had been demobilized in 1945 – Sikh, Hindu and Muslim – played a prominent part in the killings of 1947. Defenders had become worse than killers. But we should not look only at the Empire's failings. Several Punjabis returning from Subhas Bose's Indian National Army also took part, from opposing sides, in the 1947 killings.

The spirit of humanity, though stifled by thousands, had not died in Punjab. In village after village, *mohalla* after *mohalla*, camp after camp, brave and compassionate Punjabis concealed, defended, nourished and assisted vulnerable fellow-Punjabis and put them on the road to safety across the new border.

The under-reported story of 1947 is that the number of Punjabis who saved lives in 1947 greatly exceeded the number of Punjabis who took lives in that year of sorrow and upheaval.

A remarkable translation in English of short stories about 1947 by the Rawalpindi-raised poet and author, Mohinder Singh Sarna, has just been published in India under the title *Savage Harvest.* This 250-page book contains powerful – and healing – stories of how *insaniyat* quietly, ingeniously and bravely overcame hate in the 1947 Punjab.

Sarna's stories were inspired by actual events. In 2005, my wife Usha and I were able to collect, through interviews in Lahore, over two dozen accounts of how people were actually saved by the Other. A chapter in my Punjab history is devoted to some of these interviews.

I want to end this paper by urging everyone who can, to obtain such accounts – with as much detail as can be gathered (approximate date, place, names of the people involved) – from older relatives who have knowledge of how lives from the Other community were saved. I would be glad and grateful (rajmohan.gandhi@gmail.com) to receive a copy of any such account.

Each story of this kind is fresh evidence of the triumph of humanity over hate – of the triumph of commonsense over clash. God willing, such accounts may contribute to the growth of a culture, art and architecture in Punjab, including landscape architecture, of healing, mutual respect, love and compassion.

Endnotes

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Who are the Punjabis and what is Punjabiyat?

Prof. Ishtiaq Ahmed, PhD

Who are the Punjabis? What is Punjabiyat? These are two questions about Punjabi identity which I posed to a number of Punjabi writers and intellectuals. Some very interesting answers were given but to my surprise very few responded. Such odd behavior can only be made sense of from the fact that hardly any other group of people in the Indian Subcontinent represents as many ambiguities and paradoxes as do the Punjabis. Therefore, writing down coherent answers to the two questions mentioned above requires an intellectual discipline and sophistication, which probably some found too demanding. However, there can be another reason also: many people who have earned recognition as Punjabi poets, scholars or intellectuals probably felt they would rather not commit themselves on these two themes.

The reason is the very tortuous and traumatic history of the Punjabis in the 20th century, of the partition of India and of the Punjab (Ahmed 2014). Under the circumstances, the Punjabi identity and identification with different groups and communities in the Punjab poses sensitive political and ideological consequences and not everyone is willing to make his/her standpoint public. Therefore, evading categorization, one way or the other, on Punjabi identity can be a useful strategy to steer clear of controversy and thus, maintain a positive reputation as a Punjabi intellectual. However, before the predicaments of Punjabi identity are reviewed on the basis of the responses, a theoretical discussion on identity is in order.

Identity: Individual and Collective

Human beings act together in groups in pursuit of their collective objectives. Thus, shared identity plays an important role in connecting them to each other. In terms of politics, the study of identity is interesting as it explains how individuals and groups invoke it to justify their claims to power within a state or as a separate nation entitled to independent statehood. The question is, of course, what brings individuals together? Is group formation a voluntary choice or are individuals born into groups and remain in them forever?

In social science literature, one can conventionally locate two contrasting perspectives to group-formation and identification: the primordialist and the instrumentalist. The primordialists argue that ethno-centrism is natural to human beings; individuals have always been grouped together on the basis of shared objective characteristics such as

common descent, skin color, tribe and religion; each group develops a sense of identity and ethnicity as it faces, in different historical contexts, challenges to its survival. Thus, the collective memory of such experiences becomes the reference-point for developing strategies to ensure the security of the group (Geertz, 1963; Shils, 1957).

In contrast, the instrumentalists assert that identity is fluid and easily pliable and therefore contains no permanent boundaries. Rather, competition over power and resources between the élite and élite factions makes élite leaders or political entrepreneurs exploit shared cultural factors to create a new identity in order to mobilize support for their agendas. In the latter view, hence, ethnic identity is merely a construction, a political instrument rather than some objective or intrinsic property of human nature (Brass, 1991).

I shall argue from a middle position which seeks to synthesize these extreme views. Biologically-fixed characteristics are given. These may have no significance, for example, where everyone belongs to the same ethnic type, or, these can carry defining importance where many discrete and distinct groups exist. The Punjabi ethnic pool is quite varied and extends eastwards into northern India. In any case, being a frontier region of the plains, the Punjab received waves of people moving in from the mountain passes in the north-west and south-west of the Indian Subcontinent. The most numerous are the so-called Aryan stock but Scythians, Huns, Mongols, Persians, Turks, Afghans, Arabs and many other minor groups arrived at different periods in history, either as part of invading armies or refugees from famine and hunger from the more rugged and sparse regions of Central Asia and beyond. Then there were the local people conventionally described as the aboriginal proto-Australoids as well as the Dravidians (Ahmed 1998). A revisionist theory popular in India currently is that it was Indians, presumably a majority from the Punjab, who emigrated out of the Subcontinent rather than the so-called Aryans coming from outside. At least one such group did emigrate from the Subcontinent to other parts of the world the Romany people or Gypsies as they were called earlier. It is unclear when they emigrated from the Subcontinent but it was in small numbers down the ages. Their language and genetic roots suggest an origin from and around Punjab and some affinity has been suggested to the large agricultural caste of Jats.

The most obvious description of the Punjabis would be people whose mother tongue is Punjabi. However, that in itself is prone to considerable controversy and dispute with regard to the Punjabi language. An increasing trend among educated Pakistanis is to speak Urdu or English and use Punjabi with grandparents or servants. In India, the Sikhs valiantly hold on to Punjabi as their mother tongue but one learns that Hindi vocabulary and a Sanskritized Punjabi permeate the literature and academic writings in Indian Punjab. Then there are millions of Punjabis,

especially Hindus and Muslims, who live outside the Punjab in other parts of India and Pakistan or outside the Subcontinent. Many do not speak Punjabi but identify themselves on the basis of ancestry and ethnicity. Moreover, linguists inform us that the Punjabi language has a Sanskrit base and it descends from Hindi or Hinduvi but its vocabulary contains Dravidian words and sounds. This is, however, denied by others who assert that the Punjabi language belongs to the Dravidian or rather the Munda group of ancient tongues and is therefore not based on Sanskrit. Another variant of this denial of the Sanskrit root is that Urdu is a developed form of Punjabi and therefore, there is no contradiction in the Punjabis adopting Urdu as their "mother tongue" (Rahman, 2011).

Other objective factors defining group identity are religion, sect and caste. Religious, sectarian and linguistic identities can in principle change while caste ordinarily does not. Though given the constant upheavals, warfare and the concomitant instability in the region considered as the Punjab, changes in caste identity have also been reported throughout history and especially in the census records maintained by the British. However, change of religion, sect and caste usually takes place at the individual level; groups rarely make the transformation from one identity to another.

Theoretically speaking, one needs to bear in mind that both, at the individual and collective or group level identity is multi-dimensional and the context determines which factor is relevant at a given moment in time. Thus, for example, I am a Punjabi who is quite proud to speak Punjabi whenever possible; I am a Sunni by birth and was born in the Arain *biradari* (kinship ties) of Mozang, Lahore. I am a political scientist by education and a Swedish citizen of Pakistani-origin. Someone wanting to categorize speakers of Punjabi together will include me and thus objectify my identity as a Punjabi on that basis. However, others may do it on the basis of my religious affiliation, sect or caste. I may personally have a different idea of who I am and may want others to pay special heed to my self-description as a Punjabi with little interest in creed or sect or caste. Here, then, is a situation in which identity self-defined and other-defined can be in tension and consequently an incongruence arises between the two and so ambiguity about them can occur. Thus, my identity at any given moment in time is defined by context and the situation and is relational.

Equally, group identities are multi-dimensional. For example, the Hindu community can be visualized as an overarching identity under which a plethora of castes and sects are subsumed. Under a real or perceived threat to its existence it is likely to act as one body but in normal circumstances 'the Hindu community' is likely to be no more than a convenient description of the sum-total of sub-groups and their activities. The same applies to other religious communities or groups

identified on the basis of language or a more vague term, culture. However, in the recent history of the Punjab, especially that related to the partition of India and the Punjab, the religious identity came to dominate politics. I shall demonstrate that too was relational rather than absolute or constant (Ahmed 2014: 1-19).

The History of the Punjab and its Identity

Contemporary Punjab, divided between India and Pakistan, coincides roughly with areas that in antiquity were known as the *Sapta Sindhu* or the Land of Seven Rivers which included the mighty Indus as well as the now extant Saraswati. Indigenous people comprising tribal as well as village-folk, developed urban communities and waves of people identified as speakers of Dravidian and Aryan languages settled in this region. The Hindu caste system, Islam and Sikhism created their own combination of castes and *biradaris,* thus, creating different configurations. It is conjectured that during the Mughal, era "Punjab" came to mean the land of five rivers and the people who lived in it were identified as speakers of a language called Punjabi, that albeit has several dialects. Outstanding Sufi, Bhakti and Sikh literature has been produced by some of the most outstanding minds that were born and raised in the Punjab. This literature has continued to be recited and quoted down the ages and remains a robustly pulsating source of a counter-narrative to religious extremism and caste oppression. It inspires a dissenting view on spirituality and humanism that is inclusive and tolerant. However, such powerful literature was written in two or three entirely different scripts. As a result, the written word could not be conveyed to those conversant in one script but not in the other. Its medium of dissemination became the spoken word which roving bards and story-tellers went around reciting before rural and urban audiences. Thus, a folksy Punjabi culture can be identified down the ages.

The only genuinely Punjabi kingdom that emerged in this region, before the British annexed it in 1849, was when in 1799 the Sikh chieftain Maharaja Ranjit Singh captured Lahore. Yet he employed Persian as the state language. The Kingdom of Lahore included Lahore and Multan provinces, Kashmir and territories beyond the Attock up to Jamrud near Peshawar. However, Punjabi-speaking princely states such as Patiala and others in the east were not part of his kingdom. The British fixed the boundaries of their Punjab province in 1901, when some districts, mostly Pushto-speaking but also Hindko which was closely related to Punjabi, in the north-west were separated and given to the new North West Frontier Province. They, however, included several princely states in the east as well as Hindi-speaking districts in the east up to the Yamuna River. In 1911, Delhi District was separated from the Punjab. It included both directly administered British areas as well as princely states.

With the arrival of the 20th century, religious revivals took place among the three major communities of the Punjab – the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs – largely in response to Christian missionary activities. As a result, folk or popular religion, in which the boundaries were not clearly marked, began to be supplanted by purified versions of the three religions. Such changes meant that boundaries between them were also sharply drawn. Another trend which appeared concurrently in the census records was that Hindus began to record Hindi as their mother tongue, Muslims Urdu and the Sikhs Punjabi. The fact that Punjabi had historically been written in two or rather three distinct scripts: Persian-Urdu, Gurmukhi and Devanagri, meant that there already was a problem among the literati in the Punjab with regard to communication and intellectual interaction.

In 1947, the Punjab was partitioned between India and Pakistan on the basis of contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim areas. The demand for the partition of the Punjab was made by the Sikhs, who constituted 13-14 percent of its population after Indian Muslims, in their meeting on 23 March, 1940 at Lahore, the capital of the Punjab. The Muslims wanted to retain the Punjab as a united province in Pakistan but this was not acceptable to the Sikhs and Hindus who wanted the same principle of contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim areas to be applied to the Punjab and Bengal. Hence, the Punjab was partitioned along with the rest of India, including the province of Bengal, in mid-August 1947.

The partition of India, Punjab and Bengal resulted altogether in at least a million Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs being killed and 14-18 million migrating across the India-Pakistan border, essentially to escape death and injury for having the wrong religious identity: Hindus and Sikhs left for India and Muslims for Pakistan. At that time the total population of India was 400 million. However, the Punjab bore the main brunt of massive acts of inhumanity and barbarity. According to the 1941 census, the total population of the Punjab, including British Punjab and the princely states, was 34.3 million. The Muslims were in an absolute majority of 53.2 percent, Hindus were 29.1 percent, Sikhs 14.9 percent and Christians 1.9 percent. The British Punjab comprised 29 districts with a total population of 28.4 million. The population distribution was as follows: Muslims 57.1 percent; Hindus 27.8 percent; Sikh 13.2 percent and Christians 2.1 percent. Some 500,000 – 800,000 Punjabi Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs were killed and 10 million forced to flee for their lives across the international border drawn in the Punjab, which created the Pakistani West Punjab and the Indian East Punjab (Ahmed 2014).

The veteran Indian journalist Rajinder Puri lamented the negative impact of the partition on Punjab in the following words:

> After partition the Punjabis disappeared. In West Punjab they became Pakistanis. In East Punjab they became Hindus and Sikhs. They also became Akalis and Congressmen, Arya Samajists and Jan Sanghis. Never Punjabis (Puri 1985: 132).

Pakistani and Indian Punjab

Pakistani Punjab

West Punjab emerged as the most powerful and dominant province in Pakistan comprising two wings: East and West Pakistan with 1500 kilometers of Indian territory in between. After East Pakistan ceded in December 1971 and became Bangladesh, the Pakistani Punjab became, population-wise, the biggest province of Pakistan (48 to 58 percent of the total population of Pakistan, depending on whether Saraiki is considered a separate language or a dialect of Punjabi). Its representation in the military and civil bureaucracy increased and the Punjabis made great gains in the formation of the Pakistani bourgeoisie as well.

However, with regard to the Punjabi language, there was no change in official policy: since 1947, government policy, both central and provincial, has been to discourage literacy in Punjabi; the reason being that the Punjabi intelligentsia was conversant and functional in Urdu as a medium of communication. Such a skill had always been advantageous to the Punjabi power elite in promoting a nationalism that extended to the whole of Pakistan in the name of Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. Consequently, official policy expressly forbids the Punjabi language being used in official correspondence and no worthwhile Punjabi print media exists in Pakistan. It was in 1990 that the speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Hanif Ramay, allowed speeches to be made in Punjabi in the House but it was discontinued after him (Ahmed 1998: 183-184). More and more Punjabis, especially those who receive some education, speak Urdu, though Punjabi in its various dialects is still the predominant spoken language.

On the other hand, from the 1950s onwards Pakistani Punjabis have clashed on the basis of sectarian differences; in 1947 they acted as one compact Muslim group vis-à-vis Hindus and Sikhs. Sectarian terrorism gained a great boost in the wake of the Iranian-Saudi competition to be leaders of the Muslim world. Both cultivated their sectarian affiliates and from the 1990s onwards Shia-Sunni extremists were involved in several terrorist activities against both leaders as well as completely uninvolved members of each other's groups. Now, since at least the beginning of the 21st century, the Pakistani Punjab faces the prospect of being split on the basis of people in the southern parts of it claiming to speak a different language, Saraiki.

Indian Punjab

The Indian East Punjab was split in 1966 on the demand of the Sikhs and the Hindi-speaking areas were given to Haryana. In the 1980s, the Sikh separatist Khalistan movement emerged. It was masterminded by Sikhs in the diaspora and a fundamentalist preacher, Sant Jarnail Singh Bindrawale. It resulted in a large-scale clash with the might of the Indian state, with at least 80,000 deaths including the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and the massacre of at least 4000 Sikhs in and around Delhi. It was crushed by the early 1990s and democracy was restored (Ahmed 1998: 113-136; Deol 2000). Furthermore, the Sikhs clashed on a sectarian basis: the Khalsa majority versus the Nirankaris. Among Punjabi Hindus, the Dalits have all along felt alienated in the Punjab from the mainstream (Ajay Bhardwaj 2007).

From the above sketch one can establish the fact that the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh identities, which during the partition process polarized into the Hindu-Sikh versus Muslim groupings, in the post-partition period went through further subdivisions. In the Pakistani Punjab, sectarian divisions became the basis for tension and conflict, which was compounded by the controversy over Punjabi versus Saraiki. In the Indian Punjab, the Hindu-Sikh alliance proved brittle as the two communities split on the Punjabi *Suba* question and within each community sectarian or caste contradictions served as a basis of conflict.

Punjabiyat in a Loose, Sentimental Sense

Indian Punjabis are less than 2 percent of the population of India and include several million who do not live in the Punjab; they are spread all over India. Despite their small numbers, they have a very visible presence in the Bombay film industry and Punjabi songs and tunes are often part of Bollywood blockbusters.

Emigration to other parts of the world from the Punjab started in the 19th century when Punjabis went to Canada, the United States and in very large numbers settled in the United Kingdom and elsewhere as a result of post-World War II migration of mainly unskilled workers to Western Europe (Ahmed 2013: 265-282). They are also found in significant numbers in the Persian Gulf and Southeast Asia.

In spite of all these extraordinary if not unique, even contradictory and clashing characteristics, a sense of Punjabiyat or shared cultural identity permeates the lives of Punjabis. Although Pakistani and Indian Punjabis and by that token Hindu and Sikh and even the miniscule minority of Christian Punjabis in the diaspora continue to identify themselves mainly on state-nationalism or religious and sectarian based factors. In recent times, several vigorous Punjabi cultural and social organizations and

movements have emerged in the United States and Canada where an educated Punjabi literati is now settled. Similar efforts are afoot in the UK but the Punjabi language and cultural organizations there are still weak. Are such trends indicative of Punjabiyat remaining a constant, even though a weak and vague one, in the emotional makeup and identity of Punjabis? I have a feeling they are. Punjabiyat does not exercise such a hold on Punjabis that they can transcend the cleavages of religion but shared culture does create positive emotions whenever they interact. Keeping this background and context in mind we now look at some responses to my two questions: Who are the Punjabis? And, what is Punjabiyat?

Dr Alam Sher, PharmD, MBA, USA

Who is a Punjabi and what is Punjabiyat (Punjabi culture or Punjabiness - Wikipedia) are the two basic questions that need to be answered and explained. The bigger question however is, if a Punjabi can be separated from Punjabiyat or vice versa?

In my opinion, there is no argument about who is a Punjabi. Anyone who is born in or has lineage going back to the Punjab, or has adopted the land of five rivers, is a Punjabi. On the other hand, Punjabiyat includes much more. Like any other culture, Punjabiyat is comprised of traditions, values, religion, diet, attire and last but not least language. Sadly though, the Punjabi culture or Punjabiyat has never seen a time when it was attacked and abandoned by its own people as it has been in the last few decades. This commentary will make an attempt to address some of the consequences the Pakistani Punjabis and Punjabiyat have suffered since the partition of the Punjab in 1947.

Punjab and Bengal were the only two provinces that underwent a painful division. It was indeed a Punjabi Holocaust that took place in 1947. Some people believe that in 1947, in the name of religious freedom, Pakistani Punjabis were forced to move from British slavery to the Urdu speakers' slavery. The Punjab on both sides has not recovered ever since. After this horrific partition or *vand*, the Pakistani Punjab took a nosedive into the abyss of oblivion as far as Punjabiyat is concerned. Since the partition, Pakistani Punjabis have abandoned their culture and are now seriously suffering from an identity crisis. This has caused the biggest denial one can imagine and has also led to very low self-esteem among Pakistani Punjabis. They have been brainwashed to believe that only religion is their culture, thus, the obligatory Arabanization of all aspects of their lives is presently being enforced. They have replaced *Khuda Hafiz* or *Rab Raakha* with *Allah Hafiz* and prefer *Ramadhan Mubarak* over *Ramzan Mubarik*. They like to name their children with Arabic names. All their heroes are either Arabs or Central Asian butchers and murderous warriors who actually pummeled and looted the Punjab over and over again. These invaders also captured and kidnapped Punjabi or Indian women to sell or use as sex slaves.

Whereas the other provinces in Pakistan are proudly teaching, speaking, reading, writing and doing business in their *maanboli* (mother tongue) like Sindhi in Sindh, Baluchi in Baluchistan and Pashto in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, sadly and conversely, Pakistani Punjabis have totally forgotten their *maanboli*. They love to teach, speak, read, write and do business either in Urdu or English (I call them "the undercover Punjabis"). They do not know or refuse to accept that in reality Urdu cannot be even considered a full-blown language. To be considered a bona fide language one needs to meet three very basic tenets: grammar, vocabulary and alphabets. Urdu fails to meet all these three tenets as its grammar is Hindi, alphabet is Arabic and vocabulary is mostly Hindi, Arabic, Farsi and other languages. This is why the Pakistani National Anthem by Hafiz Jallandhari, a Punjabi who wrote poems only in Urdu, is written in Farsi. It lacks Hindi words and completely circumvents Hindi grammar. Also one cannot find a single line of an Urdu poem by Allama Iqbal, the so-called dreamer of a separate country for the Indian Muslims, engraved in his mausoleum. Even these great Urdu poets knew that Urdu is nothing but a version of Hindi or Hinsdustani with many Farsi and Arabic words in it. Ustad Daman, the great and legendary Punjabi poet, wrote in one of his poems:

Urdu da mein dukhi naahin	I am not offended by Urdu
Te dushman nai angrezi da	Nor am I an enemy of English
Puchdeo mere dil di boli	If you ask me what is in my heart
Haan ji haan, Punjabi ae	Yes and yes, it is Punjabi.
Bulha milia aise vichon	I found Bulha in it
Aise vichon Waris vi	Waris is also there
Dhaaran milian aise vichon	I was nursed by it
Meri maan Punjabi ae	My mother is Punjabi
Ehde bol kannan ich painde	Its words are music to my ears
Dil mere de vich ne rehnde	They live in my heart
Tapdian hoyan raitaan te	On hot and balmy nights
Ik thandi chaan Punjabi ae	It provides a cool shade for me
Ahde dudhaan de vich makhni	Its milk is rich with cream and butter
Makhnaan vich heo de chakhni	The butter and cream turn into Ghee
Dab kharbki dhol jatti	This is my colorful beloved.
Ik saadi gaan, Punjabi ae	Yes our cow is Punjabi

Pakistani Punjabis are like a crow that tries to be a *Hans* (a mythical bird) who ultimately forgets how to be a crow. Pakistani Punjabis will probably face the same doom if they continue in their efforts to be somebody other than who they really are. Nobody respects a person who does not respect himself/herself. A poem by a Punjabi poetess can be perhaps best translated as, "Had you fallen from my eyes I would have immediately picked you up with my eye lashes and put you back in my eyes but I cannot help you because you have fallen from your own eyes". Today's Pakistani Punjabis have fallen from their own eyes and have lost their identity and respect as a nation because they have stopped being Punjabis and are not adhering to Punjabiyat.

In his short Punjabi poem below, Ustad Daman has probably answered the above two questions better than anybody.

Meinoon kiniyan ne aakia kai vari	Many have asked me numerous times
Tun lena Punjabi da naan chad de	Stop speaking of Punjabi
Goad jidhi vich pal ke jawan hoyon	Mother's embrace that nurtured and nursed me
O'Maan chad de o'garan chad de	Disclaim your mother and your village
Meinoon inj lagda loki aakh de ne	It seems as if people are saying
O' Putra, tun apni maan chad de	O son, we want you to disown your mother

Can a person be called a Punjabi without adhering to Punjabiyat? I do not think so.

Dr Pritam Singh, Oxford Brookes University

What is most important in defining someone as a Punjabi is the subjective self-consciousness of being a Punjabi. Punjabis are all those individuals and groups in whose self-view, a sense of being a Punjabi is, in some degree, a part of their self-view. This subjective self-view of being a Punjabi in a cultural sense could co-exist with being a Punjabi Muslim, Punjabi Sikh, Punjabi Hindu, Punjabi Christian, Punjabi Jain or Punjabi atheist. Between being a Punjabi in a cultural sense and being (or not being) a member of a religious community, different individuals would attach different degrees of importance to these markers of self-identity but irrespective of these differences, such individuals would be Punjabis. Along with these religious differences, there could be differentiation based on class, caste and gender but as long as an individual views himself/herself as a Punjabi along with being a member of the landed aristocracy or peasantry or any other class; Brahmin, dalit or another caste; woman, man or transgendered, such an individual is a Punjabi.

The core of Punjabiyat or Punjabi identity is a sense of belonging, in varying degrees, to the historical region of the Punjab – now East Punjab in India and West Punjab in Pakistan. In addition to this sense of regional location of Punjabi belonging, Punjabiyat is that shared universe that includes Punjabi language, Punjabi literature (poetry, fiction, plays and so on), Punjabi arts (cinema, theatre, paintings and so on), Punjabi music, Punjabi modes of aesthetic imagination and articulation (embroidery, painting, sculpture and jewellery), Punjabi folk songs, Punjabi folk heroes, Punjabi food, Punjabi dress, Punjabi birth/marriages/death ceremonies, Punjabi dances, Punjabi humor,

Punjabi sarcasm, Punjabi bravery/cowardice, Punjabi cleverness, Punjabi enterprise/adventurism/daredevilry, Punjabi subterfuge, Punjabi treachery/cheating and Punjabi quarrelsomeness/infighting/factionalism. Bravery/cowardice, cleverness, treachery and factionalism are universal character traits but anyone who is a Punjabi has an intuitive sense of the Punjabi version of these character traits even if one is not able to verbalise or define these Punjabi versions.

All individuals who can be considered or who view themselves as part of this Punjabi universe may not share all the character traits of being a Punjabi. There could be minimalist or maximalist versions of Punjabiyat. An individual's sense of being a Punjabi may be as minimal as having a preference for Punjabi food on a regular day to day basis while someone else's might extend to most of the identity markers mentioned above. These identity markers may not exist in their pure form, if any, but in a variety of hybrid forms. The process of globalisation is accelerating the emergence of these hybrid forms of Punjabiyat. Bhangra music, for example, in its diverse forms has grown to become the focal point of Punjabi and hybrid identities; it has also spawned new interest in learning the Punjabi language in diverse scripts.

The process of globalisation and the emergence of Punjabi diaspora has given birth to a dimension of Punjabiyat - the global Punjabiyat - which while retaining some imaginary sense of territorial belonging to *Desh* Punjab, transcends any geographical boundaries of Punjabiyat.

Harjap Singh Aujla, Expert on Indian Music and Punjabi Composers and Singers, USA

Punjabi is the name of a culture, language and broadly speaking a way of life.[1] The Punjabis are basically large-hearted, fun loving and flamboyant people. By religious affiliation, the majority consists of Muslims; the Hindus outnumber the Sikhs by a ratio of 2:1. All Punjabis prefer to eat lots of dairy products. The Muslims are big time meat eaters. The Sikhs eat meat too but they kill the animal or bird with one stroke. Most of the Punjabi Hindus are non-meat eaters. All Punjabis have common musical tastes. Their folk songs are common. Up to 1946, all Punjabis were very loyal to their language and culture but in 1947, the loyalty of the Muslim Punjabis became more pronounced towards Urdu. Similarly most Punjabi Hindus in East Punjab switched their linguistic loyalty to Hindi.

At one time the turban was the symbol of respect and reverence for all Punjabis but with the passage of time and modernization, a majority of Muslim Punjabis and Hindu Punjabis have abandoned it. Only the fully practicing Sikhs still persist with it. The daughter of one person, irrespective of religion, caste or creed was considered the daughter of the entire village.

Brushing aside the animosities of 1947, when two Punjabis meet all of a sudden on foreign soil, they greet each other very warmly and try to help each other. For example, two Punjabis, a Sikh lawyer and an uneducated, unemployed Muslim met in Paris. The Muslim had no money for accommodation. The Sikh lawyer had two beds in his hotel room; he shared one with the Muslim stranger. This is typically how a Punjabi meets a Punjabi. I have seen well-settled Hindu Punjabi professionals helping Sikh economic refugees in America.

Gulshan Dayal, a Leading Figure of the Sanjha Punjab Website Network

Jadd bahut choti hundi saa'n taa'n lagda hunda si ki je tusi'n Panjabi bolde ho'n taa'n tusi'n Sikh ho'n ... Panjab di dharti da hale concept nahi si bania .. yaa'n injh keh lavo ki sirf Sikh hi Panjabi hunde ne te oho ee Punjabi bolde ne ... injh ih shaid is karke si ki mummmy ne choti hundi noo'n jis elementary school vich padhan pai si uh ikk Arya school si te yaad hai ki shani charvaar noo'n kadi kadi ithe ikk hawan kita jaanda si te jis vich Sanskrit de mantar padhe jaande san... te teacher ihi aakhde san ki Hindi hi boli hundi hai.. te mere baalman vich ihi baith gia ki jo Hindu hunde han uh Hindi bolde nay... yaa ghatto ghatt iss school vich mere man te ihi chaap payi si... Muslmaa'n Punjabi da te mainu sufne vich vi qyaas nahi si... Muslmaan dekhe san, Urdu bolde, Bangla bolde, dakhni Haidraabadi bolde, par Panjabi bolde kadi nahi si dekhe ..., bus mere lai Punjabi hon da ihi matlab si ... ih te bahut baad vich pata lgga ki Panjabi bolan waliaan da ikk wadda saara ilaaka sarhaddo'n paar si ... te uh Muslmaan san te dushman qaum san .. ithihaas dia'n kitaaba'n ne vi ihi samjhaiaa si .. school chaddia te college aa gayi .. par ithe ithihaas nahi padhia ... science padhi... college mukkia te mummy ne kiha ki main kujh na kujh padhdi riha kraa'n ... mummy ithihaas de student san uhna mainoo'n England Europe te Indian Subcontinent da ithihaas padhan noo'n kiha jo vi ghar vich ithihaas diaa'n kitaaba'n san uh padh lyiaa'n hauli haulu ahsaas hoiaa ki ithihaaskaar vi uhi dasde han jo uh dasna chahunde han .. khai gall te Panjabi hon baare chal rahi a ..

So ih te bahut baad vich pata lggia ki Panjabi hon da matlab uss dharti di mitti vicho'n hona jithe panjdaria vagde ne te fir ihh andrla man gumm ho chukke dariaavaa'n noo'n labhan lgga ... uh dariaa kitho'n labhne san .. uh dariya taa'n sarhaddo'n paar san .. jis jhnaa'n te Jhelum de paaniaa'n de kandiaa'n naal Panjabi ishq diaa'n kahaniaa'n labrez san, uh saatho'n vichad gaye han ...

Uh Ravi jis de paaniaa'n ne Shri Guru Arjan Dev Ji de paak shareer noo'n jazb kar lia si .. uhna paaniyaa'n noo'n asaa'n Panjabiyaa'n ne khud hi zehar kar lia si ... uhna beliaa'n vich jithe ranjhe di piaar bhari vanjhli goo'njdi si, te heer di choori di mehak si, us hawa vich asi nafrat dio badboo khilaar ditti hai .. uh ket hi nahi rahe jithe babe naank vaang sache saude hunde san ... ihh saada asli virsa hai te sahi pchaan vi .. mere lai Panjabi hon da matlab hai Bulleh Shah da naach te us di kaafi meri jaageer hai ... Fareed te mera haq hai ... bulla mere dil di dhadkan noo'n hi likhda hai ... te Panjabi hon da matlab ih

vi hona chahida hai ki mainoo'n us paar japuji de bol sunai dene chahide ne ... mere lai Panjabi hoon da matlab panj dariaavaa'n di dharti meri hai te main us dharti di ... bhavei'n kinne vi dialects hon Panjabi boli de uh sabh kise na kise traah aaps vich gunne hoye ne .. siaasi lok kujh vi aakhi jaan par mere lai Panjabi hin da matlab hai mera rishta jis mitti naal hai uh hai panj dariaavaa'n di mitti ... panjabi hon da ihh vi matlab hai ki piaar karna te tutt ke piaar karna .. apni dharti lai apni boli lai jaan vaar deni .. jivei'n vi hai jinna vi hai, jinna vi ho sake vand ke chkna, har takleef ivch chad'di kala vich rehna ... te us da bhaana man'na te har ikk de haasiaa'n lai qurbaan ho ho jaana ... mere lai ihi Panjabiyat hai.

Conclusion

From the above responses the basic argument about identity that I have offered should become quite clear. However, the fact that some leading Punjabi intellectuals have reservations about making themselves explicit on the two questions can be interpreted as indicative of some other priority within the religious, sectarian or linguistic spectrum. Perhaps the overarching nationalist identity as an Indian or as a Pakistani is important for them and in the light of this consideration a response on who is a Punjabi or what is Punjabiyat becomes politically sensitive.

On the whole, the Punjabi language and identification with it seems to be the common denominator and that should not be surprising but many Punjabis do not speak Punjabi any more or consider their Punjabi ancestry or ethnicity important. Therefore, the subjective factor of self-identification is also important. One need not labor the point that the Punjabis are a people with extraordinarily complicated issues about their identity and their identifications.

Endnote

1 After the unsuccessful revolt of 1857, the British rulers decided to punish the Jats who were prominent in the revolt. Their compact geographical region was divided into three provinces. Those living close to Bharatpur were merged with Rajputana. Jats of Agra, Mathura and Meerut area were merged with the U.P. The Jats of Rohtak, Hissar and Gurgaon were merged with the Punjab. Their areas are certainly non-Punjabi. The British divided the post-Ranjit Singh Punjab into five administrative divisions. The Eastern-most and least Punjabi division was Ambala. Leaving aside the three Jat dominated districts of Rohtak, Hissar and Gurgaon, the other three districts were Karnal (speaking a crude mixture of Punjabi and Hindi), Ambala (speaking *Puadhi*, a dialect of Punjabi) and Simla (speaking *Pahadi*, a dialect of Punjabi). The other four divisions were historically pure Punjabi in culture and language. Jalandhar Division's largest district was Kangra, which was speaking *Dogri* and *Pahadi* Punjabi but their habits and culture were primarily Punjabi. Lahore division which was also called the Central Division called the shots linguistically and culturally. The Multan Division spoke a different form of Punjabi called Saraiki but their character traits and habits were Punjabi. Similarly, the Rawalpindi Division spoke with a very sweet *Pothohari* accent but in all other characteristics, they were just like any other Punjabi.

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Public Space as a Cultural Palimpsest[1]: The Case of Neela Gumbad, Lahore

Syed Faisal Sajjad

Introduction

This paper is an investigation into the spatial and cultural evolution of Neela Gumbad[2] as a representative study towards establishing the cultural roots of the city of Lahore, the capital of the Punjab. It is based on the history, development and urban character of this place through available record and conjecture[3]. There are some rare archival photographs from the Colonial period along with a cartographic record used for the analysis. The sense of place has been constructed through the study of available records. It has then been compared with the present situation to identify the change in the urban form and the sense of place.

Lahore - A Palimpsest

Public squares in the city act as public lounges and epicentres of a city's political and cultural life. They indicate a city designed for humans as these spaces cater mostly to pedestrian activities and are open to all the citizens equally. These spaces with their historicity and event-space relation become iconic and form the identity of a city. This is a transformation from space to place, having a collective memory of events defining the city and its life.[4]

There is no mention of Lahore in Greek records. Lahore was of no architectural importance till Akbar's time, as Ibne Batuta, Ameer Taimur and Babar showed no interest in the town of Lahore. Till the time of Akbar, Lahore existed in the form of scattered settlements.

The city of Lahore has been a cultural metropolis of this region from Mughal times. Its proximity to Delhi is one reason it emerged as a cultural centre. The character of Lahore was truly cosmopolitan as Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Muslims, Christians and Parsees formed its population. It is one of the most important cities of the Subcontinent from a strategic and cultural perspective. This area was always at the crossroads of civilizations; most of the foreign invaders passed through this area and left their impressions on the city. This cultural layering has made the city of Lahore into a palimpsest. It was the capital of the great Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar. After the Mughal Empire, the city was ruled by the Sikhs. The Sikhs were followed by the British who started the first wave of modern planning in Lahore.

Lahore has a rich public life that evolved in its public squares. From Friday book bazaar in the Wazir Khan Mosque square to the literary environment of King Edward's Square and the political character of Charing Cross, the city of Lahore has seen the evolution and transformation of its public squares both physically and culturally.

These public spaces are a silent testimony of time and cultural transformation. Every era has left its physical and cultural marks on these spaces making them into a space-time cultural experience. These spaces can be deciphered and understood like spatial mythologies; each successive layer of time adding to the complexity.

Neela Gumbad - A Cultural Palimpsest

Writing about Neela Gumbad seemed to be an impossible task. I had a feeling that I was not approaching the subject correctly. There was something missing. It was lifeless. I decided to recollect my memories of Neela Gumbad in a poetic narrative to restore that missing life. The following are some recollected fragments to create a general impression of life in Neela Gumbad.

The boy who rode his bicycle home

"This time if you score more than 80% marks in your finals, you have a choice, either a new wrist watch or a new bicycle." – A Prize!

The boy worked hard.

"Good! What do you want? A watch or a bicycle?" asked his father.

"Bicycle of course! Who cares about a watch? Let's leave it for later", said the boy.

Time was all his. Why keep count. Oh my God, what a big leap, from a tricycle to a bicycle. He was joining the big boys' league.

With butterflies in his stomach, "Abu, may I go for the 18-inch one?"

"Yes but only if your feet reach the ground."

The following evening they were at Neela Gumbad, the place to be for any school boy. With a limited budget he scanned all the shops. Either Sohrab or Eagle, Raleigh was out of budget.

Sohrab then but he had to settle for a 16-inch one. The 18-inch was too big for him.

Firmly mounted, the boy insisted on riding it home.

"Come on it's quite a distance and it's not safe either. You are too young.", his father cautioned.

"No, no I can manage, Abu, you follow me!", the boy insisted.

With sweat dripping from his nose tip, he peddled home enthusiastically.

The boy has grown, the dream is gone and his bicycle has rusted.

Iqbal *Sahib*

Posters and Graves

"Iqbal *sahib*, Iqbal *sahib*, where are you?"

"Look under the car."

And there was Iqbal. He looked like part of the beetle he was repairing.

"Yar! They have asked me to vacate the workshop. There is hardly any work. Petrol prices have gone up. Spare parts are scarce. No one is interested in Volkswagens now.", Iqbal complained.

"Why don't you repair these Japanese Cars?"

"I don't know how to. *Goonga*[5], my son has also left the workshop. He is trying for Kuwait. Do you know someone in the embassy?", inquired Iqbal.

"No I don't. It's difficult."

Iqbal had to move his workshop from Gora Qabristan[6] to Neela Gumbad.

All that is left there is the graveyard wall plastered with posters of actresses and models.

Ghulam Rasool

Office of the Principal, NCA[7].

The meeting had been on for the past 4 hours. It was way past lunch time.

"What would you like for lunch?"

"Hmm, something good."

"We are on an austerity drive, so a humble lunch. How about *Ghulam Rasool kay chanay*[8]?"

"Nooo, not again, my stomach!"

"Have *anda*[9] *chanay* then. Majeed, go to Neela Gumbad and get *chana* for six and twelve *naan* and hurry up!"

In memory of

"No, no, no, do not take our picture!". Some fat youths were sitting around the table stuffing themselves with *biryani*[10]. Around them were Nasir Kazmi, Faiz Ahmad Faiz, Intizar Hussain and Ahmad Nadim Qasmi with their gaze fixed on these youths.

"Have they restored Pak Tea House[11] for these people? I am not interested in you. I am taking pictures of the cafe."

"You may take our picture."

These were students sitting there having lunch.

Neela Gumbad - A Spatial Palimpsest

The Mall, now known as Shahrah-e-Quiad-e-Azam, is one of the primary arteries of Lahore running east-west. This road was planned and constructed by Colonel Napier in 1851[12] when the British cantonment was moved from its previous location at Anarkali to the present location of Mian Mir[13] for strategic defence reasons.

The development of the Neela Gumbad area along the Mall was incremental. The King Edward memorial scheme was started in 1914. It was mainly open grounds during the Mughal period with the tomb of Hazrat Abdul Razzaq Makki, which seems to be a large complex visible in a Pahari Sikh painting from 1825 (Figure 1).

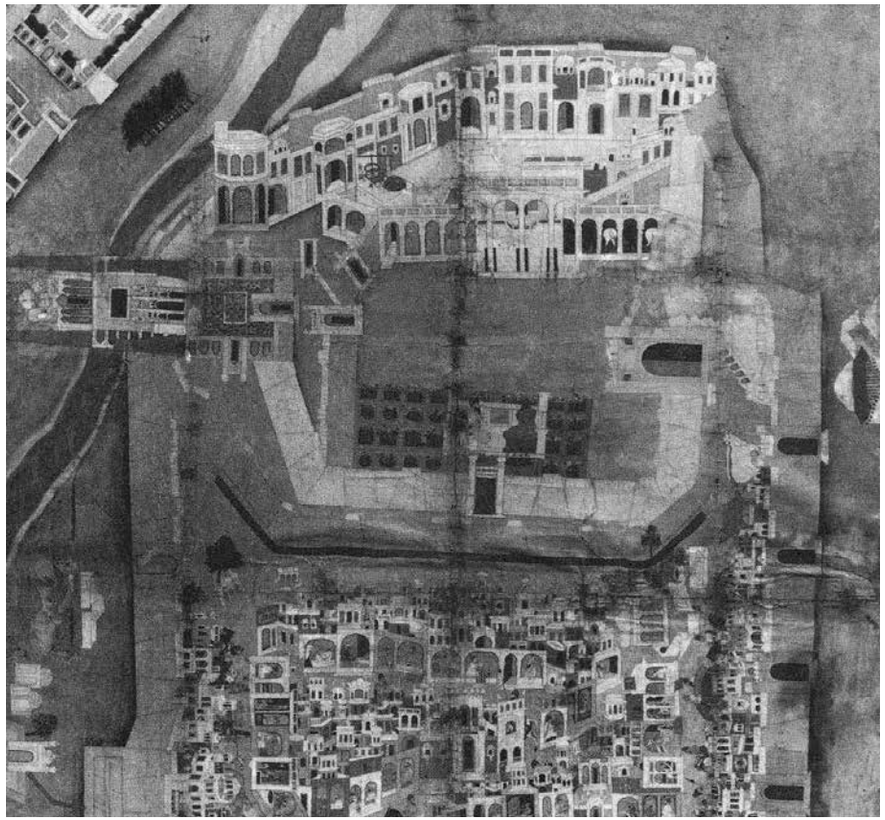


Figure 1

Pahari Sikh painting of Lahore. Source: Rehman 2013

Hazrat Abdul Razzaq Makki passed away in 1673 and his tomb and garden were constructed soon after. It was a flat structure in the beginning; the dome on the structure was added later. During the Sikh rule (1762-1849 AD), the garden around the tomb was demolished and the structure of the tomb was used as an arsenal. The mosque

and living quarters next to the tomb were used as military barracks. In 1849, during the early British Colonial period, both structures were used as the cantonment mess which was a makeshift arrangement as most of the available old structures were retrofitted during that period to serve as offices and residences for the British officers. Later, purpose designed buildings were constructed to build a Colonial infrastructure and in 1856 the British returned both the structures of the tomb and the mosque to the Muslim community. This area, however, remained the focus of the Colonial period development and establishment and in 1860 the Lahore Medical School was established here.

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) building was constructed on the intersection of the Mall and Edwards Road in 1876. The Holy Trinity Church was inaugurated on March 22, 1881 and its building was erected behind the YMCA building. In 1883, the first purpose-designed building for the Medical School was built. In 1889, the Lahore Mission College was shifted to the Neela Gumbad area from the Rang Mahal area. In 1894, the Mission School changed to Forman Christian College. It occupied the main chunk of land adjacent to the Mall. This area is now known as Bank Square. In 1910, a proposal for the construction of a bigger medical college and attached hospitals was approved under

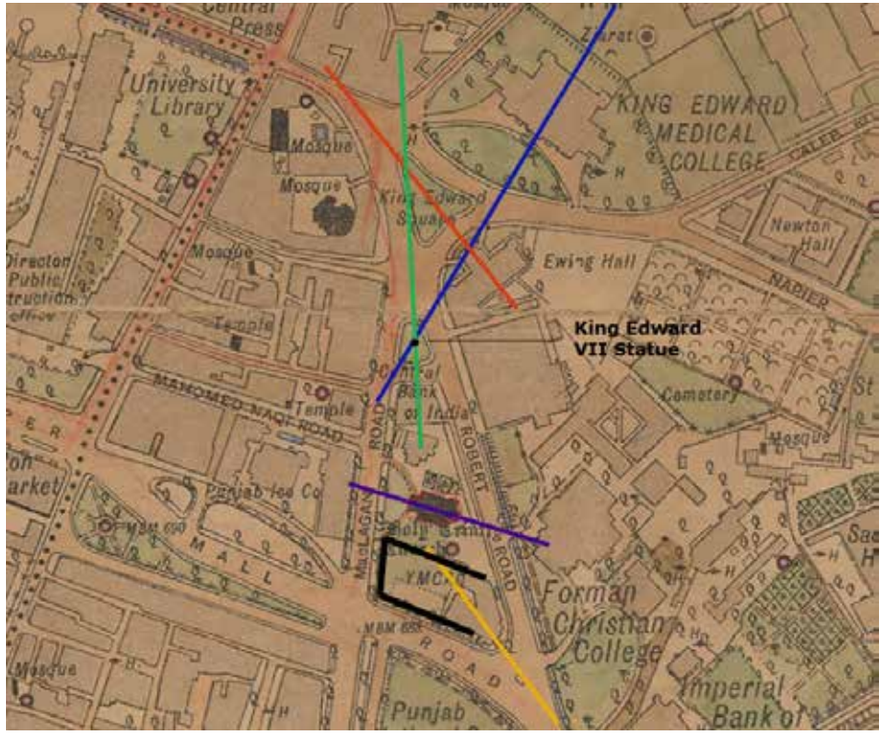


Figure 2

Map of Lahore, 1927. Source: Rehman 2013

the King Edward Medical Memorial Fund. In 1911, the foundation of Mayo Hospital extension was laid as part of King Edward VII Memorial. Viceroy Lord Haring of Pankhurst inaugurated the main block in 1915. This block is known as the Patiala Block because it was built with the generous donation of the *Maharaja* of Patiala.

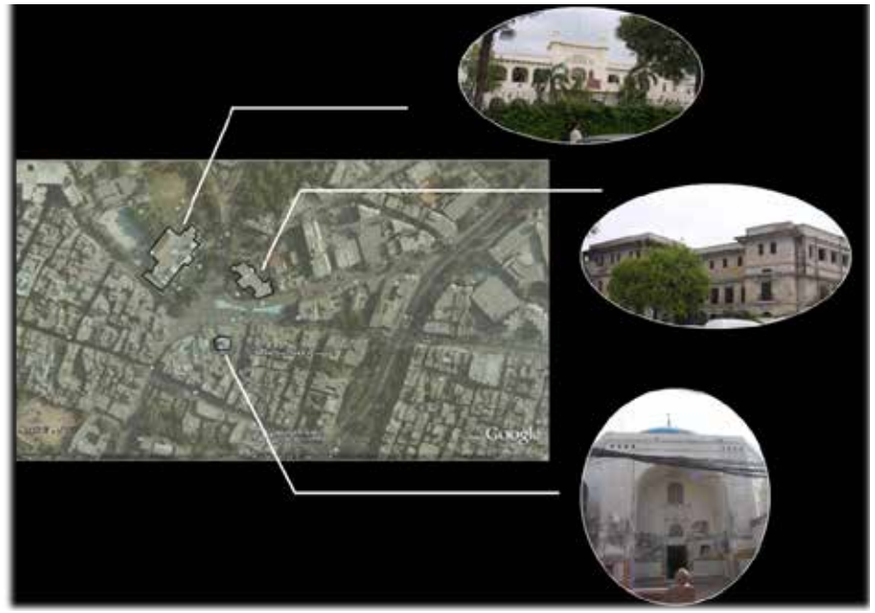
A comprehensive development plan of the Neela Gumbad area was prepared by Basil M. Sullivan[14] in 1914 under the patronage of the King Edward Memorial Trust and the square was renamed King Edward's Square. In 1916, the Ewing Hall was built as the hostel for Forman Christian College. The Central Bank of India was founded in 1911 and its building was constructed right behind the Holy Trinity Church.

After partition, the area underwent major spatial and cultural transformation with the development of a commercial market and the conversion of the F.C. College area into Bank Square. Some of the buildings in the Neela Gumbad area are listed heritage buildings according to the Premises (preservation) Ordinance Act 1985 (Lahore, Pakistan) from Section 1.3.3.

- Patiala Block, King Edward Medical College, Lahore.
- Ewing Hall, Neela Gumbad, Lahore.
- Tomb of Khwaja Muhammad Saeed opposite Neela Gumbad, Lahore.
- Shrine of Hazrat Abdul Razzaq Makki, Lahore.

Figure 3

Listed heritage buildings in Neela Gumbad area. Source: Google Image with photographs taken by the author 2013



The Urban Character of King Edward's Square

The entire Neela Gumbad area is a district because of a uniform urban character. Various activities take place within the enclosure that forms its identity. The commercial usage is the dominant character. The blue dome of the shrine of Hazrat Abdul Razzaq establishes the identity of the area and its name. The dome is now obstructed by the encroaching properties surrounding it and can only be seen from certain points, greatly diminishing the importance and legibility of the area with reference to the blue dome of the Neela Gumbad. The legibility of the area now is more in reference to the Anarkali Bazaar and the bicycle and tire shops bordering the west side of the square connecting the Mall.

The Statue of Edward VII, Neela Gumbad

This statue once stood in the Neela Gumbad Square. An old photograph shows its exact location in the public square (Aijazuddin 2006). The statue stood on a high platform which in the photograph seems over 10 feet high. Unfortunately, there is no record about the exact dimensions, material and detail of the platform.

Figure 4

Archival photograph of Neela Gumbad showing the statue of King Edward VII. Source: Aijazuddin 2006

Figure 5

The statue of King Edward VII in Lahore Fort. Source: Author 2003

The statue was removed some time after partition and was kept in the Lahore Fort. The museum officials found it in the storage room. The statue is of a person of medium stature standing in an exuberant posture with a baton in the right hand and a sword in the left. It is shown wearing the uniform of a Field Marshall and a conical cap. The statue is in bronze and in very good condition but needs proper documentation and display. It is currently being cleaned and put up for display in the Sikh Gallery of the Lahore Fort. This statue is an example of the British tradition of displaying statues of rulers in their Colonies.

Transformation in the Urban Character

North-West Side of the Square

Figure 6

Ariel view of Neela Gumbad today. Source: Author 2013

Before Independence, the north-west side had the Mosque, Neela Gumbad and Noor Mahal only. During the Colonial era, shops were constructed and with the growth of commercial activities the number of these shops increased. After partition, the bicycle market developed on the west side and with new shops signboards appeared on the façade.

Figure 7

The north-west side of the square (photomontage). Source: NCA, 4th year architecture documentation assignment

Most buildings on this side are single-storied. The entrances to the Mosque and Neela Gumbad are higher than the rest of the buildings on the north-west side. The dome of Neela Gumbad is the only prominent architectural feature visible from the other side of the road due to its scale and color. All the structures are in brick masonry but are hidden behind signboards, creating visual chaos. The street, thus, possesses a horizontal character due to its low structures and horizontal strip of signboards.

The North Side of the Square

Figure 8/9

The north side of the square. A comparison of old and new. Source: Aijazuddin 2006/ Author 2013

Low rise buildings were built on the north side before partition. Later, interventions were made; the heights were increased and façades were changed. The Patiala Block, built in 1915, has remained unchanged. Both sides of the square are separated by Dhani Ram Road and are different in character. The left side comprises low rise buildings with huge billboards covering the entire street façade.

Figure 10

The north side of the square (photomontage). Source: NCA, 4th year architecture documentation assignment.

The street has a vertical character as the horizontal divisions of floors are not visible.

The Patiala block is a Colonial period architectural heritage. The building is divided into three parts with the central portion (the porch) protruding. Decorative elements like horizontal cues and eaves add details to the massive buildings.

The East Side of the Square

Figure 11

The east side of the square. Source: Author 2013

Ewing hall was built in 1916 on the east side and has remained unchanged since then. It dominates the rest of the buildings in mass and scale. It follows a Classical proportioning system and has decorative elements on the façade.

The South-East Side of the Square

Figure 12/13

The south-east side of the square. A comparison of old and new. Source: Aijazuddin 2006/ Author 2013

The south-east side has low rise buildings from the pre-Independence period and is neo-classical in character. The surgical store building suddenly breaks the harmony of the street façade due to its unmatched style and the reflective material used on the façade. The decay of buildings on this side is more obvious due to lack of maintenance.

The South Side of the Square

Figure 14

The south side of the square. Source: Photo Author 2013

The Central Bank of India on the south side of the square was also built during the British era. The building has a neo-classical style. There is continuity with the south-east side. The structure of the building has remained unchanged but the façade now has signboards.

The South-West Side of the Square

Figure 15

The south-west side of the square. Source: Author, 2013.

The south-west side comprises structures built after Independence. The three-storey building has a flat façade with glass windows. The horizontal strip of signboards continues from the NW to the SE side and also marks the first floor height. The materials have a stark and reflective finish. Signboards are all over the façade.

The West Side of the Square

Some of the buildings on the west side belong to the pre-Independence era. The cycle market was developed after Independence. These structures are single-storey on the front and have receded first floors with a horizontal strip of signage. There is significant visual chaos.

Figure 16

The west side of the square (photomontage). Source: NCA, 4th year architecture documentation assignment.

Conclusion

The above comparison shows the original urban character of the Neela Gumbad Square and the present situation. The urban character has changed drastically. There is a significant loss of urban and architectural heritage. The designated open spaces are being encroached and built upon. The density of buildings is comparatively high. It is becoming a congested urban area now. The statue of King Edward was removed from the area at some point in time and is now in the Sikh Gallery of the Lahore Fort.

With the growth of commercial activities, the buildings in this area have become dense. The encroachments have narrowed the roads. The central area (with a fountain) has become a traffic island. The chaotic visual information on the street façade has covered the architectural character of the urban enclosure.

Post Face

A city is a political entity and is for the people. Its public spaces stage the human drama. These spaces become centres of public awareness and politics. These deinstitutionalized spaces with weak or breached systems of control serve as real institutions for the evolution of collective and political consciousness, of empowering people to decide their own system of governance and law and raise their voice. Globalization and the resulting economy have led to an uncontrolled development that is for the worse. It has resulted in unplanned construction, mostly in the form of encroachments and excessive vehicular traffic. These activities and structures have dominated public spaces in the city and squeezed out the political and the cultural. Such a development leads to a seizure, a political and cultural death of a city. After partition, we have witnessed a change in the public squares of Lahore. The pedestrians and public life/activities have been largely ignored in the development and revitalization of public squares in the city. The historical process is very often completely overlooked or selectively considered. The emphasis is mainly on design for the automobile. This has squeezed the public space in the city and therefore, the urban culture has also been affected. Certain political/cultural activities that used to take place in these public squares have now been dislocated, resulting in a rapid deterioration of the vibrant political and cultural environment of these places. The strong sense of place of these squares is disappearing.

After partition, the Neela Gumbad area has also undergone major spatial and cultural transformation. A huge commercial market has developed and the area of F.C College has been converted into Bank Square. From Mughal to Sikh to British to the post-partition era, this area has received spatial and cultural impressions that have made it into a cultural palimpsest.

Endnotes

1. A parchment of paper or cloth on which layers of text exist in a form that is almost illegible.
2. Translated literally as 'blue dome', it was a name given to an area near Anarkali, Lahore.
3. Most of the post-partition information about the area is in the form of collected personal memoirs.
4. The phenomenon of place making, from a notion of abstract space to a particular place in the city.
5. A deaf and dumb person. However, in the present context referring to Iqbal's son who is deaf and dumb.
6. Vernacular for 'Christian graveyard'
7. National College of Arts, Lahore
8. Chickpea curry
9. Egg
10. A local rice and meat dish
11. A pre-partition café in Lahore famous for being frequented by authors, poets and artists
12. It was known as Lawrence Road in the documents prior to 1876.
13. Named after the saint Hazrat Mian Mir from the Shahjahan period
14. Famous English architect and planner who also worked with Sir Patrick Geddis on the urban improvements of Lahore.

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Rivers and Culture: A Bonding

Amit Ranjan, PhD

Introduction

In its Fifth Assessment Report on Climate Change, the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), once again warned about the ill-effects of rising temperature due to increasing pollution and the related phenomenon of global warming.[1] The status of existing rivers has been compromised due to the melting of glaciers, drying out of other sources of rivers and changing seasonal cycles. The report has also suggested ways to face the upcoming challenges, either through the adaptation or the mitigation process.[2] Rivers are not only reservoirs of fresh water but are also creators, carriers and preservers of human culture. They are 'embedded entities' that can be seen, felt, touched and traced on a map. Their characteristics are different and visible though they undoubtedly are, and have been lived out in a physical body.[3] With rivers, human civilizations came into existence in different parts of the world. Two important contributions, which gave rise to human civilization and development, are: the beginning of agricultural activities and the industrial revolution. The practice of agricultural activities led to the beginning of human settlements, which further led to the development of communities, societies and the birth of religion. The Industrial Revolution[4] opened up new avenues to discoveries, inventions and the beginning of modernism[5], first in Europe and then in various parts of the world. Unlike agricultural activities, the industrial revolution was indirectly dependant on rivers for its production activities and transport of raw materials and finished goods on ships. Ships were an important source of transport for goods during the 18th and 19th centuries, when the industrial revolution was in its nascent stage. Rivers have also caused devastation and resulted in the destruction of civilizations, like the Indus Valley Civilization.[6] During the colonial era, rivers aided the imperial powers to penetrate the hinterlands and establish their sovereignty over the indigenous people.[7] In agrarian societies, rivers virtually regulate human lives. They shape cultures, act as a religious symbol and influence art, architecture and language.

Defining Culture

Raymond Williams wrote that every culture begins with agriculture. For him, culture meant both a way of life (culture in the anthropological sense, synonymous with everyday life) and forms of signification (novels, films but also advertising and television) that circulate within

a society.[8] Etymologically, the word "culture" arises from the Roman concept *colere*, which means: to cultivate, inhabit, worship and protect.[9] According to Terry Eagleton, culture is a concept derived from nature. One of its original meanings is 'husbandry' or the tending of natural growth. The word 'coulter' which is a cognate of 'culture' means the blade of a ploughshare. Explaining its relation with nature, Eagleton said that nature produces culture which changes nature.[10] He further explains that culture in its original sense referred to the finding of natural growth. His definition of culture suggests the dialectic between the artificial and the natural; what we do to the world and what the world does to us.[11]

In the *Dictionary of Marxist Thoughts*, two uses of the term culture have been discussed, which can be taken as the extreme poles. In one, the term denotes the aesthetic domain of art and literature and relations between them. At the other end of the spectrum are anthropological uses of the term to denote the whole way of life of a society, often construed in an idealistic way as founded upon meanings, values and so on. Somewhere between these two extremes one finds the cluster of senses, most fully developed within German idealist thought, in which culture is seen as a realm of the objective mind or spirit and its embodiment in human institutions. Here culture retains its original sense of cultivation and development – *Bildung*, sometimes identified with civilization and sometimes distinguished from it as something more profound but almost always given a strongly positive evaluation.[12]

Culture is not an independent entity, its formation and existence depends on the material situation of the society. In *German Ideology*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels write, 'Morality, religion, metaphysics and other ideologies and their corresponding forms of consciousness no longer retain their appearance of autonomous existence. They have no history, no development; it is men who, in developing their material production and their material intercourse, change, along with this their real existence, their thinking and the products of their thinking.'[13] Culture changes with a change in the material condition and relationship and its practices vary according to the class of an individual or a group.

Although culture and religion are synonymously used, there are subtle differences. According to Clifford Geertz, culture denotes a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols; a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about attitudes toward life.[14] This definition extends the meaning of culture and relates it to religion, which too is about signs, symbols and emotions. For some, religion is a source of ultimate meaning, binding together diverse social and cultural elements and potentially providing solidarity and identity. Religion as culture comes in the form of explicit cultural objects

such as symbols or ideas. People use them consciously to understand and explain themselves. At the same time religion can be implicit in culture, defining the mental and measuring parameters within which things make sense, or as beliefs and assumptions that guide actions even if the actors themselves are clearly unaware of their influence.[15]

Rivers and Culture

Looking into the development of eastern societies, German social scientist Karl Wittfogel termed them as 'hydraulic societies'. He argued that it is water which determines the nature of societies in the East. Looking into the form of governance, he termed it 'hydraulic despotism' which meant that despotism in oriental societies was the result of centralized control over hydraulic property by the rulers. Later on, his thesis on the all powerful and centralized despotic state has been subsequently refuted through historical and sociological studies pointing to the peasant and communal control of hydraulic property.[16] Clifford Geertz, for example, provides a detailed account of the *subak* or irrigation society, in the Indonesian island of Bali, which among other things plays a central role in the regulation of water supply to the community. 'Theories of hydraulic despotism to the control notwithstanding, water control in Bali is an overwhelming local and intensely democratic matter'.[17] It is not important to enter into a debate on whether Wittfogel's argument was correct or of Clifford Greetz's, the important point to mark is that water bodies had played a significant role in determining the nature of society and its political governance. The studies by Wittfogel and Greetz were limited to the eastern societies but water has played a vital role in determining the nature of societies in other regions of the world as well.

In India, like other agrarian societies, rivers are part of rituals, folklore and customs. The Indus Valley Civilization (B.C. 3300-1900), settled on the banks of the River Indus, which shaped cultural traits, which in turn invented religious myths among the Aryans. More than two thousand years before Christ, the fertile plains of the Punjab (five rivers), watered by the five great tributaries of the Indus - the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, had a rich culture which spread as far as the sea and along the western seaboard at least as far as Gujrat.[18]

Gradually, rivers attained the status of gods and goddesses in the Vedic society (post-Indus Valley Civilization, 1700-1100 BCE). The Vedas[19] were written after the Aryans settled down. According to a myth in the Rigveda, one feat for which Indra is praised repeatedly is the 'freeing of the rivers'. During the 19th century when nature-myths were made to account for everything, including the thematic destruction of Troy, this was interpreted as bringing down rain. Indra was the rain-god who released waters pent up in the clouds. However, the Vedic rain-god is Parjanya. The rivers Indra freed had been 'brought to a standstill' by artificial barriers. The demon Vritra lay like a great snake across the hill-slopes. When this demon was smashed by Indra, 'the stones rolled away like wagon wheels' and the waters flowed over the demon's inert body. The word *vritra* as analyzed by philologists means 'obstacles' or 'barrier' but not 'demon' as such. Indra was called *vritrahan vritra*-killer for this spectacular feat. The same word was transferred as *verethragna* in Iranian to the supreme Zoroastrian god of light *Ahura Mazda*. At the same time, Indra confined the (unidentified) River Vibali, which had been flooding over its banks, to its proper channel. The myth and metaphors give a clear account of the methods whereby agriculture of the Indus was ultimately ruined. Flood-irrigation by special dams, sometimes temporary, had been the Indus practice, as noted. This would have made lands too swampy for Aryan cattle herds, while the blocked rivers made grazing over long reaches impossible. With the disappearing dams and the possibility of an enduring Aryan occupation of the Indus cities, the annual rainfall became low.[20]

Historically, the complete ruin of the Indus cities has been due to the wiping out of their system of agriculture; the rivers may have changed course as has happened often, ruining the city as a port and making the maintenance of food supply difficult or the conquerors were not primarily agriculturists. They shattered the dams by which flood irrigation deposited silt on a wider expanse of land. This signaled the end of cereal production and so of the cities which had already begun to decay from long stagnation.[21] Both reasons substantiate the role of rivers in the destruction of the Indus Valley Civilization.

The texts of the Vedic and post-Vedic Period were rich in linking gods or goddesses with water or rivers as both were agricultural societies. In his version of the Ramayana, Tamil scholar Kampan generally describes the process of rain, flooding the Saryu River down to Ayodhya (a city in the eastern Uttar Pradesh), capital of Rama's kingdom.[22] Through it, Kampan introduces all his themes and emphases, even his concern with fertility themes (implicit in Valmiki) the whole dynasty of Rama's ancestors and his vision of *bhakti* through Ramayana. The emphasis on water itself, the source of life and fertility, is also an explicit part of the Tamil literary tradition.[23] As the Tamil Ramayana was written after the Valmiki (during the Gupta Period, 3rd century A.D to 5th century A.D.), it seems agricultural activities were then encouraged in that part of India. [24]

In fact, the origin of the term Hindu, in the late 14th century, is related to the River Indus. The Indo-Greeks referred to the river as Indos.

Subsequent to this, the Arabs referred to this area and that beyond the Indus, as al-Hind, and the people came to be called Hindu.[25] Later on many of the myths were spun and traditions have been invented to forge an identity to build a nation.[26] Rivers have been a part of the process.

Conceptually, there are subtle differences between religious symbols and culture and practically, it becomes very difficult to differentiate between cultural and religious performances. Cultural performances are not religious performances and the line between those that are cultural and artistic or even political is often not so easy to draw in practice, for like social forms, symbolic forms can serve multiple purposes. But the point is that paraphrasing slightly, Indians – 'and perhaps all people' – seem to think of their religion as 'encapsulated' in those discrete performances which they can exhibit to their wishes and to themselves.[27]

This tenuous link between culture and religion is visible in the relationship between the individual's or group's behavior with rivers. The reason for such behavior has been mentioned by F. Max Müller, who argues that nature worship is believed to be the earliest form of religion. He argues that nature worship arose from human experience of nature, in particular the effect of nature upon human emotions. Nature contains surprise, terror, marvels and miracles such as volcanoes, thunder and lightning. Armed with the power and wonder of nature, early humans transformed abstract forces into personal agents. The force of the wind became the spirit of the wind; the power of the sun became the spirit of the sun.[28] Both fear and dependence has made the agrarian class use various methods to deal with rivers - worshiping them is one of those.

In June 2013, there was a destructive flood in Uttarakhand, India. Various myths circulated among the locals explaining the cause of the floods. The myth of Ganga's descent resonates at different levels in the lives of the people of Uttarakhand. At one level, the story of Ganga getting tangled in Shiva's locks or inexplicably disappearing seems entirely believable in the geological landscape that has seen rivers changing course or getting blocked or swallowed by tectonic disturbances.[29] One myth largely circulated by the local and the national media was that the flood was a result of Lord Shiva's[30] anger over the shifting of Bhari Devi's (local name of his wife Parvati) statue/idol from its original place by the multi-purpose hydropower construction authorities. It is believed that Lord Shiva performed *tandav* (a form of dance related to destruction), which resulted in floods and destruction in the Himalayas.

Hindus consider the River Ganga a holy river and have spun various myths around it. For instance, there is a myth that Ganga is the daughter

of Lord Brahma (the creator of the universe) and her descent to earth is for the welfare of her people. Having a ritual bath in the holy river is believed to purify one of all past sins. As a mark of respect, usually, people do not sleep with their feet in the direction in which the River Ganga or its tributaries flow. In Hinduism, almost all religious activities and rituals are carried out with water from the River Ganga.[31] It is supposed that providing water from the River Ganga to a dying man and carrying out his/her last ritual on the bank of the river, sends the departed soul to heaven. There are folksongs, dances and other forms of art related to the River Ganga. *Kumbh Melas*[32] (fete) take place on the banks of the River Ganga or its tributaries and have religious, as well as cultural connotations. Rivers in various parts of India have acquired similar status. In the Northeast of India is the River Brahmaputra, the River Narmada is in Central India, the River Godavari is in Western India, and the River Cauveri is in the South. They are somehow mythically related with the River Ganga because of the dominance of the upper caste Hindus from north India over those who reside in other regions.[33]

Various cultural activities like folkdances, folksongs and others are influenced by rivers. The popular folkdance, *Bhangra*, has a deep relation with rivers. It has evolved from the Punjabi dance genres whose history is embedded in the geography of ancient rivers and *bars* or jungle regions older than nations, which recognize no barrier or boundaries.[34] Cyril Radcliffe's division of the natural topography in the 1947 Partition of India through imaginary lines could neither dim the memory of the rivers nor stem the cultural longing that rose across the borders. Another folkdance which has been influenced by a river is *Ravee da Jhummar*. This folkdance is popular in northern Pakistan which is also the catchment area of the River Ravi. This folkdance portrays love, affection and valor.

The bond between individuals and rivers is strong; the cultural trait is embedded and becomes an innate part of one's life. After their displacement due to the construction of a dam on the River Narmada, the people in its catchment area faced many problems. They had to change the direction for their morning prayers and were unable to use the water of their holy river; for them the River Narmada is a religious symbol and a part of their culture. Communities also establish genealogical traditions with rivers: for example, in Wazirabad, Pakistan, there is a small river called Falku, which starts from Sialkot and confluences into the River Chenab in the Hinaki region. People from Wazirabad, who take pride in being Jalaur Rajputs[35], do not use its water due to historical reasons. The Jalaur Rajputs who were from Rajouri on the Indian side of Jammu and Kashmir, converted to Islam and in the 16th century migrated to Wazirabad. They do not use the

water from the River Falku as it is also used by people from Sialkot, who they consider to be lower in the social hierarchy.

Not only rivers but other water bodies are also considered to be pure and holy. Both religious and state institutions provide prescriptions for water use. Nagabai and Jivani Sati are two other female deities that watch over two of the drinking water wells in Merka, Kutch. The village tank houses on its bank the shrine of Jijiania, a Muslim saint venerated by the entire village, including its Hindu majority.[36]

The role of rivers in shaping culture is a general phenomenon in all agrarian societies. Evans Pritchard had worked on Nuer in the Upper Nile. Nuer's annual cycle is largely a repetition of the same activities with regard to cattle, modified as rain and drought succeed each other. He highlights how land and other water bodies help to determine the placement of huts; how byres of the cattle are placed and how the people camp or make villages where ridges and bodies of water make it necessary; it follows that the simple (nuclear) family is attached to the hut, the household to the hamlet and the village communities linked together by paths.[37] Thus, according to Pritchard, water leads to settlements and the type of settlement is determined by a particular water body, which in turn influences cultural activities. Thus, the drying up of a river gradually leads to the death of culture. The River Hakara or Harxavati (Saraswati) which used to flow in Rajasthan and Cholistan, dried up centuries ago. People of this desert land still carry the cultural baggage associated with the river. Many of the folksongs of the region express sadness and sorrow. The issue of increasing pollution of the holy River Ganga is now being expressed through various songs and other forms of expression.

Conclusion

In the contemporary world, in spite of the impact of the forces of modernization and globalization, age old values are still intact. Rivers occupy the same cultural and religious space they previously held. The real issue is the gradual drying up of all the rivers. The physical requirement of water can be meted out either by choosing adaptation or mitigation but the lost cultural assets cannot be easily retrieved. As civilizations have been formed by rivers, now the civilizations need to save the rivers from drying. Though rivers have given birth to civilizations, they have also destroyed them. It is our choice which path to take.

Endnotes

1. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. Retrieved from <www.ipcc.ch.> Accessed 10 April 2014.
2. Adaptation means adapting according to the changing cycle of seasons. In mitigation new technologies like drip-in irrigation facility has to be used to overdo the effects.
3. Dutt, Kuntala Lahiri, "Imagining Rivers" Economic and Political Weekly; Vol 35 No. 27 July 1-7, 2000 pp. 2395-2400.
4. The Industrial Revolution was the transition to new manufacturing processes in the period from about 1760 to 1820 and 1840. Western Europe, particularly England, was the centre of this revolution. It gradually spread to other parts of Europe and then to the world.
5. Modernism is a philosophical movement which led to the change in art, architecture, literature, culture and such. It began in the 19th century in Europe. Industrial societies which led to the mushrooming of cities were the main reason for the development of Modernism.
6. Indus Valley Civilization was a Bronze Age Civilization (3300-1300 BCE) extending from present northeast Afghanistanto Pakistan and northwest India. Along with ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, it was one of the three early civilizations of its period. It flourished on the banks of the River Indus.
7. Connard, Joseph (1999 edition) *In the Heart of Darkness* London; Blackwood Magazine.
8. Williams, Raymond (1989*) Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism*; London Verso pp. 3-14.
9. Eagleton, Terry (2000) *The Idea of Culture*; Massachusetts: Blackwell. p. 1.
10. Ibid. p. 2-3.
11. Eagleton, Terry. Cited in Baldwin, Jeff "The Culture of Nature through Mississippian Geographies" *Ethics and the Environment* 11(2) 2006. pp. 13-44.
12. Bottomore, Tom (1991) *Dictionary of Marxist Thought* 2nd Edition (ed) Laurence Harris V.G. Kiernan and Ralph Miliband; Oxford: Blackwell. p. 127.
13. Cited in Williams, Raymond (2005) *Marx on Culture;* New Delhi: Critical Quest. p.8-9.
14. Geertz, Clifford (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures –Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* New York: Basic Books. p. 89.
15. Williams, Rhys H. "Religion as Cultural System: Theoretical and Empirical Occupations". In Mark D. Jacobs and Nancy Weiss Hanrahan (ed) 2005 *The Blackwell Companion to Sociology of Culture;* Oxford: Blackwell Publications. pp. 97-113.
16. Wittfogel, K. (1957); *Oriental Despotism*: Yale University Press; New Haven. Also see Singh, Satyajit (1997), *Taming the Waters: The Political Economy of Large Dams in India,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
17. Cited in Singh, Satyajit (1997), *Taming the Waters: The Political Economy of Large Dams in India,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
18. Bhasm, A. L. (1967) *The Wonder that was India*; Calcutta: Rupa. p. 1.
19. Vedas are a large body of texts written in ancient India. There are four Vedas: the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, Samaveda and the Atharveda. They are considered an authority on Hindu religion. There are many sects like Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism, which do not accept their authority.

20. Ibid p. 79-80.
21. Kosambi, D. D. (1965) *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India: In Historical Outline*; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p. 71.
22. A. K. Ramanujan 'Three Hundred Ramayanas'. In Ramanujan, A. K, Vinay Dharwadekar and Stuart H. Blakburn *The Collected Essays of A. K. Ramanujan*; Oxford University Press: University of Michigan. pp 131-160
23. A. K. Ramanujan 'Three Hundred Ramayanas'. In Ramanujan, A. K, Vinay Dharwadekar and Stuart H. Blakburn *The Collected Essays of A. K. Ramanujan*; Oxford University Press: University of Michigan. pp. 131-160.
24. Ibid.
25. Thapar,Romila (2014) *The Past as Present: Forging Contemporary Identities Through History*; New Delhi: Aleph Publications. p vi.
26. In all societies traditions are invented and myths are created by the dominant group to substantiate their hegemony. *See* Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992) *Nation and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality; Cambridge*:Cambridge University Press. Anderson, Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
27. Cited in Geertz, Clifford (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures –Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*. New York: Basic Books. p.121
28. Haralambos, M with R. M. Heald (2005) 28th edition *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*; New Delhi: Oxford University Press. p. 454.
29. Chitra Padmanabhan "When the Ganga Descends" *The Hindu* 28 June, 2013.
30. According to Hindu mythological sources, Shiva is a Hindu god of production. He is married to Parvati who is a daughter of the King of Himalaya.
31. Most of the time plain water is assumed as water from the River Ganga. This is practised mainly in places which are far away from the banks of the River Ganga or its tributaries.
32. Its origin is found in a medieval Purana, the Bhagavata Purana. It is held every third year at one of the four places by rotation: Haridwar, Allahabad, Nashik, and Ujjain. All these places are on the banks of rivers revered by the Hindus.
33. The dominant group(s) decides and defines the culture of a nation.
34. Roy, Anjali Gera (2010) *Bhangra Moves: Flows across Chenab; From Ludhiana to London and Beyond*; New Delhi: Ashgate. p. 2.
35. Jalaur Rajputs are converted Muslims but take pride in their genealogy and ethnicity. This is usual in Pakistan because most of them are converted Muslims who are yet to come out from brahminical caste order and related discriminations.
36. Mehta, Lyla (2005) *Politics and Poetics of Water*; New Delhi: Orient Longman. p. 143.
37. Cited in Redfield, Robert (1956) *Peasant Society and Culture;* The University of Chicago: Phoenix Books. p. 30.

The Linguistic Revival of Punjabi Feminism

Fakhra Hassan

Literary Cultural Expressions of the Punjab

Early Punjabi printed texts going back to the late 17th century reveal links to performance traditions. The bulk of these texts represent verse genres, a predictable development since no classical Punjabi prose genres existed, except *janam-sakhi* literature (genealogy). More significantly, the genres taken up in print were all better suited to performance — to recitation or singing and listening — than to the private act of quiet reading (Farina Mir, 2010, 37).

Table 1

Genres of Punjabi Folklore. Source: Farina Mir, 2010.

Genres of Colonial Punjabi Literary Tradition	Meaning
Si Harfi	30 Letters
Baran Mah	12 Months
Sawal Jawab	Question and answer
Faryad	Plea
Jhok	Abode
Chitti	Letter
Var	Lay or War Ballad
Jangnama	War Story
Dohra	Couplet
Dole or Dhore	Poetic verse(s) recited in the middle of a song
Kaafi	Quartet
Tahat al-Lafz	Oral Performance or Recitation
Shloka	Stanzas of four parts of equal length

A number of compositional elements within Punjabi printed texts index continuities between print and performance, including the common use of *dialogue*. Many Punjabi printed texts of the 17th century include a literary device, the *sawal wa jawab* or the "question and answer", as a narrative feature. Punjabi poets adopted this well-established device from Persian literature. In Punjabi printed *qisse, sawal wa jawab* allowed poets to insert verse dialogue in a genre that was otherwise ill-suited for its inclusion. Historian Anindita Ghosh suggests that *dialogue* in early Bengali printed texts appealed to an audience making the transition to literacy and reading culture. "For first-generation readers of print", she writes, "the simple language of literature set out in the form of dialogues was very welcome. . . . The oral tradition shows through in the imitation of speech patterns in the narratives." (Farina Mir, 2010, 93)

Author and linguist, Farina Mir speculates that for Ghosh, dialogue assisted readers in making the "abrupt and stifling" change to silent reading. In Punjabi works the *sawal wa jawab* can be interpreted as a sign of the texts' suitability for oral performance. Dialogue in texts may have helped Punjabis adapt to new reading practices but it also lent itself to the oral performance of printed texts, suggesting the simultaneous development of print and performance.

Love, celebration of harvest, separation and exile were some of the most prominent and powerful themes in Punjabi *qisse*. However, women's characters in the *qisse* were usually polarized between the obedient, loyal wife with saintly values (as is the case in the *qisse* of *Sohni Mahiwal*) to the villainous seductress and an evil person who is a threat to family values (as is the case in the *qisse* of *Puran Bhagat*). The *qisse* usually end with characters either seeking "redemption" for their "faults" or some form of "inarguable moral punishment".

Author and expert on Punjabi classics, Mushtaq Soofi highlights the fact that these character traits were usually attributed to the upper middle class women of the Punjab and not the working class majority of the agrarian women. Nevertheless, for the agrarian families of the Punjab, the *qisse* was an important source of literary entertainment. "Their (oppressed women in the families) role model could be none other than *Hir*, a confident upper class Jat woman from Jhang, who is bold, resilient and capable of standing up to patriarchy in defense of her devotion to *Ranjha*, the flute playing *Jogi* from Takht Hazara, Chenab", says Mushtaq Soofi.

Genre of *Hir* and Birth of Punjabi Feminism

Hir Ranjha by far proves to be the perfect story for performers, narrators, poets and authors in the troubled times of the Punjab. It is no surprise to see its popularity in the region for over four centuries.

Damodar Gulati also known as Damodar Das Arora of Jhang is credited with having performed one of the earliest renditions of *Hir Ranjha* in the *qisse* genre (Raj Mohan Gandhi, 2013, 121). Belonging to the Sikh community, Damodar Gulati is mentioned in the *Adi Granth* (compilation of sacred teachings of Guru Nanak). Inspired by Guru Nanak's teachings and the wisdom of Sufi saints like Baba Farid Ganj Shakar, Damodar Gulati may have visualized the character and experiences of *Ranjha* with *Hir* and in his exile from Takht Hazara based his *qisse* on the sacred spiritual wisdom of Sufi Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism.

Table 2

Various versions of *Hir Ranjha* recited, circulated and published from the 17th century to the late 20th century. Source: Farina Mir, 2010.

Name of *Qisse Go* (storyteller)	**Title of *Qisse***	**Year of Publication**
Damodar Gulati	*Hir-Ranjha*	1605
Minar Kamar al-Din Minnat	*Hir Ranjha*	1750s
Waris Shah	*Hir*	1766
Hamid Shah Abbasi	*Hir Ranjha*	1805
Vir Singh	*Hir Ranjha*	1812
Hasham Shah	*Hir*	Early 19th century
Jog Singh	*Hir Jog Singh*	1825
Kishan Singh Arif	*Qissa Hirte Ranjha da*	1889
Mohammad Shah Sakin	*Qissa Hirwa Ranjha*	n.d.
Fazl Shah	*Hir Ranjha*	Late 19th century
Bhagwan Singh	*Hir Ranjha*	Late 19th century
Miran Shah Bahawalpuri	*Qissa Hir-Ranjha*	1899-1900
Saeen Maula Shah	*Hir wa Ranjha*	1912
Maula Baksh Kushta	*Chashm-i-Hayat*	1913
Bhai Sant Bajara Singh	*Qissa Hir te Ranjha da*	1894
Lahora Singh	*Hir Lahori*	1931
Kishore Chand	*Navan Qissa Hir Kishore Chand*	1914
Gokalchand Sharma Basianwala	*Qissa Hir Gokalchand*	-
Firoz Din Sharaf	*Hir Sial*	1933
Bhai Lakma Singh	*Qissa Hir wa Mian Ranjha*	1876
Roshan	*Hir Roshan*	Between 1873 and 1900
Khwahish Ali	*Hir Ranjha*	-
Fasih Niaz Ahmad	*Hir Niaz Ranjha*	-
Munshi Mohammad Ismail	*Maskin di Hir*	1920

It is also essential to recall that the following Sufi poets and *Jogis* are known to have made references to the *Hir Ranjha* narrative in their poetry around the mid-16th century, prior to the arrival of the *qisse* genre in the early 17th century.

1. Hari Das Haria (1520s-50s)
2. Shah Husain (1530s-1600)
3. Bhai Gurdas Bhalla (1550s-1635)
4. Gang Bhat (1580s-90)

Dialect differences among these four poets show that by the 16th century, the narrative was familiar in both central and southern Punjab (Farina Mir, 2010, 8). For example, the following poetic verse about *Hir*'s devotion to *Ranjha* (in the Nastaliq Shahmukhi script) is often credited to Shah Husain with reference to his devotion to Madho Lal, a Brahmin boy. The poetic verse depicts a form of spiritual unity with the beloved.

Repeating the name of Ranjha
I have become Ranjha myself.
O call me "Dhido-Ranjha"
Let no one call me Hir.
Ranjha is in me, I am in Ranjha,
No other thought exists in my mind.
I am not, He alone is.
He alone is amusing himself.

رانجھا رانجھا کردی ہن میں آپے رانجھا ہوی
سدو منوں دھیدو رانجھا، ہیر نہ آکھو کوی
رانجھے وچ میں، میں رانجھے وچ
میکوں ہور دھیاں نہ کوی
ویکھوں لوکاں ہیر سلیٹی کتھے آن کھلوی

It is also believed that Punjabis had been reciting *Hir* since Mughal Emperor Akbar's time: they believed that the events unfolding in *Hir* had actually occurred in areas around Jhang during the 15th century.

Figure 1

Cover page of *Hir of Jog Singh* (Lahore: Malik Hira Tajar Kutab, 1882). Text (from top): "*Qissa Hir Jog Singh*, at the request of Malik Hira Bookseller, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore. Print run 700, 1882 C.E. by Haji Karim Baksh printer. Printed at the Mustafai Press, Lahore". Source: Farina Mir, 2010, 74

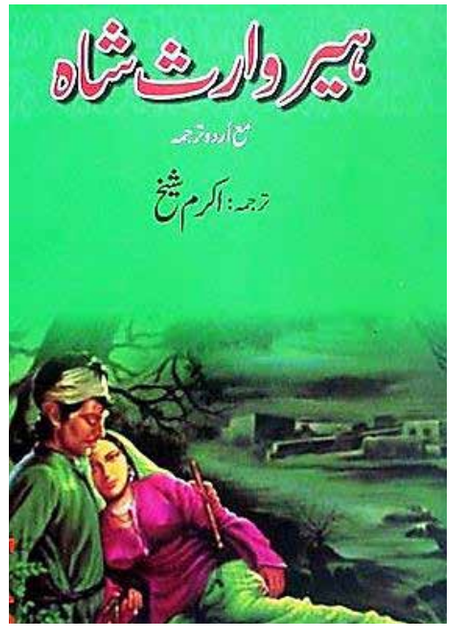
It is important to examine the *qisse* versions of *Hir* that were not only recited but "printed" and "published" before Waris Shah. Consider, for example, the cover page of *Hir of Jog Singh* (Figure 1), published in 1882.

The original edition of Jog Singh's *Hir Ranjha* is believed to have been composed in 1825 and published in at least seven editions both in Gurmukhi and Shahmukhi Punjabi. Many late 19th century Punjabi printed texts contain images, most of them on title pages but some books also include illustrations in the text. These are often rudimentary but are nonetheless significant to understanding Punjabi books. Jog Singh's *Hir Ranjha* provides a compelling example of this phenomenon, with an illustration that appears in slightly modified form in numerous 1870 and 1880 print editions of the romance (Farina Mir, 2010, 71).

It depicts the lovers *Hir* and *Ranjha* seated in the shade of a tree before five holy men. A buffalo or cow alludes to both the story's rural setting and *Ranjha's* vocation as a cowherd. The inclusion of a cow is perhaps not enough, by itself, to allude to the Hindu deity *Krishna* but in some images *Ranjha* carries a flute, underscoring his connection with the flute-playing cowherd God (Figure 2). The five holy men, known as the *panjpir*, are associated with Sufi Islam. The imagery of the tree, which acts as a *chhatri* (literally parasol but in this context better translated as "shade"), engages Sikh iconography in which the religion's founder, Guru Nanak, is portrayed sitting beneath a *chhatri* (parasol). While the *chhatri* imagery is borrowed from Hindu iconography for royalty, in the Sikh context it serves as a visual reference to Guru Nanak's exalted status, both religious and temporal. What these illustrations point to, then, is the multiplicity of religious motifs engaged by this Punjabi text. (Farina Mir, 2010, 71)

Figure 2

Ranjha with his flute and Hir. Source: Farina Mir, 2010, 71.



Glimpses of *Hir Ranjha* in Sufi poetry are also manifest in the following *Kaafi* from Bulleh Shah (1680-1757) where the female members of his family (sisters and sisters-in-law) express their resentment and disapproval of Bulleh Shah's devotion for his teacher Inayat Shah on the basis of his *Arain* caste.

Bulleh Shah's sisters and sisters-in-law persuade him:
"Bulleya, please do as we tell you and leave the Arain's (your guru's) company.
You are born into the family of the Prophet (S.A.W.), you are an heir of Ali,
So why do you ruin your family's name like this?"
Bulleh Shah replies:
"Those who address me as Sayyid, shall be condemned to hell.
Those who address me as Arain, shall ride the swings in heaven."

بلھے نوں سمجھاون آیاں بہناں تے پر جایاں
مان لے بلھیا ساڈا کہنا چھڈ دے پالا آرایاں
آل نبی اولاد علی نوں تو کیوں لیکاں لایاں
بلھے نوں سمجھاون آیاں بہناں تے پر جایاں
جیہڑا سانوں سیّد سدے دوزخ ملن سزایاں
جو کوئی سانوں ارائیں آکھے بہشتی پینگاں پایاں
بلھے نوں سمجھاون آیاں بہناں تے پر جایاں

It is safe to assume that Bulleh Shah's *Kaafi* narrative resembles the answer from *Ranjha* to a message from his brothers and sisters-in-law asking him to return to Takht Hazara. Dhido replies, "Moments that sail past do not return; fortunes lost will not come back; a word uttered cannot be recalled; the released arrow does not revert to the bow; the escaped soul does not re-enter a dead body" (*The Adventures of Hir and Ranjha*, recounted in Punjabi by Waris Shah and translated into English by Charles Frederick Usborne, 1874-1919).

The year of Waris Shah's birth is not known but it is believed he may have been born around 1720 in Jandiala Sher Khan, near Sheikhupura, northwest of Lahore. The village was inhabited by Muslim peasants and a few Sayyid families. Waris's father was probably a Sayyid (Rajmohan Gandhi, 2013, 122).

Like Bulleh Shah, born four decades before him, Waris appears to have studied in Kasur. From Kasur, he went to Pakpattan, Baba Farid Ganj Shakar's resting place, where Waris is said to have practiced austerities. After teaching in an old mosque in another village, he moved northwest of Pakpattan to Malika Hans, where his *Hir* was written (Raj Mohan Gandhi, 2013, 123). His version of *Hir* was detailed and contextualized to the political instabilities and feuds of his time in the Subcontinent and written in the 'language of peasants'. Moreover, it is believed that Waris Shah may have written *Hir* upon the request of his friends and it is the only body of literature he ever contributed to the people of the Punjab (*In Silence We Meet-Waris and I*, Sohail Abid).

His texts refer to the stormy years when *Hir* was composed, a time when 'peasants turned into rulers, thieves became barons and governments were formed from house to house'. It speaks also of the author himself being looted by roving bands. Amidst this storm, he recounts the older love story, not Punjab's clashes of his time (Rajmohan Gandhi, 2013, 123).

Waris Shah gives us the Chenab, its boats and its boatmen; peasants who farm and men who herd cattle; green grazing grounds and women spinning cotton into yarn; the feudal system, including a clan chief and a daughter ready to outwit or defy the father; *mullahs*, *jogis* and *Sufis*; 'vituperative arguments' and 'soliloquies' (Rajmohan Gandhi, 2013, 121).

Essentially, it is important to realize from the various *qisse* on Hir, written – in Indo-Persian or Gurmukhi scripts – and performed, that Hir was not created by these great poets and storytellers. In fact, Hir had created these great poets and storytellers in the Punjab over the span of the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

Hir is an epic, a genre in itself. *Hir*'s long lament – made eloquent in language by Waris Shah – found an echo in the hearts of many 18th century Punjabis. Domination and consequent exile – two of the threads that run through *Hir* – were part of the daily experience of many Punjabis, whether Muslim, Hindu or Sikh. They responded to 'a passionate, sensitive and resourceful Punjabi girl like Hir who stood up to patriarchs and bigots (Rajmohan Gandhi, 2013, 124).

Dr. Nasreen Anjum Bhatti, present-day writer, poet and multi-linguist from Balochistan expresses relief that *Hir* was never written by a woman; *Hir* would not have earned the much deserved credibility in literature and feminist literary theory if it had been written by a woman. At the time of Waris Shah, there was no female author of the same standing as him and even if there had been, she would have been condemned or criticized for taking sides with a woman from the upper class. Hir could not have been a strong woman we relate to even today, without Waris Shah (Seminar on *Hir, Waris Shah*, Lahore, 2013).

According to Dr. Nabeela Rahman, scholar on Waris Shah from Punjab University, Lahore,

> The dialogue between the *Qazi* (Priest) and Hir must be read and fully understood in order to make sense of 20th century feminist literature of Simone De Beauvoir and Virginia Woolf. Their literary work was based on theories of women's struggle with patriarchy. Hir's voice is a struggle for women's emancipation. It is a story of a movement, not a heroine.

Qazi: Follow Sharia if you want to live.
Remember you can only enter heaven if you die in faith.

قاضی مکھے وچ ارشاد کیتا من شرع دا حکم جے جیوناں ایں
بعد موت دے نال ایمان ہیرے داخل وچ بہشت دے تھیوناں ایں
نال ذوق دے شوق دا نور شربت وچ جنت عدن دے پیوناں ایں
چادر نال حیا دے ستر کیجے کاہ در زحرام دی سیوناں ایں

Hir: What good is life if I am not faithful to myself?
My love is known to the earth and the skies.
(English translation by Sohail Abid, *In Silence We Meet-Waris and I*)

ہیر آکھدی جیوناں بھلا سوئی جیہڑا صاحبوے بھی نال ایمان میاں
سبھو جگ فانی کو رب باقی حکم کیتا اے رب رحمان میاں
کل شئی خلقتا زوجین حکم آیا ہے وچ قرآن میاں
میرے عشق نوں جاندا ں دھول باشک لوح قلم تے زمین آسمان میاں

Dr. Bhatti dubs Hir's struggle to keep her choice symbolic with the right to vote – obtained after a violent struggle by the women of Europe in the 20th century – and calls for acknowledgement and appreciation for the profundity of love and spiritualism that guide the protagonist's final journeys.

> Hir is her own lawyer demanding her right to choose Ranjha for marriage. Love is the only powerful paradox in this tale. Love brings these two people from different classes and castes together and also becomes the cause of their tragic deaths. Essentially, this movement for equality still resonates with Hir's voice.

Another point of view that is worth considering on Waris Shah's *Hir* comes from a present-day storyteller from Lahore, Shabbir Hussain Shabbir. Disillusioned by the oppressive Islamization policies of the military dictatorship of Zia's regime in the 1980s and corruption of the youth that followed in Pakistan, Shabbir Hussain began his mission to educate the common men and peasants of Lahore in the early 1990s. He uses storytelling as an educational tool to convey the message of love, justice, peace and equality. He attends various public literary circles to recite *Hir* of Waris Shah and Shah Hussain and offers advice to his audience based on their poetry. According to his thesis on Waris Shah, Shabbir Hussain suggests:

> Waris Shah is the first Punjabi scholar to use references to the Ramayan and Mahabharata in his writings and therefore it is essential to read his work in order to fully understand the history of storytelling in the Punjab.

Therefore, *Hir Ranjha* and the *qisse* tradition embody the historical imagination of a broad cross-section of the Punjab and that imagination was far more open-ended and complex than a narrowly communalist interpretation can account for (Farina Mir, 2010, 29).

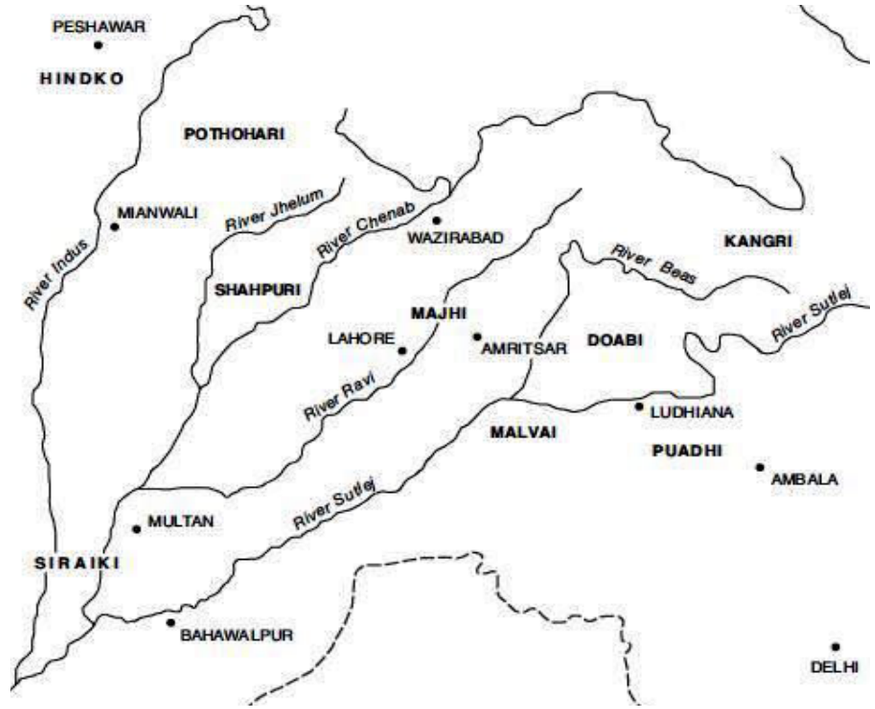
The Linguistic Map of the Punjab

In the context of nationalist ideology, the Punjab is one of the five provinces of Pakistan. There were more than 70 dialects of the language of the Punjab (Figure 3). After the 1947 partition on the basis of sectarian and nationalist ideologies created by the British Colonial Empire and its literature, we have a slightly smaller picture of the Punjab on the cultural map (Figure 4), which could have resulted in fewer dialects which we are aware of today.

> "It was impossible to make all indigenous people disappear; in fact, they were a major burden on the imperial consciousness. Therefore, the solution was to come up with schemes for separating the natives – Africans, Malays, Arabs, Berbers, Indians, Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims, Nepalese, Javanese, Filipinos – from the white man on racial and religious grounds, then for reconstituting them as people requiring a European presence, whether a colonial implantation or a master discourse in which they could be fitted and put to work".

Figure 3

Language map of the Punjab showing its major dialects. Source: Farina Mir, 2010.



> On the one hand, one has Kipling's fiction positing the Indian as a creature clearly needing British tutelage, one aspect of which is a narrative that encircles and then assimilates India since, without Britain, India would disappear into its own corruption and under-development. (Edward Said, 1993, 167)

Figure 4

The Punjab divided into two as a result of conflicts created by the British Raj on the basis of race, class and religion. Source: Wikipedia

Indus Valley, Harappa and the Languages of the Punjab

The Indian Subcontinent, 10-15,000 years ago, comprised three distinct regions ranging from the Ganga Jumna Valley, the Deccan, and the Indus Valley. The word 'Punjab' (a Persian word meaning Five Rivers**)** came into use during the Medieval Period to denote the northern regions of the Indus Valley comprising the areas watered by the Upper Indus, Kabul, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej and Bias, accurately described in the *Rig Veda* (Vedic Texts) as the *Sapta-Sindhu* (seven rivers) (Pervaiz Vandal, *ICH Preliminary Findings Report 2013,* UNESCO).

Figure 5

The Punjabi script in Gurmukhi bears close resemblance to the Indus Valley script. Source: www.Harappa.com

Comparatively speaking, the Punjab was rich in terms of agricultural produce and cattle and therefore, also attracted invaders and violence. The earliest invaders came from the relatively drier lands of the west, present day Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia, followed by the Greeks who retreated in the face of resistance. The Punjab stopped being the perennial host and began to resist the newcomers. That was a major change. Henceforth, the Punjab became a battleground, yet allowing merchants and travellers in and out of India. They also found time to sing, laugh, read and write, to develop a cultural identity of their own (Pervaiz Vandal, 2013).

There is a commonly held notion of the generic mainstream theses on the languages of the South, including the Punjabi language, that they were derived from Sanskrit. Mushtaq Soofi elucidates:

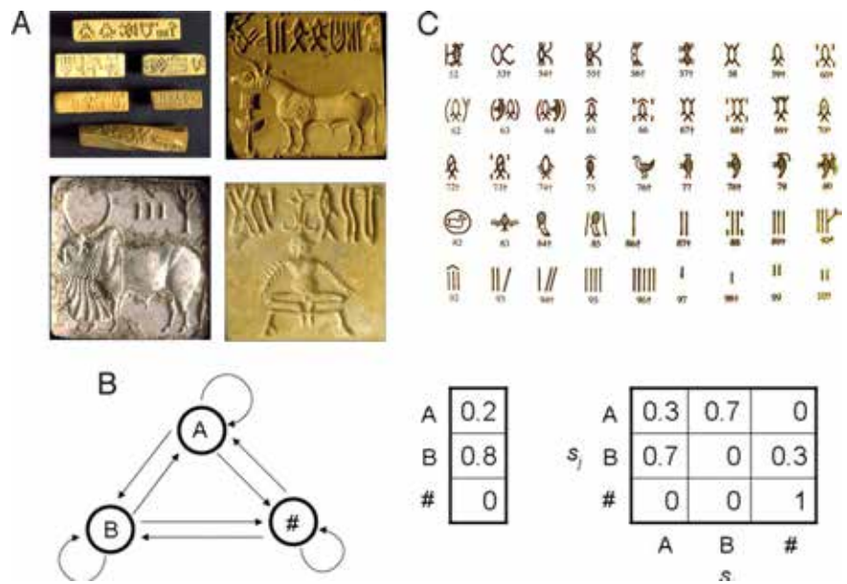


Figure 6

Markov's model of the Indus Valley script which is yet to be completely decrypted. Source: Wikipedia

> Before the evolution of Sanskrit, the Indus Valley and Harappan civilizations existed and were highly developed, organized and complex. They were urbanized people which indicates that their language was also fully developed. After the invasion of the Aryans, Sanskrit's early version was the Vedic texts. It must be noted that it is a post-colonial language, not an indigenous language. Sanskrit means cultured, synthesized, perfected and constructed to suit the Aryan upper classes. It is not a people's language. For this very reason, Gautama Buddha gave up Sanskrit and delivered his teachings in Prakrit – which means the language of nature, a language that belonged to the people.
>
> The only remaining evidence of the language of the Indus Valley and Harappan civilizations are the sounds *Dhe*, *Jhe*, *Bhe*, *Ghe* – which has absolutely no resemblance to Sanskrit or Persian. These are the indigenous sounds older than Sanskrit or Persian. I don't think Punjabi is an outcome of the Sanskrit language. Chronologically the sounds that are evident indicate that Punjabi is older than Sanskrit.

Here also, the story of Buddha bears semblance to that of Dhido of *Hir Ranjha* and his quest and journey for attaining true love and spiritual fulfilment. Professor Sajida Haider Vandal, educationist and consultant on Cultural Heritage and Knowledge for UNESCO from Bahawalpur, Punjab, opines that the Indus Valley and Harappan civilizations had egalitarian gender relations and labor was shared equally by both sexes in agrarian as well as non-agrarian systems of the economy like "trade" that she specifically defines as "urban".

> The trade in the Indus Valley was more advanced than the Mesopotamian system of trade. The communication pattern was available, cheap and consistent.
>
> In all these places, you find weights and standards that are remarkably consistent. If an item went from Harappa to Afghanistan, its weight would remain consistent. From the sea to the rivers, the Indus Valley system was the only system that was also utilizing wind for energy. Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa are river harbours, and yet, today, the Punjab doesn't even have the advanced sewerage system that Harappa had thousands of years ago. (Sajida Haider Vandal, 2013)

Figure 7

Present-day Punjab amongst other indigenous cultures and languages. Source: Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. Retrieved from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/list_of_countries_by_population>

The role that Punjabi played as a mobilizing tool for class struggles in Pakistan demonstrates a practice where culture and politics are inseparable and contribute to the wider debates on language and politics in South Asia. The relationship between language and politics has long been established, most usually through the lens of

nationalism. The formation of Pakistan was mobilized around the idea of Urdu as the national language and Islam as the national faith. Indeed, these two slogans ultimately became the rationale for a strongly centralizing state. However, its failures were quite evident. One prominent example was the struggle around the issue of language rights in East Pakistan from the very formation of Pakistan. Although there is some debate about how crucial the Bangla language movement was in terms of the final formation of Bangladesh, there is no doubt that the repression of Bengali in favor of Urdu played a significant role in the creation of an independence movement. Less prominent and politically far less successful have been the ethno-national mobilizations around Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto and Balochi, which have all at some time made demands on the state in terms of provision for language rights, especially in the national education policies and systems (*Language Policy, Multilingualism and Language Vitality in Pakistan*, 2002 and *In One Hand a Pen in the Other a Gun: Punjabi Language Radicalism in Punjab, Pakistan*, 2013).

The vitality of the Punjabi *qisse* tradition in the colonial period, despite predictions of its imminent demise, calls for a re-evaluation of the nature and extent of colonial power in British India. Not only did the British deny patronage to the Punjabi language, they actively promoted the Urdu language in the Punjab. Their efforts to change the linguistic and literary practices of the region's inhabitants were only partially successful. Though Urdu became an important language of literary production and the principal language of Punjab's incipient public sphere, Punjabi continued to be the main colloquial language in the province and Punjabi literary activity not only continued unabated but may have even enjoyed resurgence during the colonial period. This history redirects inquiry into the late 19th and early 20th century cultural formations in north India, away from a focus on religious communal identities and nationalist politics — the dominant emphasis in the present historiography — to analyze a set of practices and ideas that Punjab's inhabitants shared, no matter what their religious persuasion, which were not easily assimilated in nationalist agendas (Farina Mir, 2010, 6).

How did the Colonials see Punjabis?

Lord Thomas Macaulay, British historian, politician and writer gives a very 'racist' first impression of the Punjabi to the Parliament in Britain on February 2nd 1835:

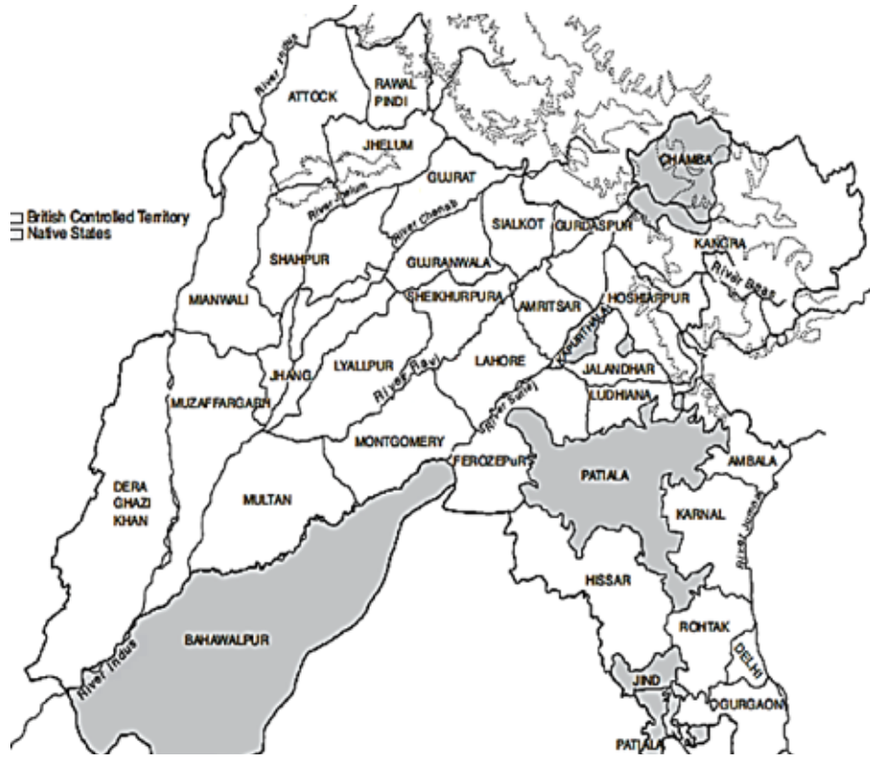
> I have travelled across the length and breadth of India and I have not seen one person who is a beggar or a thief. Such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such calibre, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage. Therefore, I propose, that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Indians think that all that is English and foreign is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem, their native culture and they will become what we want them to be – a truly dominated nation.

He envisioned a British system of 'educating the Punjabis' that he calls "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste and opinions, in morals and intellect." The objective was in the words of Macaulay "a class who may be interpreters between us and the million whom we govern" (Qaisar Abbas, Punjab Lok Rahs).

In the evangelical literature that surfaced after the "shadowy discourse of capitalist colonialism" as Said puts it, the Punjabi, among other natives, were being defined in the following manner:

Figure 8

Map of Colonial Punjab showing Native States and British Controlled Territory. Source: Farina



The indolent native figure is someone whose natural depravity and loose character necessitate an European overlord.

His hands are large, and the toes of his feet are pliant, being exercised in climbing trees and diverse other active functions. The impressions made upon him are transitory and he retains a feeble memory of passing or past events. Ask him his age, he will not be able to answer: who were his ancestors? He neither knows nor cares. His master vice is idleness, which is his felicity. The labour that necessity demands he gives grudgingly (Edward Said, 1993, 167).

The Sacred versus the Vernacular (Languages)

One of the most significant shifts for literary culture in 19th century India came with the colonial state's designation of official vernacular languages for provincial administration. In much of pre-colonial India, the official language of administration was Persian. The East India Company, too, used Persian for administrative and judicial purposes at the provincial level until 1837, when it instituted the change from Persian to Indian vernaculars. Across Company territories, the colonial administration debated, then established which vernacular language(s) was appropriate for each province.

Figure 9

"A Bookseller at Amritsar", 1908. From the holdings of the Ames Library of South Asia, University of Minnesota Libraries, Minneapolis.

It is essential to examine in this regard the role of the British colonial missionaries in 19th and 20th century literary and print culture. As in many other parts of India, it was Christian missionaries who first introduced print in the Punjab (in the early 19th century). For missionaries, targeting any religious community necessitated using their language and their script. Based on their publishing, missionaries correlated the Indo-Persian script and initially Persian and then increasingly Urdu with Muslims, the Devnagari script and Hindi with Hindus, and the Gurmukhi script and Punjabi with Sikhs. They devoted themselves to the study of Indian languages in order to communicate directly with Indians, to translate the Bible into what they deemed to be the appropriate languages for targeting specific communities and to produce philological materials that would help other missionaries — and often Company employees — to learn Indian languages. Finding themselves in a predominantly Muslim locale — somewhat to their surprise since they thought they were going to the "land of the Sikhs" only to find that Sikhs were a mere 10% of Ludhiana's local population — the missionaries' first publication, *A Sermon for the Whole World*, was published in Persian, based on the assumption that this was a Muslim language and that it was the best language by which to proselytize, in print, to local Muslims. They would subsequently publish tracts in Hindi, aimed at the local Hindu population and in Punjabi, aimed at the local Sikh population but only with the arrival of Devnagari and Gurmukhi fonts, respectively (Farina Mir, 2010, 31).

The Ludhiana Mission Press is significant in this regard as it was the first printing press in the Punjab established in 1836 by the American

Presbyterian Mission. The press initially had only two type fonts: roman font, used primarily for Romance languages and Indo-Persian, with which texts could be produced in Arabic and Persian, as well as in a number of Indian vernacular languages, including Urdu, Kashmiri and Punjabi. With these two fonts, the mission published Christian scripture in English, Urdu, Persian and "Indo-Roman" (Urdu in roman characters). Subsequently, the mission designed two more fonts: Gurmukhi, used principally for Punjabi, and Devnagari, used for Sanskrit and Hindi, which it used, beginning in 1838, to produce publications in Punjabi and Hindi.

The Seventh Memoir Respecting the Translation of the Sacred Scriptures into the Languages of India, conducted by the Brethren at Serampore Mission, Bengal, published in 1820, provides an example for the missionary's association of Punjabi as the language of the Sikhs. In a section titled, "Languages in Which the New Testament is Published," one finds alongside references to "Pushtoo" (Pashto), "Telinga" (Telegu) and a number of other languages, "the Shikh language", clearly a reference to Punjabi. Later in the century, language activists would argue that Urdu in the Indo-Persian script was the language of Muslims and that Hindi in the Devnagari script was the language of Hindus. Sikhs would ultimately follow suit with the Gurmukhi-Sikh-Punjabi triad, the groundwork having largely been laid for them by colonial knowledge of Punjabi, first produced by the Serampore Mission of Bengal.

The Ludhiana Press printed millions of pages on Biblical literature and by 1840 was printing publications in English, Urdu (in Indo-Persian script), Hindi (in Devnagari script), Punjabi (in Gurmukhi script) and also Kashmiri (in Indo-Persian, due to a sizable migrant Kashmiri community in the Punjab). However, Urdu remained the dominating language in these publications (Table 3).

Table 3

Publications registered in the Punjab, 1867-96. Source: Farina Mir, 2010.

TABLE 1 Publications registered in Punjab, 1867–96

Year	Total number of books	Urdu books (percent of total)	Second most popular language
1870–71	426	150 (35%)	Hindi, 76 (18%)
1875–76	911	319 (35%)	Arabic, 77 (9%)
1879–80	926	395 (43%)	Punjabi, 170 (18%)
1885–86	1,566	806 (51%)	Hindi, 230 (15%)
1889–90	2,206	923 (42%)	Punjabi, 499 (23%)
1895–96	1,304	617 (47%)	Punjabi, 298 (23%)
1902–3	1,233	521 (42%)	Punjabi, 350 (28%)

An important element in understanding the dominance of Urdu language is the disruption in the literary culture of Delhi (and Lucknow), caused by the colonial response to the rebellion of 1857–58. Frances

Pritchett, in her fine work on Urdu literary culture during this period, argues that these events witnessed the destruction of the patronage system — grounded in the *ustad-shagird* (teacher-disciple) relationship — that was so important to Urdu's literary vitality in Delhi. She goes so far as to suggest that the aftermath of 1857 destroyed not only the patronage system but "in fact the whole [Urdu literary] culture". With the demise of Delhi as a site of Urdu patronage, Lahore became an important centre of Urdu literary culture as Urdu poets and men of letters migrated there in search of patrons.

In conclusion, what is interesting to note is that despite the explosion of the colonial print culture in the late 19th and early 20th century, Punjabi maintained its position and patronage as a colloquial language in this print culture. This was possible due to its rich *qisse* tradition, people-centric concepts and performance-oriented literature like its counterpart the Bengali language, which according to scholar Partha Chatterjee, has a unique form of expression rooted in drama and oral performance and beyond the scope of British colonial administrators and linguists. The sound evidence for the Punjabi form of expression lies in the continuous recurrence of the *qisse* of *Hir Ranjha* published in various dialects of Punjabi as well as Urdu, in both the Gurmukhi and Indo-Persian scripts (Shahmukhi) as mentioned towards the beginning of the paper. It is thus, the *qisse* tradition of the people of the Punjab which may safely be termed as the sacred cultural root of its art.

The Roots of Decorative Motifs of Cholistani Crafts:
An Analytical Study

Aisha Asim Imdad

Cholistan is a land which has been romanticized and much talked about but very few outsiders have been able to visit it and experience its beauties. It starts from the outskirts of Bahawalpur city, and is spread over a huge stretch of land touching on cities like Rahimyar Khan, Hasilpur, Chistian and Bahawalnagar on the one side and the Indian part of the Desert on the other.

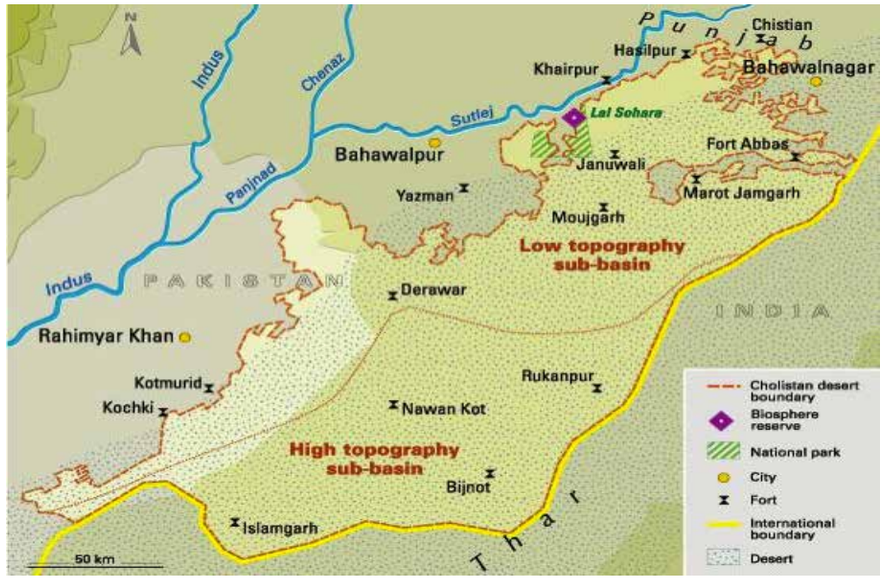


Figure 1

Map of Cholistan Desert. Source: UNESCO <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/SC/images/img_csmap> Last Visited: 12 August 2013

Cholistan is an arid and stark landscape with a harsh environment. Its local citizens call Cholistan *Rohi*. Its people roam the scorched land in search of water for themselves and their animals. The Cholistani people are divided into the local system of tribes and castes. The Muslim tribes usually speak Siraiki, a local dialect spoken throughout South Punjab and the Hindu tribes speak Marwardy, which is a Rajasthani dialect. The Meher, Larh and Bheel are a few of the bigger tribes.[1] Cattle herding has been the main source of income of the people since time immemorial.

The only water the people have comes through rainwater harvesting. Hence, they move from one water storage source (also known as a

Tobba) to the next, according to their need and requirement. They move from one semi-dwelling beside the *Tobba* to the next with their animals in semi-nomadic fashion. Women sometimes have to walk for miles from their homes to get water from the *Tobba*.

Their houses are also in-sync with nature. They are called *Gopas* and are in the shape of mushrooms growing in a desert. These *Gopas* are made of local wood and twigs put together to form a single large round room which shelters one family. A *Gopa* is a traditional form of dwelling where these people come at a certain time of the year to live. In other areas they have mud-finished houses, where they live for longer periods.

Figure 2

Women walking to fetch water from the *Tobba*. Source: Imdad, Aisha. 7th March 2013.

Figure 3a, 3b

Gopas and mud-finished houses in Cholistan. Source: Imdad, Aisha. Aug 2012 and April 2013.

Despite the dry and harsh environment, the people of the desert brighten their otherwise colorless lives with their rich and vibrant crafts. Their crafts are unique and different from the rest of South Punjab. As the Cholistani lifestyle is nomadic in nature, the crafts are all made with such materials that are easily carried around on the backs of camels and they are utilitarian in nature. Most of the shepherds usually make their own woolen thread for their winter attire from the wool shaved off their own sheep. They keep on making the thread while they are out taking care of their animals in the desert. Hence, the nature of some of the Cholistani crafts is quite mobile as they can be made anywhere while walking or sitting.

The crafts of Cholistan are of many different kinds. The women of Cholistan make vibrant pillowcases and *rallie*s as their textile crafts. The motifs on these textile crafts are deeply embedded in the history of the land. The decorative motifs are all inspired by the natural and cultural aspects of their existence.

The women of Cholistan wear unique jewelry that again relates to their wandering lifestyle. They usually wear all their jewelry at all times as it is easy to carry it in that manner, safe on their person and it represents their status in their communities. Certain kinds of jewelry also signify the marital status of the women. The jewelry is mostly made of silver and married women usually wear elaborate jewelry at all times. It is heavily ornate and large in size.

Very few women can afford gold ornaments but the married women usually wear a nose ring or *Popa*, made of gold. The usual ornaments are nose rings, bangles, necklaces, anklets and others. The gold and silver jewelry that the women wear is unique and its designs are borrowed from its environment. Saifur-Rahman Dar also writes about the Cholistani women and their jewelry:

> There is no jewelry shop in the wilderness of Cholistan but the Cholistani women travel long distances to buy ornaments for themselves and their daughters from far off places like Rahim Yar Khan, Ahmadpur East, Yazman and Fort Abbas – the latter in Bahawalnager District. Some goldsmiths/silversmiths – both are locally called *sunyarai*, of Bahawalpur and Ahmadpur are well known for making traditional ornaments. These are usually expert in making silver jewelry only. Very few items of personal adornment are made in gold. The nose ornament of married women is called *Nath* and the nose-stud is called a *popa* and they are always crafted in the precious metal – gold.[2]

There are many crafts from Cholistan but some of them are crucial in their household. The *ralli* is among the prominent craft techniques of the region. It is used in many versatile ways according to the need of the people. At night, cloth with *ralli* work is used to stay warm. In the daytime, it can be put on the floor or cot (*Charpa*i) as a decorative cover to sit on. The *ralli* technique also gives strength to the cloth, as it has to survive the rough lifestyle of the itinerant people. The running stitch on the many layers of cloth stitched together gives it the needed resilience to be used in the desert. The *ralli* is also made by mothers for their daughters and by sisters for their brothers for their marriage.

Figure 4a, 4b

An elaborately embroidered *ralli* for marriage or special occasions. Source: Imdad, Aisha. July 2012.

> The women of Cholistan make these *rallies* for their daughter's trousseau. They say that the day their daughter turns ten years old they start making the *rallies* for her dowry. Various kinds of *rallies* are created for different occasions in her married life, the most intricate being for the marriage day. Sons too get their share of *rallies* for their married life.[3]

The *rallies* have various kinds of decorative designs. The elaborately embroidered *rallies* are used for marriage ceremonies or special occasions whereas simple appliqué geometric design *rallies* are used for daily use.

Figure 5

Geometric patterned applique styled *ralli* for daily use. Source: Acquired from the Photo Archives of Sajida Haider Vandal.

The other significant crafts are the pillowcases and mantelpiece covers. These are embroidered in lively motifs, which represent their popular designs, stories and ideas in colorful and decorative styles. These designs incorporate almost anything which is prevalent in their desert lifestyle. One can find desert birds, animals, flora and fauna. Sometimes even words are embroidered to express their various ideas and emotions. All the women of the household make these items for decorative purposes for their homes. Pillowcases and mantelpiece covers are usually made on white fabric with vibrantly colorful embroidery in various *tankas* (stitches), like the Sindhi *tanka*, the Arr *tanka*, the Pucca *tanka* and others.

Figure 6

Camel carrying luggage. Source: Imdad, Aisha.July 2012.

The motifs in the Cholistani crafts are adopted from their own myths, tales and natural environment, referring to their past and linking it to the present. One of the most important patterns is the image of the stylized peacock. A peacock holds an important position in desert life as it is immensely colorful and roams the barren landscape of the desert, dancing with joy whenever it rains. A peacock in this regard is considered the bird of paradise. They craft peacocks in various ways to decorate their environment. The stylized shape of the Peepal tree leaf is another popular design and has historical links as well as a relation to the indigenous Peepal tree grown most commonly at shrines and local tombs of saints. The tree can be traced back to the Indus Valley Civilization and

Figure 7

The stylized peacock used as a decorative design. Source: Imdad, Aisha. July 2012.

Figure 8

A Peepal leaf pattern pillowcase. Source: Imdad, Aisha. Feb 2010.

has been associated with the goddesses of the Indus. Another popular decorative pattern is the stylized shape of a flower grown in the desert indigenously called *Akh* (*Calotrops Procera*). The flower is purple and white. The *Akh* had deep religious and sacred meanings in ancient cultures. It was considered holy by Hindus and was associated with Lord Ganesh and Lord Shiva (Hindu deities). The purple and white flowers are used as offerings to them. Its leaves were used by the Hindus in the ritual ceremony of the sacred bath by placing them on the head.[4] The Arabs also had superstitious beliefs regarding the plant and associated it with sun worship.[5] It has many medicinal qualities attached to it. According to local beliefs it is useful in curing snakebite and also helps in curing various kinds of pains and aches of the body; the leaves help in relieving arthritic pain.[6] Another interesting pattern is the *Chakoor* or partridge. There are local stories/myths that the *chakoor* is in love with the moon and at night tries to fly towards the moon, its beloved, and dies in the attempt. The motif appears on pillowcases and also on *rallies*, to relate to their natural environment and its beautiful stories.

Figure 9

Stylized design motif of *Akh* used in jewelry. Source: Imdad, Aisha. July 2012.

Geometric and linear decorative motifs are used commonly in Cholistan and are used most popularly on the *ralli*. These motifs are thousands of years old and their earliest links can be traced back to the Indus Valley and Hakara River civilizations.

Similar geometric and linear patterns are found on the terracotta pottery shards as on the *ralli* used in every household in Cholistan. The similarity in design is extremely close. The Cholistani people still use the same kind of designs in making their decorative patterns that were

used thousands of years ago. This uncanny similarity is most clearly visible in their embroideries, *bandhini* and *ralli* making techniques of appliqué.

One can find zigzag bands, crisscross patterned bands, floral patterned bands, curvilinear bands, diamond patterned bands and many more on both the *ralli* and the Indus Valley pottery.

> The main designs at Siswal include black bands, horizontal lines, horizontal or vertical zigzag lines, curvy lines, converging oblique strokes, suspended loops, fish scales, cross-hatched diamonds, apposed triangles, arcading designs, sigmas, fish, arrows and many more. [7]

Another design being adopted in the decorative motifs is the fruit of the *peelu* tree (*Salvadora Oleiodes*). It is an indigenous evergreen tree which grows quite commonly in the area and has medicinal qualities. The berry-like fruit on the tree has a similar formation which can be seen on the jewelry patterns from around this region. The motifs, which could have been inspired by the *peelu* fruit, tell us of the importance of this tree in the cultural and traditional setup.

Figure 10

Bangles with the design formation of a *peelu* tree. Source: Imdad, Aisha. July 2012.

Khawaja Ghulam Farid, the Sufi poet of Cholistan, roamed the desert for eighteen years; he mentioned the fruit of the *peelu* tree in his Sufi poetry to describe the local scenery and its effect on him. He praises the fruit of the *peelu* tree and expresses his joy at finding so many colors in the fruit tree at the same time. In the heat of the desert this is fruit from heaven. He repeatedly describes the goodness of the *peelu* in his poetic verses:

Come pick together, friends-
It's pilu harvest-day, oh!

See, some are white, green, yellow too,
And others brown or pale blue,
While some are red and mauve,
Vermilion or grey, oh!

The sands, now filled with heavenly fruit,
Destroy and burn our sorrow's root,
And all is spring: so come
And taste the fruit, I pray, oh![8]

Figure 11

The peacock motif used as decoration on the grill of a Cholistani house. Source: Imdad, Aisha. Feb 2010.

The peacock is yet another popular motif in Cholistani crafts as previously mentioned. If we look back in history we can trace its image to the Indus Valley and the Hakara River civilizations. The peacock motif has been discovered on the terracotta pottery/figurines as a decorative element or as a toy.

> The representation of the peacock has also been noticed at Kalibangan, although these are tiny in shape. The bird figurine exhibits the considerable craftsmanship and modeling skill of the artisans. It is a roughly modeled peacock in terracotta with its beautiful plumes spread out and it seems to be in a dancing posture. The figurine in question bears close resemblance to Harappa figurines. The Mohenjo-daro specimen, however, shows a broad tail and stands on a pedestal with a flared base. The figure from Harappa is also shown standing on a pedestal of its own. A doubtful clay model of a peacock from Lothal has a long, raised neck, short beak and flat base. [9]

In this context, the motif of a peacock takes on another meaning altogether as it seems that the motif has travelled through thousands of years to remain an integral part of the culture of Cholistan. It is used in almost every aspect of their life. It is present as a decorative element on their homes, on their *rallies*, on their pillowcases, jewelry and so on.

Even Khawaja Ghulam Farid could not ignore the peacock as he writes about the coming of rain and how different birds, especially the peacock, dances and sings songs to welcome and praise the coming of the rainy season. He writes about how it brings joy to birds, animals and humans alike to see rainfall in the desert's scorching heat.

Savan's happy days are here -
How they fill my heart with ease!

These darkling clouds which come from far,
From east and south, and from Marwar,
These gusts from every quarter are
Of coming rains the prophecies.

The wild goose, the lark and hen,
The cuckoo, peacock and the wren,
The partridge and all birds again
Are busy with their melodies.

The rainbows green and gold by day,
By night the lightening's bright display,
And thunder's gently rumbling lay –
What times of happiness are these![10]

Conclusion

The Cholistan desert is vast and arid. One can still find traces of all the lost civilizations in its sands of time. The desert tells a tale of its timeless and perpetual landscape through its decorative motifs. The local flora and fauna enter the weave of the cultural lifestyle in the form of motifs to become an eternal part of the Cholistan lifestyle. It is amazing how the patterns have survived and evolved to remain within the traditional realm of the Cholistani landscape. The motifs are used again and again in a repetitive style on various objects of use, even buildings, to reiterate the tales which are woven in the historic fabric of this land and to represent its philosophy of life; a philosophy that reiterates that they want to live as one with nature and create harmony with its various elements by adopting them as part of their subsistence.

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The Space of the Mughal Miniature: Exploring the Shifting Boundaries of Painting in Pakistan

Abdullah Qureshi

> As in any art, the meaning of a new work is relative to its position in relation to other works in the same field, past and present – its significance emerges of diachronic and synchronic planes. (Schawbsky, 2011, p. 012)

Painting is noted as a self-referential discipline, one that constantly refers to its own history. While its death is pronounced every few years, it also continues to rise from its ashes like a phoenix. The ability of the practice to regurgitate on its past and sustain relevance within an age dominated by digital media cannot be compared to any other practice within the fine arts.

Within this paper, I look at specific miniature paintings from different periods and link them to the works of contemporary artists. How aspects of traditional miniature painting are reinvented and contribute to the concerns of artists working in this region is significant. This is done through examining space, other pictorial aspects and the relationship between space and figuration itself. The pictorial space of the miniature paintings, historical as well as contemporary, is scrutinized and linked with other disciplinary practices. Shahzia Sikander's practice forms a crucial link between the historical tradition of Mughal miniature painting and its reinterpretation or appropriation today. Hence, she forms a prime example that eventually opens up the discussion to other works.

When discussing Pakistan it is essential to note that its history is older than its age as noted by Dr. Akbar Naqvi, who carries on to write, "It has a span of more than 4000 years of which 900 years is that of the Muslim presence on the Subcontinent" (Naqvi, 1998). The Mughals form approximately 350 years of that history from 1526-1858 (Malini & Roy, 2012, p. 11). In my opinion, this part of history seems to have the most dominant influence on practitioners working in this region, to which there must be a deep-rooted reason as to why we particularly embrace our Mughal past more than other areas of our history. One reason would be as Wille observes, "A fact clearer today than ever before: the only real alliance between the people of Pakistan was, and has always been, that of "Islam"" (Wille, 2005). The Mughals beautifully bringing together an Islamic identity with the richness of the Subcontinent in art can be seen as symbolic of this region's (Pakistan's) own identity. Perhaps this was an area that best fit with what was envisioned as a "Pakistani identity", hence, it was claimed as our own.

When discussing contemporary art in Pakistan, one primarily observes that it is very much informed by its recent past, political and social, not only post 9/11 but also prior. Wille writes, "Social upheaval raises questions of personal identity, of belonging and departure", questions that have been part of the formation of Pakistan from the start (Wille, 2005). When bearing this in mind it is interesting to form a connection with the broader past of the region, when Pakistan was part of the Subcontinent. While wars, social turbulence, conquering and being conquered were very much part of this land's history also were traditions of drawing from other cultures that merged to form these art forms. Hence, at first glance it was slightly perplexing for me as to why out of "4000 years" of history we choose to focus on specific aspects collectively. In that sense we not only suffer from the residue of colonialism but also of our Mughal conquerors. The influence trickles down but this of course is not so bad. While the battle between retaining the tradition and its natural evolution is an on-going discourse, I feel many of our artists today have broadened the understanding of what a Mughal miniature can be and further expanded its boundaries.

Figure 1

Shahzia Sikander, *The Illustrated Page Series #1*, 2005-6. Work on paper (Gouache hand painting, gold leaf and silkscreen pigment). 80x66 inches
Courtesy: Shahzia Sikandar

I must clarify that I do not see the miniature as merely a technique but an idea as well. In fact, when one observes the art form of painting

Figure 2

Shahzia Sikander, *Unseen 3*, 2011. HD-Digital Projection. Photo: David Adams, courtesy of the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art and Shahzia Sikandar.

during the three and half century period of Mughals in India, it becomes apparent how much it has evolved; originating in the Persian tradition, amalgamating with local schools to become something of its own, in my opinion, continuing through periods of stylization to reduction. It is an exquisite journey that reflects criticality and one ends up questioning, why it should stop there.

Historically as various styles came together, "by the mid-1570s, artists were concerned, unlike earlier schools from which it sprang, to depict the real world, with a naturalistic approach to the expression of volume and weight in figures, and to the depiction of space in surroundings." Naturalism was a trend reinforced when examples of European art first came to the Mughal court in 1578. These were brought back with the mission sent to Goa under Hajji Abdallah in 1575 to collect such works." (Malini & Roy, Mughal India - Art, Culture and Empire, 2012, p. 27)

Figuration, for instance, within Mughal miniatures formed an essential part of the paintings even though the more conservative elements in the society questioned it, basing their criticism on religion and one example being the following hadith:

> Allah's messenger (PBUH) said, thou who draw pictures will be punished on the day of resurrection. It would be said to thou, breathe soul into what you have created – (*Sahih* Muslim vol.3, *Hadith* 5268)

In *Ain-e-Akbari*, Akbar responds to the discussion as follows, "I cannot tolerate those who make the slightest criticism of this art. It seems to me that a painter is better than most in gaining knowledge of God. Each time he draws a living being he must draw each and every limb of it but seeing that he cannot bring it to life must perforce give thought to the miracle wrought by the Creator and thus obtain knowledge of Him." (Malini & Roy, Mughal India - Art, Culture and Empire, 2012, p. 27)

Figuration became so embedded within the tradition of miniature painting in South Asia that for some contemporary artists it became a necessary challenge. For instance, Imran Qureshi quoting his *Ustad*, Bashir Ahmad said, "A miniature painting cannot be a miniature painting with an absence of a figure". Qureshi transports a miniature on paper within an architectural space, recent work being the MET's roof top commission, where large spills of red paint are on closer inspection for foliage and ornamental patterns.

There is figuration here as well in a sense, where the audience itself becomes part of the miniature. The surrounding space is not a mere background, it cannot be. The spaces that these figures are housed or situated in, whether on paper or in the physical, are not merely spaces but also symbolic of a particular space. If the characters within traditional miniatures form narratives then the space around it provides a context and in fact invites us to experience the time. By definition, space can be physical as well as conceptual and in the case of painting, pictorial as well. In 1905, Henri Lefebvre wrote, "Not so long ago, the word 'space' had a strictly geometrical meaning: the idea it evoked was simply an empty area" (Lefebvre, 1991). Now that has changed and our understanding of space is much broader. Some of these understandings are mentioned above. Within discourses of contemporary art, the notion of the white cube and addressing the gallery space has been significant as well. In the case of Mughal miniatures, the many spaces that it creates include not only the space of time and its location but also that between the viewer and the viewed. Within the image are created various architectural spaces, piled on each other in a hierarchical manner. Even though interior and exterior spaces are depicted, yet the narratives that these paintings create are not limited to the picture itself, rather the viewer's relation can be seen as experiential, creating a new space between now and then.

A recent exhibit at the British Library titled 'Mughal India' explored works created in the 18th and 19th century as well. When examining these works in relation to paintings created during the times of Akbar and Shah Jehan, one can certainly draw comparisons but the evolutionary shift also becomes apparent. In fact, most local historians who have commented on Pakistani contemporary miniature paintings root it in the Akbari or Shah Jehani periods, this showcase suggests otherwise. The reduction of ornateness and focus on subject matter is a dramatic shift, especially in the provincial portraits (1750s) made during the time of Muhammad Shah.

During the earlier periods, one can spot clearer influence of the traditional Persian roots, for instance, '*The child Akbar recognises his mother at Kabul*' painted in 1545, ascribed to Madhu with principal portraits by Narsingh. The scene shows the reunion of a three year old Akbar with his mother, upon the capture of Kabul by Humayun. It is narrated that the occasion is that of the boy's circumcision.

Whereas other artists in both this and the first Akbarnama look within the *zenana* (women's apartments) over a maze of walls zigzagging back to the royal lady in question for birth and similar historical scenes, Madhu here adopts a new and much more open approach arranged in layers. Outside the garden is a raucous celebration with drums, bugles and pipes accompanying a sword-dancer, while people bring their gifts and *bihishti* (water-carrier) throws down water to allay the dust. Within the garden wall girls dance to the music of a pipe and tambourine under the watchful eyes of a duenna and the chief eunuch, while refreshments are prepared. Beyond, the portrait specialist Narsingh has painted the faces of Akbar, his mother and Humayun as they gaze intently at one another, watched by the royal ladies (Humayun's other wives and sisters). Whereas such compositions had been initiated in the poetical manuscripts dealing with literary women, they were slower to catch on in the historical ones in which real ladies had to be portrayed. Madhu, presumably the same artist as here, had painted a similar open architectural scene in the 1595-6 Khamsa showing Shirin in her palace. Such scenes paved the way for the more open arrangements showing Jahangir and then Shah Jahan in *durbar*. (Malini & Roy, Mughal India - Art, Culture and Empire, 2012, pp. 66-68)

Figure 3

The child Akbar recognises his mother at Kabul in 1545. Source: Malini, J. L. and Roy, L. A. (2012). *Mughal India - Art, Culture and Empire*. London: The British Library. p.66

Referring to '*Prince Aurangzeb reports to Shah Jehan in durbar at Lahore*' in 1649, one sees the formality of the court "admirably exemplified in the painting's rigid symmetry, with the emperor at the apex of a pyramid". The picture shows an aged Shah Jehan with a grey beard

and a black moustache. "He is seated in the *jharokha* at the back of his *Divan-e-Aam* or Hall of Public Audience" (Malini & Roy, Mughal India - Art, Culture and Empire, 2012, pp. 139-140). The composition is simple but shows an elaborate scene. The fine architecture and interiors of the time are showcased here with individuals reporting to duty in court.

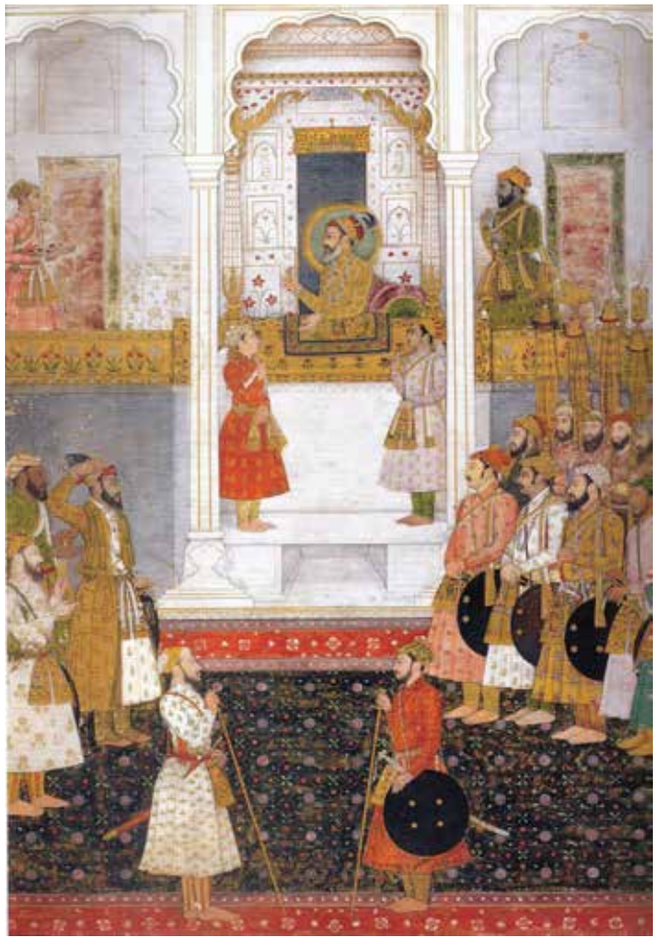


Figure 4

Prince Aurangzeb reports to Shah Jahan in durbar at Lahore in 1649. Source: Malini, J. L. and Roy, L. A. (2012). *Mughal India - Art, Culture and Empire.* London: The British Library. p. 140

During Shah Jehan's time, the political landscape as well as the social structure of society within Mughal India was much more stable and in control. This showed through the art of painting and its patronisation, where one sees grandiose and magnificence of expression. Modes of depiction also vary.

The formation of the image is much more complex. However, it does not appear to be as luxurious as '*Prince Aurangzeb reporting to Shah Jehan*'. Other paintings of the time also deal with the picture plane as a whole scene and not many simultaneous ones as is the case here.

In the relatively less explored works of the 1750s, for instance, the provincial portraits seem to have a drastic shift in the color palette. "Major artists who flourished during the reign of Muhammad Shah

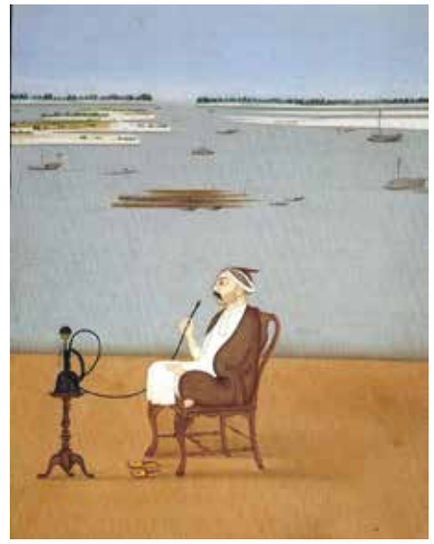
Figure 5

Muttaby, mistress of Ashraf 'Ali Khan. Source: Malini, J. L. and Roy, L. A. (2012). *Mughal India - Art, Culture and Empire.* London: The British Library. p. 171

outlived their beneficent patron and relocated to Delhi, to provinces where they had a profound impact on the development of regional styles." The use of a greyish-blue is dominant; other colors are muted as well and the image is definitely less ornate and simplistic in its expression. The mood and atmosphere has changed. One sees newer subject matter and the addition of ships and boats in the portraits of Ashraf 'Ali Khan and Muttuby, his mistress. "As both Delhi and regional artists established themselves in towns such as Patna and Faizabad, they had the privilege of securing patronage from an entirely new source: Europeans living in the region… These commissions would have a visible impact on the artistic tradition in the second half of the eighteenth century, both in terms of style and subject matter." (Malini & Roy, 2012, pp. 168-172)

Figure 6

Ashraf 'Ali Khan. Source: Malini, J. L. and Roy, L. A. (2012). *Mughal India - Art, Culture and Empire.* London: The British Library. p. 171



In relation to these, when we look at the work of Shahzia Sikander, I guess there is a newer understanding. This is a practice so rooted within the miniature that it dives into the plethora of visual vocabulary and reframes and re-presents it and through this process creates something new. Through combining abstraction and figuration, reworking of the tradition and lacing it with contemporary theory, the traditional practice of the Mughal painting is made relevant today. Her earlier works can certainly be rooted in the Shah Jehani period; however, it would be fair to say that the approach to her practice is that of any contemporary painter. "Today, a painter might equally be inspired by, for instance, Chinese ink painting or Australian aboriginal bark painting – irrespective, of

course, of where he or she happens to be from." (Schawbsky, 2011, p. 11). However, in the case of Sikandar, the choice of miniature content is definitely more significant. Tackling a broad subject matter and engaging with diverse visual vocabulary, her practice forms a union between the East and the West; juxtaposition of traditional Mughal motifs as well a contemporary forms, political at times and at others personal.

Sean Kissane in the introduction to his European museum exhibition writes, "The construction of silence within the language of Beckett allows for the creation of spaces within which meaning oscillates, is obscured, discarded then re-enacted. Beckett thinks across languages, moving through them to another place. Ambiguity is created, a rejection of the truth in language leads to virtually endless possibilities of interpretation. Language is fixed, meaning is transcended." (Juncosa, 2007, p. 27). He continued by writing, "Shahzia Sikander's language, too, is untranslatable. Like Beckett's, it is a language that exists on too many planes to be assimilated on one level. Like Beckett, her words go through language, building new visual territories beyond it." (Juncosa, 2007, p. 28). In my opinion Sikander's works are not really meant to be translated at all, rather they are an attempt to appropriate a tradition within a space that invites the viewer to immerse in the experience.

It is very difficult for one not to get lost in the worlds Sikander creates, for example, the trees and colors she uses in her animations remind us of '*Prince Gauhar on a hunting ground*', 1734-9 (Malini & Roy, 2012, p. 196). In a sense, these images evoke the nostalgia of walks through similar gardens. For instance, imagine a walk through the Shalimar Gardens giving us the same feeling. If works by contemporary artists such as Qureshi evoke a Mughal space through painterly intervention then that same theory applies to a public space of that time. Passing through the space we are in fact part of a larger miniature.

Within the 'illustrated page' Sikander employs the format of a large-scale open book. According to the artist, this work is about "re-organizing 'space' through framing devices. It plays with the notion of borders, containment, scale, embellishment and framing systems." At the Doris Duke Foundation, Honolulu, the illustrated works are projected within space, developing newer relationships with the physical space as well outside the parameters of its tradition. The fact that they are temporary, further points towards the idea that these are meant as an experience only. These extend the boundaries of what a miniature can be through engaging with architecture, landscape and environment itself. The engagement is two way of course, as not only the space is altered but also the original image making the process truly osmotic.

Figure 7

Nahid Siddiqui performing '*Teray Ishq Nachaya Kar Thaiya Thaiya*' - an ode to Punjab and its Sufi Poet, Baba Bulleh Shah at the Lahore Literary Festival 2013. Courtesy: Nahid Siddiqui

The experience of the Mughal miniature is certainly not limited to the visual arts. For example, by examining the practice of Nahid Siddiqui, the kathak dancer, one is made aware of how the body itself can be used to create a sense of space. In her case a very specific space. Siddiqui's '*improvisations*', which are soundscapes really, is where she stands and showcases her mastery of the footwork in kathak. Together with the sound of *gunghroos* and subtle movements one is really transported in a time we have been discussing so far. Technically speaking, it is the moments of stillness that she brings after highly charged passage of emotional content that encapsulate the viewer. Frozen moments are exaggerated and the dancer and the viewer are locked in a dialogue, which is where another space is created.

These ideas continue to expand what is considered the traditional miniature and its space. These practices also draw attention to the diversity in content that a Mughal visual vocabulary can draw today. Practices feed into each other and artists are not restricted to their specificity, hence the boundaries of painting expand, not only physically but conceptually as well.

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City of Lahore and its Cultural Roots during the Ghaznavide Period

Kanwal Khalid, PhD

Whenever historical accounts are written, the focus is mostly on wars and intrigues of the courts, victories and defeats, conquest of regimes and the *Maal e Ghaneemat* looted. Accounts of ancient Lahore are no different. Most of the historical documents and books are silent on the culture, traditions and art produced here except for some sketchy information in different archival materials. Not much conscious effort went into detailing the lifestyle and art produced but we do get some evidence of the grand architecture, art, artisans and the performing artists of Lahore with various cultural influences that helped to formulate their expressions.

During the quest for knowledge about Lahore, it was observed that the early Muslim Period (from 11th century onwards) was one of the most productive in this regard. This was an age of achievements and a time when artists gained great heights. However, visual references of this era are again very rare but a few such examples have been discovered in the present research. Some other evidence was explored in the poetry produced during that period. Although it does not fall under the category of true research methodology but in this case, it was very useful. Another dimension of art touched in this paper, is the woodwork of the Ghaznavide period. Now, it has been declared a craft but the art discussed here is of the era when no line was drawn between art and craft.

Political Scenario

Except for the fact that a Rajput prince founded Lahore, there is not much political history available about the city as late as the latter part of 7th century when we find Lahore ruled by the Hindu Chauhan prince of the Ajmer family. **(Fig. 1)**

Figure 1

'Terracotta plate representing a female deity', found during the excavation of 1959 at Lahore Fort. Pre-Muslim layer. Collection Lahore Fort.

Before the arrival of Muslims, Raja Jai Pal ruled Punjab. His territories extended from Peshawar to Lamghan and from Kashmir to Multan.[1] At that time Alpatagin, who was a slave of Mansoor Samani, established an

independent kingdom. After Alpatagin's death, his courtiers elected his slave, Sabuktegin as a king. Sabuktegin and Raja Jai Pal encountered each other many times and mostly it was the Hindu Raja who lost. Sabuktegin died after a reign of 20 years[2] and his son Ismail inherited the throne but his brother Mahmud overthrew him in 997 AD. For the next 4 years he put his kingdom in order and in 1001 AD, attacked Hindustan for the first time.[3] Raja Jai Pal thought that he could defeat the young prince but lost the war again. After many successive defeats from the same enemy, the Raja was so humiliated that he performed the Hindu act of *Jauhar* by burning himself to death right outside the wall of the city of Lahore that was also his capital.[4]

Anand Pal, the son of Jai Pal and successor to the throne, faced the immediate challenge of Mahmud. He called the rulers of Hindustan and they joined forces to get rid of Mahmud once and for all. They fought in the vicinity of Peshawar. Anand Pal lost the battle but Lahore was left untouched for the next 13 years and the Raja became Mahmud's tributary.[5]

Abu al Fatah, the ruler of Multan, was against Mahmud so the Afghan decided to punish him. He asked help from Raja Anand Pal who not only refused but also allied with Abu al Fatah. After defeating the Multan ruler, Mahmud turned around and attacked Raja Anand Pal who ran to Kashmir. Mahmud had the chance to conquer the area but instead he appointed Jai Pal ll, the son of Raja Anand Pal, as the next ruler.[6]

Mahmud kept expanding his territories in Hindustan. In Lahore, Jai Pal's grandson tried to create problems for Mahmud. In 1021, the Afghan stormed down from the mountains of the Kashmir valley and seized Lahore without any resistance from the ruler.[7] By 11th century, politically and geographically, the city of Lahore and its rulers had become very important. Muslims fought for 200 years to gain control over this region and once they were successful in Punjab, it put the seal of confirmation to the fate of the subcontinent. From then onwards Islam spread slowly but persistently in the subcontinent. The change was gradual. Punjab and specially Lahore played a vital role in this regard. The liberal attitude of the inhabitants of Lahore helped in strengthening the newly founded Muslim government in Punjab. This broadmindedness also played a key role in the formation of the arts in the coming centuries. In an archival document *A Brief Account of the History and Antiquities of Lahore*, it has been reported, "Even now (1863) the Mohammedan of the Punjab is perhaps less bigoted and the Hindu less grossly superstitious than elsewhere and it is remarkable that two of the boldest reformers which India has produced, Goraknath and Nanak, were natives of the Punjab."[8] This attitude of acceptance of foreign ideas and influences was important in the configuration of art forms in Lahore.

Mahmud of Ghazni conquered Lahore in 1021 and it is a common belief of many historians, including Kanhya Lal[9], that he immediately appointed Malik Ayyaz (his favorite slave) as the ruler of Lahore but this is not true. Initially, he wanted the local Bhats of the Rajput tribe to rule[10] but when it became necessary, he appointed his courtiers to govern Lahore. No prince was appointed as the ruler; Lahore was handed over to officials called *Salars*. The very first name that we find in the records is *Salar* Abdullah Qratgin. We do not know his date of appointment but he governed Lahore till 1030. The next name found in the history is *Salar* Uriaruq who ruled till 1032. *Salar* Ahmad Nial Tageen replaced him but he was killed in 1034 when he rebelled against the Ghaznavide rule.[11]

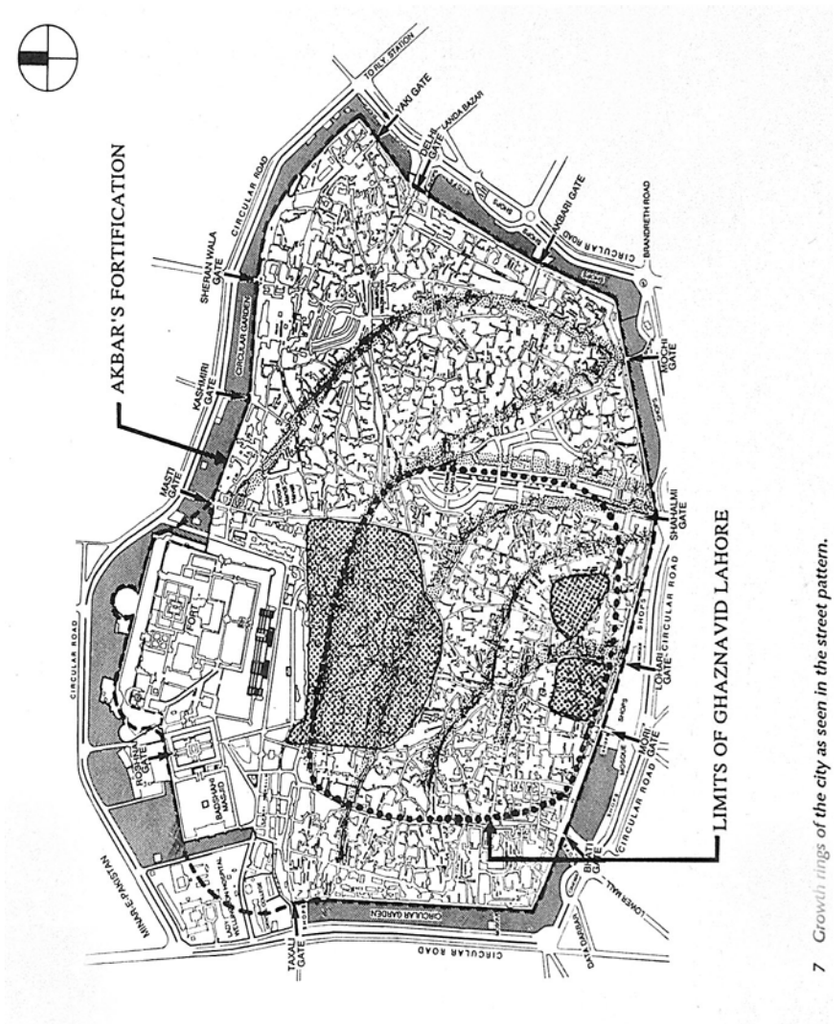


Figure 2

Growth rings of the city showing the limits of Ghaznavide Lahore. Department of Archaeology, Lahore.

7 *Growth rings of the city as seen in the street pattern.*

For the next two years there seems to be no one in Lahore to represent the Ghaznavides. But after 15 years of Muslim rule, the city had become a significant military base and a commercial hub for traders around the region. It was treated parallel to Ghazni and the main cultural and artistic streaks were shared by both.

Sultan Muhammad Bin Mahmud Ghazni had to hand it over to a member of the family; he appointed his son Prince Amir Majdood as the ruler of Lahore in 1036. So, for the first time in Muslim history a Muslim prince ruled Lahore. He was accompanied by Abu Mansoor as notary, Saad Salman as Finance Minister and Abu al Najam Ayyaz as the *Ataliq* and counsellor of the prince.[12] From then on Malik Ayyaz played a very important role in the development and progress of the city. Most of the Lahoris declare him the founder of modern Lahore. He rebuilt the fort and strengthened the wall around. But this walled city was not big and had a maximum of four or five gates. **(Fig. 2)**

Cultural Activities

Lack of evidence about the cultural, social and artistic life of the rulers and citizens has also been pointed out in the preface to *A Brief Account of the History and Antiquities of Lahore*, "The general histories of India, such as those of Farishta, Nizam ul Din Ahmad, Abdul Qadir, the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, the *Iqbalnama Jahangiri*, are little more than a chronicle of wars, court intrigues and murders and seldom descend to local details."[13] One has to pick pieces from here and there and put them together to complete the picture of social and cultural life of that era. The same principle applies to the Ghaznavide rule in Lahore.

The Ghaznavide rulers were very hospitable to the men of merit. Learned personalities were highly appreciated and as a result, scholars from every corner of, not only Hindustan but also from the Muslim world started pouring in and they found respect, employment and money in Lahore. Muslim families settled here. At the same time many local Hindus accepted Islam and very soon a Muslim society was established, which was one of the first in the subcontinent. Makhdoom Ali Hajvery, Fakhar ul Din Hussain Zanjani, Sayyad Ismail Muhaddas, Masood Saad Salman and Abu-al-Farj Raufi[14] were distinguished scholars who lived in Lahore during the Ghaznavide period.

For the first time in the known history of Lahore, it achieved the status of a cultural hub and it was said that if Shiraz and Isphahan were united, they would not make one Lahore of the Ghaznavide period. It had a huge population because at one time the citizens of Lahore provided

an army of forty thousand soldiers. There were many foreigners in the army (*Lashkar*) as well. Soldiers who came from Ghazni, Ghor, Turkistan and other countries went back after earning lots of riches but some of them stayed on and this factor added another dimension to the cultural life of the city.[15] In fact, this mixture of the locals and the foreigners gave birth to Urdu in Lahore also known as the *Lashkari Zuban* (language of the army) at that time.[16]

The old city of Lahore had a tradition of arts and crafts since ancient times. Evidence of this was found during the excavation carried out at Lahore Fort in 1959, in the lawn in front of *Deewan-i-Aam*. The digging went on for three months and a trench measuring 180 by 60 feet was dug for this purpose. In the report printed in Pakistan Archaeology Number 1-1964, it was written, "In all, twenty stratified cultured layers were encountered which represented, from top to bottom on the natural soil, four distinct periods: the British and Sikh, Mughal, pre-Mughal – and what is more important – the pre-Muslim periods."[17] In the pre-Mughal layer a coin was discovered that is of the Ghaznavide Period with beautiful Kufic script. **(Fig. 3)** Some other pottery pieces and sculptures were also excavated in other diggings that belonged to the 11th and 12th century. **(Fig. 4)**

Figure 3

An important find of the excavation, a gold coin of Mahmud Ghaznavi, early Muslim layer. Department of Archaeology and Museums, Karachi.

Another very interesting artefact associated with the Ghaznavide Period is 'The Chessman' **(Fig. 5)** which is at the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. It shows a proud, moustached nobleman, sitting with remarkable poise on the *howdah* of his war elephant. The angry eyed beast - a great battle tank - lumbers into the melee, flanked by four horsemen, ensnaring an enemy rider in its crushing trunk while the *mahout*, gymnastically pitched forward from his seat atop the elephant attacks from above, tugging at the rider's hand even as he holds on for dear life. Quite remarkably there are signatures in Arabic on the carving's underside, which read, "From the works of Yousaf al-Bahlili". This style of signature indicates that the date cannot be later than the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century: neither the style of the plain Kufic lettering nor the signing formula "from the work of" was in general use by the 12th century.[18]

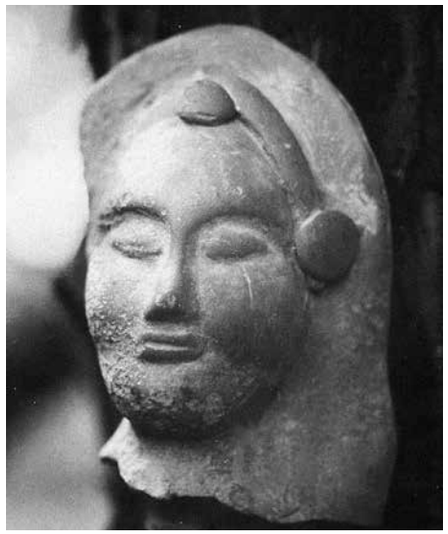


Figure 4

'Small sculpture of a female head', terracotta, found during various diggings inside the Walled City, Lahore. Collection Chughtai Museum, Lahore.

Figure 5

Chessman, Northwestern India, probably Lahore, Late 11th or Early 12th century, Ivory Height 15.5 cm. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

'The Chessman' has many foreign influences, predominantly Iranian such as the weapons, costumes, shoes, horse trappings and the rectangular saddle cloths, which occur on representation of horses on Sassanid silverware and on vessels associated with pre-Islamic Central Asia and eastern Khorasan. Art historian Stuart Welch says, "Based on this and other evidence, it concludes that 'The Chessman' was made in the late 11th or 12th century at a centre in north-western India where Iranian military equipment was used, probably in some dependency of the Ghaznavide Sultanate."[19] The logic of the statement indicates that the prominent Ghaznavide centre of north-western India at that time was only Lahore which had such a variety of cultural influences from the areas mentioned above. The main figure of the rider also has stylistic similarity with some of the sculptures that were excavated in Lahore that belonged

to the same time period.[20] **(Fig. 6)** So we can fairly assume that this Chessman was made in Lahore by Yousaf al-Bahlili, which is the first ever recorded name of a sculptor of Lahore during the Ghaznavide Period.

Figure 6

'Man of Authority', terracotta, found at the depth of almost 30 feet, *Purani Kotwali*, Lahore. Collection Chughtai Museum, Lahore.

On the other hand, Abu al Fazal Baqhi gives a detailed account of the cultural life of the Ghaznavide Dynasty in Lahore.[21] Here, we see a glimpse of the glories of Ghazni of that period and it is written that both Lahore and Ghazni were identical in style and splendour in those days, so we can visualize the life of Lahore by studying the social and cultural life of Ghazni. It was mentioned that Ghaznavide kings built huge palaces and the court had a grand throne with sculptures in four corners holding the crown in their hands. They were famous for elaborate functions in both cities. The food was served in an extremely formal manner. The kings wore dresses of intricate thread work, loaded with gold. They used to have lovely boys around them to serve them wine and entertain the royal guests.[22]

To get more information about the cultural life of Lahore of the Ghaznavide period, traditional methods of research were discarded and information was extracted from other sources rather than typical history books and memoirs. The poetry of that period was explored. Although poets are not a very reliable source of information with their high flights of imagination, so in this process one has to be extra cautious to filter the facts and leave out the poetic exaggerations but a lot was discovered in old verses that was otherwise lost in the mist of time. Here if you find some poetic delicacies in the paper, that will be mainly due to the sources used primarily for the research.

We find many laudatory poems (*Qaseedas*) in praise of the king and courtiers (*Umrahs*) and in those poems the social and artistic life of Lahore is also highlighted. The most famous poets of this era were Abu-al-Farj Raufi and Masud Saad Salman. Abu-al-Farj Raufi was senior to Masud. His poetry has details of the city, its people and monuments. He wrote about the grand dwellings built by the rich of the city and how beautifully they were designed. He appreciated the modern palaces of Ala ul Dola and mentioned the construction of *Qasar i Aad*, built by Masud Saad Suleman and congratulated both of them for decorating the city with lovely buildings. [23] In another poem, the poet appreciated the latest palace built by Abu Alrashad Rasheed and says that the grand style of the house has enlightened Lahore.[24] There is a detailed account of a grand mosque, which is named "*Urus e Falak*, Bride of the Sky" by Abu-al-Farj Raufi. According to the poet, it was a great source of learning with a big library as well. The marble used in the mosque was brought from the far off lands of India as were the trees.[25]

Masud Saad was active both as poet and a diplomat who accompanied Prince Amir Majdood as Finance Minister when he came to Lahore. As a result of his political affiliations, he enjoyed a high status but had to suffer many hardships due to the changes of governments. But in all these years he produced wonderful poetry. He also wrote about the beauty of the buildings and the city in his poem *Shehar-i-Ashob*.[26] In this poem, he highlights the fact that people of Lahore were always fond of grand festivals. Masud Saad mentions one of these festivals when Lahoris gave a huge reception to welcome Sherzad who came to Lahore as its ruler. This event was celebrated for many days and nobody slept for two weeks.[27]

Although there is no direct reference of any artistic or social activity, the city was full of interesting personalities, artists, musicians, singers and dancers. Masud mentioned them and their occupations in his laudatory poems in an extremely intriguing manner. Particularly, he wrote about one function that was hosted by Sherzad at his palace with details of the individuals present there. He describes their habits and the qualities which they possessed. He writes,

> Khawaja Abu Nasar Parsi, Ammer Behman is a well-known courtier who is famous for his good manners. But on the other hand there is Sayyad Abu al Fazaail who has the look of a wrestler and a warrior. He is a party man and the Prince enjoys his company a lot but he is a gambler, cheats in the game and he is involved in bar fights.
>
> Abu al Qasim Dabeer is a youth exceptionally good in grammar and official letter writing but he cannot handle his liquor and sometimes vomits even in the sleeve of his dress, if he cannot find an appropriate place. Ten servants wait for him when he collapses and feels so embarrassed that he avoids meeting the Prince for days afterwards. May be the noble company of the Prince will make a better man out of him.[28]

Then the poet writes about himself. "I am a useless man but still the prince loves me. I request the cup bearer (*Saqi*) not to give me any more wine but he never listens to me and does not stop until heavily tipped." [29]

After a detailed account of the courtiers, Masud writes about the entertainers such as the musicians, singers and dancers who were there for the amusement of the guests. He gave the name of Awwal Muhammad - *Nay Nawaz* - who plays the flute so beautifully that it fills a sad heart with happiness. His troupe has a female dancer and many musicians. He beats them with twigs. He is hated by the old *Nay Nawaz* Ali, who was famous for his singing 20 years ago but now he has given it up and become religious.

Usman Khawaninda is a great singer, who mesmerises the audience with his singing but he is a youth of no character, an alcoholic who wanders in the streets and sleeps in the gambling houses. Asfand Yar Changi who used to play the *Chang* and always received prizes of high value from the king but ends up gambling even his clothes and his *Chang*. Masud has used very insulting language for Asfand Yar when he writes Persian verses:

Translation: He wanders like a vagabond dog and mumbles to himself that one should spend life free of every kind of sadness, with lots of happiness and in a drunken state.

He narrates about Mutraba Pari as a singer whose voice resembles the singing of a ringdove that brings life to the flowers of the court.

Bano Qatal was a brilliant dancer who is tall and has a long neck. She is clever and of a gay disposition.

He also wrote about a male dancer Maho, who danced with such grace and style that the Lahori *Umrahs* were crazy about him.[30]

The detailed description of all these individuals takes us back in time when Lahore was enjoying its first taste of art and culture under the influence of Ghazni. We can visualise these individuals, their faces and their lifestyles, all become lively due to the highly descriptive poetry of Saad Salman who at the end of the poem apologises if he has been rude or hurt anyone's feelings with his humor. [31]

The Wooden Doors of Lahore

Figure 7

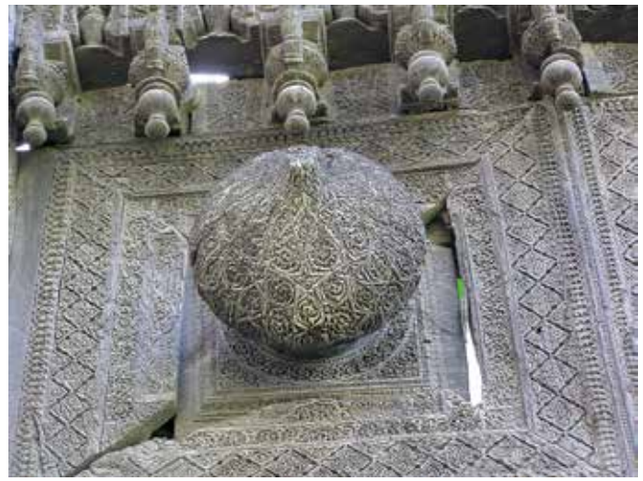
An old wooden door of Lahore. Chughtai Museum, Lahore.

The Chughtai family, a famous family of artists and artisans of Lahore, discovered a beautiful wooden door in the Walled City almost 20 feet below the ground level. Arif Chughtai, the director/ curator of Chughtai Museum, informed us that it survived because it was buried under the debris of a broken house and was fortunately protected by a wall from being completely destroyed. Arif Chughtai recovered it, dismantled and reassembled it with the help of a master carpenter of the previous generation. Now it stands in the lawns of the Chughtai Museum, Lahore. **(Fig. 7)**

This door is a piece of art. The carving, designing and the quality of work produced here seems to have surpassed even the best of the Mughal designing. The skill of the maker is unbelievable and the intricate design on the wood, marvellous. The border of the frame and two plummets that flanked its two sides are carved very finely with arabesques as thin as pieces of thread. **(Fig. 8)** These plummets were used to hang curtains on the door. It is also recorded that a few other doors (probably 11) of the same style and era were taken from Lahore to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 1911.[32]

Figure 8

Detail of the wooden door of Lahore. Chughtai Museum, Lahore.



Percy Brown in his book, *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)*, mentions the doors of this style when he writes about the architecture of Punjab under various Muslim rulers. According to him, "Of the style of architecture that the Ghaznavide palaces in Lahore assumed, there is no information, as they were entirely obliterated in the middle of the twelfth century by Ala ul Din Ghor. That they were of much the same character as those in the parent city of Ghazni is most probable but of this one time most sumptuous city of Moslim Asia there are only fragmentary remains. In some of the more remote quarters of Lahore city, there are examples of a very ancient type of wooden architecture, now rapidly disappearing, certain features of which bear a resemblance to the buildings of Saljuqs of the 12th century…… The wood employed is that known as "*ber*" (ziziphus jujube) and is now not often used on account of its rarity."[33] **(Fig. 9)**

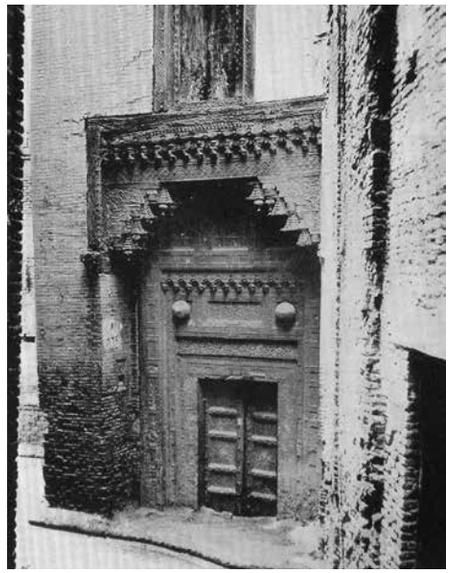


Figure 9

Wooden door of Lahore published in Percy Brown's book *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)*.

Discussing the design of these doors Percy Brown writes, "So distinctive in its design and mode of treatment the remains of this architecture, particularly in the handling of the woodwork that, as shown in some of the examples in Lahore city as well one or two in Multan and also in certain smaller places such as Chiniot, that they imply an unusual derivation. There is nothing quite like this manipulation of wood in any other development of Islamic art, as the doorways are framed with carved designs resembling heavy tassels and knotted fringes, recalling pleated fabrics made of felt drawn up by cords on each side to form the opening. Such a fanciful, and at the same time elegant scheme, combined with the fact that the controlling lines of the building in which they were curtained were sloped, recalls in a matter of the appearance, shape, and fitting of a tent."[34] Fragments of an old door found at the Chughtai Museum Lahore resemble the door shown in Percy Brown's book.

An old photograph of this style of doors appeared in the 'All India Railway Magazine' in the early 20th century. Unfortunately, the magazine has no detail of the publication except for the fact that the door belonged to a Lahori house. **(Fig. 10)** But I was able to acquire two original glass plate negatives of other doors of the same style that belonged to an old British

Figure 10

Wooden doors of Lahore, published in an early 20th century Railway Magazine.

Figure 11

Wooden doors of Lahore. Print from a 19th century glass plate negative. (Author's collection)

record that consisted of at least four more doors of the same style and era. **(Fig. 11)** The standard and style of the carving is spectacular.[35]

The evidence of the wooden doors of Lahore proves the ability of the Lahori craftsmen and the standard of artwork produced in the 11th and 12th centuries as there had never been a dividing line between the artists and craftsmen in Lahore. In fact, some old painters of Lahore informed us that in the past it was compulsory for the painters to learn woodcarving. It helped to make their hands sturdy for minutely detailed, intricate designs in miniatures. The family of the 19th century painter Keher Singh were also carpenters by profession and they were excellent painters and *Naqqash* as well. This kind of craftsmanship was part of a painter's training as late as the 19th century.

By the end of the 11th century, Lahore and Ghazni were the two most important cities in the Ghaznavide Sultanate. Their society and culture were almost identical but the advantage Lahore had over Ghazni was that when the former city faced its destruction, all the important families migrated and settled near and around the River Ravi. When the Ghaznavides were thrown out of Ghazni, Lahore was made the capital of the Ghaznavide territory.

Ghaznavide ruler Khusru Shah died in Lahore in 1160 and his son Saraj ul Dola Khusru Malik took over the throne. He was not only the last king of the Ghaznavide family but we can also call him the one and only king of Lahore who ruled India.[36] He was not a very competent ruler and the Ghoris were taking over one city after another but he was a man who appreciated arts and crafts. People from Khurasan, Ghargistan and Ghazni

were migrating to Lahore because it was peaceful here. Even in those days of severe turmoil, the King was patronizing scholars like Shahab ul Din Muhammad bin Rasheed Mohtaj, calligrapher Yousaf Ibn-i-Nasar, Zia ul Din Abd ul Rafih Sabeeb and a remarkable poet Nasarullah Farqadi who was later imprisoned and murdered by the same King.[37]

The Ghaznavide period is when Lahore fully bloomed. Its people accepted foreigners openheartedly. Personalities related to poetry, literature, music, dance, calligraphy, art and craft came from various places and settled here. Grand buildings were erected and decorated. Unfortunately, no visual record is available of them but by studying the literature, we can assume that the city acquired its taste of high aesthetics in this period as there is no evidence of such activities in the previous centuries. Lahore learned to appreciate art and the good things of life and this encomium is still found in its people.

Lahore under the Ghoris

The last Ghaznavide rulers were not as capable as their ancestors. Another Afghan lineage, Ghoris, started taking over Ghaznavide cities. Their leader Ala-ul-Din Ghori took possession of Ghazni, massacred its citizens and put it on fire, thus earning the title of *Jahan Soz*. The city burned for days. In 1180 AD, Ghoris besieged Lahore for the first time but the city was too big for an army of 20 or 30 thousand men. Three years later, the invaders came again but failed to capture the city. At last in 1186 AD, Sultan Moeez ul Din Sam Muhammad Ghori was able to finish the Ghaznavide rule in Lahore when he snatched the city from Khusru Malik.[38]

The city that we are living in today has the cultural roots that were watered by so many regions and individuals. All that added some more tint to an already colorful cultural mosaic of the city. This was a process that went on for many centuries and is still going on, for better or worse, only a future historian or anthropologist will be able to judge.

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23. Afridi, *Maasar Lahore, Part 2*, 106.
24. Ibid, 104.
25. *Tareekh e Roza tul Safa*, (Bombay: 1880), 72.
26. Ibid, 104.
27. Afridi, *Maasar Lahore, Part 2*, 121-190
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29. Ibid, 126.
30. Ibid, 128.
31. Ibid, 129.
32. Arif Rahman Chughtai, *Muslim Figurines of Lahore* (Lahore: Jahangeer Book Club 2008), 42.
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The Punjab's Architectural Transformations:
Indo-Greek Classicism to British Colonial Neo-Classicism

Osama Ahmad

It was the year 1861, a few years after the annexation of the Punjab – one of the last sovereign states that came under the British Raj. Lahore was the seat of power, not only for the departing Sikh rulers but also for the Mughals who had preceded them. The city's landscape resonated with architecture and gardens constructed and laid out by these two dynasties following the traditional ornamental vocabulary. Lahore's skyline was dotted with beautiful city gates, *sikharas* of Hindu temples, *samadhis* from the Sikh period and defined by the majestic and iconic domes and minarets of the various mosques erected by its Muslim rulers (Figure 1). The incoming British Colonial government had signed off on the construction of a new building on the Lahore Mall but there was something peculiar about this new construction. It was a structure unlike any other seen before but not owing to its size or magniloquence. Rather, its significance was rooted in what this construction entailed and epitomized. It represented the turn of the tide. It was a visual representation of the changing times. The structures being referred to here are the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls, as they were then known. At the time of their construction they were a visual oddity on the landscape of an expanding Lahore. They had a new and radically different architectural vocabulary. As William Glover remarks, their purpose was to "introduce into the city a substantially new and stylistically different but carefully worked out formal and spatial landscape idea" (Glover 2010, 62).

Figure 1.

Lahore's Skyline, 19th Century. Photo Credit: F.S Aijazuddin. Lahore: Illustrated Views of the Nineteenth Century. Lahore: Vanguard Books. 1993

Prior to this break from convention, the architectural milieu of the Indian subcontinent can best be termed as that of 'respectful borrowing'. Over the course of centuries, the Indian subcontinent and the greater Punjab,

since it was the gateway to other parts of the realm, experienced a harmonious marriage of various cultural practices and consequently architectural devices.

A powerful example of the tradition of respectful borrowing is the Qutub Minar. Its construction started during the reign of Qutub ud din Aibak but was completed during the reign of his successor Iltutmish. It was built primarily as a victory tower to symbolize Muslim victory over the local Hindu *rajas*. A closer look at the base of the Qutub Minar, constructed during the time of Qutub ud din Aibak, reveals clearly that Hindu masons worked on it, as evidenced by the expression of native Indian architectural motifs (Figures 2, 3). Deborah Swallow notes, "As the rulers of the new sultanate turned their attention to establishing a court culture of their own, they were obliged to recruit artists trained in the local tradition. The result was a syncretism, which reflected the "interpretation of Iranian styles through the prism of Indian traditions" (Swallow 1990, 43). Fatehpur Sikri, represents another example of respectful borrowing (Figure 4). Its design was heavily influenced by the great assimilationist, Emperor Akbar himself. Therefore, with new masters came new architectural practices but the emphasis was never on whole scale demolition of the old and imposition of the new. The introduction of new ideals in each era can be seen as a string of evolutionary advances in the architectural landscape of India. This came to an abrupt halt with the erection of the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls.

Figure 2

Qutub Minar (top). Photo Credit: Archaeological Survey of India-Web

Figure 3

Qutub Minar (Inscriptions). Photo Credit: Archaeological Survey of India-Web

The Lawrence Hall, named after Lord John Lawrence, Viceroy of India, was envisaged as a societal kernel for Lahore's European elite. It was conceived as a traditional English banqueting hall. It held many events to whet the appetite of the Englishmen, which included performances by travelling troupes from across the globe. Henry Goulding, a British resident of Lahore, provides a detailed list of the various operas, minstrels, magicians and entertainers who performed in Lahore for the pleasure of its European residents. Thus in essence, Lawrence Hall catered to the polite European society in the city, a setting for hosting

what Goulding called the earliest bids to make a "brighter Lahore" (Goulding 1976, 26). The Lawrence Hall was built chiefly from the contributions of the European community of the Punjab as a memorial to Lord Lawrence. The building was designed by G. Stone, a government civil engineer, who was the principal architect of public works in Lahore from 1860 to 1880. A few years later, in 1866, the Montgomery Hall, designed by J. Gurdon was erected from subscriptions raised from the Native Chiefs of the Punjab. However, a crucial point of divergence was that where the Lawrence Hall was the domain of the white population of Lahore, the Montgomery Hall, as Glover remarks, allowed for racial interaction between British civilians and officials and the elite of Lahori society (Glover 2008: 65).

Figure 4

Panch Mahal, Fatehpur Sikri. Photo Credit: Archaeological Survey of India-Web

While the Lawrence Hall had a humble porch shading its entrance, J. Gurdon went a step further and the Montgomery Hall was fronted by the grandeur of a high Greek *stoa* or pillared porch crowned with a pediment.

The architectural vocabulary of the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls is remarkably different from anything the locals had witnessed before (Figure 6, 7). The façades are framed by a row of columns that run the entire length of each structure. These columns are tripled at each corner to lend visual support to a massive frieze, cornice and balustrade running the length of the roofline. As S. M. Latif notes in his work, both these buildings are "frigidly classical" (Latif 1994, 310).

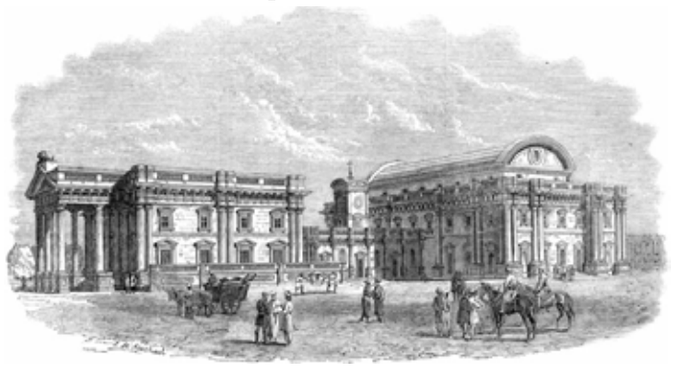

Figure 5

Lawrence Hall (left) and Montgomery Hall (right), conjoined by a passage (1886). Photo Credit: Glover 2010: 62

The pediment, metopes and triglyphs evinced on these halls are standard architectural configurations of Greek temples. The pediment is the crowning

Figure 6

Lawrence Hall (Present). Photo Credit: Author

Figure 7

Montgomery Hall (Present). Photo Credit: Author

element of a Greek temple and perhaps its most iconic feature. Originally, pediments were decorated with beautiful sculptures, which ran across the length of the pediments and narrated a specific story pertaining to the god or goddess being housed in that particular temple. Metopes and triglyphs were rectangular, decorative architectural elements housed beneath the pediment. Usually the metopes were painted or housed high-relief works. These three architectural elements along with the design of the pillars/columns defined the ancient Greek temple architecture (Figure 8). These architectural elements of classical Greek temples have been faithfully copied by the British and implemented unaltered in the form of Lawrence and Montgomery Halls (Figures 9, 10). These characteristic features of the temple, adorned with sculptures and high-relief works, were meant to prepare the visitor for meeting the deity within the temple. However, it is important to note that in the case of Lawrence and Montgomery Halls, architectural elements that define religious symbolism have been used by the British to convey a decidedly political missive.

This gives rise to the obvious question as to why the British were so strident in establishing their own style? The answer is most apparent in the colonial dialectics of that time. T. Roger Smith, an architect practising in India, remarked before the Society of Arts in 1873, "were the British

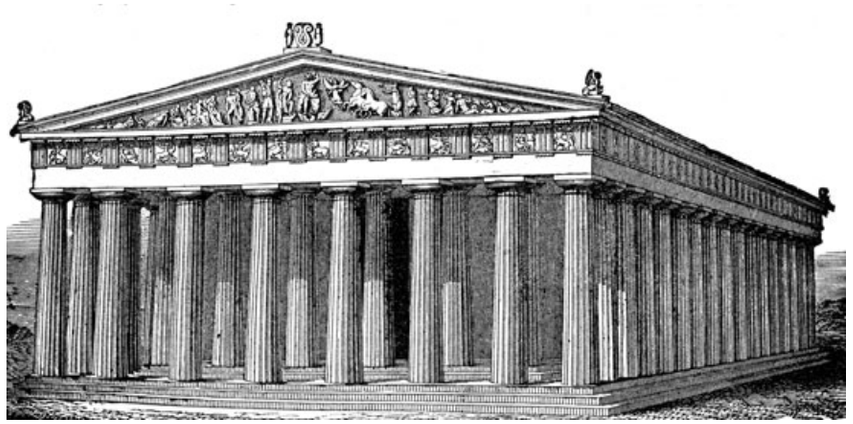

Figure 8

Parthenon (West Façade). Photo Credit: North Carolina State University Library-Web

Figure 9

A close-up of the front façade of the Montgomery Hall. Photo Credit: Author

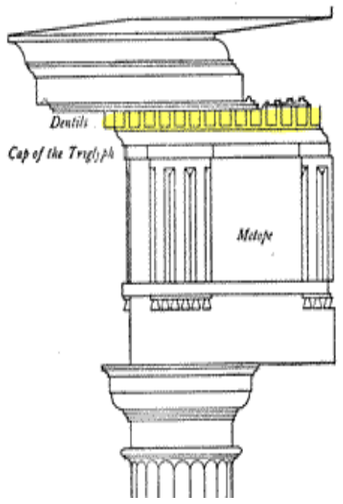

Figure 10

'Characteristic' Features of a Greek Temple. Photo Credit: Fitzwilliam Museum-Web

occupation in India to terminate tomorrow, the visible tokens of our empire would survive in our canals, our railways and ports and our public works" (Smith 1873, 279). Smith's remarks offer an insight into the minds of the characters behind the construction of the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls and their perceived rationale behind this construction. In the public works undertaken by the British Raj, its imperial position with respect to its subjects was always made obvious. The purpose of these buildings, apart from their functional use, was to serve as visual tokens of the might and superiority of the expanding British Empire.

The 1857 War of Independence or The Mutiny, as it is referred to by the Raj, served as the watershed in transforming the British colonial mindset. Armed with the support of the Punjabi landed aristocracy, the British set forth to express their dominance more vehemently and architectural forms provided an easy and powerful idiom of expression. Their purpose was to serve as an embodiment of conquest. The Raj was fairly dismissive in its approach to the local architecture. Enter James Fergusson. He arrived in India as an indigo planter but as fate decreed, stumbled into the world of art history focusing on the understudied history of Indian arts and architecture. He went on to pen the tome entitled *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* that became, and for a long time remained, an authoritative text on all things Indian. In it he remarks, "It cannot of course be for one moment contended that India ever reached the intellectual supremacy of Greece, or the moral greatness of Rome" (Fergusson 1910, 4). This pejorative conception of Indians and their art was not limited to Fergusson. Sir William Jones, as

early as 1785, in an address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, opined that Alexander the Great was not wrong in believing that the Asiatics were born to be slaves and supported the assertion that "the Athenian poet seems perfectly in the right, when he represents Europe as a sovereign Princess and Asia as her Handmaid" and whose "superior advancement in all kinds of useful knowledge" was unquestioned (Jones 1784, 406).

Fergusson's comments elucidate the musings of the Neo-classical movement, 18th Century that swept Britain and the rest of Europe. Alison Palmer describes the art produced during the Neo-classical era as simultaneously being "historical and modern" and "conservative and progressive". This Neo-classical movement espouses the revival of classical art or its reintroduction in Europe beginning in the 1750s. Traditionally, it has been described and interpreted as some sort of a reaction against its predecessor, the Rococo style, which was characterized by elaborate ornamentation. However, after the 1750s, a series of world events helped to ferment a new assessment of classicism from ancient Rome and Greece which "came to be viewed as a style and philosophy that could offer a sense of purpose and a dignity to art, consistent with the new 'enlightened' thinking of the era" (Palmer 2011, 1).

The English were not immune to this wave of Neo-classical revival sweeping across Europe. The British were able to see the marvels of ancient Greece first-hand when the 'Elgin Marbles' – marbles removed from the Parthenon – went on public display in 1807. Lord Elgin was hailed as a saviour, for the marbles were, as Sharon Waxman remarks, "rescued from barbarism" (Waxman 2008, 229) as Greece was under Ottoman control. Events such as the exhibition of the Elgin Marbles enabled the British populace to witness and admire the art of the ancient Greeks and also reinforced the notions of the Neo-classical revivalists who alleged the superiority of the ancient Greek civilization above all others.

The British, well on their way to forging a transcontinental empire of their own, seized the theoretical grounding of the Neo-classical movement. In order to better understand the reasons behind the use of classical architectural models, the British Art Historian, Erwin Panofsky's landmark work on Iconography offers us additional insight by providing us with a theoretical framework. He describes the intrinsic meaning or content of any art work in the following words,

> "It is apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work" (Panofsky 1939, 7).

Thus, the use of classical forms to express the spirit and grandeur of Imperial Britain was for the late Victorian Englishman immediately obvious and appropriate and it manifested itself in the form of the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls in Lahore. As Metcalf opines, the classical idiom harkening back to the elegance and the aesthetic beauty of Greece and the Imperial might of Rome "was the architectural medium through which the Europeans always envisioned an empire" (Metcalf 1989, 177). As the British hegemony in the Indian subcontinent expanded and deepened, they began to influence not only the lives of its inhabitants but also its historical conception. They began to view Indian art through the lens of ancient Greece. This period saw the rise of 'amateur' historians such as Fergusson.

He labeled the Gandharan art as "classical" but once again his attitude was laced with condescension: "some animals such as elephants and monkeys are better represented there than in any sculptures known in any part of the world" (Fergusson 1910, 34).

The discoveries of the Ajanta Caves and of Gandharan art were highlighted and their artwork glorified because they exhibited cultural borrowings from the West. Gandharan art was a product of the interaction between the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms and Buddhist forms. As the British envisaged Greek antiquity as the absolute measure of perfection in art, they extolled the virtues of Gandharan art because it evinced Greek influences and was therefore by its very nature superior to indigenous Indic art. For them, the locals on their own were incapable of producing art of any genuine worth. H. H. Cole remarked while talking about the Sanchi Stupa that its "exceptional excellence" suggested "Greek masons, or possibly designers, were called in to assist the great work" (Cole 1874, 34).

Armed with these dangerously powerful imperial notions of cultural continuity and superiority and their horrifying experience of 1857, the newly christened British Raj set out to change the architectural landscape of India. As part of the orientalist dialectics, the British neatly classified everything relating to India, including art, along communal lines because it advanced their political objectives. The early students of Indian architecture labeled all stylistic elements as either Hindu or Muslim and anything in between as a 'blended style'. This had the effect of simplifying things for the colonial masters but in the process dismissed the artistic variations, accrued over centuries, as either non-essential or artistically unimportant. As Metcalf notes, "if all architectural elements were defined as 'Hindu' or as 'Muslim', nothing remained unknown. What the colonial ruler explained, he of course controlled" (Metcalf 1989, 52).

Edwin Lutyens has also left an indelible imprint on the Indian landscape since he is responsible for the architecture of 'New' Delhi, the seat of the British Raj in India. A statement by Lutyens distills the colonial conception of empire and its lineage in a single sentence. He writes, "I do not believe there is any real Indian architecture or any great tradition. They are just spurts by various mushroom dynasties with as much intellect as there is in any other *art nouveau*" (Hussey 1950, 277). In another statement he labels every Indian building, even the ethereal Taj Mahal as conceived by "childish ignorance" (Hussey 1950, 277).

Lutyens distils the essence of Indian and Mughal art in the following words,

> If a Hindu structure was required, "set square stones and build child-wise, but, before you erect, carve every stone differently and independently, with lace patterns and terrifying shape. On top over trabeated pendentives, set – an onion… If the choice were Moghul build a vast mass of rough concrete, elephant wise, on a very simple rectangular-cum-octagonal plan, then on top of the mass put three turnips in concrete and overlay with stone or marble as before. Be very careful not to bond anything in, and don't care a damn if it all comes to pieces" (Hussey 1950, 277).

As discussed previously and made obvious by Lutyens' comment above, Britain and more generally the Europeans re-established cultural ties with the Greeks whom they considered the epitome of art, culture, reason and humanity in general. This re-imagination of the Greek ethos by Europe must be understood in the purview of the dark ages when they began to harken back to a bygone era and this idea took root during the Renaissance.

The Punjab has, during the course of its history, served as a political and cultural palimpsest. Successive rulers brought their own ideas, which were subsumed seamlessly into the existing milieu. The Punjab's bout with European conquerors in the nineteenth century was not a one-off episode. Crucially, the Punjab was at one point ruled by the Greek hegemons themselves – the perceived cultural ancestors of the British. This soil had embraced them as yet another strand in its attractive and invitingly colorful cultural fabric.

The man responsible for the Greek presence in the Punjab was Alexander, King of Macedon. Although his stay was short-lived, his legacy in the form of his generals and soldiers lived on for a few more centuries. After Alexander's death, as his empire was divided amongst his generals, Seleucus I. Nicator came to possess his most eastern possessions (Habib

2012, 1). Formal ties between the Seleucids and the Mauryas were cemented via a marriage alliance and the exchange of ambassadors.

The milieu being referred to is the one created by the Indo-Greek kingdom and its many rulers – over forty rulers in all for a period of just 200 years (Habib 2012, 7). An Indo-Greek king Antialkides' ambassador Heliodorus is responsible for an astonishing architectural structure, a large stone pillar bearing a seven line Brahmi script set up in honor of Vasudeva at Vidisha (in modern Madhya Pradesh). Tarn describes Heliodorus in the following words: "He was a Greek ambassador of a Greek king, but he does not use Greek for his inscription; he proclaims himself the adherent of an Indian creed, quotes an Indian epic and sets up his record in Brahmi" (Tarn 1966, 388). This pillar (Figures 11, 12) attests to the fact that contacts were maintained between the Greeks in the Northwest and the rulers of Central India. It also alludes to the fact that the Indian cult was strong enough to attract foreigners. "The specific cult is usually considered to be a type of proto-Vaishnavism, for one of the names of the popular Hindu god Vishnu is Vasudeva. Further Vishnu had as his vehicle the bird Garuda, which was probably represented in the now missing crowning element of this Garuda standard" (Huntington 2006, 57).

Figure 11

Heliodorus Pillar, Vidisha. Photo Credit: Wikimedia Commons - Web

Figure 12

Close-up of the Capital (now missing) of Heliodorus Pillar, Vidisha. Photo Credit: Wikimedia Commons - Web

This evidence of mutual respect for both the cultural and religious traditions of each other evinces a key aspect about the ancient Indo-Greeks. Their rule was set up in a way that would not obstruct or alter the local traditions. The stability of this realm was by and large dependent upon the co-operation and assistance of the local population and consequently local

Figure 13

Shrine/Stupa of Double-Headed Eagle, Sirkap. Photo Credit: Author

organizational structures were left unchanged. Talking about Menander's (another Indo-Greek) kingdom Tarn writes, "but his empire, it seems was essentially an empire with a small Greek ruling caste; it was not a Greek empire, as the Seleucid was meant to be but something much more in the nature of a partnership" (Tarn 1966, 260).

To those already familiar with the art traditions of South Asia, Gandhara is perhaps the most famous of the western Asiatic states. This is partly the result of the fact that many important and illuminating archaeological excavations have taken place at Gandhara and especially its capital, Taxila. The Gandharan culture epitomized the fusion of the Indic and Hellenistic idioms. Elements from the vocabularies of both cultures were fused to create art that truly represented the best of both worlds. The monument, which demonstrates a thoroughgoing fusion of Indic and Hellenistic elements, is the Shrine or Stupa of the Double-Headed Eagle at block F, Sirkap (Figure 13). All that stands today is the base of the structure. The wall surface of the basement is ornamented with reliefs of engaged-pillars and pilasters with acanthus leaf capitals between which are representations of three types of entranceways: the Indic *torana*, the Indic ogee-arched doorway and a classicist pedimented façade. The ogee archways bear representations of double-headed eagles; the *toranas* bear single-headed birds of a similar type, while the pedimented structures bear no bird motifs at all.

The *torana* is an import from Buddhist traditions. It is a doorway which marks the entrance into a stupa. They depict *Jatakas* (life stories) from Buddha's life. They can also be seen marking the entrance of some Hindu and Jain temples. In Hellenistic and Scythian mythology, eagles are often associated with death, as transporters of the dead to heaven. Thus essentially, these three entranceways are representations of sacred spaces and represent the three different paths to salvation. Their presence, side by side, also represents a freedom of choice for the people.

This type of cultural fusion, in which non-Indic and Indic symbols are combined, demonstrates more than a simple co-existence of various cultural strands and indicates the integration and assimilation of

concepts and forms arising out of distinct traditions into new ones. The contrasting approaches to their respective reign over the Punjab can be evaluated by taking a lead from Sophiya Psarra's concept of "architecture as an orchestration of concept in the mind" and as "a perceptual condition experienced by bodies moving in space" (Psarra 2009: xii). She narrates the inextricable link between architecture and narrative in the following words, "It concerns the semantic meaning of buildings and places and the contribution of architecture to social and cultural messages" (Psarra 2009: 2). What this entails is that architecture embodies cultural meanings and expressions and visually communicates it to the viewers. After applying this conception to the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls and the Double-Eagle shrine, the cast of mind behind their construction and in turn the obvious contrast inherent in their meaning becomes evident.

Conclusion

The buildings discussed in this essay are symbolic of imperial perceptions and of people who sanctioned these works. The Lawrence and Montgomery Halls were erected specifically to demonstrate the claimed inherent superiority of the British over their subjects. They distanced the rulers from the ruled and were meant to cater to the needs of the 'superior' race – the perceived descendants of the Greeks and Romans. On the other hand, historical evidence suggests that the Indo-Greek rule eroded not due to an insurrection by the locals but by a new body of foreign invaders. In the ancient Indo-Greek kingdom, the Indians and the Greeks lived side by side on good terms for if their co-existence was not harmonious, Greek rule in ancient India would never have lasted as long as it eventually did. The depiction of the three entranceways on the Double-Eagle shrine representing the three symbolic entrances and therefore means of attaining salvation gives further credence to this argument. Supremacy over one another is neither communicated nor appears to have been practised. Tarn writes, "The Greeks in India may have ultimately vanished, not because they became Eurasians, but because they became Indians." (Tarn 1966: 391).

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Tracing the Development of *Bahawalpuri Kundan*

Sadia Pasha Kamran

Introduction

The combination of lustrous gold and dazzling gemstone in the form of fine jewelry is the earliest answer to woman's insatiable desire for adornment. It is also one of the oldest forms of decorative art. In addition to the decorative purpose of gold jewelry, the monetary value of gold adds to its charm and fascination. In modern day Pakistani society, jewelry is mostly given at the time of weddings as a form of savings or investment for the couple. However, this is also a social occasion where the element of beauty and adornment is of great importance. Hence, the design and style factor is considered to be as important as the monetary value. The rising price of gold, the global recession and deteriorating economic conditions have led people to look for more affordable options than the expensive gold and pricey gemstones. Consequently, the traditional technique of *Kundankāri*, popularized by the Mughals in the subcontinent, has been revived and brought back into fashion as this method of crafting jewelry uses much less gold than would be required for an equally large and weighty item made in any other way. Though *Kundan* jewelry is being made and used throughout Pakistan today, Bahawalpur and Multan are considered to be the main centers involved in the production and distribution of *Kundan* jewelry in the Punjab.

This study, while tracing the development of *Bhawalpuri Kundan*, first defines various terms and expressions that must help one understand the original technique of *Kundankāri* as practiced and authenticated during the Mughal era. Second, it looks for various influences and inspirations that have played an important part in the maturity of *Kundankār*i during the sixteenth century. Third, the inquiry documents the contemporary technique of *Thappa Kundan* and aims at shattering the myths[1] associated with the *Bahawalpuri Kundan.* It also suggests a new name and a fresh prospect of *Kundankāri* in the contemporary practice of jewelry making.

Kundan: The Method and Technique

The word *Kundan* means 'the pure', in Sanskrit (Platts, 853). The gold is melted on a fire several times until all the impurities (in the form of alloys, silver and copper that occur in gold when it is obtained

from natural sources) are separated and the gold becomes pure and uncontaminated. *Kundan* is primarily thin strips of 24 Karat pure gold and the making of these really thin strips of gold can be termed *Kundansāzi.* Similarly, using these *Kundan* strips in manufacturing jewelry is termed *Kundankāri*. Principally, *Kundan* is a style or technique of gemstone setting in metal, mostly gold.[2] This technique is uniquely Indian in origin and practice and with the passage of time has become synonymous with Indian jewelry. Manuel Keene in *Arts of Mughal India* finds it to be "the Indian jeweler's unique artistic treasure" (202). He also establishes the point that the hyper-refined gold strip is exclusively Indian in nature and its manufacture is a laborious and tedious job. The term *Kundan* as a technique of making jewelry first appears in *Ā'in-i Akbari*, where Abu'l Faḍl gives a detailed account of the entire process in these words:

> In other countries the gemstones are secured in sockets made for them…but in Hindustan, it is effected with the *kundan* which is gold made pure and ductile. (67)

And again while documenting the technique of *Kundankāri,* Faḍl states:

> At first the ornament is fashioned quite plain, here and there they leave sockets for the setting of the jewels. These sockets are filled with lac and a little is scraped off and it is then weighed. They next cover the lac with the *kundan* by means of a needle and finally scrape and polish it with a steel-pointed tool. (1098)

Figure 1

Fig 1. An illustrated page from Ā'in-i Akbari, Mughal, 19th Century. Source: National Jewish and University Library

Such a method is beneficial in various ways, that is,

1. There is no need of a bezel or gemstone framework.
2. No soldering is required in such a process.
3. A number of gemstones can be used in a single piece.
4. Gemstones of various sizes and shapes can be used.
5. The gemstone does not at any stage go under the heating process as the setting is done at room temperature.

Figure 2

Fig 2. Pendant (Front and reverse), Mughal, 18th Century. Source: British Museum London

The jewelry-maker working for the royal Mughals was not willing to waste the expensive stone in trimming and sizing it according to the design.[3] The *Kundan* foil gave the jewelry-maker an opportunity to cover any extra space left around the stone when placed inside the socket due to the irregularity of the stone. It concealed it properly and smartly. Oppi Untracht in *The Traditional Indian Jewelry*, writes about the "effect of glitter and opulence" achieved through this process (364). Such opulence owes itself to the background of gold foil. The gemstone in *Kundankāri* rests on a bed of lac inserted inside the hollow cast of the gold object. When the gold foil is placed underneath the gemstone, its brilliance and shine is reflected back through the high quality, transparent gemstone. As the gemstone is completely enclosed from all sides in the *Kundan* style of stone setting, light is only accessible to it from above and it reflects back from the polished surface of the foil. *Kundan* strips encase the gems to hold them in place. Once pressed onto the mould and the stone, the purity and thinness of the *Kundan* strip helps it to become homogenized making it a part of the entire unit. Thus, if the stones are not set within claws, the artist can use a stone of any size or form, saving his time and labor without compromising the design of the object; also the stones retain their original shape and distinctiveness.

The Origin and Evolution of *Kundankāri*

Kundankāri is an example of indigenizing an ancient technique of filling the hollow cast of gold with bitumen or lac[4] in order to give it strength under the hammer while adorning it with pattern or stone. It also perfects the art of stone-setting in metal, increasing its durability and opulence. Following the timeline of documented gold artifacts in different museums, many of which are reproduced in *7000 Years of Jewelry Making* by Hugh Tait, the articles made in the technique of *Kundan* setting show a synthesis of rich historical traditions and an Islamic aesthetics. It appears to be a continuation of the techniques introduced in Sumer, practiced and developed in Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan before reaching the subcontinent, hence, having travelled through time and many places

Tait declares that the oldest examples of jewelry are found at Ur, Mesopotamia, 2500 BC. The Sumerians by the mid 3rd Millennium BC had developed techniques of decoration that were to become extremely important in the history of jewelry making. He further establishes that,

> The Sumerians had a marked liking for the vivid combination of intense blue lapis lazuli and the deep yellow gold but normally the jewelry was made entirely of gold with cell or cloisonné on the surface ready to receive the shaped pieces of Lapis lazuli. (13)

These can be considered as the earliest human efforts to combine two different elements of design - color and texture, to achieve an aesthetically pleasing result and according to Tait, "great care was evidently taken by the Sumerians to alternate and balance the different colors of stone and metal" (25).

The quest of refining the art of setting stone in gold travelled from Sumer to Western Asia and Turkey where fine examples of goldsmithing have been excavated (2500-2300 BC). From there the Sumerian traditions of jewelry making travelled to Greece, the Cycladic Islands and Crete. Thus by 1900 BC, the centre of jewelry making shifted to Egypt, where fine examples of jewelry prove the on-going experiment. The history of the Egyptian civilization in the form of paintings and sculptures confirms a well-established culture with all the fully developed sections of society in which jewelry was for adornment, to show off, as amulets as well as lucrative.[5]

Advancing in the timeline of jewelry history, Minoan culture in Crete (1700 BC) and then in Mycenae (1550 BC) are of significant importance due to the jewelry designs that are traditional and novel at the same

time. In southern Iran, Elam, during the 13th and 12th centuries BC there was an established artistic tradition. This decorative style, though at present attested only by relatively few elaborately wrought goldsmith's works found at Susa, could have been a precursor, at least in technical knowledge, for Achaemenid art. Jewelry traditions also prevailed in civilizations other than Western or Central Asian or Northern European to be specific, during 1800-1500 BC. Although different in taste from Western and Central Asian, probably due to its pronounced functional aspect (pins, brooches and belts), the tradition of innovation in the field of jewelry making survived.

The Greeks and Etruscans (900-700 BC) made superb quality jewelry. We find examples of jewelry crafted out of hollow electrum[6] gold sheets. The shapes and motifs were often borrowed from the Sumerians. Greek historians speak of large quantities of gold worn by the Persians in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Oxus Treasure provides us with ample evidence to prove their point. These pieces show influences of Mesopotamia and Elan. The animal heads on the bracelet's terminals seem to be from Assyrian sculpture. The same stylization of forms appear in Greek jewelry and then again in Indian *Kundan* jewelry. Celtic craftsmen invented the red enamel and the red coral inlay to decorate bronze jewelry as early as 400 BC. Examples of enameling[7] from Kuba and Rome are found dating back to the 2nd century BC. This enameling can be considered another human effort to introduce color to the surface of metal. Consequently, it becomes an integral part of the decoration scheme involved in *Kundankāri.*

The cultural centre shifted to the Greek world and after Alexander's expeditions (333-322 BC) Egyptian and Western Asian influences can be traced in the surviving jewelry objects.[8] It was the Hellenistic period (3-1 BC) when multi-colored stones and glass became fashionable. The role of the Parthian Empire, that is, Northern Iran (250 BC to 230 AD) is also worth mentioning in the development of *Kundankāri* as the jewelry of this region shows strong contacts of East and West and the same jewelry traditions were carried forward initially by Alexander the Great and then by his officials and descendants marching towards the lands of India and settling there. Slightly later in date are gold objects from six graves excavated at nearby Tillya Teppe. The excavator attributes these mostly female burials to Kushan royalty (1st century AD) and points out the mix of styles; Greco-Bactrian, Scythyo-Smartian, East Persian, and Roman incorporated in the burial gifts. The bodies in these graves were covered in multiple layers of garments with sewn-on gold ornaments and surrounded by gold jewelry, for example, earrings, hair pins, crowns, rings, necklaces, bracelets, and anklets, vessels and, in the case of the single male burial, with gold-ornamented parade weapons

and horse gear. It is probably these traditions of jewelry making that Manuel Keen refers to in his essay on Indian Jewelry. He suggests that practices of jewelers of 'Pre-Classical Eurasia' led to the Indian *Kundan* (Keene, 193). The treasures from Tillya Teppe also display a technique somewhat close to hammer cloisonné setting which according to Keen can be considered the proto-*Kundan* of India. Victor Sarianidi in *Bactrian Gold from the Excavations of the Tillya Teppe Necropolis in Northern Afghanistan* states:

> The jewelry from Tillya Teppe unquestionably belongs to gold ware of a dynastic school of debased Hellenistic art. In place of Greco-Bactrian art with its elegance of form and realistic vitality, we observe the new trend of inanimate, petrified form, hieratic, static personages and scenes, arch-stylization and an inordinate fondness for polychrome encrustation. (54)

Figure 3

Gold jewelry from Tillya Tepe, 145 B.C. a. Detail of a flower, b. Turquoise studded ornament and c. Armlet with lion heads. Source: National Museum of Afghanistan

If *Kundankāri* had strong ties with the Persian traditions then it must be noted that these Persian traditions that led to develop a technique so *bona fide* and genuine like *Kundan*, were impregnated by the artistic ability and force of character of different people who were involved in these practices as the makers or the patrons and users of this art throughout the centuries. As a matter of fact, the route may be traced as follows:

Sumer→ Egypt →Greece (through Bactria to Balkh, that is, Iraq) →Kabul (Afghanistan) → Northern India

The same can be established by the trade routes between the Punjab and Central India and Kabul through the Khyber Pass[9] and with Persia through the Bolan Pass and along the coast. From here, which comprises the north of Pakistan today, the Hill States and Kashmir, which is connected to the Punjab, the influences and traditions must have permeated Indian soil. Now there is this possibility that the much celebrated Indian Mughal jewelry "may have become popular under the Delhi emperors but was, no doubt, in earlier use."(Holbein, 44). Abu'l Faḍl while commenting on the workmen of the mint verifies the same which proves that the Mughals borrowed the method of gold purification from the Persians.

> …by the attention of His Majesty, gold and silver are refined to the highest degree of purity. The highest degree of purity is called in Persia *dahdahi*, but they do not know above 10 degrees of fineness; whilst in India it is called *barahbani*, as they have twelve degrees. (19)

Not only was the method of purification borrowed from Persia, many Persian goldsmiths also joined the Mughal ateliers. Dr. Abolghasem Dadver, in his book *Iranians in Mughal Politics and Society*, writes about the Persian goldsmiths who came to India to join the services of Jahāngīr. Yūsuf 'Azīz Iṣfahāni and Zamān Iṣfahāni are the two names that can be taken in this context. Zamān Iṣfahāni, a poet and a goldsmith, engaged in the Safavid court under Ya'qūb Zargar Bāshi, came to India in 1614. Similarly, Saida-i Gilāni who was considered a master in the art of cutting and polishing stones, earned the title of 'Bibādal Khān' as well as the post of 'Dārogha-i Zargar Khāna' or 'Superintendent of goldsmithy'.[10] Shāhjahān's famous peacock throne was made under his supervision. Shāhjahān was so pleased that he had him weighed in gold (293). Thus, as it is ascertained and accepted that the much-celebrated miniature painting is a wise and intelligent fusion of Persian and Indian traditions, the same aesthetic marriage is obvious in the art of jewelry making. Francis Brunie is another historian who establishes this link in his book *Jewelery in India* and according to him "the fashion of adding light colors of enamels to the lavishly set precious stones came from Persia" (5).Though less documented, the possibilities are great, that a lot of jewelers came to India to try their luck even before Shāhjahān's time.[11]

Three Phases of *Kundankāri*

During the sixteenth century when the art of *Kundankāri* was perfected, the main centers where this art was highly popular and was frequently practiced in India were the Punjab, the Deccan and Rājasthān (Kamran, 54). Though the basic technique of *Kundankāri* was the same a little variation in the jewelry items are noticeable, if only in terms of size, color, surface treatment or the use of the jewelry manufactured in these regions. The emperors, princes and the nobles had *kārkhānās* of their own to manufacture luxury goods. These jewelry workshops were mostly headed by the designer, *naqqāsh* or *chitrakār*, who was not necessarily the *sunhār* or the *zargar* but possessed the 'aesthetics of high taste'. The interest in philosophy and poetry was an additional asset for conceiving a design worth presenting to the mighty Mughal Emperor. The design head, then could hire the services of specialized skilled workers: the *minākār*, the *kundansāz* or *bindligar*, *murassiakā*r or *jadwayya* and the *pat'ua* (Zaid, 276). The workmen of the royal atelier were exchanged between the princely courts and the provincial capitals, thus the aesthetic and technical elements were cross-cultured.

The *Bahawalpuri Kundan*

The state of Bahawalpur shared its Eastern borders with Rajasthan, hence we find a strong influence of the Mughal style of *Kundankāri* with a pronounced Rajasthani flavor. Silver was locally minted in Rajasthan and is of high quality (Bhandan, 122). Probably this justifies the heavy silver jewelry which has been an essential aspect of Rājasthāni fashion, be it rural or urban. Swati Rai links the artistic traditions of Rājasthān with the "Saka/Scythian, Saka/Pahalva and Saka/Parthian art styles" (The term Saka is designated to all the nomadic tribes of Eurasian Steppe lands). This art style mainly promoted stylized animal art. In the art of jewelry making, these tribes excelled in the repousse technique, inlay and embossing. Rai is of the view that not only the techniques but forms and motifs, borrowed from the above mentioned traditions, were indigenized and are still in use (Rai, 47). Today, the *Bahawalpuri Kundan* is a synthesis of these traditions.

Contemporary practice of *Kundankāri* involves two methods: *Pakka Kundan* and *Thappa Kundan. Pakka Kundan* is the original art of *Kundankāri* as recorded by Abu'l Faḍl and has already been discussed in the beginning of the paper, while the popular and current method of *Kundankāri* known as *Thappa Kundan*, is documented in the following lines.

Thappa (dye) *Kundan* is done with the help of the dye stamping method. First of all a dye is made of iron. The design is stamped on the reasonably thin sheet of gold (*patri)* with a hammer. Two identical stamps are made and the extra sheet around the edges of the design is cut with the help of a scissor and saw. The reverse of the piece is treated according to the need as it can be left plain or embossed with a pattern or painted with enamel. The front and the back are joined together by fusing a strip of gold of the same gage as of the stamps. This gives us a hollow 3-dimensional design. Next, the hollow piece is filled with lac through a small puncture made on a side of the piece, where it is least visible. At this stage the piece can be described as made of gold with small cloissons left empty for the stones to be set later on. The stone is usually cut and shaped according to the size and shape of the cloissons made on the surface of the gold while stamping. Now, the piece is ready to receive the stone which is carefully placed in the cloisson. Once the stone sits in its place, the *Kundan* strip, with the help of a needle, is inserted and pressed ideally with finger pressure or usually with a small hammer and a small iron ingot in the middle as a pressure taker to avoid the breaking of the stone due to a full blow of hammer. On the surface these pieces of *Kundan* jewelry do look Mughal in technique as well as in execution but they differ from the original *Kundan* technique where the stone rests on the lac surface and the entire upper surface is built up later with soft, spongy *Kundan*. Another important feature of *Bahawalpuri Kundan* is the *kundankāri* on both sides, that is, the ornament can be worn on both sides and there is no discrimination between the front and reverse. Both sides are studded with jewels and an adjustable screw or hook is provided to facilitate the use from either side.

Figure 4

Front and reverse of a *Tikka* or head ornament, 20th Century. Source: Author's collection

It is to be noted that gold is the only metal that is ductile and malleable enough to be turned into soft *Kundan*. Jewelry made in silver is abundantly produced in Bahawalpur and gives a false impression of *Kundankāri*. It is usually a copy of Mughal and Deccani *Kundan* with a big difference where glass is used instead of diamonds and other precious gemstones. This silver jewelry shares the motifs and designs of Mughal and Rajasthani *Kundan* but not the technique.

Conclusion

The technique of inlaying jewels on a gold (or other metal) ground is practiced throughout India and is of great antiquity. It is indeed India that is the place of origin for the practice of using gemstone and gold and fixing it with *Kundan*, which is one that was widely practiced in Egyptian, Sumerian, Scythian, Parthian and Persian Near Eastern as well as in Western civilizations. In India it can be recognized in the Indus Valley (3rd millennium BC) and has been continuously practiced since then. The Mughals, in order to "carry out noble plans and even perform Divine worship in a proper manner" patronized the gold studded jewelry as a form of worship (Faḍl, 2004, 13) which led to the unique technique of stone setting known as *Kundankāri*. In George Birdwood's words, "…this character of Indian jewellery is in remarkable contrast with modern European jewellery, in which the object of the jeweler seems to be to bestow the least amount of work on the greatest amount of metal" (Industrial Arts of India, 1880, 189). It is this very love for stone and fondness for hard work that is prominent in *Bahawalpuri Kundan*. Birdwood would call it trickery:

> The deceitfulness of its false appearing of richness and solidity and flaunting gorgeousness is in fact one of the greatest charms of Indian jewelry especially in an admiring but poor purchaser's eyes: you see a necklace or whatever ornament it may be made up apparently of a solid rough cube of soft gold but it is as light as *pith*. Yet, though hollow it is not false. It is the purest gold, soft as wax and it is this which gives the filmiest and cheapest Indian jewelry its wonderful look of reality. (73)

Throughout the vast region of the Subcontinent and during the centuries of practice, a minute variation in technique is acceptable. These experimentations resulted in the development of *Thappa Kundan*. In such a method, if the stone, after being placed in the cloisonné, is fixed and sealed with the *Kundan* strip, the method can be considered a development in the original technique known as *Pakka Kundan*. It is also significant that if the stone is simply glued in the space it is false; this is used by some designers who call it *Bahawalpuri Kundan*, it is not *Kundankāri* at all but can be called '*kundani*' as it gives an impression of *Kundankāri*.

Figure 5

Peacock Pendant, *Kundani* Style, Afroze Jewelers, Bahawalpur

Endnotes

1. Commonly *Kundankāri* is believed to be setting glass, instead of stone, in silver. Some would mistake *Kundankāri* with enameled jewelry which has always been popular in Cholistan and Rajasthan. Another myth claims the use of less refined gold in *Kundankāri* which also effects the resale value of any ornament made in this particular technique.
2. The malleability required to make thin strips of metal can be achieved in gold.
3. The Mughals had a passion for collecting precious gemstones. Much of the wealth was concentrated in the form of gems as they provided a fiscal stability, were portable, easy to exchange – gems often paid for military expenses at far off places and as a bait or bribe to gain favors.
4. Resinous secretion of scale insects which is purified and used as lac in jewelry-making and for medicinal purposes.
5. A fresco painting from the New Kingdom (Thebes, late 15th century BC) shows a well-established jewelers' workshop with sensitive drills, tongs and blow pipes, declaring the importance of this craft. Clay beads and other cheap materials are also depicted in this painting along with the precious, hard stones, which highlight the social constraints of the time which prohibited the use of pure gold and expensive stones by the commoners of society. They were enjoyed by kings, who enjoyed the status of gods.
6. Electrum is a metal in which the ratio of silver to gold is one to five, also sometimes called white gold.
7. Enamel is a glass material with a small percentage of metallic oxide used as a colorant. Usually one or more different colored vitreous glazes are fired and fused onto the surface of the metal to give it color. The proportion of the enamel's components is calculated to achieve elasticity, a low degree of viscosity, low surface tension and a coefficient of thermal expansion and contraction compatible with that of the metal substrate upon which it is fused.
8. The Greeks took references from the Egyptian culture in jewelry making. The Heracles knot (A strong knot created by two intertwined ropes, originated as a healing charm in ancient Egypt but is best known for its use in ancient Greece and Rome as a protective amulet) and the crescent motif (a representation of the Moon God), an all-time favorite motif in Western Asian cultures, repeatedly occurs in Greek jewelry.
9. As in the case of the famous Oxus Treasure. This collection of precious objects, discovered in 1877 in Tajikistan near the Oxus River, comes from an uncertain context and includes items dating (according to stylistic criteria) from the 5th through to the 2nd century BC.
10. The Mughals had separate workshops as well as treasuries for manufacturing and storing jewelry and jeweled items. The superintendant was responsible for the smooth flow of production and maintaining its quality.
11. In fact, the link goes back to the collapse of the Sassanid Empire, which caused the state religion to be switched from Zoroastrianism to Islam. For the survival of their faith and their lives, a large number of Zoroastrians chose to emigrate. According to the *Qissa-i Sanjan*, one group of those refugees landed in what is now Gujarat, India, where they were allowed greater freedom to observe their old customs and to preserve their faith. The descendants of those Zoroastrians, now known as the Parsis, would play a small but significant role in the development of India.

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Historic Cities as Cultural Roots and Routes for the Future: The Experience of an Indian Walled City, Amritsar

Balvinder Singh, PhD

Introduction

Cities are the basic elements in the built environment of human beings. They mirror our social existence and convey the diversity of our culture, history and traditions. They hold living roots and give us a bearing in time and space. Cities are amalgams of buildings and people. The city is the ultimate memorial in our struggles and glories; it is where the pride of the past is set on display (Kostof, 1991). Many older cities appear to be jumbled together, seemingly without a structural plan. This quality is a legacy of earlier unplanned or organic development and is often perceived by today's tourists to be picturesque. In contrast, cities founded after the advent of the automobile and planned accordingly, tend to have expansive boulevards which are impractical to navigate on foot. Cities can be divided into two categories: first, those which have grown organically and second those planned and developed. An "organic city" is one where culture is not usurped by technological innovation but rather, thrives with it (Mumford, 1961). Organic cities were developed at a time when the scale was human or pedestrian, needs were limited and society was simple. These cities can also be termed medieval cities. In medieval cities, where structure, fabric and traditions are steeped in time, modern man finds the most potent visual links with his roots from the past. The vital presence of the past is essential for our equilibrium, both as individuals and as social beings. Never before, even in the recent past, has this legacy been threatened as it is now with such large scale imminent destruction. As a result of technical, economic and social upheavals, people tend to conglomerate around administrative and industrial centers in huge towns with volatile and spreading tentacles. Both in overall size and in texture, these cities are completely out of scale with traditional cities. The new imposes itself on the old, stifling and bruising, if not destroying, the ancient fabric.

Historic cities must be saved because of the human scale, beauty, richness, subtlety and variety of surroundings they have to offer; the diverse and flexible human relationships they support and the enormous capital of buildings they represent, are increasingly recognized by the modern human being as something irreplaceable. The difficulty

which present day architects and town planners have experienced in creating an environment equal to that of earlier cities has brought out their exceptional qualities more clearly than ever before, despite their limited ability to cope with certain features of modern life.

The conservation of historic cities is certainly justified for their cultural and aesthetic values but stronger justification still is to be found in their social function as the natural meeting place of the urban community and as a diversified habitat. It is the remarkable wealth of historic cities, in terms of layout and housing, which, once improved and rehabilitated, enables society to respond with such a range of formal solutions to our varying needs for environment and habitat.

Nevertheless, cities are like organisms and pass through the stages of birth, growth and death. The cities that have grown organically face changes in their spatial patterns due to changing socio-economic needs and technology, thereby amalgamating the social values and lifestyles based on traditions with those based on modernity. In fact, the spatial patterns are a reflection of the principles and techniques, including the way of life, of the residents. Various concepts such as the *mohalla* (cluster of houses), typical streets, squares, surprising open spaces and decorative elements depict the personalities of the builders as well as the residents. "The street pattern of a town is the reflection of the dominant morphological structure. In the old nuclei, the streets are very narrow with a large number of zigzag lanes and windy bye-lanes. Sometimes their width is less than 2 meters" (Attaullah, 1985). Such patterns are generally based on the composition of the population or the economic activities that are being undertaken in a city. But there is a change which has impacted on the spatial patterns, lifestyles and the built heritage of such cities. For planning purposes, a town may roughly be considered to be a settlement which has or intended to have a physical structure sufficiently large and complex to involve problems concerning the location of and spatial relationship between land use and the form of road use (Keeble, 1969). In other words, all these depict roots. Now the point here is to create routes for carrying these roots amongst the new generations. These are still visible in our historic towns. There are more than 3000 historic towns in India. Most of these cities have their core areas of strong architectural and urban character which depict their way of life. These areas have been places of life, values, culture and many social components which are missing in the new towns of today.

The personality and character of a city is the result of centuries of growth in the course of which new elements are constantly juxtaposed with older ones. Old buildings and older areas of the city should be

looked upon as assets rather than liabilities because they represent the history of communities, embodying their culture, traditions and way of life through urban patterns. A city is a complex receptacle for maximizing the possibilities of human interaction and passing on the contents of civilization. "The city is a special receptacle for storing and transmitting messages. In its finest incarnation, the city is liberating; it is a special environment for making persons beings who were more fully open to the realities of the cosmos, more ready to transcend the claims of tribal society and its customs, more capable of assimilating old values and creating new ones, of making decisions and taking new directions, than their fellows in more limited situations" (Mumford, 1961). In this way, cities depict the dynamic aspect of life, inter-twined with function and culture. The present study is an effort in the same direction about the historic, walled city of Amritsar.

Research Methodology

Among the different religious and cultural cities of the Punjab, Amritsar is the only urban area which has religious as well as cultural functions. Moreover, Amritsar is not only a seat of religious importance but is also emerging as a major tourist destination. However, this study is limited to the walled city area only. Among the different wards, four wards have been selected. Since wards in the walled city have different sizes in terms of area as well as population, the number of families is too large to cover for complete surveys due to limited time and resources. Therefore, a random sampling technique has been applied to select one area from each of the four selected wards, that is, Chowk Passian area in ward number 24, the Cheel Mandi area in ward number 26, Katra Garba area in ward number 42 and Katra Hakima area in ward number 43. The number of buildings in general and residential buildings in particular was very large; therefore, only 300 households were selected, using the proportionate sample technique for conducting various surveys. The interview schedule was administered to the randomly selected respondents (nearly 300), from four areas, using the systematic random sample technique.

In addition, reconnaissance surveys were undertaken to identify the intangible heritage. In other words, typical streets, their nomenclature and surprising open spaces have also been shown on the maps. They depict the character of the area in terms of lifestyle or in other words are the roots of the inhabitants. The present paper will highlight the findings related to the roots of the inhabitants in terms of land use and the nomenclature of streets of the walled city of Amritsar.

Amritsar: An Introduction

Amritsar, known as the city of the Golden Temple, symbolizes the spiritual heritage of the people of the Punjab (a state in the Indian Union). It is situated about 465 kilometers from New Delhi, the capital of the country, in the North-west, close to the international border with Pakistan. It has grown on both sides of the Grand Trunk Road (also known as Sher Shah Suri Road, National Highway No. 1) and is divided by this road and a broad gauge railway line into two parts, that is, the walled city and the developments outside the walls. The city is well linked with the rest of the country by air, road and rail. It has efficient physical links (metalled roads) with the rest of the cities of the Punjab as well as with most of the villages of the districts.

Amritsar city has a population of 1,132,761 persons which is spread over sixty wards (Municipal Corporation, Amritsar, 2010). The population of Amritsar can be divided into two sections, one inhabiting the walled area (termed as the walled city) and the other outside the walled area. The walled city has an area of 3.47 sq km (347 hectares) as per Master Plan, Amritsar, 2010-31, spread over twelve wards and having a population of 2, 00,377 persons (Municipal Corporation, Amritsar, 2010).

Land Use

For the identification of roots, it is important to understand the land use patterns as the traditional urban areas generally had a predominance of residential use coupled with commercial activity for serving the immediate needs of the residents. It has been observed in the study that all the selected areas (Figures 1-4) are predominantly residential in nature. More specifically, Katra Garba and Katra Hakima areas are largely residential in nature whereas Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi are comparatively less residential. The study shows that commercial activities are concentrated more in the Cheel Mandi area as compared to the others. Further, residential-cum-commercial area is found to be high in the Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi area. It may be stated that all the four areas are, no doubt, predominantly residential in nature but commercial activities have invaded Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi areas. This is the character that has been elucidated by Sjoberg (1960) about pre-industrial cities. Moreover, the invasion of commercial activities in the residential areas is affecting the lifestyles as well as the land use patterns to some extent. Bhatnagar (2008), in his study of Chamba town and Bayo and Marin (2004) about historic walled towns of England with special reference to Chester, too, has found the same. Further, the industrial or industrial-cum-residential area is restricted mostly to the Cheel Mandi area, where a few saw mills are functional.

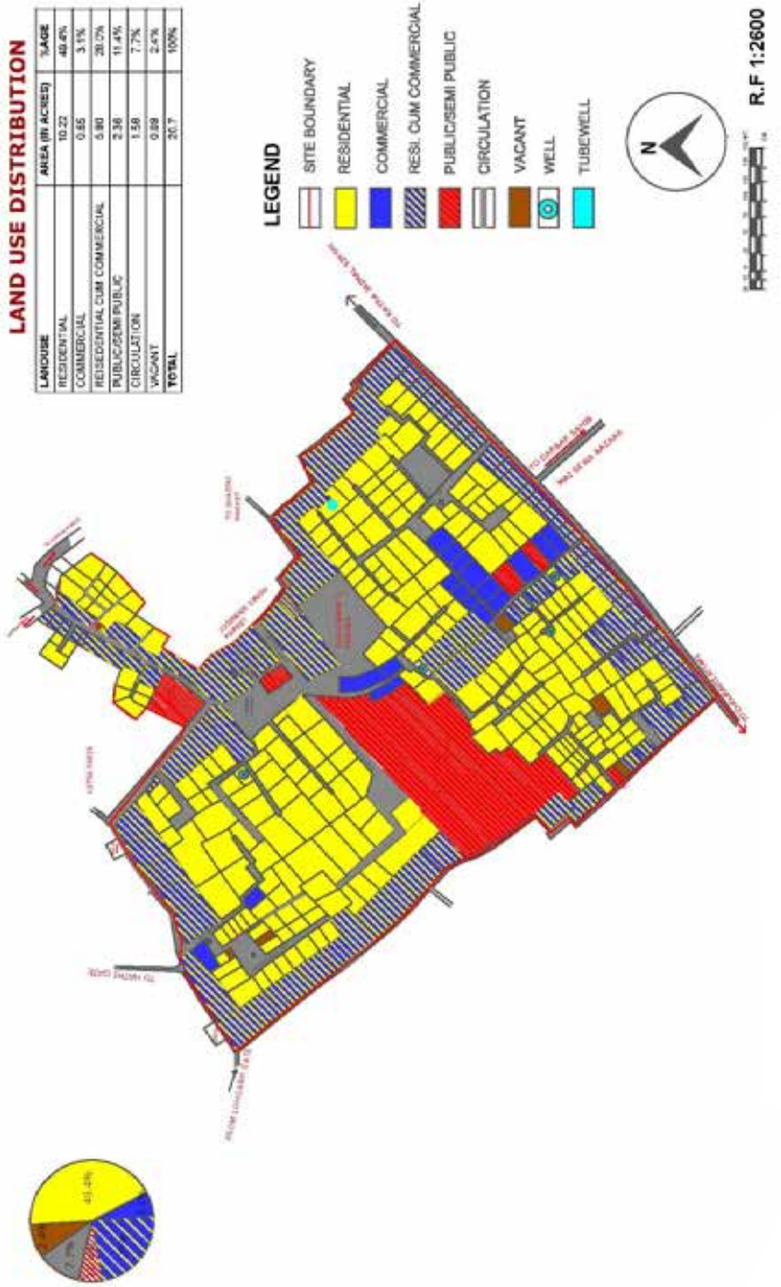
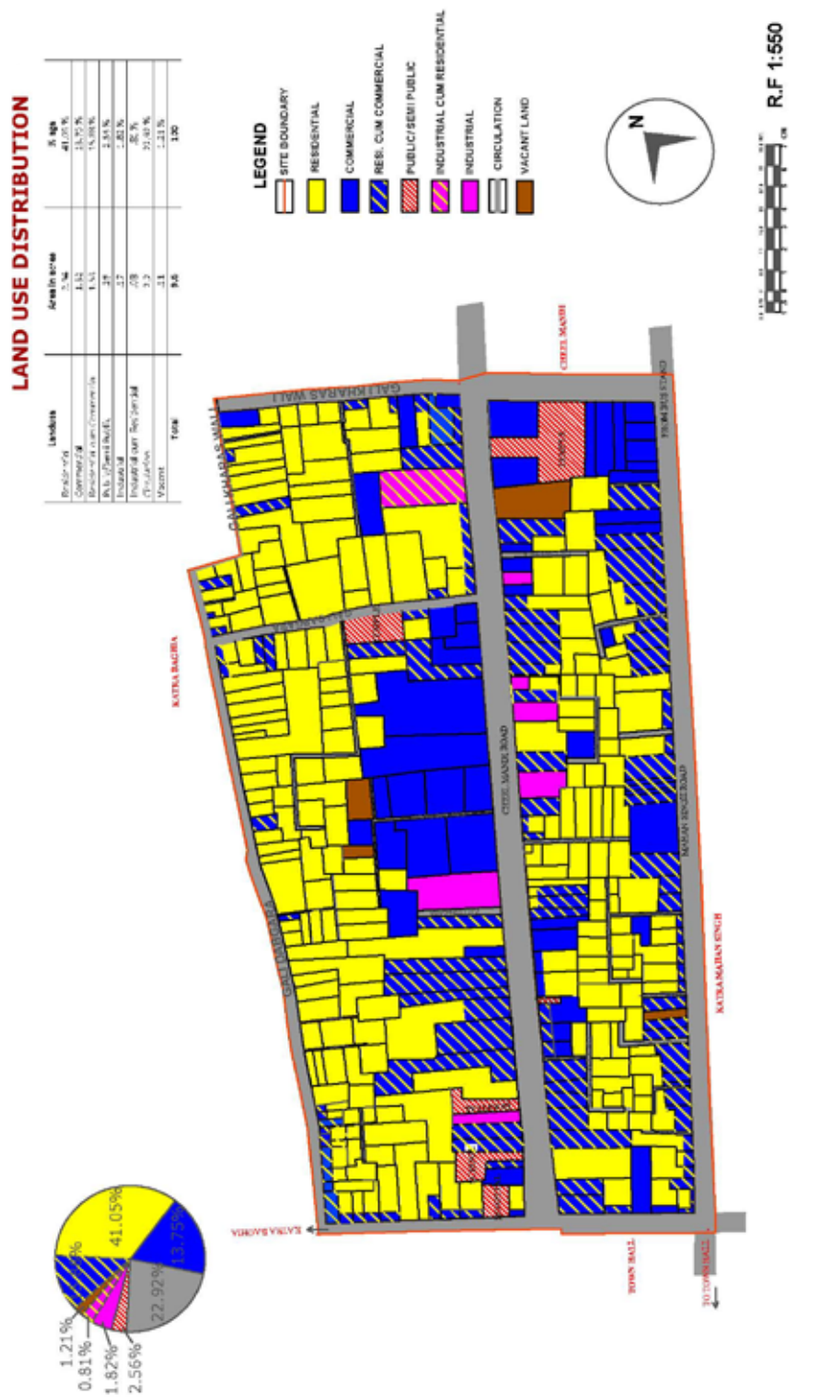


Figure 1

Land Use Map – Chowk Passian Area. Source: Author

Figure 2

Land Use Map – Cheel Mandi Area. Source: Author



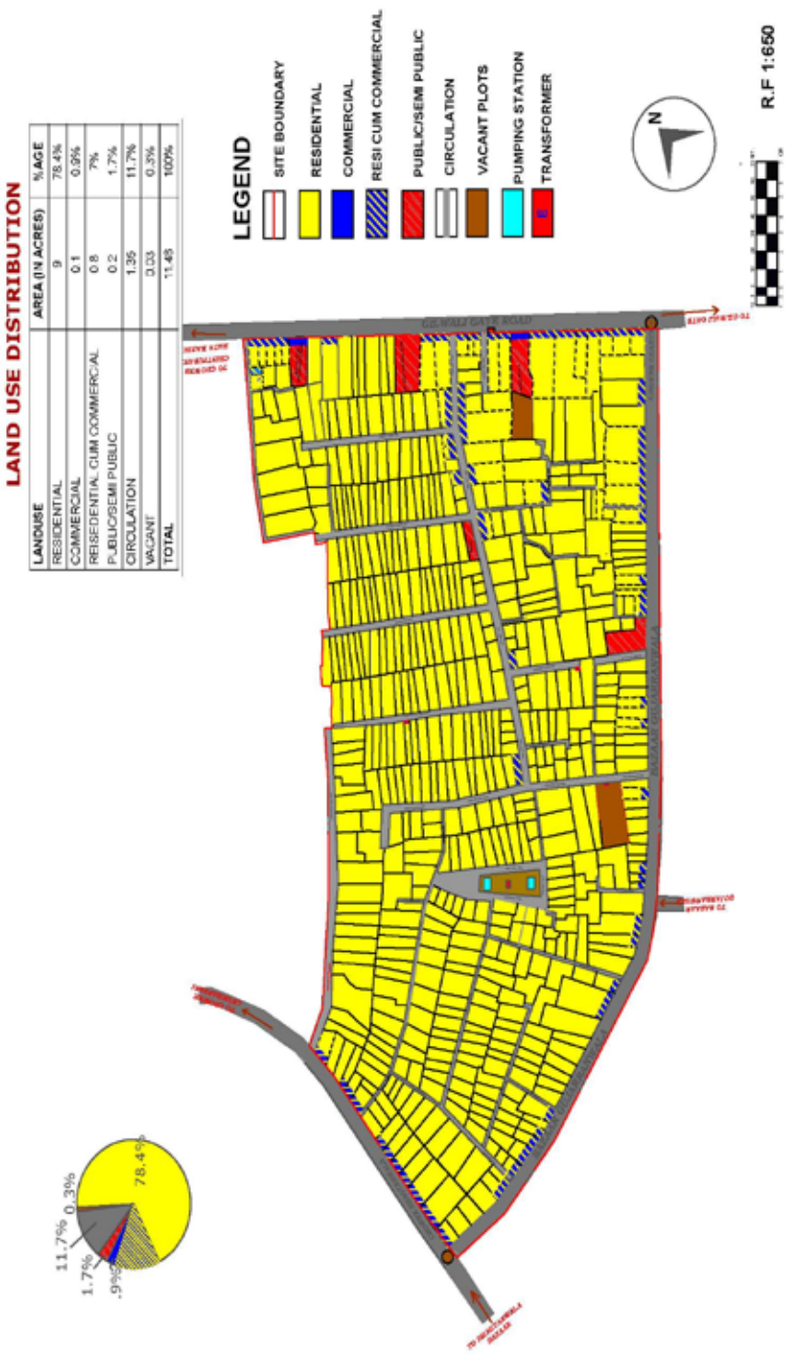


Figure 3

Land Use Map –
Katra Garba Area.
Source: Author

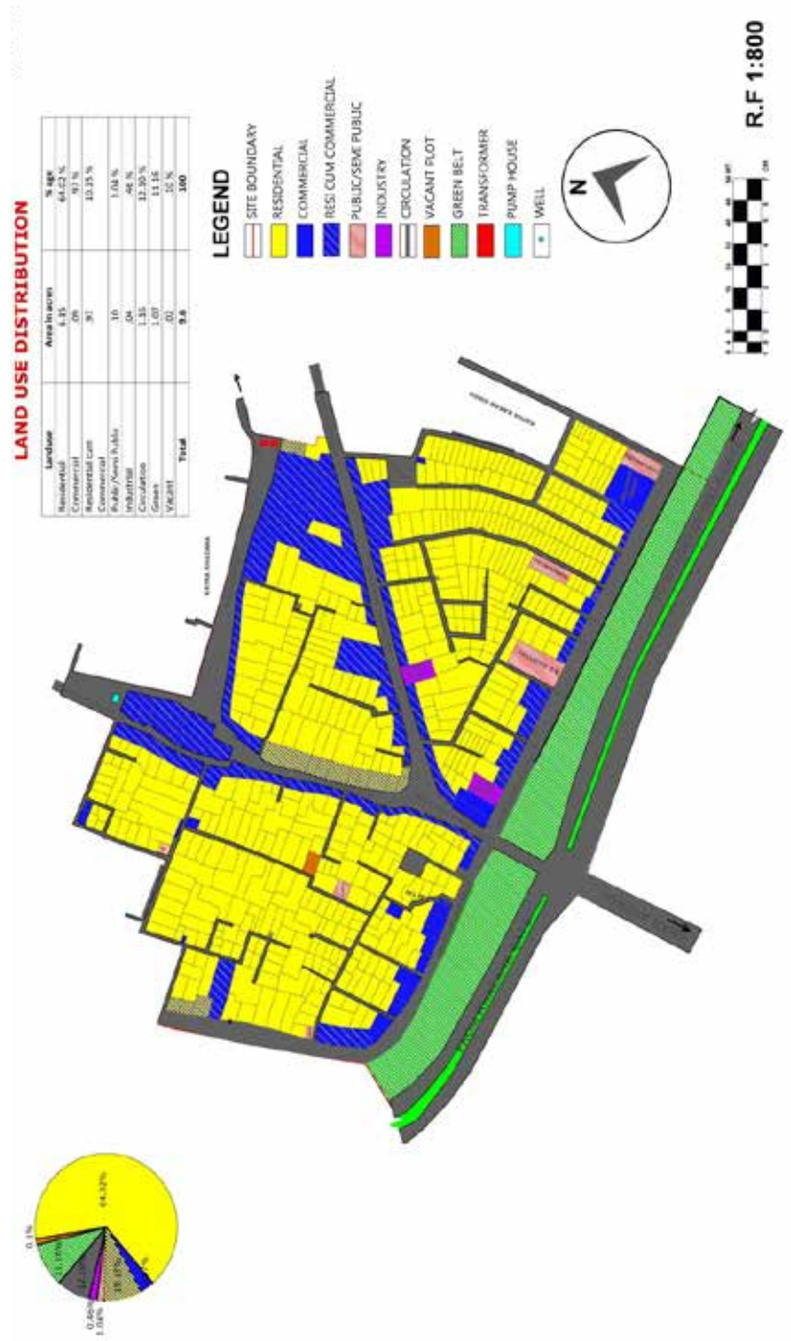


Figure 4

Land Use Map –
Katra Hakima Area.
Source: Author

The area under circulation consists of streets and bazaars. They not only act as lines of movement but also enhance sociability due to their labyrinthine pattern. Almost all the studied areas have a predominantly narrow dead end street pattern with widths varying from 4-16 feet. The area under circulation is maximum in the case of Cheel Mandi (22.9%) mainly due to the main road of Cheel Mandi bazaar which is wide enough for the movement of trucks loaded with timber. The other study areas, Katra Hakima and Katra Garba, have the total area under circulation and these are predominantly residential; the more the residential area, the greater the area under circulation. These circulation areas have surprising open spaces which are used for social, religious and political functions showing the vibrant social life of the areas. This finding is also supported by Pozo (1979) and Crawford (2005). The study of the selected areas reveals that parks are either non-existent or ill-maintained. The city used to have old and mature trees at the corners or in the open spaces. The respondents of Chowk Passian area have stated that these have been axed indicating that such trees are not being protected in the walled city. This is a serious threat to the cultural roots as such spaces enhanced social cohesiveness. All the areas have religious places of worship under public and semi-public use. Such places are maintained by the residents. Traditional wells lie in an abandoned state due to the shift to a piped water system. Now, these wells are being used as bins where residents dispose their garbage. In Chowk Passian area, one of the wells has a temple alongside. Consequently, this well has been conserved from degradation.

The percentage of small plots is higher in Katra Garba (84%) and Chowk Passian areas (74%) as compared to the rest. On the other hand, Cheel Mandi and Katra Hakima areas have relatively larger plot sizes. The basic derivation is that both these areas have industrial activity which may be the reason for a comparatively bigger size of plots. Another reason may be the location of these areas on the inner periphery of the walled city. The plots are carved in rows along the labyrinthine streets and are found to be completely covered. This feature is in consonance with the pattern of the walled city: small plot sizes, row housing and a nearly 100% covered area which is a prominent feature of a walled city with a medieval character, ultimately leading to a typical lifestyle. To protect the heritage of the walled city, the building bye-laws, especially the front setbacks need to be reviewed. This may help in saving the streetscape of the historically important urban areas. Hosagrahar (2008) and Huan, Smolders and Verweij (2008) also support this finding of the study.

The majority of the buildings are triple-storied except in the Katra Hakima area. The Cheel Mandi area does not have any building above three storeys. It is the same in the case of other areas located on the inner

periphery of the walled city. The Chowk Passian area is located in the centre of the walled city; about one fourth has four-storied buildings. This indicates that in the central part of the city, the buildings may be up to four or five storeys but on the inner periphery, these are generally not more than three storeys. The gradient of built structures decreases from the centre to the periphery.

Nomenclature of Streets

Another important parameter for highlighting the culture of the residents of walled cities in general and the walled city of Amritsar in particular, is the nomenclature of streets.

The nomenclature of the streetsis linked with the predominant caste and in certain cases, with the dominant occupation or an important person. It is also linked to temples, mosques, trees and the like. Srivastava (2008), has found the same. The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) (2008) terms such patterns as "the spirit of the place". There are about seventeen such streets in the Chowk Passian area. Some are named after castes such as *Gali Upplan Wali*, *Gali Pandita Wali, Chowk Passian Gali* and the like. There are other streets which are named after the dominant occupations such as *Rababbian* (musicians) *Wali Gali, Gali Sarafan* (goldsmiths) *Wali*, *Kucha Ptang Frosh* (kite sellers), *Gali Achargan* (those who collect clothes put on dead bodies before cremation), and so on. *Shikarpurian Gali*, *Mela Kucha Ram*, *Gali Ram Ganesh* and *Gali Jai Krishna* are some of the streets which have been named after prominent personalities of that area. On the other hand, *Guru Ka Mehal* and *Shivala Wali Gali* are streets named after important religious places. In the case of the Cheel Mandi area, the street names reflect the artisan castes that used to dominate this area, for example, *Gali Kharas Wali, Dabgara Gali and Gali Dhanjla*. *Dhanjals* are the *Ramgharias* (carpenters) and *Kharas* are the artisans who work as blacksmiths.

Similarly, analysis of streets in the Katra Garba area reflects important social elements based largely on the caste/community, for instance, *Bazaar Gujjran, Gali Gujjaran Wali, Tellian* (oil related business) *Wali Gali*, *Mochian* (coblers) *Wali Gali, Nalkian* (hand pump related GI pipes) *Wali Gali, Pehalwana* (wrestlers) *Wali Gali* and *Kamboj Wali Gali.* These streets manifest a relationship between the caste and the occupation. Equally, certain streets are named after prominent personalities such as *Dewan Singh Wali Gali, Manumal Gali, Gali Partap Singh* and *Chela Ram Wali Gali. Peeran Wali Gali* and *Maseet Wali Gali* had been inhabited by the Muslims who vacated the area after the Partition of 1947 but the existence of their religious places explains the relationship between religion and the street nomenclature. Similarly, there are *Devi Wali Gali*

and *Mandir Wali Gali* which is another indication of the relationship between the nomenclature of the streets and the religion.

In addition to caste and occupation, some of the streets have been named after trees, as has been found in the Katra Hakima area such as *Peepal (*ficus religiousa*) Wali Gali*; religious seers like *Peeran Wali Gali;* sizes of the streets namely *Choura Bazar* and the like. The name of this area and particularly *Gali Hakima* indicates the people dominating this area were important functionaries related to the health of the inhabitants.

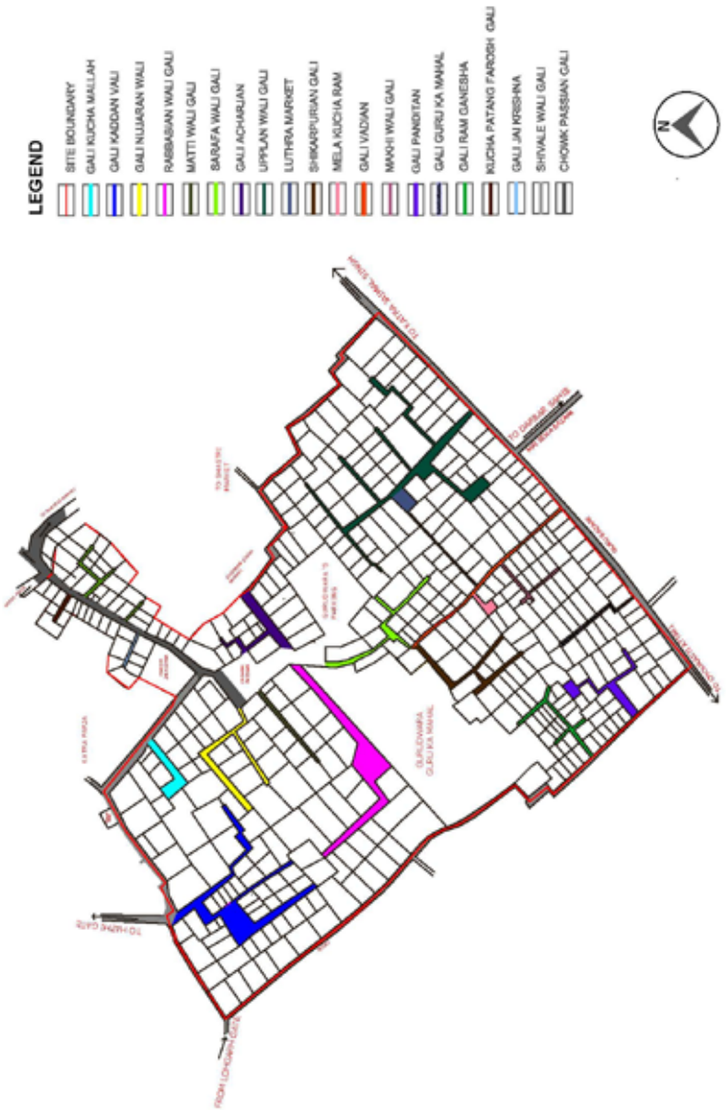


Figure 5

Nomenclature of Streets– Chowk Passian Area. Source: Author

Malika Wali Gali might have been in honor of a princess's visit to this area. Hence, it may be concluded that the traditional urban areas have street patterns that show the importance of caste, occupation, religion, important personalities and the like. This nomenclature reflects the roots of the residents.

Figure 6

Nomenclature of Streets– Cheel Mandi Area. Source: Author

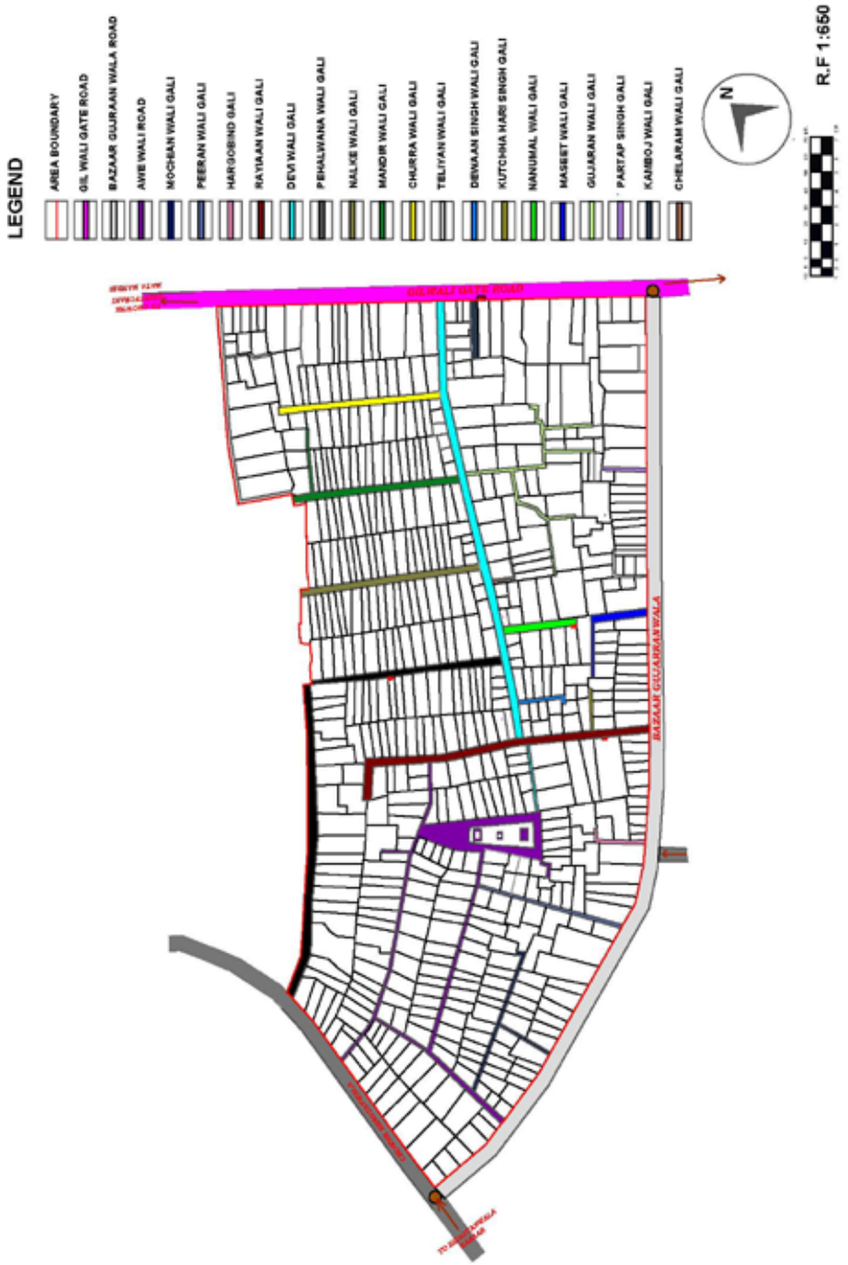


Figure 7

Nomenclature of Streets– Katra Garba Area. Source: Author

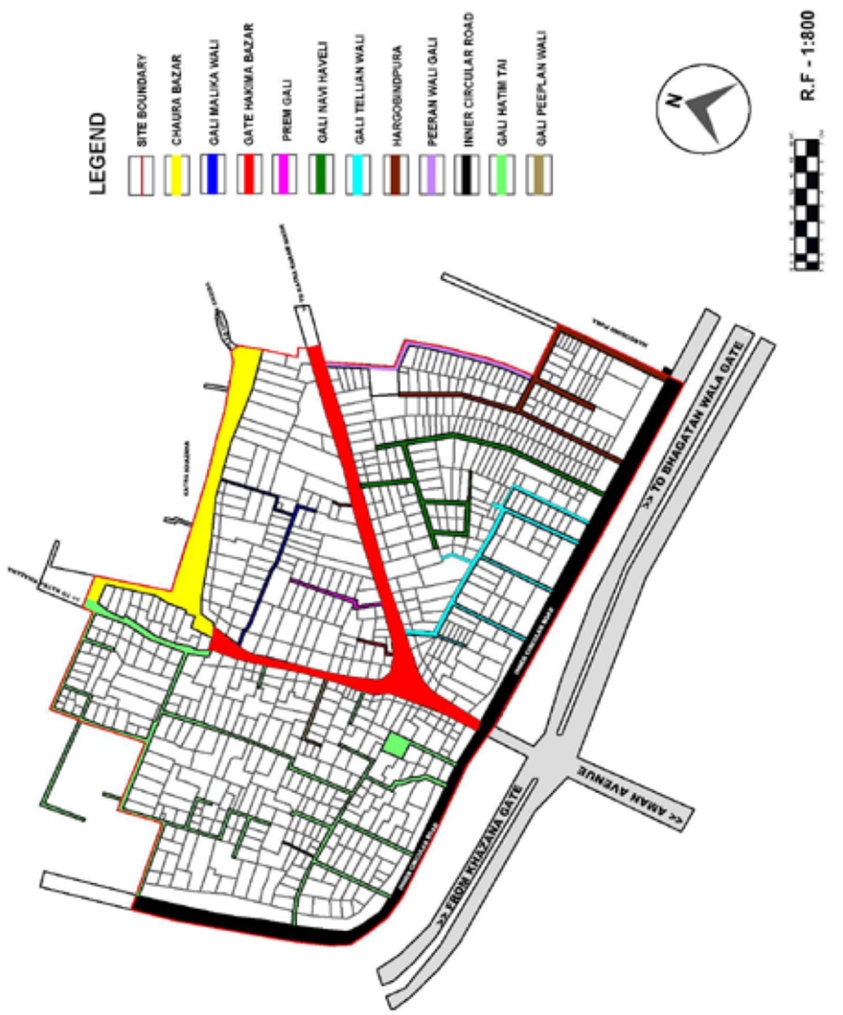


Figure 8

Nomenclature of Streets– Katra Garba Area. Source: Author

Conclusions and Recommendations

The study, thus, concludes that the spatial patterns in the form of street layouts, solids and voids have not changed much. The walled city still depicts the labyrinth street pattern with traditional surprising open spaces, showing a labyrinth spatial pattern and a grid pattern in certain areas depending upon the settlement pattern. Despite the invasion by commercial activities, the main land use pattern has remained predominantly residential. The invasion of commercial activities in certain areas has affected the lifestyles of the inhabitants to some extent. The walled city exhibits a traditional character as the nomenclature of

the streets depicts a relationship with caste, occupation, prominent personalities, religious places and even trees. In a nutshell, the cultural roots in terms of land use and nomenclature of streets are still visible as an interesting feature of the social structure of the walled city in its relationship between the living and the work areas. The study further infers that the traditional street pattern is responsible for good neighbourly relations, interaction among the residents and provides an avenue for an easy view of the passers-by. This helps in curtailing the crime rate besides providing avenues of personal encounters with their neighbors, essential for maintaining social cohesiveness among the members of the community. Despite the lack of physical amenities and adoption of modern means of transport, the inhabitants are emotionally attached and have a feeling of identity with the area, reflecting the spirit of the place. Thus, roots are serving as routes at present. These roots must be protected so that they can become routes for future generations.

It is recommended that building bye-laws and conservation guidelines for the walled cities/historic urban areas be revised and evolved, keeping their historical significance under consideration. There is a dire need to frame a policy to curtail or freeze the land use of the historic urban areas/heritage zones/ conservation areas, so as to keep their historic character intact. Finally, the residents of the concerned areas and the Municipal Corporation should work collectively in the management of refuse collection and disposal, thereby making these areas more attractive and livable besides attracting tourists. This will further assist in the protection and sustenance of the character of the traditional spatial patterns, especially the land use and labyrinth street patterns and thereby the lifestyles and heritage conservation of the historic urban areas. This ultimately will help in strengthening the cultural roots for giving way to the routes for future generations.

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Moulding the Red Earth

Ali Arsalan Pasha

Introduction

In the Punjab, the whirling *Dervish* becomes a transcendent *Malang*. British Ambassador cars become taxi-cabs and the mobile phone becomes a more common commodity than bread and salt. Thorough observations have shown that all governing dynamics of a certain region maintain a strong link with its terrain, connecting the people, as well as their motivations and aspirations, with the land. Phenomenologically speaking, since dwellers in a certain spatial construct are affected by the topological characteristics of the built forms, it can be deduced that inhabitants of a land are inadvertently influenced by the soil they walk on and the air they breathe. This paper aims to discuss the importance of understanding the geological and topographical characteristics associated with the sub-continental landmass in attempts to decipher how the inhabitants of the locale have been affected by the terrain and how they have responded to it through their art, architecture and social practice. In the case of India, the land and air represent a consistent struggle, justified in its existence as the pursuit of harmony and perfection; a struggle that has seeped into the mind-set of the native inhabitant. In India, and more appropriately the Punjab, important roots of civilization are consistently unearthed, allowing the local inhabitants to dwell in today's economical metropolises, while remaining rooted to their history, their culture and their land.

The Root of the Root

India has preserved the unbroken thread of human story that binds us all. According to the Rig-Veda (RV 10.121), the first humans came from the cosmic egg or universal germ, namely the *Hiranyagarbha Sukta*;

> Who is the deity we shall worship with offerings? When the mighty waters came, carrying the universal germ, producing the flame of life then dwelt there in harmony the One Spirit of Devas. [1]

Floating in darkness, once the golden egg was subjected to the creation process, energy or life was generated. Parallels have also been drawn between the golden egg and the self-luminous life-giving force of the Sun. Science tells us that anatomically modern human beings evolved from archaic Homo Sapiens in the Middle Palaeolithic period around 200,000 years ago in Africa. They were beachcombers and hunter gatherers, driven by chance and necessity. Despite all the later

migrations and invasions, India's gene pool has remained largely constant, being one of the unchanging roots of India. Languages and religions came only later and they are always subject to change. In 1921, British and Indian archaeologists arrived at an unobtrusive location in the Punjab; at a little halt on the railway line between Multan and Lahore - since it was here in the valley of the Indus River, where a series of amazing discoveries led to the discovery of an unknown ancient settlement, that is, the Indus Valley Civilization. Like the other great ancient civilisations in Iraq, Egypt and China, India's first cities had grown beside a river - the ruins of Harappa stood on the dried-up bed of a tributary of the River Indus but there was still evidence of industry, trade, writing and high level organisation with a substantial population. The city appeared to be the capital of a great empire, which we now know extended from the Himalayas to the Arabian Sea, being one of the largest civilisations in the ancient world.

The Holiness of Monsoons

Punjab or *Punj ab*[2] literally translates to five rivers, a fertile body of land in the Northern region of the Indus Valley. Since the area sustained rich agriculture and cattle, it attracted hunter-gatherers in search of food and settlement. As an inevitable consequence of community-settlement, the hunters eventually became the farmers and began the development of civilization in the region by harnessing natural resources. Due to the high influx of migrants coming to settle in the bountiful Fertile Crescent, the land itself became a centre of culture, cultivating ideological growth, social interaction and spiritual enlightenment. The region served as an abode for a variety of religious faiths, which existed in consistent contest with each other – a contest, which rather than weakening their growth and influence resulted in strengthening and empowering them. The theological evolution of the region in its attachment to nature and natural forces indicates that inhabitants of the Subcontinent pay due homage to the Himalayan Mountains for leading to the birth of monsoon rainfalls. The monsoons, which are an economically important weather pattern and one of the most anticipated climatic phenomena every year, harbour within themselves the subtext of a historical incidence, one which dates back to the geological formation of the topography.

The incident can be observed as an act of insurgence perpetrated by a land-mass in its attempt to break free from its motherland. Around 180 million years ago, the Indian peninsula, which was once part of the southern hemispheric land-mass Gondwana (present day Africa), broke free from the eastward movement of its larger counterpart and began moving northwards. Endeavouring to attach itself with the northern hemispheric land-mass Laurasia (present day Asia), the Indian landmass, maintained a deliberate pace covering a distance of 6000 kilometres, before finally colliding with the Asian landmass. The

aforementioned collision can be explained by three major mechanisms, which either worked separately or in unison, mainly – the subduction of the Indian continental crust below Tibet, the extrusion tectonics mechanism which sees the Indian plate as an indenter squeezing the Indo-China block out of its way and a large part of the crust shortening was accommodated by thrusting and folding of the sediments of the passive Indian margin. It is the last mechanism of sedimentary folding which eventually resulted in the high topographical relief of the Himalayas. The drawing of southern hot air towards the towering Himalayas around 8 million years ago[3] eventually gave shape to the monsoon rainfall we experience today, subjecting the *red earth* of the Indian peninsula to more than its share of rainfall – moulding the barren wastelands into a fertile abode for civilization; terming it the Fertile Crescent.

In the BBC Documentary, *The Story of India*, the presenter, Michael Wood says, "The coming of the monsoons has an almost erotic charge. It's the giver of life itself". The intrusion of water due to over-abundant rainfall and multiple rivers creates to a deep and spiritual bond each native of the subcontinent has with the land; to them it represents the soul of their struggle for existence. This spirit of the land embodies itself in the cultural roots of the Indian peninsula – at the crux of their art, the soul of their music and the aspiration of their buildings. The severe morphology of the African red earth is softened and made palatable by the water, inspiring a constant integration of earth and water in the arts and crafts of the time, ranging from clay figurines as symbols of religious forces, pottery in everyday use and even in the development of living spaces in practices such as mud-plastering and ornamentation. With such practices and applications of clay becoming more integrated into the social structure, the inhabitants developed a stronger bond with the terrain and endeavoured to celebrate the bountiful attributes of Mother Nature.

The Domain of Consciousness

To comprehend the subcontinental perspective of Mother Nature and its default premise as a source of life and rebirth, one must decipher the notions attributed to its capacity as an elemental entity. In astrological studies as well as ancient philosophy, water represents fluidity and purification, while earth characterizes consistency and rootedness – the combination giving shape to *Gaia*, the mother goddess and life-giving force of nature. Fundamentally, in the space-time construct, the two forces of heaven and earth are consistently observed in their attempt to achieve balance – giving shape to the gradients of consciousness and cognition, on which all living entities are measured. Coming back to the Indian subcontinent breaking away from the African landmass, one may observe that even though Australia and Madagascar also broke

away from Eastern Africa, the latter entities to this day have remained Islands, whereas after moving eastwards, the Indian subcontinent shifted direction and moved northwards towards Asia.

This northward movement, which eventually resulted in India colliding with the Asian frontier, can be said to exhibit traits of geological consciousness, since the floating Island changed direction and moved towards the Asian continent. A purposeful movement of this sort can be perceived as an attempt to give rise to the Himalayas and eventually the monsoons; a movement which resulted in the transmutation of the very genetic fabric of the landmass. Referring to the geological and ecological developments of the time, the separation and northward movement of the subcontinent has been explained through studies of tectonic shift[4] which provide a substantial geographical basis for such occurrences. However, if one aims to develop a holistic understanding of natural phenomenon, rather than purely empirical, it would suffice to say that such a notable variation in the direction of movement can be construed as a conscious decision made by a living entity – in this case the Indian subcontinent landmass. Considering the fundamental practices of all systems of belief, whether it is in pagan rituals, or Buddhism, Hinduism or Islam, nature is always characterised as a living entity – in the case of the aforementioned geological shift, we may propose that the Indian subcontinent represents a living entity that has achieved consciousness.

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The Seed of Civilization

The consequences of such natural phenomenon on the inhabitants of the terrain are noteworthy, where one cannot help but draw parallels between the belief systems and social practices of the African continent and the Indian subcontinent, primarily due to the fact that they both share the same geological features. Even though we may be able to term both demographic types as ones familiar with survival and endurance[5], it must be noted that a generally observed lack of water in the African continent has left the agriculture barren and fatigued. As a result of the harsh climate and living conditions, the inhabitants of the land have also evolved with a harsh resistance towards intermingling with foreign entities, inhibiting the development of variations in the gene pool. The people have managed to retain their tribal divisions, to the extent of resisting intervention by foreign countries[6], as a matter of protection for survival. In comparison, the Indian peninsula has so far never exhibited any harsh resistance to foreign intervention; at many times to the detriment of their culture and society such as the cases of central Asian invasions and British colonialism. Superimposing the geographical features of the land onto the sociological systems of the community one can observe a direct correlation between the two – one which is ever apparent while drawing parallels between the two civilizations.

What the climate and populace of Africa have exhibited to lack in comparison to India, is the capacity to adapt, to revise their set of social etiquette and cultural rules and align themselves with the evolving circumstances. Such compliance can be observed in India, with the adoption of Islam as a religion by the general public, as well as the accommodation of British etiquette, language and systems as a part of the post-colonial subcontinent. In comparison, the African continent has faced invasions by the British, the French and the Dutch. Nonetheless, to this day there is a noticeable segregation between the African native inhabitants and the foreign invaders. One could observe that the fight to end apartheid by Nelson Mandela, saw the acceptance of the previously ruling Afrikaner as a part of their society; however, the adaptation to their social customs and beliefs was never accepted as a part of an independent South Africa. In comparison, the struggle for an independent India by Mahatma Gandhi, saw the attempts to oust the British colonial rule of the subcontinent, which eventually succeeded in achieving an independent nation; nonetheless, one which heavily drew reference from the systems and practices put into place by the previous ruling British. Although a more literal parallel rather than a figurative one, this flexibility in mind-set can be observed in reference to the interaction of the harsh red earth with the constant tempering influence of the monsoon rainfall, allowing the advent of malleability as a characteristic in climatic and social conditioning.

In addition, the iterative interaction with water seems to introduce an unprecedented dynamic to the aspect of spiritual growth, giving birth to exemplary individuals such as Gautama Buddha, Mahatma Gandhi, Allama Iqbal, Bulleh Shah, Abdur Rahman Malang and Abdul Sattar Edhi. Even though the Islamic interventions of the 12th and 13th century saw Khawaja Moinuddin Chishti migrate from Afghanistan to India, introducing Sufism to the subcontinent, the vital manifestation of Sufi chants and poetry took shape as *Qawwali* or *Samaa* in India and notably the Punjab, flourishing even today. Even in everyday practice of commercial and personal nature, the exploration of the divine is consistently and repeatedly expressed by urban and rural dwellers, intrinsic to their linguistic manner of communication. One can also observe a mélange of different stances on existential and metaphysical practices, where on the one hand the due respect paid by every subcontinental dweller to natural phenomenon is reminiscent of the African reverence of Gaia, while on the other hand, one also perceives the integration of East Asian Taoist philosophy regarding cosmic balance and karma. In this essence, the Indian peninsula can be characterised as a bridge between African and East Asian practices, revealing the consistent balancing between disparate ideologies and praxis.

The Moulding of India

Such contextually induced differences in approach can be observed in matters beyond religion and psychosocial dealings, such as art, music and architecture. Indian art and culture has absorbed extraneous impacts by varying degrees and is much richer for this exposure. This cross fertilization between different art streams converging on the subcontinent, produced new forms that while retaining the essence of the past, succeeded in integrating selected elements of the new influences. The roots of Indian painting can be traced back to the days of the Indus Valley Civilization, where paintings on pottery reflect a keen sense of painting among the Indus Valley people. The paintings of the Ajanta and Ellora caves exhibit the creative genius of the artists of that period, while enduring tough weather conditions and surviving for a long period of time. Folk and tribal art in India takes on different manifestations through varied media such as pottery, painting, metalwork, paper-art, weaving and designing of objects such as jewellery and toys.

Indian architecture has evolved through centuries, as a result of socio-economic and geographical conditions, generally affected by the emergence and decay of great empires and dynasties in the subcontinent. Different types of Indian architectural styles include a mass of expressions over space and time, transformed by the forces of history specific to the subcontinent. As a result of vast diversities in demographic and ideological influences, a vast range of architectural specimens have evolved, retaining a certain amount of continuity across history. The Indus Valley Civilization is noted for its cities built of brick, roadside drainage system and multi-storied houses. Though it provided substantial evidence of extensive town planning, the beginning of noticeable architecture typology in India owes much to the advent of Buddhism in India, in examples such as the Great Stupa at Sanchi and the rock-cut caves at Ajanta. It was succeeded by different schools flourishing with the Pallava rulers of South India, Chandela rule in Central India and Nagara style of architecture in northern India; eventually to be followed by the coming of Muslim rulers, leading to the initiation of Indo-Islamic architecture, which was neither strictly Islamic nor strictly Hindu, rather an integration of both.

Though public buildings have been a common venture in town planning activities, it was the temples and mosques that have always taken precedence as the most important building typology of India. It is evident that such an inclination is due to religiously and spiritually induced communal practice and habits which serve as a consequence of the associated sanctity of the Indian land. It is this sense of holiness and purity that always embodies the built form and communal spaces of the locale, due to which the superposition of Colonial Architecture

in the milieu never managed to propagate an authentic development in practices and rituals. Where, at one time, the working class was living in mud-houses while the educated elite resided in *havelis* or mansions with a central courtyard – after the British occupation the existing habits were replaced by asymmetrical living standards which neither catered to the poor nor the rich. Even today, considering the case of Pakistan, foreign interventions ranging from The Pakistan Secretariat by Gio Ponti and The National Assembly by E. D. Stone to contemporary examples such as The Centaurus Complex by W.S. Atkins, all fail to achieve a profound sense of holiness that is inherently grasped through the milieu. The only successful example is the Shah Faisal Mosque in Islamabad, designed by Turkish Architect, Vedat Dalokay; an observation which lends more to the function and program of the building rather than the aesthetic understanding or urban typology. In this essence, it seems to make sense that the intervention of foreign architects in the subcontinent, have singled out a single name which acts as a crucial bridge between India and the rest of the world. Undoubtedly, it is the architect whose very motive was to embody the sanctity and holiness of the land in his work by designing each building as if it were a temple – Louis Kahn. In *My Architect,* the documentary filmed by his son Nathaniel Kahn, the remarkable Indian architect Balakrishna Doshi has said,

> There are very few people who will talk about matter, in spiritual terms. Silence mattered to him. The enigma of light mattered to him. We call him a guru, a yogi – and that is why, for us, he was from here.

In a lecture at the University of Pennsylvania in 1971, Louis Kahn said,

> It is important that you honour the material that you use. You can only do it if you honour the brick and glorify the brick, instead of short-changing it.[7]

He exemplified the theory by presenting a putative dialogue between a brick and himself, asking the brick what it wanted to construct and the brick responded as a purposeful entity itself by saying, *I like an arch*. In the fertile earth of the Punjab, this timeless quote can be observed to move towards a deeper understanding of topographical and topological circumstances – adding to the understanding of the material as a living entity as well as the nature that surrounds it. Since the people of the Punjab are intrinsically linked to the land and nature, the architect must not only merely consult nature as Kahn said but must let it guide the movement of his lines and influence the space created. The architect must conduct a dialogue with the elemental forces of nature – a dialogue in the essence of, O' Tree! Is this where you prefer to stand? Is this how you prefer to shade? O' Wind! Is this how you prefer to ventilate? And O' mighty Sun! Is this what you prefer to enlighten?

In considering this notion earnestly, we may observe a subtle shift in the practice of site analysis – where the site is not observed merely as a tool when constructing buildings, rather a mutually dependant entity which affects and is affected by the space created.

Conclusion

The purpose of architecture, as a primary mode of function, should be the provision of such unity between man and God. The crux of Kahn's work was the understanding that buildings have a soul and their soul consistently converses with nature. If we are ever to do justice to this sacred land, it is our duty, or rather, our purpose, to unshackle the spirit of the people and to let ourselves be guided by divine impressions and natural forces. In our art, our architecture, our society and our nation, we must embody the unification of divinity and nature, of rainfall and red earth, as homage to the Punjab, the heart of the Indian peninsula.

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank Prof. Pervaiz Vandal and Prof. Sajida Haider Vandal for allowing me to present my paper. I would like to dedicate this paper to Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, who inspired me to delve deeper into my roots – and who passed away on the day of this conference.

Endnotes

1. Hiranyagarbha is the source of the creation of the manifested Universe in Indian Philosophy. It finds mention in the Rig-Vedic hymn (Chapter 10: Verse 121) referred to as the Hiranyagarbha Sukta.
2. Introduced by the Mughals in the early 17th century, it combines the Persian words *punj* (five) and *ab* (water) to refer to the land of five rivers, that is, Chenab, Jhelum, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej.
3. Heating up of the Thar Desert causes a low pressure region, filled by the moisture laden winds from the Indian Ocean. Due to the dynamics between wind and land, the winds are drawn towards the Himalayan mountain range, which acts like a high wall blocking the winds from passing into central Asia and forces them to rise. This causes clouds to rise and their temperatures to drop which leads to precipitation and immense rainfall.
4. As India approached Asia, around 40 million years ago, the Tethys Sea which separated India from the Australian landmass began to shrink and its seabed slowly pushed upwards. The Tethys Sea disappeared completely around 20 million years ago and sediments rising from its seabed formed a mountain range. When India and Tibet collided, instead of descending with the plate, the relatively light sedimentary and metamorphic rock that makes up the subcontinent of India pushed against Tibet, forcing it upwards to a mountain fold.
5. Despite being referred to as the world's largest democracy, the emerging India is still unfit to combat its inherent problems of illiteracy, extreme poverty and noticeable class-system. However, it is undeniable that the nation is becoming more and more united by the instant, finding democratic solutions to social issues. This manner of informed-collectivism, which is the true impression of democracy, is not readily observed in many parts of the world, where individualism offsets the notion of egalitarianism. On the same note, Africa undergoes its fair share of climatic, social and political upheaval. Nonetheless, the inhabitants always manage to endure the hardships and exhibit tremendous resilience in rejuvenating communities and social structures.
6. Not all resistance, for instance, European colonial rule pragmatic violence. Most was more subtle and directed toward local issues of political and economic autonomy. Struggles for maintaining control over culture created tension between the colonial administration and Africans, often leading to subtle forms of resistance as African groups sought to remove themselves from the colonial sphere of influence rather than challenge it.
7. In his lecture at the University of Pennsylvania, while talking to a Master's class, Louis Kahn said, "If you think of Brick, you say to Brick, 'What do you want, Brick?' And Brick says to you, 'I like an Arch.' And if you say to Brick, 'Look, arches are expensive, and I can use a concrete lintel over you. What do you think of that, Brick?' Brick says, 'I like an Arch'. And it's important, you see, that you honour the material that you use."

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Designing Learning Strategies through Cultural Studies

Eesha Thaker and Neha Babi

> When you inherit a language, it does not mean you are totally in it or you are passively programmed by it. To inherit means to be able to, of course, appropriate this language, to transform it, to select something. Heritage is not something you are given as a whole. It is something that calls for interpretations, selections, reactions, response and responsibility. When you take your responsibility as an heir, you are not simply subjected to the heritage, you are not called to simply conserve or keep this heritage as it is, intact. You have to make it live and survive and this is a process – a selective and interpretive process.
>
> – Jacques Derrida

From Derrida's quote, there may seem no extended definition of 'Culture' as a subjective tail to the objective body of cultural studies for an ethnographer, an anthropologist, an archaeologist or even a sociologist but one may certainly dwell upon the "selective and interpretive process" of our inherent cultural progression. Admirably, great volumes of research have been devoted to the documentation and interpretation of our material culture and intangible heritage although our awareness in being the fortunate benefactors of our cultural inheritance may seem to lack deemed acknowledgement with regard to contemporaneous global trends. Communication, technology and accessibility have not only accelerated the cultural process but continue to influence its transformation greatly. We must not be left to hope for our culture to be referred to passively, for we are making history, to be breathed to life by generations to come. The tradition lies in our hands. Let us make a fresh discovery. Who are we? We have come to realize our potential of being the most evolved species. What shall be the next stage of our evolution? As a researcher in the field of museology, with a keen intent on studying processual cultures, I present an auto-ethnographic account of my initial reflections made during preliminary fieldwork and the ensuing experimentation in designing structures for understanding and teaching culture in an academic framework.

Cultural studies may be organized in a variety of ways – the scope of research being heterogeneous and thus difficult to gain an overview – given the diverse cultural concepts on which trans-disciplinary research may be based. Although cultural studies do not enjoy an established position within the traditional canon of academic disciplines, there

are many different areas of research which are explicitly identified as cultural studies endeavors by their proponents or as occupied with one or more aspects of culture. The structural and institutional fragmentation of cultural studies leads to a failure to tap possible synergies between individual activities. It is necessary then to strive for increased interdisciplinary and ultimately trans-disciplinary co-operation. However, this can only be achieved if new communication structures emerge and if these are encouraged and supported. As a result, research activities which combine and straddle individual disciplines are a first step in this direction. Cultural studies can truly become a new productive force in the entire economic system when the requisite paradigm transformation occurs in scientific thought and activity. An evolutionary, step by step modification of research structures in social sciences and humanities, as defined by the cultural paradigm, is not only realistic but has already begun to have its influence in some areas.

Museums, for example, display rich collections of material culture – archaeological remains, anthropology, art collections and heritage sites – over centuries, which evidently reflect processual change. The change we are undergoing is a change in 'kind' not a change of 'degree'. The medium that is producing this change is communication, not some influence of the West on the East. The phenomenon of communication affects a world not a country or just a single community. The Asian subcontinent is facing this change with the advantage of having a tradition and philosophy familiar with the meaning of creative destruction. In the face of the inevitable destruction of many cultural values – a drive for quality takes on a real meaning. It is not a self-conscious effort to develop an aesthetic – it is a relentless search for quality that must be maintained if our culture is to survive. (Eames, Charles and Ray 1958)

We are part of a human event. We are part of an exploration of ourselves, which is the key element of this research. We begin with "Know thy self", a phrase by Socrates from ancient Greece. As a challenge we must try and answer these five questions: Who am I? What do I do? What do I know? What do I believe? and what do I want? Creative Diversity, Intelligent Fast Failure (IFF) and the acronym CENTER are the core values which lead us to self-exploration. Everything begins with knowing who we are. (Russel, Dr. Susan)

Ben Franklin once said that mankind may be divided into three classes: those that are unmovable, those that are moveable and those that move. A growing field of research called Embodied Cognition is focusing on the connection between movement and creativity. Research has connected movement to faster, more innovative problem solving. In

addition to the connection between body and mind, movement often helps place us in a natural environment. Much research is discovering the link between exposure to nature and cognitive performance. E. O. Wilson, the American biologist, coined the term 'Biophilia' to describe the deep seated connection between human beings and nature. From elementary school, to high school, to career we sit behind desks. Our work and life environments are sedentary, largely immobile most of our waking lives. We were designed to move, not sit still. We have little difficulty connecting the importance of the quality and frequency of our movement to our bodily health. Think for a moment about some of our images for solving difficult problems and developing creative ideas: the pacing decision maker. What if physical movement has a direct effect on our creative thoughts? More so than just stress relief. (Jones, Joe)

> Although most people might look for signs of creativity in the appearance of the bulletin boards, student made projects, centers and displays in a classroom, I feel a truly creative classroom goes way beyond what can be seen with the eyes. It is a place where bodies and minds actively pursue new knowledge. Having a creative classroom means that the teacher takes risks on a daily basis and encourages students to do the same.
> – Pann Baltz, 1993 ATA Teacher of the Year as quoted in *Creativity in the Classroom: An Exploration*

Creative Diversity

There are many myths and misconceptions about 'Creativity' - to think about thinking, to think about our ideas and why ideas are different from person to person. In order to bust some such myths apart, try and figure out why they do not make sense and then put them together in a way that does make sense.

Myth #1: Only some people are creative. One of the most dangerous myths is that only artists, designers and musicians are "creative". And that engineers or accountants are not creative. If creativity is about producing something new then the subject matter is irrelevant. For example, I can be creative as an artist or an engineer, while planning my garden or organizing my closet. The subject does not matter.

Myth #2: Only certain ideas are creative. Usually, people think about the revolutionary, the breakthrough and the out-of-the-box ideas as being the creative ones but what about another kind of creativity – a kind of evolutionary creativity that digs down into a subject, where we figure out how the details work and as we put them back together we get more insights.

Therefore, we must look at the four principles of Creative Diversity (from the Creative Diversity Model – the concept of Paradox of structure introduced by Michael Curtin, Idea Evaluation Methods to Create a Strategic Plan) which help sort out our myths and misconceptions.

Principle #1: All people are creative; whether they have evolutionary ideas or revolutionary ideas; whether they are practical or outrageous, simple or complex.

Principle #2: Creativity is diverse. While everyone is creative, we are all not creative in the same way. Somehow, we have to describe these differences and there are many different ways we could think about doing that.

Principle #3: Creative Diversity has four key variables: Creative Style, Creative Level, Motive and Opportunity. Creative Level is about our mental capacity, may be with a special talent. Creative Style is about how our brain likes to work with all that knowledge and experience. For example, some people have a more structured way of working with what they have in mind; they polish their ideas more carefully and by using more detail, they tend to offer the evolutionary ideas. Then there are people who have a less structured creative style, they are the more tangential and "out-of-the-box" thinkers. Creative Style is a continuum and we all fall somewhere along it. By graphing Creative Level and Creative Style together, we get a wide variety of creative profiles and every single one of them is useful. Next, we are all motivated by different things. Depending on what motivates us, we determine how to apply our energy to creative endeavors. For example, some people are motivated by financial gain while other people by simply doing good work. Opportunity – we all perceive opportunity differently.

Principle #4: There is no ideal form of creativity. There is no one combination of those variables that is ideal. For example, sometimes we need revolutionary ideas in mathematics, sometimes we need evolutionary ideas in economics and sometimes we need Creative Diversity to solve a variety of problems. Let us begin by thinking about ourselves and the four variables of Creative Diversity. This will give us a glimpse of our individual creativity profile. (Jablokow, Dr. Kathryn W.)

When we need ideas that transform, we need to challenge assumptions and well-known ideas. It is essential to have a creative as well as a critical engagement in developing an idea. The key is to step back and develop an outsider mentality; talk with diverse people, read new books and magazines, watch new media and talk with contrarians. Put oneself in a position to interact with outsiders, maybe start as simple

as others in a different department or job in your own organization or group. For instance, go to the magazine rack; think about a magazine you would never think to read and you might find something very interesting there; you start to take on the abilities of an outsider. For example, if you work with numbers, talk with artists or designers do not forget Intelligent Fast Failure. Sometimes we will need to talk to ten people, read twenty ideas before we find the right one. Remember serendipity, we may talk to one person and get a new idea that might inform our next decision. (Jones, Joe)

Intelligent Fast Failure – IFF

Einstein was once quoted as a genius making all possible mistakes in the shortest period of time. The techniques of creativity and innovation are not difficult to understand but are challenging to practice and implement. Why? – Failures are a blow to our self-esteem. Much to the contrary, IFF is a learning process and has nothing to do with self-esteem. All we have wanted is to learn (and even teach) and test. In fact, the frequency and intensity of failures measures how well one is doing. Creativity and innovation often seem squishy but those who experiment and fail many times, invariably build the tallest structures. Thus, it has been evident for centuries that failure is an essential part of the creative process. The principle of IFF can be applied to inventing products, starting up businesses and even on improving a sport. Experiment < Fail < Learn < Create = IFF Mantra. (Matson, Dr. Jack V.)

CENTER

Many students and professionals have some very pressing questions such as: How am I going to succeed in my job? How am I going to work in the community? How am I going to balance family with work? There are a number of villains that crop up – Fear, Focus, and Experiment; the fear of getting a job or of maintaining relationships. Lack of focus results in people often wanting to do a thousand things but afraid to do one or two things really well for which they can be held accountable. We are also afraid to try and experiment. We are either bound up in doubts or over-confidence so that we are afraid to run the experiments which would enable us to move forward. In going through CENTER, we look at a number of statements or questions that we might use to establish how the CENTER applies to what we may want to do individually. So, the first letter "C" stands for Character: I am _____, I will be _____. The "E" is for Entrepreneurship: I take smart risks and run smart experiments towards my dream of _____. "N" stands for owNership: Based on my character I choose _____. The letter

"T" is for Tenacity: I will hold on in my pursuit towards _____. The next "E" is for Excellence: I will plan, focus and commit hardwork towards gaining skill in _____. The final letter "R" stands for Relationships: My family is _____, my home is _____. As we go through these letters and practise them, we realize our passions and purposes, for us to make a change in our area of the world. So, we must ask ourselves: How would I go through each of these blanks and start on my way to changing my corner of the world? (Velagol, Dr. Darrell)

Design Thinking

The tools used are simple and many of them have been introduced thirty to forty years ago. The Design Thinking process, also known as Problem Solving, incorporates IFF, prototyping and all kinds of idea generating techniques. The process works on real-world problems that are of interest to academic institutions, organizations, and even corporations. The exercise involves teams working on real-world challenges, coming up with solutions, prototyping them and then actually trying to sell them.

The six steps of the Design Thinking process are:

1. The right challenge (the sculpting phase): What is the problem I want to solve?
2. Make sure you get the available information about this challenge. Sources could be internet research or primarily asking potential users what kind of problems they have.
3. Share the collective information so that everyone can benefit from it.
4. Reorganize all the information collected during research and interviews – make sure to have the categories for the available information.
5. Synthesis Phase: Try to bring this information together to create, for example, personas – What is a typical user? Why is a typical person using the solution we are building? This helps to jump into the future users.
6. Ideation / Brainstorming: It is much easier to think about a solution when we are really into a topic. Based on the information gathered, we become creative. The heavier part is then to vote for the "right" idea.

After this ideation we must return to the users for validation and ask what they think of our ideas, for further improvisation and developing a prototype. (Carsten Becker, SAP University Alliance)

There has been a growing body of research since the 1980's in developing model approaches for integrating arts into regular classroom practice and answering questions by assessing these multi-dimensional performances. Some of them are as follows:

- 'Project Zero' carried out by the Harvard Graduate School of Education, a programme designed to develop and test a pedagogy of understanding, culminated its efforts towards the late 1990's focusing on teaching and learning interdisciplinary studies. Its principal investigators, Howard Gardner, David Perkins, Vito Perrone besides many other researchers and practitioners have collaborated to develop a framework that stresses in-depth learning. The refine and test pedagogy is 'Teaching for Understanding' (TfU). At its core TfU is a performance view of understanding: If a student "understands" a topic, s/he can not only reproduce knowledge but also use it in unscripted ways – viz. 'Performances of Understanding' because they give students the opportunity to demonstrate that they understand information, can expand upon it and apply it in new ways.
- 'Artful Thinking' focuses on experiencing and appreciating art rather than making art, with the goal of using art as a force for developing learners' dispositions and creating connections between works of art and curriculum topics.
- Project MUSE (Museums Uniting with Schools in Education, 1994-96) explores the potential of art museums to serve as integral elements of education.
- During the late 1980's and early 1990's, the Rockefeller Foundation sponsored the project 'Arts PROPEL' to develop programmes combining instruction and assessment in three art forms: music, visual arts and imaginative (creative) writing. Learners approach the art form along three crisscrossing pathways that give Arts PROPEL its name: PROduction, PErception and refLection.
- When students work on projects, they have a unique opportunity to exhibit skills and understanding in many areas and through a variety of media. At the same time, these projects can be difficult to assess because students' performances tend to be complex. Researchers of the APPLE Project (Assessing Projects and Portfolios for LEarning) focused on answering such questions of assessing students' performances. Many arts education partnerships between schools and professional artists and/or organizations are started but far too few survive beyond their first years and initial sources of funding.

- Arts SURVIVE (July 1997), a project sponsored by the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, investigates arts education partnerships in order to ascertain why some partnerships survive and others do not. ArtWorks for Schools, a project funded by the Massachusetts Cultural Council, developed a programme that teaches high-level thinking in and through the arts. The purpose in designing such a programme is to help educators and learners discover the power of the arts to enrich high-level cognition across school subjects.
- The Creative Classroom Project (1999-2004) produced tools and knowledge to inform and support creativity in teaching.
- The instructional approach, which is broadly referred to as 'Visible Thinking', takes an integral stance towards the teaching of thinking, in the project 'Innovating with Intelligence'.
- Preparing youth and adults to live in a world where knowledge is constructed at an unprecedented pace and national and cultural borders are rapidly redefined, entails teaching them to organize their actions to pursue the understandings that they may need. Project L@titude focuses on such an understanding and intelligent action in various learning environments (classrooms and schools, art studios, museums, local communities, organizations and professions).
- The Museum of Modern Art's (MoMA) research project, 'Educational impact and Potential of the Visible Thinking Curriculum (1998-2001), aims to help students learn how to think by talking about art; involving qualitative and quantitative research methods in an effort to better understand the cognitive and social benefits the Visible Thinking Curriculum (VTC) does, or potentially can, provide students.
- Project Co-Arts (1991-96) offers teenagers apprenticeship style training to help build self-esteem and develop a keener understanding of their cultural identity. The project has developed a framework that will enable community art centers and other educational institutions to document and asses for themselves their educational effectiveness.
- Reviewing Education and the Arts Projects (REAP), sponsored by the Bauman Foundation, has published a series of meta-analytical articles reviewing the state of the evidence for transfer of arts learning to non-arts cognitive achievement.
- Educators know surprisingly little about how the arts are thought, what students learn, and the types of decisions educators make in designing and carrying out instruction. The Studio Thinking Project (2001-06) stresses upon the importance of the arts to the education of young minds.

The objective of such a programme is to create an alert conscience, especially amongst youth, concerned with the quality and ultimate values of our culture and environment. The key is to have a contemporary applicability which has been absorbed by traditional practice. The methodology for structuring and practically carrying out such a programme calls for education, not training. This involves Teaching for Understanding, implying the principal theory of Multiple Intelligences. Although based upon investigations in biology and psychology and intended for psychologists, the theory of multiple intelligences has a wide audience amongst educators. Tools such as Organizational Process-folios are an innovative way of making this understanding public, which involves documenting students' work, journal entries explaining how the work was initiated, developed and completed, video recordings of activities, presentations and interviews, tabulations of exercises, open-ended questionnaires, group discussions, feedback forms and critique sessions.

One of the aims in structuring a practice based research is to create an opportunity to develop frameworks that would facilitate in discovering, developing and articulating practice-based methodologies of creative practices within academic contexts. This in turn shall provide a convivial creative platform of arts practitioners – find new ways of articulating art practices and research questions within it or explore ways to connect the critical with the creative. Focusing on various practice and research themes, to draw an example, look at art within research context through the lens of auto-ethnography. Auto-ethnographic research is one of the most approachable methods – research told from the first person rather than the more traditional academic third person. Ethnography is a method from the social sciences, anthropology and sociology, which has been developed as a way to try and deal with some of the negative critiques of traditional ethnography. A classic ethnographic model is of a researcher doing fieldwork, perhaps living in a tribal culture for months or years and then describing that culture as objectively as possible with a sort of an expert third person voice. Subsequently, there have been many critiques of ethnography under the premise that an 'outside' researcher may never really bring complete objectivity to the way in which they understand and describe another culture. So a critic would ask questions like, how does one's own cultural conditioning impact on interpretations of some other culture? Auto-ethnography sought to face the subjectivity and cultural conditioning of researchers themselves head-on rather than pretending to objectivity. It is also uniquely suited to present findings from people who learn by doing, so it can work very well as a frame for practice-based research in the arts. In an auto-ethnographic work the researcher admits to or owns up to their subjectivity. They are explicit about the culture they are writing

from within. Auto-ethnographers are also often positioned within the cultures they are reporting on – insiders rather than observers, a dancer for example, rather than a dance critic. The concept of auto-ethnography can lend itself as a method for writing a practice-based research outcomes in the arts. Auto-ethnography has also been critiqued as a methodology with some problems of its own. Social sciences debate around the approach that auto-ethnographic works foreground the researcher too heavily and can be too subjective or too anecdotal. (Hill, Leslie 2013)

In true auto-ethnographic fashion, my research involves documentation and interpretation of cultural heritage. With the intention of exploring possibilities of 'Applied Learning' through museums, I have attempted to design study modules and workshops for educational institutions which would complement the existing academic curriculum with the idea of employing museum materials as tools of learning. Participants are grouped according to age and skill level.

The purpose of designing a serviceable programme is to bring about a 'Learning' and 'Understanding' of our ever evolving 'culture' and our very existence and also form a comprehensive awareness of how intricately varied disciplines are related. A museum serves as an unconventional institution for such a study that demands the attention of various faculties and exercises the study disciplines beyond a classroom. This not only makes for a functional programme of study but also initiates a student-directed learning process of discovering the multidisciplinary aspects of any given subject and also develops thinking dispositions. For instance, Language and Literature are closely associated with the Performing Arts – understand the rhythmic meter used in oral tradition. Mathematics is linked with Folk Art – design bead-work adornments, conceive a story and execute it over a scroll painting. Reconstructing a structural design of a proto-historic dwelling involves the faculties of Engineering and Architecture, which is actually introduced in a History and Archaeology curriculum. Physics and Chemistry are entwined with the Fine Arts – understand the complexities involved in the material and execution of ancient textiles, manuscripts, bronze cast sculpture and scroll paintings.

A particular group of students who have been exposed to the variety of training and discipline that might prepare them for such work are graduate architects – the disciplines of Physics and Chemistry are not unknown to them, they have in their training applied these disciplines to some sociological and human scale problems. They are aware of the use of materials and some of the functions of economics and they are apt to suspect that these have something to do with the history and

development of a culture. Naturally they need not all be architects – an equally responsible young engineer, economist, doctor, mathematician, philosopher or housewife might also be an aspirant; open to a wide range of artistic practice and also to various levels of experience.

As a productive outcome, the broadest service would go to society, through the fact that there is a group concerned solely with the quality of our progressive material culture and its inherent values. The greatest help would be to trigger similar attitudes even in other fields of study. A statement of quality values could form a contagious network. This could make an exhibition, even a documentary and word would get around that somewhere there is growing concern and that new and healthy values are beginning to appear.

Find values where others do not.

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A Tale of Bazaars: The Impact of Cultural Change on Tangible and Intangible Heritage

Samra Mohsin Khan

1. Introduction: A History of Bazaars

The word "Bazaar" is believed to have originated from an old Persian word meaning a 'place of prices' (Porushani, 1995). A similar word in the Italian language is *bazarro* (dictionary) thought to have originated around 1590-1600. The bazaars of Islamic cities were among the greatest products of the Islamic civilization which had no counterpart in the west, Greece, Rome or the Europe of the middle ages (Moosavi, 2005 a). Pourjafar et al (2012) call the bazaar the great social capital of a city.

The Silk Road was the principle trade route for Asia, Africa, Europe and most of the world. Silk, spices, ornaments, cotton, wool, porcelain, gold, glass, precious stones, tea and medicines were traded along this route. These global trade networks supported the economies of existing cities and allowed the creation of new capital cities and new empires along the old trade routes. New and wealthy cities such as Isfahan, Samarkand, Bukhara, Cairo and Baghdad, among others, were founded along trade routes. The movement of numerous and large trade caravans along these trade routes gave rise to the bazaars of the region.

Economy has always been an important factor in the development of cities. The survival of all cities has depended on their economics (Moosavi, 2005 b). Whereas, the western world had its markets, the Islamic world developed the concept of the Bazaar. The bazaar, traditionally, was the centre of the economic, social and cultural life of the city. It was the main public space of all traditional cities in regions from Turkey to Middle Eastern cities to the cities of Iran and Central Asia along the Silk Route and to Afghanistan and India in South Asia. In the bazaars of the Indian subcontinent, regional, national and international trade was conducted, political news and gossip was shared, religious and national events took place and various social classes mingled. Customs and attitudes prevalent in a bazaar represent the traditional qualities of a nation's culture. The bazaars today still play an important role in the politics of the city. Opinions as well as goods are traded here. It is a place to socialize with friends, acquaintances and strangers.

The bazaar has existed in its current shape for centuries (Weiss, 1998), having a mosque at its centre along with caravanserais, *hammams*,

tea houses and shops. Generally, bazaars were attached to a mosque complex, so that apart from being commercial spaces, they were also an essential part of the social life of people. They provided a wide array of products and services and attracted buyers and sellers from everywhere.

The bazaars served a multiplicity of functions. They served as a conduit for the sale of village produce to townsmen and city dwellers. The bazaar provided opportunities for interaction not only among different sections of the urban populace but also between peasants, pastoralists and townsmen. They served as an important mechanism for the diffusion of crafts, technology and skills.

The bazaar also served as an effective outlet for communication. The Prophet Muhammed (PBUH), at times, used bazaars for the propagation of Islamic teachings. The bazaar thus served as an important vehicle for the dissemination of Islamic values. The conduct and behavior of Muslim traders and merchants often impressed non-Muslim traders and drew them to the fold of Islam. In addition to economic, social and religious functions, the bazaar served literary and academic functions. Professional calligraphers, paper merchants, scribes, copiers and book sellers, who occupied a respectable niche in the bazaars of the medieval period, played an important role in the development of literary and academic activities.

The bazaars all over the Islamic world have continually grown, expanded and changed with the times. As trade and lifestyle patterns changed from the pre-colonial to the colonial and later to the era of globalization, so did the morphology of the bazaars. The traditional bazaars even today remain many-faceted and hectic; they seem extraordinarily beautiful and chaotic at the same time. Today the bazaars have grown to encompass centuries-old shops, mosques and residences which share the space with new concrete buildings and street kiosks.

2. Characteristics of the Bazaars

Specialization of occupations, transaction of goods between people and a special place established for this purpose led to the bazaar. The bazaar has always defined the major street of the urban fabric, lying near and at times connecting the major entrances of the city. The bazaar was the heart of the city and most of the important and official buildings were always constructed adjacent to it. The bazaars became a social space where communication and exchange of goods and even cultures took place between rich merchants, travelers and the local population.

Pre-Islamic bazaars appeared in Bukhara and Khuzestan. After the advent of Islam, bazaars from Samarkand and Kabul, to Isfahan and Baghdad, bordered the main thoroughfares of trade-linked Central Asian cities, usually located near ruling palaces, citadels and the largest Friday mosques. As the most significant pedestrian network and backbone of a city, the bazaar played an important role in the development and livability of these traditional cities.

Historically, the bazaar has been the heart of the towns; residential neighborhoods developed and grew in adjoining areas. Most of the social and public communication and important announcements of the city took place in the bazaar.

Architecturally speaking, a bazaar is a public passageway which is surrounded by shops and stores on two sides. It is, therefore, a place for shopping, walking, social dialogue and cultural interaction of people. With the passage of time and social and cultural changes, its importance has decreased and its architectural and spatial characteristics have changed.

Traditionally, the bazaar was a place which held a concentration of shops, goods, merchants, middlemen and wholesalers in densely packed, narrow streets, usually under covered roofs. In the Islamic cities of Turkey and Iran, a bazaar was a covered space, with columns and vaults. In the Subcontinent they were usually open to the sky and at times covered with a fabric to protect people from the summer heat. From the viewpoint of design, the bazaar developed in an organic fashion. Two models were generally followed:

- Planned: the covered, formally designed bazaars like the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul and many bazaars in Iran.
- Organic: rambling and sometimes linear designs which developed in Iran, Afghanistan and India.

The architectural and spatial nature of bazaars was highly dependent on the climate, culture and economic power of the city. In all the cities of the Subcontinent, the bazaar was a covered/semi-covered street or a series of streets and alleyways, lined with small shops grouped according to service or product. These bazaars were designed on a linear geometry; there were primary and secondary linear streets which were surrounded by shops. Architecturally, the bazaar constituted a distinctive part of the Islamic city, which was divided into sections or streets. Each section or street was lined with purveyors of different kinds of merchandise. These are the basic and most common structures of a bazaar in the Islamic world. However, there are significant variations in the layout and functions of bazaars in different regions.

The growth and expansion of cities in the Islamic world brought in its wake differentiation of occupation. As urban centers became larger and heterogeneous, so did the bazaars. In addition to the general kind of bazaars, which offered a multiple variety of goods, there were specialized bazaars such as the garments bazaar, the jewelers' bazaar and many more.

The bazaar developed as the vital backbone of the city as pedestrian streets from it led into the various quarters of the city. Within the bazaar, the vital organs of the city, that is, bathhouses, schools, caravanserais, bakeries, water cisterns, tea houses and numerous merchant and craft stores evolved and flourished. Together, all these 'organs' represent the religious, political, financial and social integration of the traditional city (Kermani and Luiten, 2009).

3. The Bazaars of Rawalpindi: History, Location and Specialties

The vast expanse of Central Asia was connected with India through land routes. These were known as the caravan routes, which were offshoots of the fabled Central Asian silk routes. The road from the Punjab to Kabul through the Khyber Pass became the major trade route connecting India to its neighboring territories. The cities on this route were connected by the Grand Trunk Road. Multiple cities of the Punjab developed on this road including the city of Rawalpindi, which is located in the Potohar region of Punjab.

Rawalpindi connected the route from the Khyber Pass into the Northern city of Peshawar to Lahore and beyond. The city developed various bazaars that catered to the different crafts and products produced. The bazaars were named after their association with various persons or clans like Bhabra Bazaar, Raja Bazaar, Kashmiri Bazaar, Narankari Bazaar, Kohati Bazaar and many others. Some were named after their functions or products such as the Ganj Mandi, Sarafa Bazaar, Trunk Bazaar and others. These bazaars are interconnected and flow from one to another, some larger and more densely populated while others are smaller, sometimes only forming a lane or two.

The highest point in the old city of Rawalpindi was the area known as the Purana Qila (the old fort). The Purana Qila is located in the heart of old Rawalpindi City. Located on high ground as all forts were normally built in the old days, the Purana Qila has small alleys or bazaars of all kinds. It is surrounded by various markets such as the Urdu Bazaar (Books and Stationery Market), Bhabra Bazaar (old market place),

Kalan Bazaar (the Bigger Market), Sarafa Bazaar (the Jewelers' Market) and many other adjoining markets such as Mochi Bazaar (the Cobblers Market), Qasai Gali (the Butchers' Street), Bohar Bazaar (Whole-sale Pharma Market) and the legendary Raja Bazaar. Raja Bazaar is named after the caste – Raja, the largest caste of Rawalpindi and surrounding areas. The bazaar is the largest and biggest hub of all trade in Rawalpindi and the surrounding areas.

3.1. Traditional Architectural Styles of Bazaars

The main bazaars of Rawalpindi city along with their adjoining streets house many buildings and *havelis* (an urban courtyard house) that display architectural styles and trends from various eras. These collectively represent the cultural and social changes underwent by the city and its inhabitants. The city of Rawalpindi was multi-ethnic as represented by the many Sikh and Hindu temples and mosques along with charity institutions. For the purposes of this study, buildings were studied in the areas of Bhabra Bazaar, Sarafa Bazaar and Moti Bazaar.

3.1.1. Bhabra Bazaar

Bhabras are an ancient merchant community from the Punjab who initially lived and traded in the Bhabra Bazaar. This is possibly one of the oldest bazaars of Rawalpindi city as is evident from its architecture of the Sikh and earlier periods. This is the largest bazaar of Rawalpindi. Based on the great variety of architecture and many large Hindu houses within, it is one of the most prosperous areas of the city as well.

3.1.2. Sarafa Bazaar

The Sarafa Bazaar, previously known as the Rani Bazaar, is the gold market. The goldsmiths worked in areas behind their shops or in small workshops on the first floor. They had residences above these, approached through narrow staircases. This bazaar is unique in its character as the trade has not changed since its origin. The architecture ranges from the Sikh to the Colonial period to the twentieth century.

3.1.3. Moti Bazaar

Moti Bazaar is one of the oldest bazaars in old Rawalpindi city. Moti Bazaar developed around the early 1900s. This bazaar specializes in women's accessories and goods. The layout plan of the bazaar resembles a spider's web; all the streets converge to a central *chowk*. The bazaar is divided into streets and sub-streets.

The ground floor area has shops, some of which sprawl onto the street. There are encroachments in front of every shop, making the streets narrower. These encroachments, however, have contributed a lot towards a *thara* culture in the bazaar, making it a more social place. The traditional layout of the bazaars had commercial activities on the ground floor with residential quarters on the first floor. The main residential neighborhoods and *mohallas* developed in the streets adjoining and adjacent to the main street. The typical plan of the urban *haveli* consisted of the ground floor raised from the street level sometimes with *tharas* and *chokis* in front of houses allowing residents and neighbors to meet and socialize (Fig. 1).

Figure 1

A residential *mohalla*. Source: Author

Figure 2

A *haveli* in Bhabra Bazaar. Source: Author

Many of the residential *havelis* had wooden *jharokas* which protruded from the first floor (Fig. 2). This configuration helped to shade the street below and also gave privacy to the first floor rooms. These *jharokas* had multiple openings and windows and shutters could be opened in the evenings to allow air-flow into the rooms at the rear. The other urban *haveli* consisted of larger houses made of bricks with timber braces. These were larger and taller, built upto 3 to 4 storeys. The decorative elements on the facade included carved woodwork, stucco and brick decorative work (Fig. 3).

Figure 3

A *haveli* in *Mohalla* Bhabra Bazaar. Source: Author

3.2. Changes in the Architectural Vocabulary

Figure 4

A m*ohalla* in Bhabra Bazaar. Source: Author

The typology of the *haveli* did not change even during the Colonial era. The only indication of change was the use of building materials and decorative elements during the late 1800s till independence in 1947. It was in 18th century Britain that new production methods first allowed cast iron to be produced cheaply enough and in large enough quantities to regularly be used in large building projects. Cast iron allowed elaborate facades that were far cheaper than traditional stone carved ones. Cast iron columns had the advantage of being slender, compared with masonry columns capable of supporting similar weights (Fig. 4).

Figure 5

Baroque influences, Sarafa Bazaar. Source: Author

Greek columns, pilasters, stained glass, gothic windows, painted tiles, wrought iron brackets and balustrades made their foray into the *havelis* (Fig. 5).

Figure 6

A *haveli* in Bohar Bazaar. Source: Author

Many hybrid styles co-existed, all amalgamations of the Indian style with styles deemed important for colonial rule in India. The woodcarving was replaced by plaster *jaalis* and grills of wrought iron. The architectural style diversified due to a number of reasons; it was a delayed arrival of the styles in vogue in England. The British rule spanned several architectural periods like classical Greek, Roman, Palladian and Baroque. Other styles prevalent in England in the later era were the Georgian, Neo-Classical, Gothic Revival, Indo-Sarcenic and much later the Art Deco (Fig. 7).

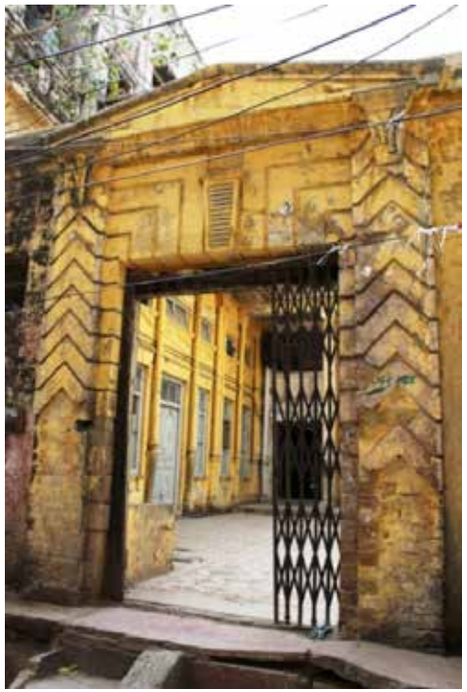

Figure 7

Houses in Bhabra Bazaar. Source: Author

The architecture in Rawalpindi is an exciting amalgamation of all of these styles, reflective of its customs and people, who easily adopted external influences and made them their own. Slowly the *havelis* became mansions in the inner city context and bungalows in the suburbs. Many of the decorative friezes and frescos adorning the buildings of the bazaars and in the surrounding areas have disappeared or are in a dilapidated condition. Only some remain to inform us about the era and its inspirations. Some buildings with the traditional typology of commercial units on the ground floor and residential quarters on the first floor show colonial influences through

their fresco-work. These frescoes show various scenes of European cities, distinguishable by their clock towers and squares (Fig. 8). The images were probably copied from paintings.

Figure 8

Fresco under overhang, Bhabra Bazaar. Source: Author

4. The Intangible Culture of the Bazaar: Rituals and Routines

Figure 9

A street in Moti Bazaar. Source: Author

It is easy to be overwhelmed by the various stimuli of sights, sounds and smells when one enters a bazaar. The senses are assaulted by thousands of smells: perfumes, spices, sweat, balms and many others, some pleasant, some unpleasant. The sounds and the noises of hawkers and shopkeepers, goats, chickens, an assortment of domestic animals, calls by beggars and the shouts of children fill the atmosphere. The crowds push and shove, children or beggars pull at your clothes while pickpockets try their luck on you. People's eyes

follow you and the experience compared with shopping in one of the western shopping malls is very intense and intimate (Fig. 9). After spending a certain amount of time and allowing the senses to adjust to the rush, you begin to be carried along with the frenzy called the bazaar. This is the unique, all embracing atmosphere of the bazaar.

The bazaars have some very strong intangible cultural traditions. The shopkeepers display their wares prominently in every available space from the ground to the ceilings, usually encroaching into the streets (Fig 10). It is quite acceptable (unlike in mainstream culture) to call out to prospective, unknown buyers in the street and ask them to look at the unique goods of the shop. The exchanges between the shopkeeper and the customer are not as strangers; the shopkeeper or both will strike up a relationship such as that of a sister, mother, aunt or daughter, to induct a sense of intimacy in the exchange. The prospective buyer might also mention that the shopkeeper has been recommended by a family member or friend, to reassure the shopkeeper that he/she may also become a regular customer. Most of the shopkeeper's wily techniques of marketing were reserved for female customers to encourage, convince and even cajole them into trying. The shopkeepers would tempt with an exquisite object, talk the customer around and even tell the object's long history. It seems that time is never an issue with them; they only want the customer's satisfaction and happiness. It is quite acceptable for them to look around the shops of the bazaar and try to get the best bargains.

Figure 10

Display of wares at a roadside stall. Source: Author

The bazaar has a ritual whereby a customer will visit a shop and inspect the goods; this is a perfectly acceptable practice and the shopkeeper will show him various items and explain their salient features: latest, imported, best quality, most durable and so on. The customer is not obliged to buy anything and at times does not even intend to buy anything. Here the skills of the shopkeeper come into play, when he quotes a fairly favorable price for the item, tempting the customer to begin the ritual of haggling for the most suitable price (Fig. 11). Then there is a great deal of bargaining and haggling after which, usually the customer is given the last word and the shopkeeper

Figure 11

Bargaining for goods. Source: Author

will concede with a long sigh saying, "Today, you have got the best from me!" The proprietors of the bazaar are not just interested in making a deal but in building a deeper relationship which is lasting.

Figure 12

Dyers with customers. Source: Author

There is a close link between mutual trust and the reputation of the shopkeeper during the ritual of bargaining. Any suspicion cast on the shopkeeper's honesty is met with a promise to give away the goods free if found dishonest. The shopkeeper may also mention that other (similar) people have bought his goods and have had a good bargain (Fig. 12). If the customer indicates that he/she does not have the funds to pay for the goods, even unknown shopkeepers are known to be chivalrous and hand the goods over, saying good-naturedly that the money can be sent later, thus building a bridge of trust. This communicates to the buyer that he is considered a good pious person, who is credit worthy. It is a gesture that seldom fails to impress the customer.

The shopkeepers are always great assessors of human nature and can deduce the customers' status from their clothes and mannerisms. This sometimes helps them in setting a higher price for their goods. An interesting practice is that of the customer quoting a lower or a more realistic price for the wares and then getting up and walking out of the shop if the shopkeeper does not concede. Usually, the shopkeeper calls the customer back, even follows him into the street and agrees to the

buyer's price. The shopkeeper will keep saying that he has paid a certain amount for the goods and will not even recoup his initial investment. These rituals are an important part of the indigenous culture of the bazaar, where a customer is made to feel a part of the culture and a family member, whose queries are always welcome even if they do not always translate into a sale.

In older times, a visitor to a strange city would go into the bazaar and strike up a conversation with shopkeeper; he would be welcomed to cups of tea and even be offered meals and hospitality. Today, it is common for shopkeepers of valuable wares (gold, wedding clothes and such) to offer their customers, soft drinks, snacks, *kehwa* and tea. The food offered is usually the specialty of the bazaar that is sold at nearby shops, like *samosas*, *chaat* and *dahi bharas* (Fig. 13). The shopkeeper will call out to an assistant, C*hota*, who will run and fetch these in no time at all, allowing the shopkeeper to keep the customer's attention for a longer time and making appropriate sales. No customer will eat at a shop and buy nothing. It is an unspoken rule of etiquette in the bazaar. This is part of the socializing of the bazaar, building goodwill between the two parties.

Figure 13

A *Chaat* and *Dahi Bhaley* shop, Moti bazaar. Source: Author

There are also rituals regarding the first and the last sale of the day. The first sale is called the *Bismillah* of the business. Interestingly, Muslim, Sikh and Hindu traders observe this ritual very religiously and the first customer is never sent away without a sale. In the same manner, the customer who comes in at closing time is also honored and never sent away without making a sale.

Religion and the blessings of the Almighty are an important part of the bazaar culture. Every shop will display symbols of religious affiliations; in the case of Muslims, the holy names of Allah, the Prophet and the Imams; in the case of Hindus or Sikhs, a small temple on one side to get the blessings of the goddesses, usually Lakshmi, or the pictures of the Sikh Gurus. There is always incense burning in the morning. At the time of prayers, the shops are closed or wares covered while the shopkeeper goes to the nearby mosque to offer his prayers. The shopkeepers at times keep their caps, turbans and other head coverings

on or have a *tilak* on their forehead to show that they are good religious men, worthy of your trust. They may take the Lord's name and in some cases be known as *haji sahib* or *sufi sahib* to express piety.

These are important parts of the intangible culture that has been sustained in the bazaars since thousands of years. They are steadfastly followed by the older shopkeepers or families of traders who have for generations been associated with the bazaars.

5. Conclusion: The Impact of Globalization on Bazaars

As a result of wide-ranging economic, political and social changes, bazaars in the Islamic world have undergone a significant transformation in recent years. The establishment of modern factories has displaced the numerous artisans' workshops. The network of commerce and trade has shifted in the past 30 years, reducing the bazaar's central importance to economic life. Increasing urbanization and congestion have led to fewer people, living far from the traditional city, willing to travel to the old bazaars to make major purchases. A couple of years ago only specialty bazaars held the goods coveted by society; today the traders have moved to the new and posh centers of commerce. A steadily growing number of superstores and shopping malls have opened up in Rawalpindi.

At the heart of every city in the Islamic world one can find a vibrant commercial hub that is the forerunner of today's shopping malls – the bazaars are reminders of the glorious, long history of these cities.

Parts of old bazaars have been destroyed to make wide streets. The most destructive factor of the modernization process has occurred at intersection points; new constructions have been designed and built without any attention to the spatial and functional components of the old fabric. No attention is given to the restoration or regeneration of historic areas and the old quarters lie abandoned and dilapidated. Unfortunately, modernization trends in cities only attempt to find space for automobiles; no public places or pedestrian pathways are designed or restored in this process. The traditional city centers and bazaars are decaying and dying. There is no longer any social or cultural activity in the historical parts of the city. These areas do not play a role in the social life of local residents as they did in earlier times.

As the narrow roads of the traditional bazaars became choked with traffic, people from other parts of the town stopped coming to the city for traditional goods, preferring to get items of use from closer commercial

areas. The coming of the shopping mall in the late 1980s and early 1990s changed the consumer trend of going to the older parts of the city for specialized goods. Once people flocked to Bara Market for imported crockery, electronic goods, electrical items and expensive fabric or to Sarafa Bazaar for jewelry or to Moti Bazaar for women's hosiery and laces, to Mochi Bazaar for leather goods or Trunk Bazaar for quality suitcases, to Purana Qila for embroidery and wedding finery. Today, they prefer to go to the less cluttered, up-market Blue Area for most of these goods.

Most of the bazaars of the city have undergone many changes in lifestyle, trade and commerce. As the inner city became more congested, the residents moved to the suburbs. This has resulted in the tearing down of the historic fabric of the bazaars for other usages and forced traditional traders to find alternative professions. Many of the traditional bazaars have begun to emulate the modern version of the market. With goods placed in glass encased malls and stiff lipped sales persons, the face of the new bazaar is less personal and more businesslike.

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An Evaluation of Timber Techniques Practised by the Artisans of Chiniot and Gujrat

Sahar Saqlain

Introduction

This paper is an evaluation of timber techniques practised by the artisans of Chiniot and Gujrat - the hub of wood working in the Punjab, Pakistan. In relation to these two cities, woodworking is explored as a craft including the types of timber, techniques, tools and its significance as a natural resource in architecture and interiors. Research methodologies include visits to architectural monuments of Chiniot to study the type of woodwork practised by the artisans of the past and present followed by a visit to Gujrat. The discussion sessions have been carried out with the key woodwork artisans of Chiniot and showroom/factory owners of Gujrat, a list of which is given in Appendix-1.

1. Chiniot

Chiniot is one of the old historic towns of the Punjab that lies on the left bank of the River Chenab, with rocky hills on the northern side between the river and the city.1 The carpenters of Chiniot have been well-known for their skill in wood crafts of a varied nature. Writing about the major craft of this city in 1883-84, the compiler of the District Gazetteer had these comments:

> Chiniot is remarkable for its wood-work; [...]. Very fine decorated door frames are made there. Also fine Kalamdans or pen-cases, boxes, [...] and geometrical and foliated tracery suitable for balconies, doors and door-posts and other architectural adjuncts can also be made. Some beautiful specimens of Chiniot wood-work have been made for the Lahore Exhibition.[2]

In 1929, the Compiler commended the woodwork and fine masonry work of Chiniot and had these comments:

> Chiniot is celebrated for its wood carving and masonry. The carved woodwork turned out by the Chiniot mistris is, when they choose, as fine as any work of the kind in the carved doors and windows of the Khatri houses in the Kapur's Muhalla. The architect of the Golden Temple at Amritsar was a mason of Chiniot and some masons from Chiniot were seen working at this Temple.[2]

1.1 Site Visits

S.No.	Sites	Location	Year of Construction	Artisans Involved
1	Tomb of *Hazrat Shah Burhan-u-Din Bukhari*	Shadi Malang Chiniot	1653-1655	Masons and Labourers from Saharanpur (India)
2	*Haveli of Sardar Hussain Shah*	Rajwa Sadaat Chiniot	1902	Elahi Baksh Pirjah
3	*Umar Hayat* Palace	Reekhti Mohallah	1923 - 1928	Elahi Baksh, Rahim Baksh Pirja, Afzal Ahmed, Ahmed Din, Niaz Ahmed and Ghulam Ali Jhalandari
4	Tazia	Shadi Malang *Imam bargah*	1914	Elahi Baksh Pirjah
5	*Sufi* Saint *Shaikh Sharafuddeen Bu Ali Qalandar*	Center of River Chinab Chiniot	After 1980	Masonary work by Sadaq Hussain and intricate wood carved door by Akhtar Hussain Pirjah

Table 1

Site Visits carried out in Chiniot.

1.1.1. Tomb of *Hazrat* Shah Burhan-u-Din Bukhari

The stone tomb of Hazrat Shah Burhan-u-Din Bukhari (981-1061 After Hijrah) was constructed in the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan by his Prime Minister, Nawab Asad Ullah Khan. Its construction started in 1653 and was completed in 1655.[3] It is said that the masons and labourers were specially called from Saharanpur (India) as they were skilled in stone carving. Beautiful floral patterns are engraved in variegated marble,

Figure 1

Door and window panel of *Hazrat Shah Burhan's* tomb in Chiniot.

Sang-e-Abri, cladded on the interior and exterior walls, dome and pillars. The tomb has one door and three windows that are made in Diar wood with simple geometric patterns engraved on them.

1.1.2. *Haveli of* Khan Bahadur Hussain

Situated in Rajwa Sadaat, Chiniot, the *haveli* of Khan Bahadur Hussain is an elegant manifestation of Chiniot's craftsmanship and wood carving. Khan Bahadur Hussain was a renowned landlord of his times. The *haveli* was constructed in 1902 by Elahi Buksh Pirjah.[4] The main entrance door of the *haveli* is made in elaborately carved wood. It has a central courtyard with 20 rooms accessed through a veranda. All doors, windows, railings, ceilings and cornices are exquisitely carved in wood. Each room has elaborate woodwork evident on dressing tables, *almirahs*, dados and fire places. The grandsons of Khan Bahadur Hussain, Syed Muhammad Ali Shah and Syed Muhammad Tahir Shah, now own this *haveli*.

Figure 2

Woodwork on Main Entrance door, Windows/ doors opening in the courtyard, Alimirah, Fireplace and Ceiling in Haveli of Khan Bahadur Hussain at Rajoa Sadaat, Chiniot.

1.1.3. Umar Hayat Palace

Umar Hayat Palace (also called Gulzar Mahal) is a masterpiece of indigenous art and architecture. The palace is located in Reekhti *Mohallah* and exhibits the creativity of the human spirit with its fine wood carving and patterns in the form of priceless *jharokas* (balconies), doors, windows, glass work and exquisitely engraved arches.

Figure 3

External facade and wood carving at *Umar Hayat* Palace in Chiniot.

Umar Hayat was a successful trader who decided to construct a beautiful palace in Chiniot. The construction began in 1923 and was completed in 1928.[5] Elahi Baksh and Rahim Bakhsh of the Pirjah family, the renowned artisans of Chiniot, were the wood carvers. In the Gazetteer of District Jhang of 1929 A.D., the following is stated, "House built by Sheikh Umar Hayat is a sort of local wonder as it cost more than 2 *lakhs* of rupees and rises high above all other buildings".[6] The building encapsulates fine display of wood, fresco, *jali*, glass, plaster and brick work. Originally, it was a five-storey building including a basement but neglect and the ravages of time reduced it to four-storeys only. Umar Hayat could not enjoy this masterpiece as he died in 1935, just after its completion. In 1938, his son Gulzar Muhammad got married but died a tragic death on his wedding night.[5] The widowed mother could not bear the loss of her young son's death and died soon after. Both mother and son are buried in the centre of the courtyard. In 1990, the building was taken over by the Government and restored.[7] Currently, the ground floor acts as a library with one room converted into a museum.

Figure 4

Wood carving on interior doors, windows and arches at first floor and pavilion at second floor of *Umar Hayat* Palace in Chiniot.

The main *jharoka* exquisitely crafted over the entrance door is in Teak wood[5] that rests on beautifully carved wooden supports. The glass work, fresco, *jali*, plaster, brick work, wooden staircase, built-in wall cabinets, wooden doors, windows, ventilators, pillars and ceilings testify to the skills and expertise of the master craftsmen. The Shalimar Gardens of Lahore, the mountains of Kangra, the Taj Mahal of Agra and the Jantar Mantar of Jaipur have been painted on the Diar wood ceiling of the first floor (as narrated by Mushtaq Ahmed – curator/librarian at Umar Hayat Mahal). The wooden balcony jutting out from the façade at the second floor has been made in Shisham and Deodar wood.[7]

Figure 5

Main wooden *jharoka* above the entrance door of *Umer Hayat Mahal* in Chiniot.

1.1.4. *Tazia* at Shadi Malang

A *Tazia* is a model replica of the tomb of Hazrat Imam Hussain (R.A.) and is carried in processions during Moharram.[2] Originally, the word *"tazia"* is a derivative of an Arabic word *"taziat"* meaning 'condolence'. This reflects remembrance of the Karbala incident as well as an act of condolence. Chiniot is famous for its nine unique *tazias* which describe the best example of Chiniot's wood carving. The first and the oldest *tazia*, which now rests in Shadi Malang *Imam Bargah* was made in 1914 by the master craftsman Elahi Baksh Pirjah.[2] It is taken out every year on the 9th of Moharram. It is made of Shisham and Diar wood and measures

Figure 6

Tazia- *Shadi Malang Imam bargah*, Chiniot.

up to 42 feet in height. Its base is called *Takht*, the middle portion as *Manzils* (storeys) and the top is called *Palki* or *Saiwan* with *Chan Tara*.[2] It is covered with a golden colour lacquer. The decorative motifs used in the carvings include floral and geometric designs.

1.1.5. Worship Centre/ *Chilla Gah* of Shaikh Sharafuddeen Bu Ali Qalandar

In the centre of the River Chenab in Chiniot, is located a *Chilla Gah* of a Muslim Sufi Saint Sheikh Sharafuddeen Bu Ali Qalandar (1215-1292 CE).[8] Before 1980, the worship centre was just a small mound which was later upgraded into a grand mosque by a devotee of Bu Ali Qalandar. The masonry work of the building has been done by Muhammad Sadaq and the intricate carving on the main entrance door has been done by Ali Akhtar Pirjah.[7]

Figure 7

Wooden door at worship centre (Chilla Gah) Bu Ali Qalandar, Chiniot.

1.2. Interviews

The craftsmen of Chiniot are famous throughout the world in furniture making. Most of the furniture showrooms are located in specialized commercial zones along Shahra-e-Quaid-e-Azam whereas a lot of furniture workshops are found in *Mohalla Tarkhanan* (Mason's area) and the western edge of the city. The inner city commercial zone has a number of main streets with shops located at ground floor and upper floors occupied for residential purposes. Furniture available here is mostly without polish. Some of the artisans, wood workshop and showroom owners interviewed in Chiniot are as follows:

Table 2

Artisans, Wood Workshop and Showroom owners interviewed in Chiniot.

	ARTISANS AND SHOWROOM OWNERS INTERVIEWED IN CHINIOT					
	#	Company	No. Of Years in Practice	Address	Owner	Speciality
Artisans/Workshops	1	Buksh Elahi – Rangeen Furniture Mart	1938 (75 years)	Muhallah Tarkhanan, Chiniot	Buksh Elahi	Famous for making wooden stools and low chairs
	2	Ali Akhtar Pirjah	1973 (40 years)	Chak Pakka, Near Masjid Al-Hussain, Chiniot	Ali Akhtar Pirjah, Sikandar Pirjah, Elahi Buksh Pirjah	Bed and dining sets, mirror frames and architectural woodwork
	3	Auranzab aka Mala	1990 (23 years)	Jalebi Chowk (Multani Chowk), Chiniot	Late Shibu Moortiyan Wala (Shabbir), Auranzeb (His brother in law)	Sculptural works
	4	Gaggi Family (Fazal Abbas)	1975 (38 years)	Jalebi Chowk, Near Huzaifa Masjid	Haji Mukhtar Ahmed/ Fazal Abbas	Bed sets, mirror frames
	5	Waris Ali Shah	1993 (20 years)	Chowki Road, House No. 378, Mohala Thati Sharqi, Near City Thana, Chiniot	Waris Ali Shah	Mirror frames (Ability to replicate natural forms of dry leaves)
	6	Haji Sultan (Shana)	1974 (39 years)	Jhang Road, Rajwa Chowk City Thana Road, near Azhar Paan shop, Chiniot	Asghar Ali, Mehmood-ul-Hassan	Bed sets and mirror frames
	7	Asif Thabul	2003 (10 years)	Jhang Road, Rajwa Chowk, Near Fruit Market, Chiniot	Asif Thabul	Bed sets and dining tables
Show-rooms	8	Chiniot Art Centre	1975 (38 years)	Tehsil Road Chiniot, Pakistan	Malik Khalil Ahmed	Residential furniture and handicrafts

1.3 Woodwork Artisans/ Craftsmen of Chiniot

The craftsmen in Chiniot have been making hand drafted drawings of domes, pillars and decorative patterns. These drawings along with daily attendance records, as old as 1938, can be found with some of Chiniot's craftsmen today. The entire data is worth archiving. Apart from transferring woodwork craft through kinship, the art was also

transferred through the Ustad Shagird system. In Chiniot, most of the children are sent to the wood workshops for learning the craft from a very young age.

In the olden days, the skill and craftsmanship was valued but now it is seen in a business context. Students and workers who join the wood workshops have no choice but to join their family profession or face poverty. Despite this, some parents send their children for higher studies to the best colleges and universities of the country.

1.4 Wood Workshops/ Showrooms

The main high quality furniture showrooms are located on Shahra-e-Quaid-e-Azam while the medium quality furniture is available at the showrooms in Muhallah Tarkhanan**.** The rent for a single showroom space in Muhallah Tarkhanan is PKR 7000 while at Shahra-e-Quaid-e-Azam it is PKR 50,000. 99 percent of the showrooms in Chiniot do not have their own workshops. They act as a third party who get the work done from the cottage industries/workshops and sell it. The workshops are mostly located on Jhang Road, Muhallah Thati Sharqi, near Huzaifa Masjid, Jalebi Chowk (Multani Chowk), Muhallah Rorian Wali and in Muhallah Tarkhanan. A maximum of 15 and a minimum of 02 employees work in the wood workshops. Poverty is rife at all these places. The artisans lack the proper facilities of a working environment but are still working to earn their living.

The Chiniot wood workshops and showrooms not only fulfil the furniture requirement of Chinot and walk-in clients but also supply furniture to various dealers in Karachi, Gujrat, Lahore and Rawalpindi. Chiniot meets 70-80 percent of Pakistan's furniture demand and also exports a small percentage of handicrafts.

Most of the craftsmen remain busy in winters especially during the wedding season, when the demand for furniture also increases. While most of the craftsmen in Chiniot suffer a shortage of work in summers, there are some who remain occupied throughout the year. These wood workers are constantly working with clients/designers who value the hard work of the artisans in making exquisit wood work.

The craftsmen in Chiniot specialize in making traditional furniture and have developed as an organization by dividing work as per their area of specialization. There are, for instance, separate/ specialized wood workers for making beds, sofas, chairs, legs/pedestals, back rests and seats. In this way readymade parts are available with manufacturers that make it quick to assemble/make a final product. This adds to work efficiency and maintains uniformity.

Figure 8

Wood carving and handmade drawings at Asif Thabul's Workshop.

1.5 Wood Work Practiced in Chiniot

1.5.1. Types of Wood Used:

Mostly Shisham (Tahli/Rosewood) is used. For certain furniture pieces white Diar/Deodar is especially brought from Hari Pur. Kikar and Acasia (low cost woods) are used by some wood workers for making the base structure of furniture that is not visible. Farash wood is used for making painted *piris* (stools). Being naturally white, it takes on any colour easily.

1.5.2. Source and Cost of Wood:

Wood is brought from Bahawalpur and Rahim Yar Khan. The cost of Shisham ranges from PKR 1,500 - 3,000/cubic foot depending on its quality. It is purchased through distributers who buy it from South Punjab. Apart from logs, the wood is also available in plank-cut form that is brought from the forests of Faisalabad, Jhang and Rawalpindi. The legs of chairs, tables and beds can be easily made from these pieces as compared to a wooden log that results in more wastage.

1.5.3. Woodwork Techniques/ Procedure:

Wood Carving: Chiniot is famous for its intricate wood carving. It involves working on wood with one hand on the chisel and one hand on a mallet resulting in a wooden piece of art. It is also called *Manabat* or *Manawaat Kari*.

Cutwork: It includes the through cutting of wood with hand tools or *Chappaka* machine and then carrying on with the carving techniques in the usual manner.

Inlay: Inlay is a decorative technique of inserting pieces of contrasting coloured materials into depressions in a base object to form patterns that normally are flushed with the matrix. Initially brass inlay used to be done in Chiniot. It was high in demand but was not lucrative enough for the artisans in return to their intense hard work. Due to this it has become scarce. Brass inlay was followed by Diar, Mother of Pearl and Camel bone inlay.

Lacquer and Polish: Lacquer is a clear or coloured wood finish that provides a durable surface of any sheen ranging from ultra matte to high gloss. Polishing to some extent, including Deco, Natural, Gloss and Matt is also carried out in Chiniot.

Lathe and paint work: After the wood is cleaned and given the required form through the lathe machine, it is prepared for colouring/ painting. The raw material for this is *Dana Lac* that is purified by heating and filtering through a *mulmul* cloth. In this way *Dana Lac* is transformed into *Chapra Lac*. Then different colour powders are mixed in it to form the desired shade. The colours are applied layer after layer on the wood, starting from white as the base. Each layer is dried before a new layer is applied on it. At the end, the *Rachkhi* instrument is used to scrape off the paint to expose the desired colour in the design. It requires immense skill and experience and that is why it is done by the master craftsman himself.

Figure 9

Cutwork, Carving, Inlay (Camel bone, Brass, wood) and lacquer work at wood workshops of Chiniot.

Figure 10

Lathe and Paint work at Buksh Elahi's workshop at Chiniot.

1.5.4. Type of Machinery/ Tools used

The hand carving tools used by the wood carvers are mentioned in table 3. Some craftsmen have simple machinery in their workshop, that is, Band saw, Planer, Sander, Cutter, Spindle Moulder and *Chappaka*.

Table 3

Chiniot's Wood Workshops Survey 2013.

Local Language	Sizes	English	Purpose
Kuba Chappu nal wala	2½, 2¼, 2, 1½, 1¼, 1, ¾, ½, ¼ sutar[4]	Gouge	A chisel with a rounded, trough like blade for carving rounded designs in wood
Satri	3, 2, 1½, 1, ¾ *sutar*	Bevel edge chisel	This tool can get into acute angles with its bevelled edges
Chirni (nouk)	-	V-Gouge	It is used to give depth in wooden carving
Doonga Chappu	-	U-gouge (bent shaft)	A spoon gouge with cutting edge on the concave side to dig into the wood to create designs
Kubba Chappu	1 ½"	Back bent gouge	A spoon gouge with the curve reversed so the cutting edge is convex instead of concave to create embossed or protruding designs

Golian wala Chappu	3 *sutar*	U-gouge (spoon shaft)	Used to smoothen the curved wooden surfaces
Do kham wala chappu	-	Blade with two bevelled edges	Used as per design's requirement
Chanyae wala Chappu	-		The finest and thinnest chisel used for minute detailing
Siedha Chappu	2, 1½, 1 *sutar*	Straight gouge	Used as per design's requirement
Thokni	-	Mallet	A cylindrical heavy hardwood tool used as a hammer on chisels and gouges

1.6 Extent of Government Support

The furniture manufacturers urged the Government in August 2009, to establish a Wood Bank for a direct supply of Shisham wood to the manufacturers at subsidized rates. It was also suggested that the Wood Depots should be at Lahore, Sialkot, Chiniot, Jhang and Gujrat in order to avert the 'artificial shortage' in the local market.[9] Furniture manufacturers should be given financial loans for new machinery and equipment while being encouraged to participate in local as well as international exhibitions. Wood other than Shisham should be introduced. Education and training institutes should be opened up in Chiniot with introduction of new techniques and technology.

In 2004, the wood seasoning facility centre was set up by Punjab Small Industries Corporation (PSIC) at a cost of PKR 20 million, to help woodworkers get seasoned wood in three days. The centre had two kilns with a capacity to season 1,200 cubic feet of wooden planks in 20 to 25 days. However, due to the increase in load shedding hours, the plant was closed in January 2011.[10] A few years ago, six solar kilns were provided to Chiniot wood workers at subsidized rates but these did not prove to be of much use since it required proper operational training.[10] After the construction of the Motorway, due to easier access to Chiniot, the sales have increased. However, Chiniot wood workers are generally not satisfied with government support provided to the furniture industry.

2. GUJRAT

Gujrat is an ancient district of Punjab Province in Pakistan with a history spanning over 2500 years. It is divided into three *tehsils*: Gujrat, Kharian and Sarai Alamgir.[11] Gujrat is well known for the production of its top quality furniture all over Pakistan. There are two main furniture markets in Gujrat, namely; Railway Road Market that has small showrooms and the Grand Trunk (G. T.) Road furniture market that has large showrooms and factory setups which supply furniture to the entire country.[12]

2.1 Interviews

Some of the artisans, wood workshop and showroom owners interviewed in Gujrat are as follows:

Table 4

Gujrat's Wood Workshop's Survey 2013.

	COMPANIES INTERVIEWED IN GUJRAT					
	S.No.	Company	Company Founded/ No. of Years in Business	Address	Owner	Speciality
Small Factories & Showrooms:	1	Riaz Furnishers (Pvt.) Ltd.	1932 (81 years)	Railway Road, Gujrat	Mohd. Umer Jan Qureshi	Wood and Steel Furniture (Government and Corporate Projects)
	2	Mir Furnishers	1953 (60 years)	Railway Road, Gujrat	Mazhar Islam Mir	Wooden Furniture (Residential)
Big Factories & Showrooms:	3	Bashir Design Furniture	1960 (53 years)	G.T. Road Gujrat	Mohd. Afzal	Wooden and Steel Furniture (Residential, Corporate and Educational projects)
	4	Decent Furnishers	1948 (65 years)	G.T. Road Gujrat	Mirza Umar Fayyaz, Mirza Zahid Fayyaz	Wooden Furniture. (Government, Educational, Retail, Hospitality, Corporate & Residential projects)
	5	Heritage-1	1869 (144 years)	G.T. Road Juliani Gujrat	Masood Afzal	Handcrafted Furniture
	6	National Furnishers	1932 (81 years)	G.T. Road Gujrat, Lahore, Islamabad, Faisalabad, Karachi	Rizwan Amjad	Wood & Steel Furniture (Residential)

Gujrat was involved in wooden furniture making from the very beginning. But now the skilled labor is reducing since there are no training centres in the city. It has companies established in 1869 which used to supply furniture to the British Indian Army to furnish their

homes in Berili- Jhelum. The quality of the furniture used to be very high in the British era (as stated by Masood Afzal – showroom/factory owner of Heritage-1 in Gujrat).

Most of the furniture manufactured in Gujrat is consumed in the domestic market. Around 10 percent of the total furniture is sold in Gujrat and 90 percent in other cities. Gujrat's furniture cluster is comprised of about 350 units, categorized into micro, small and medium sized. The wooden furniture manufacturers of Gujrat are involved in making a diverse range of products mainly divided into three broad categories, that is, residential, corporate and industrial furniture.[12]

2.2 Wood Work Factories/ Showrooms

Gujrat furniture industry supplies furniture to local and foreign clients and also to Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad, Islamabad and Rawalpindi. It has also supplied furniture to the Pakistan Army, Supreme Court, Capital Development Authority, Anti Narcotics Force (ANF), the American Embassy, Strategic sites/laboratories, the private residence of Oman's Prime Minister and to Pakistani embassies abroad.

The companies in Gujrat specialize in wooden and steel furniture for the government, educational institutions, the hospitality industry, corporate and residential projects. They also specialize in handcrafted furniture and are involved in exclusive building wood works and the conservation of heritage sites in Pakistan.

The factories in Gujrat are generally divided into the following departments on the basis of their specialized intended function:

Wood Plant — Log Cutting (Saw Mill Section)

Seasoning Plant — Vacuum Kilns

Drawing/ Design Department — Timber List Preparation

Cutting Department — Marking Department

Machine Tool Department — Right after Saw Mill/Before Assembly

— Carving

— Assembling Department

Polishing/Finishing — Lacquer, Polish, PU Coating (Matt, Gloss)

Upholstery — Inspection/ Final Fitting

Logistics — Packing/ Delivery

2.3. Veneering

Firstly the best quality hard wood is selected for this process. The logs are soaked and boiled to soften the wood fibers to hold together more firmly when the wood is being thinly sliced. The logs are then cut through veneer cutting machine that uses a blade to slice and peel a thin layer of wood. This layer is removed and stacked. Each veneer layer is stacked in the order in which it was peeled. After cutting, the veneers are dried, stitched, pressed and then treated with stain or sealants. The veneer plant includes the following:

1. Cutting Area
2. Soaking of wooden logs
3. Boilers (for the fuel to produce steam through boiling)
4. Slicing Area
5. Drying Area
6. Stitching Area
7. Marquetry/Inlay Area
8. Pressing Area
9. Polishing Area

2.4. Wood Work Practiced in Gujrat

2.4.1. Types of Wood Used

These include Shisham[13], Deodar, Walnut, Burma Teak, Maple, Mahagony, Ash, Beech, Oak, *Farwan*, *Pertal* and *Chilgoza*. Other imported woods and veneers are also used.

2.4.2. Source and Cost of Wood

The wood was earlier taken from Changa Manga Forest but since the Forest Department demands a huge price for wood that a local manufacturer cannot afford, the wood workers prefer buying it from the local timber market of Gujrat, Peshawar, Laiya and Bhukkar. The quality of wood is not the same as it used to be 30-40 years ago. Shisham is PKR 2000-2500/cubic foot (being available as logs there is more wastage) while Ash and Beech is PKR 3000/cubic foot (which comes in "cut to size" planks which cause less wastage).

2.4.3. Woodwork Techniques

The following wood work techniques are practised in Gujrat:

- Carving
- Cut work
- Inlay
- Marquetry (The inlay of veneer on veneer)

Figure 11

Wood Work Techniques practised in Gujrat.

2.4.4. Wood Working Procedure and Type of Machinery/Tools Used

Procedure	Machinery Required
Wooden logs are purchased from merchants	Wood carrying trolley, electric winch machine for log pulling.
Logs are cut into planks	Band saw, circular saw
Planks are seasoned either naturally or in the seasoning plant	Natural seasoning takes 6 months to 1 year. Artificial seasoning including vacuum kilns take 8-20 days.
Drawing/ drafting of furniture items	Stationery tools
Cross cutting of planks according to requirement	Circular saw
Machining of the planks into the required sizes, shapes and designs as per requirement	Planers, thicknessers, sanding machine, spindle moulding machine, high speed with feeder machine, lathe machine, pantograph machine, single and double end tenoning machine, three side planer, high speed router machine, dovetailing machine, edge bending machine, blade sharpener, band saw and tool grinder.

Table 5

Gujrat's Factory Survey 2013.

Carving	Embossing press, jigsaw machine, chisel machine, Chain chisel.
Joining of the different parts to assemble the article	Glue and hydraulic press used for extra strength of joints.
Finishing the item	Includes polishing/painting with air compressor and sprayers. It is followed by upholstery and logistics.

3. Conclusion

Pakistan's woodwork/furniture industry is showing an increasing awareness of its limits and is working out a broader vision to reinvent its strength in global furnishing trade. A sustained growth requires balanced development efforts across the supply chain. A broad-based political will is necessary to sustain the wooden furniture industry's prospects in Pakistan - from the forest to the markets. It will not be competitive in mass furniture/woodwork segments against various giants. Authenticity and mastering of raw materials should be made the cornerstone for competitiveness of "ethnic/traditional" woodwork at the high-end of the market. High perceived value for price, timely deliveries, quality assurance and proper after-sales services are needed for keeping Pakistan's wooden products a winner.

4. Endnotes

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11. Gujrat District. *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopaedia.* Accessed on September 20, 2013 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gujrat_District

12. SMEDA, Cluster Profile, Wooden Furniture Cluster, Gujrat, Accessed on September 25, 2013 from http://www.smeda.org/

13. Shisham is an exotic wood and should be treated as such. The best part of Shisham considered suitable for furniture is a female species, grown in an arid environment. It has to be planted as a sapling. If a cross-section of the Shisham tree is seen, well defined, clear and narrow growth rings are evident. The minimum maturity age of the female Shisham is above 70 years. Unfortunately, in the last few years a virus has infected the trees which has caused them to wilt thereby making them unsuitable for use. On the other hand, the male species of Shisham is used for making fishing boats, carts or other rough/rugged products. There is a huge difference of value between the male and female Shisham wood species. It includes a difference in finesse, tensile strength, colour, grain, texture, shrinkage, co-efficient of strength and other properties. It is best to harvest the trees, cut and use them when they reach their maturity point. Some types of Shisham take around 13 years to mature. Lately, Shisham is being cut illegally from the forests and Eucalyptus is planted in its place which takes around 11-12 months to mature to a stage that the Shisham does in 13-14 years. When it comes to counting the trees, it's only the quantity that is checked/ verified and not the type of tree. Hence, the Government record files do not state the actual statistics. (as stated by Masood Afzal – showroom/factory owner of Heritage-1 in Gujrat).

5. Appendix

Interview and Discussion Session

Mushtaq: Curator and librarian at Omar Hayat Mahal aka Gulzar Mahal at Chiniot. Interviewed on August 07, 2013 at 0830 hours inside Omar Hayat Mahal aka Gulzar Mahal, Chiniot.

Amjad Ali Pithar: Possessor of the Shadi Malang *Tazia* at Chiniot. Interviewed on October 05, 2013 and site visit to Shadi Malang *Tazia* at *Imam Bargah*, Chiniot on August 07, 2013 at 1200 hours.

Zulfiqar Ali Shah: Owner of *Haveli* Sardar Hussain Shah at Rajoa Sadaat, Chiniot. Interviewed on October 05, 2013 and site visit to *Haveli* Sardar Hussain Shah at Rajoa Sadaat, Chiniot on August 07, 2013, 1400 hours.

Muhammad Umer Jan Qureshi: Owner of M/s Riaz Furnishers (Pvt.) Ltd. furniture in Gujrat. Interviewed on September 01, 2013 at 0930 hours at Riaz Furnishers factory/ showroom, Gujrat.

Mazhar Islam Mir: Owner of M/s Mir Furnishers showroom/factory in Gujrat. Interviewed on September 01, 2013 at 1130 hours at Mir Furnishers Showroom at Railway Road, Gujrat.

Muhammad Afzal: Owner of M/s Bashir Design Furniture in Gujrat. Interviewed on September 01, 2013 at 1230 hours at Bashir Design Furniture factory/showroom, Gujrat

Mirza Umar Fayyaz: Manager Operations at M/s Decent Furnishers in Gujrat. Interviewed on September 01, 2013, 1330 hours at Decent Furnishers factory/showroom, Gujrat

Masood Afzal: Practical forester and owner of M/s Heritage-1 in Gujrat. Interviewed on September 01, 2013 at 1530 hours at Heritage-1 showroom/factory, Gujrat

Rizwan Amjad: s/o owner Muhammad Umer Jan Qureshi of M/s National Furnishers in Gujrat. Interviewed on September 01, 2013 at 1800 hours inside National Furnishers showroom/factory, Gujrat

Mehmood-ul-Hassan: s/o artisan and wood workshop owner Haji Sultan (Shana) in Chiniot. Interviewed on September 07, 2013 at 1000 hours at the wood workshop at Jhang Road, Chiniot

Waris Ali Shah: Artisan and wood workshop owner at Muhallah Thati Sharqi in Chiniot. Interviewed on September 07, 2013 at 1130 hours at the wood workshop at Chiniot

Abrar Ahmed: s/o Fazal Abbas (Gaggi Family), artisan and wood workshop owner in Chiniot. Interviewed on September 07, 2013 at 1230 hours at the wood workshop at Jalebi Chowk, Chiniot

Auranzab aka Mala: Artisan/Owner and brother-in-law of late Shibu Moortiyan Wala (Shabbir) in Chiniot. Interviewed on September 07, 2013 at 1330 hours at the wood workshop at Jalebi Chowk, Chiniot

Ali Akhtar Pirjah: Artisan/Owner of wood workshop at Chiniot. Interviewed on September 07, 2013 at 1430 hours inside the wood workshop near Jalebi Chowk, Chiniot

Buksh Elahi: Artisan/Owner of M/s Rangeen Furniture Mart in Chiniot. Interviewed on September 07, 2013 at 1530 hours inside wood workshop at Muhallah Tarkhana, Chiniot

Asif Thabul: Owner of wood workshop at Chiniot. Interviewed on September 07, 2013 at 1630 hours inside the wood workshop at Jhang Road, Chiniot.

Malik Khalil Ahmed: Ex-President of Small Scale Furniture Association and owner of furniture showroom M/s Art Centre in Chiniot. Interviewed on September 07, 2013 at 1730 hours inside Chiniot Art Centre, Chiniot.

6. Acknowledgements

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All photographs and tables in this paper are taken and made by the author.

Research visits to Chiniot and Gujrat were on the following dates:

- Site Visits of architectural monuments in Chiniot with reference to wood work were carried out on August 07, 2013.
- Interviews and discussion sessions with the furniture showrooms/factory owners of Gujrat were carried out on September 01, 2013
- Interviews and discussion sessions with the woodwork artisans of Chiniot were carried out on September 07, 2013.

Ashlars Masonry in Puṫhūhār and the British Rāj:
A Study of the Monumental Edifices

Mamoona Khan, PhD

Since times antediluvian, stone has provided man with the basic requisites for luxurious shelters and even served as chronicles of the past. The Puthūhār being rugged terrain is a repository of such treasure. Stone tools and weapons of the Swān Valley are the most revered ancient relics of the subcontinent, labelled by archaeologists as Swān Culture (Dāni 301). It proves the existence of primitive man of the Old Stone Age in this region, tracing back its history to half a million years.

The land of the Punjab, known for its fertility and riches had attracted all, from anonymous nomads to the known invaders, who brought constructive elements besides subjugation of its lands and people. From Alexander to the White Huns, from Pre-Islamic Iranians to Ghaznavids, Ghaurids, Sikhs and British, most of the invaders entered from the mountain passes, leaving their marks and reminiscences of their presence in the region. The Puṫhūhār, being on the crossroads, welcomed the novel skills of artisans accompanying the invaders, who gradually intertwined with the natives as sons of the soil, losing their foreign identities. Their exotic influences penetrated to the very soul of the people and after centuries of experimentation and constant use, the influences became an integral part of the indigenous traditions.

This paper intends to focus on the monumental stone edifices of only the British Rāj in the Puthūhār, although this region is replete with other minor stone structures like small cottages, wells, terraces, paths or staircases. Old bridges, churches, railway stations, military barracks, forts and *khānqāhs*[1] are also to be found among the colossal structures.The most amazing are two edifices from the second-half of the 19th century, one in Ghora Gali and another in Rawalpindi, both named the Murree Brewery. The former is a dilapidated structure but the latter is intact; both were factories, which was a rare phenomenon in the past. This paper also concentrates on Lawrence College, Ghora Gali church, of the same period. The bridges of Sālgrān and Marīṙ Chauk are also studied.

The geography, climate, resources and historical links shape the artefacts of a region. Extreme weather, rain and snowfall compelled the dwellers of the Puthūhār to build solid structures; stone being in abundance is utilised to the utmost. The earliest surviving edifices of the region are in raw-stone masonry, though ashlar masonry is a later development.[2] The material of construction is mostly stone with the

auxiliary help of wood; at places metal is also utilised.

Besides others, the Timurids occupied northern Punjab including Murree *taḥṣīl* in the 14th and 15th centuries. Some Turkish tribes are said to have migrated to Hazāra and then settled in Murree.It came under the subjugation of the Mughals too but a breakthrough occurred with the arrival of the British when in 1849 they established their residencies and cantonment there. In 1854, bungalows for the British officers and houses for the commoners were constructed and Murree was declared a *taḥṣīl* (Dar 16-17). On the other hand, greater development took place under Lord Dalhousie, 10th Earl and first Marquis of James Brown Ramsay (1812-1869), in Rawalpindi. In 1851, the largest cantonment of united India was established in Rawalpindi as the settlement of the 53rd Regiment of the Northern Command. In 1879, expansion of the railway-track began and by 1886, the train began its journey to Rawalpindi (Malik 112). Rapid progress took place in the year 1860 in the Murree region: construction of the Mall Road, the establishment of the Lawrence College, Ghora Gali. In 1873, Murree was declared the summer capital of the Punjab but in 1876 it was moved to Simla (Dar 17).

Among the crafts of the Puthūhār[4], *sang-sāzi*[5] or stone work is an important skill of the natives because prior to the advent of concrete, buildings of all sorts from ordinary to the monumental were of stone masonry. There are people known for cutting and chiselling stones to semi-dressed and dressed masonry. It was popularised when dressed stone was used in such abundance under the British Rāj. The first industry, called the Murree Brewery, was started in 1861 near Ghora Gali. It was initiated with a capital of Rs. 200,000 (Aziz 176, Dar 42), the only liquor producing company in the region . It is a fine specimen of the art of ashlar masonry. However, it was destroyed in the riots of 1947. Appreciating the simple living of the Puṭhūhārīs, a cause for their healthy and long lives, Azīz says that they were sensitive teetotallers, the very reason that the factory was burnt to ashes after the creation of Pakistan (Azīz 97). The other liquor factory under the same nomenclature was established in 1880, in Rawalpindi; this continues to flourish.

Both the Murree breweries of Ghora Gali and of Rawalpindi are stone structures and they are also the earliest factories in the Puthūhār region[7]. The Ghora Gali brewery is now a dilapidated structure but bespeaks the splendour of its past; a few remains of the burnt timber still survive. It consists of terraces as is apparent from the remains and old pictures.

The ruins of the huge structure, covering a vast area, consist of a network of true arches (huge, small, very pronounced or half underground) (fig.1), darts, a vault, huge walls, vertical columns, once joined with

Figure 1

Main façade of the Murree Brewery, Ghora Gali with the main underground drain.

beams of timber and a pond in the uppermost terrace which is now filled with water[8]. There are true arches of almost equal height and shape constructed with voussoirs[9]. The main façade, which is slightly projected, consists of five arches in double storeys; the central arch is larger, and was once crowned with the inaugural stone embedded within a recessed rectangle. It is now fixed in the Murree Brewery, Rawalpindi. The key wedge-stone of the central arch is pronounced and larger to the extent that it dominates all the voussoirs of the arch, touching its hood-moulding (fig.2). The surrounding façade is a little recessed from the centre but now only one arch on either side of it is left intact. Below the central arch is a vaulted

Figure 2

Pronounced keystone of central arch of the façade topped by empty recess of the inaugural stone.

structure, found to be a major drain for brewery wastes. All arches of the façade are adorned with simple hood-moulding[10] (fig.1).

There are alcoves for fireplaces with an inner tunnel for ventilation leading to the upper roof, which does not exist anymore. The rear wall of the first terrace defines three storeys of the structure through a chimney. The remains of a fireplace and a chimney tunnel from the ground floor leads to the upper floor having another alcove for a fireplace, further leading to the second floor, where an outlet for the chimney still exists. There are niches in the walls for cupboards and holes for timber beams as well.

Apart from the main building, there are the remains of another structure with small and large arches. Further above on the plateau are two ranges of small arches which are not very high. At their back and a little higher, is a huge wall with a half-closed arch and a few window openings,

which could have been the back wall of the factory. It is higher at the centre, forming the triangle of a gabled roof. The main façade with one central and two double-storied arches on either side form two triangles of two gables. In old pictures, two gabled roofs can be seen from above. The remains of another structure, at further heights, have an agglomeration of windows on three sides and arches on the eastern side, one joined with the other. A pond is also part of this structure (fig.3).

Figure 3

Remains of the structure higher up

No baked brick is used; there is a combination of ashlar and semi-ashlar masonry. Surface stones are cut and chiselled finely, while those on the inside are less smooth. These are not fixed into one another as in cyclopean masonry but joined together with mortar.

The Murree Brewery, Rawalpindi is also a stone structure but now faced with brick tiles; the interior walls are coated with thick paint but at places the stone is visible through the chipped surface. A huge arch, in the subterranean room called the Maturity Chamber, is composed of large voussoirs on more than five-foot thick walls; the ceiling buttress and drains expose the stone structure from underneath the thick layers of paint. The locks and keys of this section are of the British era, dated 1939.

The most spectacular specimen of ashlar masonry is the Church of Lawrence College , Ghora Gali, erected in 1926. It is notable for its majestic look and also for its austere architectonic cum decorative devices. It is an octagonal double-storied structure, but not a regular octagon, placed north-south, with gabled roofs and a belfry at its west. The structure is further strengthened by twenty-nine buttresses all around, which add beauty to majesty (fig. 4).

Figure 4

The Church of Lawrence College, Ghora Gali

Raised one step from the ground is the concave entrance with a pointed arch at its centre and two small buttresses placed diagonally, one on

either side, making the central façade concave. Inside are two more arches forming two parts of a portico; the first one has two lean windows facing east west, each fixed within concave recessions of a double arch. The second portico leads to the sanctuary which has doors of two small rooms, one on either side facing east-west. The baptismal font of stone, at the south-eastern corner of the sanctuary, is placed on a two-stepped raised platform. The staircase at the right, leads to the upper gallery. The altar, faced with a huge stone arch, is at the farthest end of the rectangle (fig.5).

Figure 5

Baptismal font

Figure 6

Domed ceiling of the tower

There are seven window openings on the eastern wall of the sanctum, while the western side has six along with a door in the centre that opens up onto the lower-most storey of the belfry, known as the Bishop Durrant Tower. It is a square *iwān* with arched openings on three sides, having a compressed dome ceiling which appears to be flat from the exterior. The dome is composed of stone bricks placed radially, concentric to a bigger round stone. The zone of transition is concealed with pendentives like a lotus flower, placed in each corner of the domed ceiling. A spiral staircase of cast-iron leads to the upper storey through a small opening of 24 inches by 47 inches; there are chimers and their mechanism[12]. The tower continues for two more storeys (fig. 6) and opens up into a square terrace enclosed by parapets perforated with four-petalled flowers. It is topped by a concave cornice all around and also emerges from another similar but larger cornice, placed below the parapet.

It is a ziggurat-like structure with a tapering height that gives stability to the edifice against heavy winds and extreme weather; the buttresses too perform a similar function. Each buttress consists of a plinth and two or three divisions of the shaft. Each part of the shaft is separated from above by a slanting roof-like projection, a hood-mould towards the top of the largest buttresses that end in the eaves through similar slanting roof-like projections. The larger buttresses are attached to the eastern and western walls of the sanctuary, six on the western and seven on the eastern sides.

There are hood-moulds above the entrance arch and also on three-partite windows of the lower façade; the former have label-stops at the beginning and end in the form of human heads. The lower façade of the central arch is also crowned with a hood-mould. The eaves on the main façade of the sanctuary also have hood-moulds; the turrets of the gabled roof and the parapet of the belfry are crowned with mouldings. The function of the hood-moulds is to protect the walls, windows or arches from direct rain water. The use of a cornice around the entire structure and the slanting roof-like projections of the buttresses also perform a similar function.

The hood-mould is not only functional but decorative as well. The inner arch of the portico in the interior of the sanctuary bears a concave hood-mould along with label-stops, both in the form of a cross with a trifoliolate motif on the four end-points, placed on concave circular projecting disks. From the label-stop there emerges a rounded-cornice running all round the three sides of the sanctuary above the dado, interrupted only by the door leading to the Bishop Durrant Tower and also by the altar (fig. 7).

Figure 7

Label-stops of hood-mouldings of the Church at Lawrence College, Ghora Gali.

All the windows of the sanctuary are fixed within the recesses of double arches. The base of each window is slanting from the inside and the outside, while the cornices below are round from inside and directly attached to the slopes of the window bases. Both serve as water conductors to avoid its seepage into the walls. Moreover, all the edges

of walls, arches, cornices or other projections are bevelled. All this creates a soft contrast of light and shade in the inner and outer sides, along with their functional values.

The huge main arch of the altar is around 20 feet wide; the bevelling is so pronounced that it has become five-sided, crowned with hood-moulds on both sides. It emerges from a five-sided block with a pendant underneath 49-inches. It is like the capital of the Doric Order with a concave block of Echinus, topped with a flat block of Abacus but here the Abacus is pentagonal. Moreover, it is just carved out and is not a separate block. After a shaft of 38-inches, a thin convex moulding, headed by a concave and topped by a similar flat pentagonal block, begins the gradual curve of the arch. It ends at the summit in a sharp wedge of the key stone. The wedge is so perfectly fixed into the stone blocks that it gives tremendous stability to the huge arch.

Figure 8

Altar of the Lawrence College Church.

The altar is slightly narrowed down in breadth from the main sanctuary and instead of the flat northern end; it is converted to a three-edged wall, making the structure pentagonal (fig. 8). Besides windows, it has deep alcoves, three large and two small ones on the lower part of the eastern wall, while there is one large and one small one on the western wall, having trefoil arches. Hence, the entire structure bears pointed arches whether small or large. Above, the small alcoves have small stained-glass windows representing the four apostles of Christ: St. Mathew, St. Mark, St. Luke and St. John. A large stained-glass window is placed on the northern end to commemorate those who laid down their lives while serving the British in World War I. Here, the Madonna, Christ, saints and angels are represented within the Gothic architecture and landscape.[14]

The roof is gabled like most churches but the inner timber frame defines it as a hammer-beam roof (Fleming 371), one of the types of gabled roofs. It is entirely a timber structure with braces, arched-braces, collar-beams, hammer-posts, hammer-beams and brackets, of wood (figs. 9, 10). Lamps hang from chains with hooks on hammer-beams. The lamps, windows and the covering of the gabled roof are not original. The lamps were of glass and the windows of wood, now replaced by metal and roofed with a Zinc sheet instead of *khaprail.*

Figure 9

Ceiling of the Church of Ghora Gali

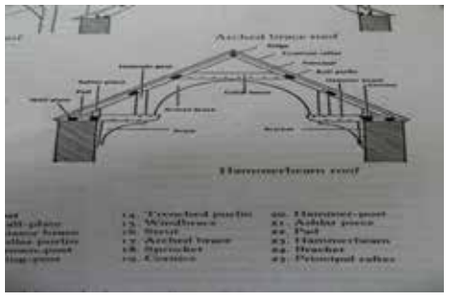

Figure 10

Hammer-beam roof (Fleming 371).

Two elegant small structures in the sanctuary, one in the south-eastern and another in the north-eastern corners, near the altar, are the baptismal font and the pulpit, respectively. Both are octagonal in shape; the former is in schist stone while the latter is a mixture of schist and marble. The font has a double base; the lower-most is a broad octagon, concave at the top end and the upper one is thin but obverse of the first. The lower part has eight arches resting on columns; emerging from here is the font which is a little broader below, octagonal from outside but round on the inside. Each square of the octagon has a frieze with a symbol carved on it. The whole structure is placed on an octagonal plinth and then on a rectangular one, both of coloured marble.

The pulpit is another miniature structure, placed on a marble stand with an octagonal base, shaft and top, on which rests the floor of the pulpit in grey schist. It has six trefoil arches, pointed from above, all schist but placed on coloured marble columns, with capitals and bases in white marble. Spandrels have trifoliolates and the small walls have quatrefoil perforations. It is topped with a white marble frieze having deeply carved acanthus cum grape leaves; it is approached through a three-stepped white marble staircase.

Another interesting observation is related to the symbols of the Trinity and Crucifixion, used as adornments on the whole structure (fig.11). For instance, at the top of the entrance arch of the sanctuary there is a square relief with three fish entangled within a three-knotted rope. The lower façade has two tripartite windows on either side of the central arch. The façade of the sanctuary has a similar tripartite window in the centre and above is a circular ventilator, surrounded by projecting cornices. The central part of it is fixed with glass in the shape of a ballflower[15]. It too echoes the symbol of the Three. The northern wall of the altar has three stained-glass windows; the central one, which is larger, is a tripartite. The smaller windows are divided into three sections; the spandrels of both bear a flower-cum-cross. All the windows of the sanctuary have a similar three-part division along with flower-cum-cross glass openings.

The head-stops of the hood-moulds have ornamental crosses. The whole is a wonderful example of ashlar masonry.

Figure 11

Symbols of Trinity and Crucifixion.

The train bridge of Marīr Ḥassan Rawalpindi, erected in the late 1850s and another named Sālgrān of 1902[16] are in stone masonry. The inside of the pylons of Marīr Ḥassan are exposed now due to the construction of a new bridge on this location. Two layers, one erected earlier and the other later, both of stone, are a mixture of semi-ashlar and ashlar masonry. Sālgrān Bridge is more exposed for its bare stones. Its height was raised three times; marks of this are still visible; the lower-most is of very finely chiselled stone but the surface of the upper two is rough. The top of each wall slants outwards and the topmost slabs are given an inward bend to avoid seepage of rain water.

Another device of technical importance, also obvious at Lawrence College and the Murree Brewery, is related to the chiselling of stone. The blocks are very finely chiselled at their edges to make fine joining possible; they are even more carefully chiselled at the edges for the corner of two walls.

On the other hand, the natural projections in the centres of the stone bricks are preserved and used as they are; even flat stones are given chiselled projections. They serve as conductors of water and snow, because water does not penetrate inside but falls down from one to the other stone, avoiding damage to the structure. Since this device is not required for interiors, the stones are chiselled smooth on the inside, with no protruding surfaces. This did not happen by chance; rather the *sangsāz* and mason both knew the value of this practice.

A point that amazes probing minds is the cutting of stone bricks in equal sizes from huge boulders and in such bulk. Obviously enormous manpower would have been involved. After interviewing those still involved in this profession and also seeing them working[17], the skill can be brought out of the domain of the impossible. The tools they still use are: the *bāri* or *chabbal* which is a solid iron stick of more than a meter long, that works like a lever and is used to throw a boulder onto the ground. Another tool is a very heavy hammer, called a *badān*, squarish on one side and a sharp wedge on the other. From the sharper side, it is struck at intervals at the upper surface; this is repeated at the sides too, and then the rock is struck forcefully with the solid side of the hammer. A slab of the required size is acquired through this procedure. There are chisels of varying sizes; the larger ones are called *summa* and the smaller ones are called *chhaini*. For the *summa* and *chhaini,* a holder is required, called a *sunni*. For smaller divisions of stone, the *summa* or *chhaini* is held with a *sunni* and is struck with a hammer. To make six-sided blocks added care is required through a similar procedure; the rock is carefully chiselled to make brick blocks of equal size.

The quality of the stone is also very important; thirty different types were defined by the *sangsāz*. Those with lines are easy to work on to make slabs and then six-sided bricks of required sizes. Those without lines are hard to work on. Slabs of stone can be acquired from the former type while the harder rocks break into pieces. The stone used for constructing the Church of Lawrence College, Ghora Gali is sandstone of Murree formation. In the Murree Brewery, Ghora Gali, sandstone, limestone and mortar are used; the latter structure appears to be a mixture of lime, clay and a bit of quartz.

It is obvious that local materials are commonly used for construction, though importing from distant places had become easier. However, modern gadgets were not in use in the Puthūhār even under the British Rāj. Necessity is the mother of invention, so the intelligent and diligent natives of the Puthūhār invented the means of not only cutting stones but sculpting them into required shapes. It is an age-old practice, the specimens of which are older than the period of Ashoka, Ghandhara

being part of the Puthūhār. Kashmīri Muḥalla between Ghora Gali and Murree is replete with families engaged in *sangsāzi*[18]

The Lawrence College, Ghora Gali, especially its church, cannot be classed as stone masonry but as sculpted stone. The hard labour of the diligent craftsmen of the Puthūhār is still present in the marks of chisels on the ashlar blocks of the Murree Brewery and the Church of the Lawrence College, Ghora Gali.

Endnotes

1. The dwelling place of a saint.
2. Most ancient specimens of stone masonry are from Ghandhara sites that begin with random rubble (6 B.C – 2 B.C), where irregular shaped and sized stones are joined with mud mortar. Specimens of Cyclopean masonry, that fixes huge blocks of stone without mortar, survive on the Margala Hills, 4km south-west of Taxila, used by the Hellenic Greeks (650 B.C- 323 B.C.) and by the Achaemenids (558 B.C. - 326 B.C.). Coursed rubble was used in Taxila in 90 B.C. Small diaper and large diaper masonry was used in the First c. A.D., while semi-ashlar and ashlar masonry, emerged from the beginning of the second to the fifth c. A.D. respectively. This is the hallmark of constructions in this region. (Khan *Ghandhara* 165-177).
3. The status of the summer capital could have changed the fate of Murree but unfortunately natural disasters like cholera, epidemics and water shortage compelled the change to another hill station. However, interest in Murree did not cease and clubs, restaurants, shopping centres and such were erected.
4. Kashmīri shawls, *gabbahs*, *namdas*, fur-garments, basketry, walking-stick carving and many more products are most popular. The architectural crafts include brickwork, tile work, stone work, wood work and plaster work as the most common crafts of the Puthūhār.
5. *Sangsāz* are the craftsmen skilled in cutting and shaping stone into six-sided bricks used for construction.
6. *Dākh* are black grapes abundantly cultivated in *tahsīl* Murree. The natives used to bring them in bundles or sacks and throw them in the huge tubs of the Murree Brewery, particularly made for this purpose, where they were processed.
7. The factory structure was not new in the subcontinent; the East India Company had already established a cloth factory in 1611 at Machilipatnum to produce cotton and other fabrics, then in Madrās and Bengāl in1641 and 1650 respectively (Welch 418-419). The Murree Brewery was the first of its kind in the Puṭhūhār.
8. This might be the tub used to keep *dākh,* used in beverages, brought by the locals.
9. Voussoirs are the wedge shaped pieces forming an arch.
10. A projected moulding to protect walls from the direct impact of rain. It is also used for ornamental purposes.
11. British rulers established schools to initiate their own system of education, where the medium of education was English, beneficial for their children, whom they otherwise would have left in England. Lawrence College, Ghora Gali; Burn Hall, Abbottabad; Queen Mary and the Presentation Convent schools (Akhlaq 167-168) are the surviving institutions of this policy. The Lawrence College, Ghora Gali was established in 1860.
12. The manufacturer's name inscribed on a carved out plate, fixed on a chimer machine is as follows: *J. Smith & Sons, Misland Clock works, Derby, Eng*., and the girder is stamped: *Canon W. T. Wright. Lawrence College Ghora Gali, Murree, Punjab.*

13. An ornamental or a figural boss at the beginning or end of hood-moulding.
14. The inscription at the base of the stained-glass window is as follows: *To the glory of God & in proud and affectionate memory of Gallians who gave their lives for King and Empire in the Great War 1914-1919. "Their name liveth for evermore".*
15. A ballflower is an ornamental design composed of a globular three-petalled flower, enclosing a circular opening.
16. Proof of its erection under the British Rāj is obvious from a metal tablet screwed on the girder with the inscription: *The Horsehay Co. Makers, Shropshire, England.*
17. Muhammad Fārūq, son of Muhammad Akram, son of Muhammad Khān, now thirty-five years old, is a sangsāz whose ancestors have been working since generations in Banīgāla, where buildings are erected of stones. He belongs to Lākut near Mīhāŕi, 4 km from Murree. His ancestors migrated to Kūrri in 1940-45; he now lives in Mauza' Muŕānwāla near Banīgāla. He demonstrated the breaking and chiselling of stone with the tools used in this work.
18. In organizing the restoration work of the Lawrence College, Ghora Gali in 1986-87, Zarrar Baburi, an artist and professor of the International Islamic University, searched out the families of *sang-sāz* in Kashmīri *Muhalla*. He also interviewed a native driver Muhammad Iftikhār 'Abbāsi, now working in al-Huda, Islamabad, who told him that two *sangsāz* of Daiwal named 'Abd Allāh and Mistri Khalīl were very well-known for this craft. 'Abd Allāh died at the age of a hundred and nine years. He was famous for making blocks of stone.
Another man named Imtiāz Abbāsi, a resident of Numb, born in 1941 and his elder brother Rukhsār, informed that a *sangsāz* of Kashmīri *Muhalla*, named Noor Butt was renowned for this craft. He was also a master at cutting grave slabs from boulders. There is a line of graves beside the eastern wall of the Lawrence College Church and the names of the *sangsāz* are inlaid with lead on the grave slabs. The names of *Noor Butt Murree*, along with other names like *Dhayan Singh & Sons Lahore, Gunda Singh & Co. Lahore, Martin Sculp Lucknow, Numd Ravi & Sons, Dehli*, still exist on the gravestones.
Imtiāz Abbāsi also spoke of the Murree Brewery, Ghora Gali. His father had told him that the Brewery in his time was known as Kashmīri Hotel.

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CULTURAL ROOTS OF ART & ARCHITECTURE OF THE PUNJAB

The Punjab has been indeed the melting pot of people and ideas. The native culture was influenced, modified, developed as a continuous and linked phenomenon. The Persians, Greeks, Arabs, Sufis, Turks, Afghans, Kashmiris, Brahmins, Rajputs, Merchants of Gujrat and Deccan, contributed to the social ethos of the Punjab. Thus a synthesis of the foreign and local traditions of cultures, started centuries ago has continued to influence, modify and develop the indigenous society of the Punjab. Colonization by the British changed the continuum in a profound manner to leave us as we are today.

The big question therefore is 'What are we then'? What are the Cultural Roots of our Art and Architecture?

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