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EXHIBITING & VIEWING CULTURE,
CURIOSITIES & THE NATION AT THE LAHORE MUSEUM

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Submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

September 2005
ABSTRACT

Taking the global cultural technology of the 'museum', this thesis investigates it beyond the largely western confines within which it has so far been researched in terms of history, politics/poetics of representation or consumption. The 'new museology' promoted critical revisionism of museum practice in the representation of culture (own and 'other'), one strand of which applied postcolonial theory to the museum space. This allowed a self-reflexive anthropology to re-visit its own historical development, where as part of colonial adventure and ethnography, material collections and narratives that signified the 'other' were produced in museums – in the west, and colonies, such as India. However, the predominant focus around an 'ideal' Eurocentric museum model within the 'centre' has left non-western museums on the periphery. The global discourse on the museum it seems has little room for museums in the other. Attempting to redress this imbalance for South Asia, this thesis intends to offer an ethnographic account of the Lahore Museum; a museum popularized in the western imagination as Rudyard Kipling's Ajaib Ghar. This historical facet is one aspect that is pertinent here as it illuminates the colonial investment in establishing museums in colonial India, whose development parallels the museums that stand as icons of culture, history and art in the west today. Interjecting moments from the past and present, this thesis looks at the use of the Lahore Museum by British colonialists for increasing trade, art reform and visualizing colonial India, appropriation by Pakistani museologists espousing notions of cultural/national heritage post-Partition and most importantly ongoing translations by local visitors who coagulate a desire to learn mixed with a pleasure in seeing the curious. Museums in South Asia have their own historical trajectories and contemporary socialization that should not be reduced to an 'alternative' museum culture, but as this thesis suggests, used to promulgate a South Asian museology and way of seeing the museum.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would have been oblivious to the presence of colonial museums in South Asia that so fascinate me today, had they not been brought to my attention in a rather casual way by Professor Chris Pinney midst discussion of more mundane topics - Master’s theses. Many more remarks, which appeared just as casual, were to follow and I learnt they had more gravity than I would initially suspect and so I want to express my immense gratitude to Professor Chris Pinney for sharing the breadth of his knowledge on South Asia as well as his individual interests with me. For encouraging me to follow my own ideas and inspiring me to become equally curious about South Asia, always remaining supportive and ever inquisitive about my work, and asking those convoluted questions that pushed me to think beyond conventionality. I have also benefited from the support of Professor Mike Rowlands who put the idea of a PhD into my head and made me think it was possible.

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NOTE ON TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION

In translating Urdu and Punjabi words used in conversation and interviews, I have deliberately left out the use of diacritical marks and risk offending linguists. However, my main concern was to give greater accessibility to the reader. As far as transliteration of names goes, I have left intact Sankrit or Persian words should an institution or official document use/quote them as such to reflect the nomenclature used.

The names of the people I interviewed or spoke to have been retained with their consent unless the person in question asked for anonymity or I have felt this was the best course of action.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIML     All India Muslim League
FL       Fort Library – Lahore Fort
JIAI     Journal of Indian Art and Industry
LML      Lahore Museum Library
MSA      Mayo School of Arts
NCA      National College of Arts
NCAA     National College of Arts Archives
OIOC     Oriental and India Office Collections
PSA      Punjab Secretariat Archives
PSL      Punjab Secretariat Library

APPENDIX NOTE

Appendix One: contains material relating to aspects of museum practice in the contemporary Lahore Museum. However, keeping the word limit in mind I had decided to place this material in an appendix. It is not central to the argument of the thesis but is a source of ethnographic material that can be used in future work.
INTRODUCTION

The general aspect of the city from without, excepting on its northern front, is not very imposing, nor does its irregularity give it a perfect claim to picturesque beauty. The Hindu temples are small and poor in outline, and neither they nor the cupolas of the mosques sufficiently break the monotonous horizontal lines which are the chief features of the view. But on the east, four minarets inlaid with coloured porcelain work strike the eye, and on its northern aspect – where the Mosque of Aurangzeb, with its large bulb-like domes of white marble and colossal minarets of red sandstone, the Mausoleum of Ranjit Singh, with its curvilinear roof and details half Muhammadan half Hindu, and lastly, the once brilliantly enamelled front of the palace of the Mughals stand side by side overlooking a broad and grass plain – Lahore can even now show an architectural coup d’oeil worthy of an imperial city. Within the city walls the streets are narrow and winding, but some of them, from the overhanging balconies of wood curiously carved and coloured, the striped awnings over the shop-fronts, and the gay costumes of the population, are highly picturesque; which the streamers of bright coloured cloths hung at intervals across from balcony to balcony prove that the wondrous dyes of Kathaea, which moved the warriors of Alexander to admiration, are not altogether things of the past.¹

Lahore city today is punctured by a few more architectural splendours, some permanent, others temporary but all adding to the composite nature of the city. Approaching Lahore on the Grand Trunk Road, which passes through the city, the physical inscription of the city’s history is still visible midst the urban sprawl. Mughal architecture, hints of temple structures peaking out, Minar-i-Pakistan (site of the 1940 Lahore Resolution) and as the Grand Trunk Road veers off to the left, the Fort, Ranjit Singh’s mausoleum and Badshahi Mosque built by Emperor Aurangzeb. The city invites you, entices the gaze and makes you notice it with all these textures and perspectives just as it had done to Alexander’s warriors and later J.L. Kipling and T.H. Thornton. Carrying on south, the northern edge of the Old City, which is as crowded, colourful and sensual is visible from the road, now in the heart of the city the bustle of people intensifies around Data Darbar chownk (junction) – the Saint of Lahore; once past this Lahore begins to change. The roads are planned, modern, and spaces open up, a different style of architecture appears in the form of grand red brick buildings, firstly the cathedral like Government College, University, then Punjab University and Town Hall and in the middle of Shahrah-e-Quaid-e-Azam (Mall Road) sits the Zam-Zammah, which Rudyard Kipling’s Kim confidently straddled claiming his colonial inheritance.

¹ Kipling & Thornton (2002:25-26) – a reprint by the NCA (see footnote 82).
These bastions of colonial government and education are accompanied by another redbrick building that has a profusion of domes, small balconies, red sandstone latticework, a brilliantly carved marble façade and worthy of being in any capital city; a sign tells us that this is the Lahore Museum, yet the inlay on the marble work in Urdu claims it is the Ajaib Ghar.

This large building with a single entrance and many windows from the outside gives little away as to what lies inside, and on my first visit to the museum in 2000, I was equally uncertain as what to expect, having heard that museums surviving from the colonial era are usually dull, neglected and hardly visited by the public. However, once over the threshold I was mildly surprised by what I saw – the museum was clean, maintained and most of all had visitors. As I walked around I became enchanted with this place, some of it made sense most of it did not, the order and historical time line that comfort or bore the visitor in western museum did not exist and kept me on my toes. Just as you got to grips with one display the next would surprise by presenting something completely different, these eclectic juxtapositions brought out a visceral response that is somehow deadened in a western museum. Enjoying my first encounter with the museum I entered a gallery in which the guards sat with their backs to the visitors, interested to see what was happening I made my way over glancing at the objects on display. The closer I got the more I felt a sense of tension around the object, oblivious to the presence of any visitors the guards were engrossed in keeping guard of this one display piece. Anxious to see what it was, I was surprised to find that it was a television on which the guards were watching the performance of the Pakistan cricket team. How the television made its way there I have no clue but no one was alarmed by its presence, other visitors seemed to revel in seeing cricket at the museum with no sense of collision or disjuncture; as if the tele-visual image was just as important as any artefact on display. Ironically, the guards whilst protecting the cultural heritage of Pakistan were also supporting the nation by participating in watching the nation battle it out on the cricket pitch.

This memorable episode on my first visit to the Lahore Museum lead me to question what was actually going on – who used this space and how did they use it, how did people make sense of the objects on display and most importantly where did these collections come from. What did the museum signify to those who worked there,
visited it and had formed it in the past? The Lahore Museum was not easy to classify, I was unclear whether this was a place memorializing the past, the future of the nation or something completely different – an ajaibness. In attempting to answer these questions and think about how this institution of the museum, which to us in the west is familiar, is perceived in South Asia, I decided that this part of Lahore that quietly sits on the Mall Road was too tempting to ignore.

The Lahore Museum holds a spectacular cornucopia of eclectic collections made during the colonial era that now inhabit a postcolonial society; transition and transformation aside, experience of the museum is such that even the most demur of museum-goers would be attracted by something. The museum is a theatre of culture and in South Asia this space is of curiosity, imagination and awe that has to perform to the expectations of the visitors and their own way of seeing and interpreting the objects exhibited for them. This public face of the museum is offset by the work behind the scenes where the museum curators are imagining a different Lahore Museum – one that functions within a western museum’s framework and practices. The conflict and co-existence of these two images of the museum drives this thesis to implode the institution of the museum that is dominated by western conceptualizations and reveal other appropriations of it as South Asia’s wonder houses.

These foundational ideas were central to my thesis at the offset and have remained so; shaping how it develops, progresses and unravels the varying facets of the Lahore Museum. The following chapters can be roughly divided into two types – historical (Chapters 1 & 2) and ethnographic (Chapters 4 & 5) with Chapter 3 forming a transitional bridge between the past and the present. However, this is not to impose a strict chronological order on how the thesis should be read as many contemporary concerns relating to the Lahore Museum’s collections, curatorial challenges, and visitors, are congruent with those affecting it in the past. In Chapters 3, 4 and 5 parallels are drawn out to prevent history from being mere sedimentation of facts. Chapter 1 examines the introduction of museums to colonial India, couching the Lahore Museum’s own historical development (1856-1947) within this larger colonial intervention and its discursive practices that sought to collect, visualize, and represent India and its people as objectified knowledge for the colonizer and colonized. The initial onus was not only on collecting and displaying artefacts but on creating museum-
minded staff out of government administrators/officials, finding suitable locations and funding; the Lahore Museum being a prime exemplar of the almost ad-hoc beginnings that eventually came to include elite Indians as curators. This historical trajectory is retained in Chapter 2 when attention is paid to a particular use of the museum in colonial India, where it not only visualized an encyclopaedic vision of society but explored avenues dominated by a mixture of art education and trade expansion as influenced by the 'Art' and Craft ideology of the late nineteenth century. Concentrating on debates around the revival of Indian crafts and craftsmen, museums like the Lahore Museum, which possessed a range of industrial arts, acted as storehouses of ideal samples as well as visual rectifiers of a perceived rapid deterioration in the quality of Indian crafts. This engagement of the museum in colonial India at first fed directly off the revivalist activities in England especially at the South Kensington Museum, which provisioned trained art educators/craft revivalists who were to head art schools and offer guidance to Indian craftsmen and help minimize the damage caused by industrial development to the crafts of India. The connection between colonial centre and periphery that was already established through an exchange of ideas and flows of material culture now included experts and educators. At the Lahore Museum this was epitomized in the figure of J.L. Kipling, who played a pivotal role in making the museum more craft orientated in its activities and setting up the art school in Lahore. This chapter illuminates the application of this strategy and the modifications that took place in relation to personal preference as well as shifts in government policy that emphasized the need for trade. The archival explorations of Chapters 1 and 2 end with the departure of the British from India in 1947; leaving South Asia with the new emergent nation-states of Independent India and Pakistan as a result of Partition. Chapter 3 engages with the ramifications of this turbulent period that divided the museum's collection and left the Lahore Museum to attempt postcolonial re-workings of its collections. Dismissing any simple progression from colonial to postcolonial representation at the museum this chapter scrutinizes the difficulties inherent in transforming a colonial museum into a postcolonial institution that symbolizes the new nation-state of Pakistan. Linking the past with the present this chapter also marks the shift from historical analysis to that of ethnography of museums; thus adding to the object and curatorial voice the mutterings of the visitors – to be precise South Asian visitors.
Chapters 4 and 5 are concerned with the so-far mute public of the Lahore Museum who ever since the colonial period have been actively appropriating this institution; but their intentions or learning experiences have remained ambiguous. Taking the ideal visitor from the Eurocentric model of the museum, Chapter 4 critically deconstructs its relevance in understanding South Asian visitors and their popular conceptualization of the museum as a wonder-house and a place of curiosity. At a superficial level such local interpretations can be rendered as ‘uneducated’. However, this chapter through an ethnography of museum visitor’s experience suggests that the dichotomy of the educated vs. uneducated visitor is inappropriate for elucidating the visitor experience in South Asia. Visitors’ accounts reveal that legitimate appropriations of the museum mix aspects of learning, history, culture with the curious and so the rightful appropriation is squarely with the ajaib. Chapter 5 delves further into investigating the museum visitors by focusing specifically on visual consumption; filtered through a South Asian way of seeing that follows a visual grammar found in the experience of other visual arenas in society. This chapter attempts to socialize the Lahore Museum as part of the visualscape of Lahore society and enhances the argument presented in Chapter 4 that curiosity and pleasure are critical in South Asian visual consumption and the museum cannot be separated from this. Moving beyond a linguistic analysis of consumption this chapter highlights the pertinence of visuality with bodily experience in comprehending the South Asian museum appropriation. Experience of other visual spaces that visitors consume in their everyday life – television/film, bazaar, and saint’s shrines are related back to understanding what goes on when visitors stand in-front of an exhibit in the Lahore Museum. Such visitor behaviour or consumption practices are not taken to be consequential of contemporary society alone, as archival evidence records similar visiting patterns and so perhaps one can stipulate that enduring modes of museum consumption have existed in South Asia since the museum institution was tropicalized. The inter-relation between the thesis’ chapters I hope ultimately offers a combination of the archival, historical, ethnographic and experiential that opens up these important but largely ignored institutions of South Asia, which are a vibrant part of South Asian society today.
Illus. 1 The Lahore Museum
CHAPTER ONE

Museums in Translation: the birth of the museum in colonial India

A collection properly grouped together becomes to the intelligent spectator, a perfect history of the social condition of the country it represents. The peculiarities of various tribes are revealed by their trade, implements...while the prevalence of peculiar classes of manufactures, the specimens of their fine arts, and their musical instruments give an insight into the tastes and habits of the people, and indicate to a certain extent, the phenomena of their mental and moral condition.

B.H. Baden-Powell (1868)¹

THE AJAIB GHAR ²

In the early morning the Lahore Museum is serene and picturesque, the majestic Indo-Saracenic domes of exposed red brick architecture stand tall, three cannons ‘protecting’ the site, surrounding gardens lush green and fresh with dew, pathways clean and the traffic still only a trickle as it passes by on the Mall Road.³ This tranquillity is broken only when the gallery clerks and security guards, clad in their blue livery, approach the ornately decorated marble façade inscribed in black with the words ‘Museum’ and below in Urdu ‘Ajaib Ghar’, at the front of the museum (illus. 2). Shuffling around they eventually form a neat line near the steps of the main entrance in anticipation of the daily ‘opening ceremony’. Museum officers appear and huddle around, the ‘stage’ set for the Director, whose ensuing appearance bestows a hush among the collected. Then in a similar fashion to his gait, he hurriedly proceeds to offer his ‘message of the day’ and recite a small prayer. Only then are the large wooden doors flung open.

¹ (1868:i-ii).
² I am not using this term to conjure up an Orientalist image of the museum, but this is what the majority of Lahorites call the Lahore Museum. The word museum (mujeeum) gets little response unless followed by ‘You know the Ajaib Ghar?’.
³ In Lahore since 1981, as in other South Asian cities, there has been a gradual shift towards renaming, from old colonial names, of roads, parks, and buildings to more ‘appropriate’ names memorializing national heroes - political, military and literary. So what is popularly known as Mall Road is now Shahrah-i-Quaid-e-Azam. (See also F.S. Aijazuddin (2003:12) for a note on this change).
Illus. 2 Entrance to Lahore Museum.

Illus. 3 Miniature Paintings Gallery
As light floods in it suddenly illuminates the dark expanse ahead of the vestibule and the central gallery beyond. Initially only dust particles appear in the atmosphere but then as the light softly falls shapes, surfaces and silhouettes of things present manifest themselves. The start of another day’s performance for the Lahore Museum is signalled. Rapidly the museum awakes to the sound of footsteps and voices, lights are switched on in each gallery and a myriad of objects exposed in a flash. Only a minute ago these objects were bathed in darkness, invisible and silent, locked up in display cases, hanging on walls or sitting in the floor-space; now they become centre of attention. Gallery clerks and security guards scurry towards their respective gallery to begin their duty. The former, with a list in hand peer into each display case and with due care count the objects, tallying this number with last night’s count; hoping that none of the objects have ‘wandered’. The latter look around surveying the gallery whilst simultaneously erasing evidence of yesterday’s visitors - fingerprints, handprints and smeared hair oil left behind on the glass of the display cases; inevitably preparing a clean surface for new imprints to be deposited. All this is in preparation for the arrival of the gallery in-charges, who come and inspect their galleries in the morning. A walk round examining ‘their’ displays, making sure object figures match, ascertaining all is in order, a quick signature and they return to their offices at the rear of the museum. The objects now stand firmly fixed in the ‘protective’ vision of both the guards on duty and the all-seeing CCTV; waiting to be touched and felt by the various gazes of visitors that will enter the museum.

Outside, on the right-hand side, the Curio shop is also open with its wares being dusted and arranged. To the left before the car park and auditorium/library entrance, two small shops - one Kims Bookshop the other a souvenir-cum-ticket office, are being organized. The sweeper drags his broom along the curbs raising clouds of dust in a never-ending effort to clean while the mali (gardener) tends to the gardens. Lahore too is in full action, the Mall Road now a visible and audible mass of jostling traffic, cars and buses hooting, rickshaws revving, school vans packed to capacity with children, bicycles weaving, all trying to out do each other as early visitors make their way to the Ajaib Ghar.
Inside the eighteen galleries⁴ await with a superfluity of visual treats in all manner of shapes, sizes, textures, materials and styles. Passing through the security check⁵ in the entrance lobby, the axis of vision is tunnelled in the direction of the Jain(a) temple in the far end. Moving towards it out of the vestibule the Miniature Paintings Gallery (illus. 3) pans out. Beautifully carved wooden doors, lit from above, appear on either side, overhead on the high ceiling the blues and oranges of the mural drag the gaze upwards; the miniatures themselves encased along the sides. To the right is the General Gallery with wooden doors and jharokay suspended high on the walls and display cases along the walls exhibiting Sikh relics, ivory miniatures, old sherwanian, copper and brass utensils, Chinese vases and porcelain, a piece of the Berlin Wall, ‘gems’, giant size calligraphic Qurans, African masks, seals and wooden effigies, Sanskrit manuscripts, soap stone artefacts, a ceramic horse, Chinese scrolls, miniature ivory chess pieces, an elephant tusk with carvings of Buddha, an inlaid Chinese wooden screen, a robe, opium smoking pipes; and distributed in-between the pillars small cases showing manuscripts and old maps of Lahore (illus. 4).

Directly opposite, passing through the Miniature Gallery, is the Islamic Gallery, its walls covered with large panels of Islamic calligraphy, carpets, copper plates and an inscribed piece of marble (illus.5). The gallery floor is largely besieged with a myriad of objects - a large Mughal carpet (usually covered), small cannons, pieces of tombstones or stonework (either inscribed with text or floral decoration) and a prayer mat. Display cases once again set against the wall, offer papier-mache objects, Damascene ware, a variety of smoking hookah bases, arms, walking sticks, glass mosaics, glazed tiles, woodwork, inlaid marble, musical instruments, garments, woollen shawls, footwear, carpets, jewellery, carved ivory, mother of pearl and horn objects, glazed pottery, gold and silver filigree work, enamel ware, rosaries, and a few Qurans.

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⁴ All galleries are permanent: on the ground floor: General, Islamic, Hindu, Jain(a) and Buddhist, Pre-Historic and Indus, Gandhara, Miniature Paintings, Contemporary Paintings, Manuscripts & Calligraphy, Jain(a) Temple, Ethnological II (Swat), Ethnological III (Fabrics and Clay Models), Arms, Ethnological I (Provincial), in the basement and mainly closed Sadequain Gallery. On the first floor: the Pakistan Movement, Pakistan Postage Stamps, Contemporary Handicrafts, Coins and Medals galleries. These are the current number and names of galleries in use within the Lahore Museum, previous publications may refer to a larger number based on varying degrees of internal gallery differentiation.
This is a short procedure of moving through a metal detection unit, like those at most airports and then a bag check, with the removal of all sharp objects that potentially could be used to cause harm to the objects on display.
Moving westwards there is an entrance to the northern end of the Hindu, Jain(a), Buddhist Gallery (illus. 6). With no central lighting and deep burgundy walls this gallery has its own ‘aura’. On the eastern wall is a large gilded lacquer Buddha seated on a decorated stand, gleaming as spotlights highlight its metallic body. On either side cases hold Tibetan and Burmese objects in metal, wood and papier-mache, and in a separate standing case a wooden model of a *panch mandiri* temple. Before the carved wooden archway that segregates the gallery, there is an entrance/exit to the Pre-Historic and Indus Gallery (illus. 7). Pottery shards, terracotta pots, vessels, sling balls, weights, jewellery, toys, figurines and goddesses, jars, shell and bronze objects, stone tools and toys from Harrapa and Moenjodaro make appearances here.

Returning back to the Hindu, Jain(a) Buddhist Gallery on the other side of the archway in the centre a collection of ‘stoneware’ is amassed - a plaster cast of the Lion Capital at Sarnath, a Shiva-Ling (minus the lingum), a tall red sandstone pillar, and various inscribed tablets (original and casts) with Kharosthi script and even hieroglyphics. Around the walls the exhibits are of Hindu deities and their escorts - Vishnu, Shiva, Ganesh and Nandi in brass, marble statue of Hanuman, Radha and Krishna, ivory Krishna, Surya in stone and a wooden Sarasvati. Dotted around among these are temple accoutrements - Hindu and Buddhist, lamps, trays and ornamented vessels. Temple banners hang as representative of Nepalese Buddhism, as well as Gautam(a) statuettes. The overall abundance of statues (*bhuts*) is continued in the Jain(a) section with sculptures of Mahavir(a) and his footsteps. The southern end wall is similarly case free and has as its central feature a richly sculpted stone fire-place, in-front of which stand three large sculptures, one of a marble lion, in the centre a sandstone Buddha and the third a marble Nandi.

The doorway at this end leads into the Gandhara Gallery, which is dominated by the Sikri Stupa exhibited in the centre with a couple of benches that position the gaze on the relief work on the drum (illus. 8). One side of the gallery has the life-story of Buddha as depicted through *Jataka* (scenes) executed in stone relief - from pre-incarnations to enlightenment and death. Interspersed in cases throughout the gallery

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6 Sankritized Jaina is used by the museum.
7 The Gandhara area today forms parts of the Peshawar Valley and states of Swat, Buner and Bajur, right up to the valley of Taxila, Northern Pakistan.
Illus. 6 Burmese Buddha in Hindu, Jain(a) and Buddhist Gallery

Illus. 7 Pre-historic and Indus Gallery
are statues/busts of Bodhisattva/Buddha in various ‘poses’, the most ‘prized’ being the stunning Fasting Siddhartha.\(^8\) The image of Buddha dominates and is available for close inspection in the six ‘case-less’ statues displayed on the western wall. Stucco and terracotta heads/figures provide the only colour to what is otherwise a gallery of grey schist stone.

This leads back into the Miniature Gallery and directly opposite is the Contemporary Paintings Gallery with dark wood panelled walls that have an array of ‘paintings’\(^9\) - landscapes, portraits, still life, calligraphic, modernist, and abstract (illus. 9). A cacophony of images, colours and textures jump out and are kept at a distance by a rope. Blues that seem to be figure-like, a captivating young woman seated with a lace \textit{duppatta} falling on one side, a scene from the Walled City of Lahore, a mosaic of polo players, stylised Arabic, the \textit{Sheesh Mahal}, a brass pot and newspaper on a table, a \textit{fakir}, a vibrant scene of the Tenth Muharram, a fairytale composition, village scenes, and semi-nude bathers. Moving along, relief from this visual assortment is gained to some extent in the small Manuscripts and Calligraphy Gallery;\(^{10}\) access to which is gained from the Contemporary Paintings Gallery through a magnificently carved wooden doorway (illus. 10). There are beautiful Quranic calligraphy in Arabic and Persian, elegantly illuminated with decorative borders; also present are a few \textit{Tugras}.\(^{11}\)

Moving past the paintings again one returns to the Miniature Gallery, but closer to the \textit{Jain(a) mandir} that was first spotted afar.

On the right a tall archway frames the \textit{mandir} that is located just beyond, it stands in the middle of this small ‘passage gallery,’ just over a metre square in size and about seven metres high and open for circumambulation (illus. 11). This domed white marble \textit{mandir}, gilded and painted, enshrines footprints of the Mahavir(a), and on the back

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\(^8\) Popularly referred to as the ‘Fasting Buddha’ and represents one of the ‘masterpieces’ of the Lahore Museum.

\(^9\) Images displayed in the gallery are referred to as ‘paintings’ at the museum despite there being mosaics, calligraphy and etchings in pen.

\(^{10}\) This gallery was closed for the entire year that I was at the Lahore Museum from September 2002 to September 2003, pending an investigation into a theft. It was re-opened in November 2003 and I had the chance to see it in a subsequent visit in February 2004.

\(^{11}\) This form of calligraphy inscribes a word or small text as an image of a human face, flowers, or animals. See J.L. Kipling’s \textit{Man and Beast in India} (1891).
wall, on either side of the wooden door signposted as ‘Offices’, are identical marble statues of Jain Tirthankaras seated in small marble jharokay as if keeping guard of the shrine. On the right is a long slim gallery separated into two by some arches, called the Ethnological Gallery II (Swat) and Ethnological III (Fabrics) (illus. 12). The former section offers all manner of traditional objects from the Swat region like furniture, garments, jewellery, utensils, and rugs.

Moving beyond the arches into what is called the Fabric Gallery, more often referred to as the ‘Toy’ gallery, three quarters of the cases are full of clay models depicting various people, tableaux of rituals, fruits, and animals. Colourful and full of expression these models are by far the most popular ‘attraction’ of the museum, they contain an astrologer, a military officer, a hunter, a butter seller, an old Pathan, some sweepers, a Sadhu and a Gujarati woman. The tableaux versions include stages of Muslim namaz, a wrestling match, blacksmith’s workshop, a Shiv(a) Ling(a) puja, a rice grinder and a panoramic view of the Baluchi countryside. The next few cases have a selection of fabrics draped to show-off embroidery styles and colour combinations - delicately embroidered Chamba rumals (handkerchiefs) with scenes from Hindu mythology, rails of different Pulkari (floral) styles, a couple of small spinning wheels and a painted clay tableaux of weavers at work. Under the arches, past the section with the female ‘mannequin’ representing traditional Swat sartorial style, around the Jain(a) mandir, the next gallery strikes the gaze with an elaborately carved wooden balcony displayed in-situ, as if part of the architecture, this is the Jain(a) Gallery (illus. 13).

The balcony with its colourful panes looks down onto the marble Tirthankaras displayed on plinths or in front of a wooden door as background; bordered with low-level marble latticework. On one side is a large marble plaque, in part relief and part painted in greens, reds, blues and highlighted with gilt. Its dense imagery illustrates the Jain pilgrimage site of Kathiavara: narrating visually the pilgrim’s trail from the train.
station around the numerous shrines. The warm atmosphere of this gallery is in stark contrast to the next gallery visible already, being only a couple of steps away.

The Arms Gallery painted throughout in a rather dull pale jade is approached; the old wooden display cases of previous galleries disappear, replaced by large better-lit glass panelled cases with painted metallic frames (illus. 14). The first visual confrontation is with the unexpected heavy bronze statue of Queen Victoria gazing sternly at all who enter. George V and Edward VII flank her on either side, with cannons in front and behind. Her sharp gaze is complimented by the collection of swords, bows and arrows, guns, daggers, and axes arranged in the cases with geometrical finesse; shining shells, polished helmets and chain mail add to the ‘splendours’ of warfare in the gallery.

In the next section the display setting remains the same, only the theme changes to the Ethnological Gallery I, where each case is dedicated to ‘regions’\(^{15}\) of Pakistan (illus. 15). The first case overflows with vessels, guns, ewers, drums, sculptures and lamps, set against a large photograph of the Kafir Kalash\(^{16}\) collectively denoting the ‘Northern Areas’. The largest section is of ‘Punjab’, with earthen pots, brass utensils, and musical instruments such as the dolkhi, a seated bride, shawls, anklets, models of fruits and vegetables, a cooking stove and hookay. Similar objects with their ‘ethnic’ markers are exhibited for Dera Ghazi Khan, adjacent to which musical instruments from the ‘Northern Areas’ are shown and then a large case full of ‘ethnic’ jewellery. In the corner is a doorway that leads to the Sadequain Gallery in the basement.\(^{17}\) On the wall after the doorway are hung six prints epitomising typical scenes of traditional life in Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, Khyber, Kalash and a Punjabi potter. The last case is dedicated to the ‘Deserts’, essentially that of Sindh; vibrantly coloured embroideries and shimmering mirror-work in the form of wall hangings, cushions, and clothes are displayed alongside a miniature hut. This burst of colour and reflection returns one to

\(^{15}\) I use ‘regions’, rather than ‘Provinces’ as some displays are based on climatic difference others ethnic and yet others on specific districts.

\(^{16}\) The Gallery text in English states they are ‘...a pagan tribe living in the remote north western part of Pakistan. Legend states that they are descendent of the legions of Alexander of Greece, who marched into this part of the country around 327BC.’

\(^{17}\) This Gallery contains a selection of Sadequain’s paintings donated by the artist on 28/8/74. For the duration of my fieldwork it was shut to the public; the only reason given was that the visitors do not know how to ‘look’ at paintings and they tend to touch, scratch and hence damage them.
the Arms Gallery again, heading past Queen Victoria and the aeroplane tail of an Indian fighter jet, a staircase is approached that leads upstairs.

Ascending up the often-crowded narrow staircase the perceptible difference that is felt is the presence of daylight. The stairs end in the Freedom Movement Gallery, a long and narrow gallery that winds itself around the Pakistan Postage Stamps Gallery, where rows of postage stamps and first day covers from Independence in 1947 to present-day fail to spark the visitor's imagination; and hence is often empty whilst the rest of the museum murmurs with activity. Before the Independence story is told a passage leads off to the right, essentially a bridge over the back of the museum offices, into the Contemporary Crafts Gallery. The gallery honours present day crafts – woodwork, lacquer ware, marble and semi-precious decorative objects, papier-mache fruits, vegetables and dolls, brass and copper pieces, ivory/bone jewellery, silver ornaments, embroideries and block-printed cloth. An end case tries to pay homage to all these crafts but appears more like a visible storeroom with all manner of representative crafts hoarded to fill a space. In the centre stand two cases one holding stuffed animals, the other has a model of a mosque, on a lower level there is a free standing model of the identifiable Badshah Mosque, and a wooden box with copper and brass inlay and a carpet on either side. This assortment is contrasted in the next gallery - the Coins and Medals Gallery (illus. 16), accessible from the Contemporary Gallery, with its neat rows of replica coins displayed according to historical periods- small, punched, with images, text, in different metals, all narrating history in numismatics; ending with medals of the Pakistan Army (illus. 17).

Back over the bridge the last section awaits - the Freedom Movement Gallery, essentially a ‘picture gallery’ of some paintings but mainly black and white copies of original photographs, sketches, maps, and newspaper front pages. The overarching focus documents what is termed the ‘two hundred years of struggle for Muslim Independence from 1757 to 1947’. The visual account examines the fall of Seringampatam and War of Independence in 1857 (Mutiny) and ensuing Islamic movements particularly the Muslim League in attaining Independence and creation of Pakistan. The personalities of Independence are focused upon in the images, most recognizable - Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Fatima Ali Jinnah, and Allama Iqbal. Large text panels in Urdu introduce each section of this tehreek (history), though
Illus. 14 Arms and Armoury Gallery

Illus. 15 Ethnological I Gallery
the images are far more alluring. This narrative ends with the establishment of Pakistan and photographs of copious numbers of refugees arriving from India. The final image in this ‘album’ is a large painting of the Quaid making his first speech as Governor of Pakistan with Lord Mountbatten looking on, a couple of Pakistani Flags placed on either side affirm the museological creation of Pakistan (illus. 18). The next case is the Shaheed ‘Gallery’ that displays images of martyrs who died in subsequent wars and the medals they were awarded (illus. 19).

The only way now is back out, down the stairs glancing again at some of the galleries and objects, past the Jain(a) temple, under the mural and in the vestibule, through the security check and into the open again. The Lahore Museum toured, ‘images’ seen and memorized, surfaces felt and desired, the visitors leave or rest in the gardens tired, happy, confused, amazed or totally disappointed. Security and Gallery clerks once again count the objects, tired after a day’s performance, and gallery in-charges arrive to sign and leave. With the last visitors gone, lights are switched off, the wooden doors locked and sealed; the objects silent once again watched only by the CCTV so that none may escape. Outside dusk falls and the Lahore Museum takes on a new hue; the building once again majestic, this time lit up by small lights simulating the effect of deevay (oil lamps) (illus. 20).
This textual and visual tour of the galleries provides a glimpse into the rich diversity of the Lahore Museum’s collections. More significantly what I think it demonstrates is the active resistance and impossibility towards a singular categorization and provision of identity for the Lahore Museum, as a place of art, history, archaeology, ethnography or science. Instead what comes to mind is an evocation of something akin to Duncan and Wallich’s (1980) ‘Universal Survey Museum’ or an ‘Encyclopaedic Museum’, alluding not to a totalizing trope but the variety and assorted nature of the collections reflecting diverse collecting, ordering and exhibiting practices - in colonial past and Pakistani present. This is not to suggest that the objects displayed are ahistorical but to bring forth their ideological elasticity that allows wrappings of different meanings by different social groups through time and space. Today the material and architectural rhetoric of the Lahore Museum symbolizes to some the heritage of Pakistan’s national, cultural, historical selves, some see it as a panoply of beautiful, curious, and wondrous things only seen at the Ajaib Ghar, whilst others regard it as a decaying institution caught up in a time warp of its own.  

In this sense, the museum has a polysemous quality having been manipulated by authoritative discourses and consumed uncritically or contested by other visitor agendas, as Duncan and Wallich comment: ‘The museum’s primary function is ideological. It is meant to impress upon those who use or pass through it society’s most revered beliefs and values.’ (1980:449), whether this takes place so easily is debateable (see Chapter 4).

The scene set so far is that of the contemporary state of play, as the Director’s oft-repeated phrase states: ‘The Lahore Museum is second place in South Asia and tenth in the world in terms of its collections (navadrat).’, it leans towards attaining global and regional cultural status. Yet, what I am interested in elucidating here is how the Lahore Museum reached this present state and ‘status’. Is it enough to claim that the museum, as a global cultural technology, has successfully implanted itself wholesale the world over? This is to some extent true but what remains shrouded is a historical exegesis pertaining to the ‘when’ and ‘how’ this happened. If we think about the museum as an ideological space that conveys beliefs and values to a society, the question then arises

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18 These opinions are made in exclusion or isolation of each other but are the multiple opinions evoked by the Lahore Museum amongst visitors, museum workers, academics and Punjab Government policy makers.

19 This is taken from an opening speech given by the Director - Dr Liaquat Ali Niazi at a Quiz Show (11/10/02). But it was repeated on many ‘educational’ or official occasions.
as to who in society use(d), create(d) and (trans)form(ed) the Lahore Museum throughout its life?

Glancing back to the initial quotation by Baden-Powell from his *Handbook of the Economic Products of the Punjab Volume I* (1868), a different ideology and hegemony is apparent to that of today, and this lends light to the need for an investigation of earlier ‘avatars’ (Barthes 1963)\(^{20}\) of the Lahore Museum and its collections. It is to this ‘past’ of the Lahore Museum that I now want to turn in the rest of the chapter, when the British methodically collected, organized and exhibited India in museums as a new visual domain underscored by a mixture of political, social, scientific and cultural judgments,\(^ {21} \) during what can be called a heightened period of the ‘world as exhibition’ (Harvey 1996).

Examining the emergence and development of the Lahore Museum I do not plan to recall a history of facts, rather following Bernard Cohn ‘[I want to] treat the materials of history the way an anthropologist treats his field notes.’ (1987:2) in order to investigate the ‘colonial situation’ (ibid:44).\(^ {22} \) The intention then is to explore moments, perceptions, ideas, interactions, exclusions - actions between the British and Indians that were pervasive in the colonial museological ‘contact zone’ (Clifford 1997) that emerged in nineteenth century India. Museums and exhibitions of colonial India enabled these opportunities and possibilities of communication through their fundamental requirements of both collectors and a public, and so success hinged on the presence of both British and significantly the Indians. Yet we must not forget that most ‘exhibiting practices’\(^ {23} \) were ‘curated’ through the colonizer’s modalities and discourses of representation, so that visual manifestations were explicitly glossed in the all-pervasive dynamics and aspirations of the British in nineteenth and twentieth century India; as Nicholas Dirks (1992) makes evident: colonial knowledge both enabled conquest and was also produced by it.


\(^{21}\) I want to highlight the planned and systematic introduction of this institution - the museum, to India during the early nineteenth century after the initial development of the Indian Museum in 1814 out of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

\(^{22}\) This ‘situation’ Bernard Cohn writes is one ‘...to be viewed as a situation in which the European colonist and the indigene are united in one analytical field.’ (1987:44)

\(^{23}\) Exceptions would be the use of exhibitions for political ends by the Indian National Congress, who held exhibitions as part of their annual meetings to expound the merits of *Swadeshi.* (See Peter Hoffenberg (2003)).
MUSEUMIZATION OF COLONIAL INDIA: MAKING INDIA VISIBLE

The birth of the museum in colonial India can be traced to the Asiatic Society of Bengal’s plans to form a museum in 1796, only forty years after the inception of the British Museum. Established in 1784 by the renowned Orientalist Sir William Jones, the Asiatic Society was intended as a forum for scholarly research of ‘knowledge’, which Jones saw as being ‘...extended to whatever is performed by man or produced by nature.’ (Indian Museum 1814-1914 1914:2). It is within this ‘extended’ role, beyond the textual and linguistic moorings of the society, that the institution of the museum took root in early nineteenth century India. A by-product of the society’s activities was its role as a repository for ‘relics and curiosities’ that were deposited by its members, East India Company officers and travellers alike. Only in 1814 when the museum was realized, under the curatorship of the Danish Botanist Dr Nathaniel Wallich, could these collections be exhibited, ordered and made public.

Partly, the museum was a practical necessity, but essentially it was one mode of deciphering the curiosity called ‘India’, that was already being objectified in an ad-hoc manner in the collections of the Asiatic Society. It was not a benign requirement, but one that focused on the need for converting ‘collections’ into palpable knowledge; as various visual orders in the attempt understand India - its past, people and society. Urgency for representations of knowledge crystallized further as the colonial attitude towards India itself shifted, particularly following the events of the Mutiny in 1857 and the end of the East India Company’s charter in 1858; with the transfer of power to the Crown. This political shift was translated on the ground into Government orders and interests taking a more critical outlook towards the investigation of India, as Romila Thapar states:

In part this was the result of the East India Company earlier having maintained that its authority was legitimized by its conforming to local laws, but now having to adopt in effect an aggressive assertion of authority which included violence and conquest.25

24 Romila Thapar describes this eighteenth century scene ‘...officers of the East India Company at Calcutta were busy translating texts relating to law and to religion from Sanskrit and Persian...to understand the high culture of the colony which they were governing. An assertion of power also required a knowledge of the history and culture of those now in a subservient status.’ (2002:6); this research was not only a comparison between 'Eastern' languages but a search for similarities between Indo-European languages and history.

The museum was then placed in a perfect position to act as an ideological space where such political 'authority' and power could be played out in clear, dogmatic and controlled fashion. The museum's scope of 1814 echoes shifts towards the classification of India into categories of representation, with its aim being: '...the illustration of Oriental manner and history, and to elucidate the peculiarities of art and nature in the East.' (Markham & Hargreaves 1936:5). Conceptually, this was the gradual breaking-down of India into manageable and recognizable, segments - to the colonials facilitated by the museum's capacity to adopt such orders. This initial application of the museum can then be taken as an administrative tool, which uncovered and recovered India through the 'museumizing imagination' (Anderson 1991:173). What actually made the museum ideal was its ability to make India 'visible' (Pomian 1990) and hence comprehensible to the scholars, administrators and curiosity mongers. Just as new vistas of India were being fed to the public back home,26 so in India the British were grappling with its visual, cultural and social excesses.

In 1858 want of space prompted the foundation of an 'Imperial' Museum, into which the Asiatic Society transferred its collections in 1865, which covered zoology, geology and archaeology/epigraphy. The 'Imperial' Museum was renamed the Indian Museum in 1892 and opened its doors to the public in 1901. With the addition of sections on ethnology, natural history, art and industrial art, it steadily came to symbolize colonial power, order and the unity of the Raj; even if only within the museum's four walls.27 This expansion of the Indian Museum epitomizes the pursuance of an 'imperial archive' (Guha-Thakurta 1997), that characterizes so much of colonial museological activity; whereby different facets of India were collected and displayed in an obsessive manner as economic products, arts, ethnology, archaeology, geology and so forth. It was not simply a matter of organizing objects that made their way into museums through a range of Government surveys/collections made by officers, naturalists and scientists attached to punitive or boundary expeditions, but a gradual 'accessioning' of

India through its materiality; then placed in the museum ‘grid’. This ‘survey and grid’ formula enabled a holistic image/imagining to be mapped and fixed inside in the museum space, which could be easily researched and manipulated to incorporate new discourses and investigations of India. As the first museum, the Indian Museum was entrusted with the notion of an ‘imperial model’ for other museums and served as a reference point that united and spawned the growth of the museum movement in India.

At the same time as the emergence of the Indian Museum there was a simultaneous propagation of other museums, such as efforts by the Madras Literary Society to establish a museum in Madras around 1819, eventually formed in 1851 at the same time as Sir Bartle Frere’s Victoria Memorial Museum in Karachi and the first medical museum in Grant Medical College, Bombay. By 1857, Hargreaves and Markham (1936) record that there were twelve museums in India, and likely to increase as the East India Company recognized the usefulness of museums, in relation to Madras they were:

...impressed with the advantage of storing up in some one place the knowledge and the material which had been acquired by the investigators working on different parts of the Peninsula, and with the object of fostering scientific enquiries and pursuits.

The next flurry of museums to be established started in the 1860’s, with the batch known as ‘Jubilee Museums’, then a surge in the late 1880’s through to the 1890’s; with an outburst of Archaeological Museums as part of Lord Curzon’s revival of the Archaeological Survey of India who saw ‘It [as]...equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve.’ (quoted in Anderson 1991:179ff). By 1935 Markham and Hargreaves (1936) note that there were 105 public museums in India, and this development was not a mere

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28 Collections did not have to be the original objects, as many sketch folios, lithographs, photographs, and plaster casts in museums attest; the visual 'impression' of the object served (and travelled) just as well (see Guha-Thakurta (2002) in relation to the archaeological work of James Fergusson).
29 Referred to as such in official documents.
30 Adding to those already referred to, in 1856 branches of the Madras Museum were created as Central Museums in Bellary, Cuddalore, Coimbatore, Mangalore, Ootacomund and Rajmunday (all later closed in 1860), in 1857 the Trivandrum Museum and the embryonic stages of what would be the Victoria and Albert Museum in Bombay.
31 Hargreaves and Markham (1936:6).
32 I do not intend to list all the museums, these can be found in Part II as a ‘Directory’ of Markham and Hargreaves (1936) survey of the museums of India.
replication of the Indian Museum all over India, rather it was more of a planned affair in what seems to be a hierarchy of museums. The Indian Museum served as the mother institution, next the Provincial Museums with their satellites of District Museums, followed by specialist museums such as archaeology or scientific museums, and lastly private museums of Princely Indian States or Learned Societies. In this way a network of museums emerged in India during the nineteenth century that was connected through the flow of objects, ideas and people within India as well as to the Imperial centre. In order to illustrate this further I will take up these issues at one such museum that was squarely positioned within these flows, and locates museums of colonial India firmly within a nascent globalization of the institution - the Lahore Central Museum.33

A CENTRAL MUSEUM FOR PUNJAB - A BARADARI, AN EXHIBITION AND A JUBLIEE

D.E. McLeod (Financial Commissioner for Punjab) in a letter to R. Temple (Secretary to the Chief Commissioner)34 discusses the desirability for museums in the Punjab as a way of assessing the 'potential' of the province35 and writes that their use value lies in enabling one to:

...calculate as it is to develop the resources of the country and give direction with efforts of those who may be desirous of effecting improvements in agriculture, machinery and the arts.36

This was not a random ‘wish’ of a bored administrator but a considered move by a Financial Commissioner to survey, collect and disseminate information for what he calls ‘improvements’, in other words ‘trade’ and ‘economy’. What is significant here is that early on the museum is positioned as an ideal institution for such ‘calculations’ and implicated directly as part of colonial administration. A previous Circular37 copied with the letter from McLeod to all the Commissioners of the Division, reveals his thoughts and asks for them to be communicated to all their District officers and others.

33 The Central Museum, The Lahore Central Museum or The Lahore Museum, were names by which the museum in Lahore was referred to. For consistency I shall employ the latter all the way through.
34 Dated 14th March 1855, Home Proceedings, General Department- No. 44-6 dated 31st March 1855. Serial 73. In Punjab Secretariat Archives (from now on PSA)
35 The British annexed the Punjab in 1845 after defeating the remnants of Ranjit Singh’s Sikh Empire.
36 (McLeod :1855 n.p.).
who maybe interested in the matter. At this point suggestions are made and openly
discussed in regard to the establishment of museums and opinions are sought on the
matter: McLeod writes:

As it appears to me very desirable that some systematical effort should
be made towards collecting specimens of the natural products of the
Punjab - and having these rendered accessible to all, who may desirous
of informing themselves upon the subject. 38

The ideas put forward here gain expression from discussion on the subject in other parts
of India, such as those published in a private pamphlet. 39 This contains extracts of
papers presented by the Resident at Travancore, Major-General Cullen, to the Madras
Government in 1843 on the subject of ‘District Museums’; with the themes closely
allying those of McLeod’s. In his letter Cullen picks up on the topic of museums in
relation to a Circular sent by the Asiatic Society giving instructions for the collection of
information on natural and other products and resources of ‘our Indian Empire’. In
relation to the Madras Presidency he advises that things should not be left to chance and
the ‘unconnected exertions and contributions of individuals’ (Cullen 1855:4-5), but
‘collectors’, such as Civil Engineers, should be asked to carry out such collecting
activities in collaboration with influential natives who would naturally assist once
economic advantages were made apparent to them.

These collections were to be deposited in museums under an officer’s charge, and along
with an assistant, could ‘promote’ the objects to their best advantage. For Cullen this
course would accumulate a very good collection within a couple of years resulting in a
‘memoir’ of an area. Along the way this information could be shared with other
officers, interested individuals, scientific bodies, as well as a central depot or museum.
For the East India Company one other benefit to be reaped from local museums was
exactly this dissemination of information to educated officers, whilst offering a real
opportunity to gather ‘statistics’ in any branch of knowledge and unlock awareness
towards exploitation or ‘improvement’ in agriculture and trade.

37 Circular Number 15, dated 14th February 1855, Home Proceedings, General Department, No 44-6,
31st March 1855, Serial 73, PSA.
38 Ibid.
39 A copy of was attached to the above Proceeding. The extracts were taken from Bombay Times of
13th December, 1854, and reprinted by The Chronicle Press, Lahore (1855).
The extracts contained in the pamphlet hence served as pointers and contained suggestions of a ‘practical character’ that were regarded by McLeod as suitable for adoption with modifications as per circumstances. It is worth quoting his vision in full based on the pamphlet, since it offers a rare insight into the early discourse and exchange about museums in India, he writes:

The Museum of each District shall thus be composed of the collective specimens obtained from other Districts, added to those procurable within itself - and these Museums might be extended ultimately as means and opportunity might allow; so as to include besides natural products, specimens likewise of more durable and much more manufactures peculiar to each locality, the more interesting objects of Natural History and such like.40

Like Cullen, McLeod was interested in finding future museum officers with an enquiring mind, the ability to order and present, in a rational manner, the collections. Interestingly at this stage Government officers rather than the locals were alone deemed fit for this purpose, I cite McLeod:

It may be hoped that, in each District there will usually be found some one individual at least, connected with the civil administration or the Engineer Department, or the medical service, who takes an interest in such enquiries, and would willingly take charge of a Museum. Such as I have contemplated and the mode in which it suggests itself to me, that the object might here be best carried out, is, that in each locality so many specimens of each natural product of a useful or interesting character that may be discovered, should be collected, as there are Districts in the Punjab- to each of which, one such specimen should be distributed; with a note of its description, locality in which found and uses (if any) to which applied.41

The Chief Commissioner approved McLeod’s plan for the development of District Museums and specifically that of the Lahore Museum.42

BARADARI: Lahore got its museum the next year,43 as informed by Baden Powell in his General Report on the Lahore Central Museum up to March, 1868:44 ...the old

40 Circular Number 15, dated 14th February 1855, Home Proceedings, General Department, No 44-6, 31st March 1855, Serial 73, PSA.
41 Ibid.
42 In a letter from R. Temple to D.E. McLeod dated 28th March 1855 in Home Proceedings, General Department, No 44-6, 31st March 1855, Serial 97, PSA.
43 It is difficult to ascertain much about this embryonic period of the Lahore Museum since little archival material is available, early reports in the Punjab Gazette although indexed are missing from the gazettes at the PSA.
44 Printed in the Punjab Gazette in the Supplement section, dated 22nd October, 1868, PSA.
Museum that existed since 1856 in the building now occupied by the Anarkali Book Club,’ (ibid:431). This initial location of the museum was Wazir Khan’s baradari (illus. 21),45 a seventeenth century building in distinctive Mughal architecture, which the British took over for military purposes, later turning it into a Settlement Office, Telegraph Office and then a museum (Qureshi 2000). During this period the state of the museum is difficult to assess, although inferences can be made. An anonymous traveller writes to the editor of the Lahore Chronicle of 23rd July 1856, stating that the museum was being managed by a regular Committee ‘under the eye of the highest local authorities’, but feels that in terms of collections the Amritsar Museum deserved the title ‘the Museum of the Punjab’ (ibid:211). However, the Lahore Central Museum had just formed and correspondence of 1860 alludes to an active museum under T.H. Thornton,46 who in a letter47 writes that he is in contact with the Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India in relation to the establishment of a Geological Department at the Lahore Museum. In the same letter he goes on to outline in detail the museum’s latest acquisition of a number of Ethnological casts. He had arranged these in eight cases occupying the two octagon rooms on either side of the entrance; exhibited on the left were casts belonging to ‘Hindu and Aboriginal’ tribes and on the right those of ‘Pathans, foreign tribes and Tinke Tibetans’.48 Thornton regards the collection as by no means complete but is attracted by the simple fact that it allows evaluation between ‘types’:

The gradual transformation of the pure Hindu face into the Tibetan and vice versa is also clearly expressed as also the general similarity of the Jewish and affghan [sic] countenance. 49

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45 Located just behind the present day Lahore Museum and National College of Arts (NCA). The Nakhlia Garden in which it was located is now the present location of the Lahore Museum and NCA.
46 T.H. Thornton prior to his arrival in Lahore either in 1859 or 1860, was Assistant Commissioner for Ludhiana, Amritsar, and Gujrat (Qureshi 2000:1).
47 To R.A. Davis Esq. Secretary Government Punjab & its Dependencies, dated 25th September 1860; in Home Proceedings, General Department, No 60-61, 6th October 1860, Serial 1277, PSA.
48 A detailed list of the casts on display is given in the Appendix of the letter. Facial casts of ‘Northern Tribes’ are later confirmed to have been made by the Schlaginweit Brothers, examples of which can be found in the Dr Bhau Daji Lad Museum, Mumbai; none remain at the Lahore Museum.
49 To R.A. Davis Esq. Secretary Government Punjab & its Dependencies, dated 25th September 1860; in Home Proceedings, General Department, No 60-61, 6th October 1860, Serial 1277, PSA

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Thornton here exemplifies how McLeod's colonial administrators were becoming museum 'professionals' and dabbling in a number of subjects such as ethnology, archaeology and geology. It was the museum space that empowered this 'interest' to develop and be managed, acting as 'ordering houses' where objects were classified and displayed to make evident a particular rendering of Indian society. However, it must not be assumed that ambiguity was replaced by clarity in the museum as suggested by Thornton's letter. Far from it, the deposit of an odd 'curiosity' found or collection gathered here and there continued to linger on. An interesting example is the debate around the removal of idols from the Lahore Fort, to make way for a gunpowder magazine, with a Mir Meg Raj bidding for the idols to consecrate in his temple.  

The comments of the Officiating Judicial Commissioner in deciding the fate of these idols is revealing:

I agree with the Commissioner and would not give these idols etc to Mir Meg Raj to furnish his heathen temple. I would give the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, or the Royal Asiatic Society of England, an opportunity of

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50 Correspondence from A.A. Roberts (Officiating Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab) to R.H. Davis (Secretary to the Government Punjab & its Dependencies), dated 10th September, 1860, Camp Muree. In Home Proceedings, General Department, No 8-9, 22nd September 1860, Serial 484, PSA.
taking them as curiosities, and to show how rife idolatry still is in this country. Meantime, they should be removed to the Museum in Anarkullie, and be locked up in a box, or otherwise taken care of, and not exposed to general view.  

It would seem that one 'temple' was inappropriate - heathen and needed to be made invisible, whilst another 'temple' - of the muse was an acceptable alternative for the preservation of the curiosities; visible to the enlightened. The fear of unsuitable visions was a genuine one as the museum was increasingly being used by the public, and Thornton reports for 1860 that the number of visitors nearly doubled those of the previous year, with 800 plus visiting the museum; though it is unclear who they were.

Dr H. Cleghorn's memorandum on *The Local Museums of the Punjab* also stands as a window into the first stages of organization and development of museums within the Punjab. This memorandum describes the Lahore Museum as being 'chiefly antiquarian', and usefully 'conveys to the mind of the visitor clear conceptions of the ancient history of the capital of the Punjab' (ibid:5). Cleghorn identifies two principal needs for the museum: firstly space, then light to give better exhibition of objects, and suggests Lawrence Hall as suitable. Secondly, a series of Economic specimens (raw and manufactured) be acquired as when '...conspicuously labelled with descriptive tickets, and...accompanied with colored drawings of the producing plants, it will do as much good as many books and lectures to advance commerce and agriculture.' (emphasis original, ibid:5). The Government's help is sought in the vital accumulation of 'authenticated' specimens that could visually inculcate enquiring minds with ideas of improvement in produce and profit. This instructional value was dependent upon the efficacy of displays, which in turn were linked directly to methods of arrangement and classification. One way to improve this capacity was through emulation of the South Kensington Museum's systematic divisions of collections into 'classes' and 'sections'. For Cleghorn this was a definite way to attract public attention and lucidly symbolize the 'wealth' of the Province, or more accurately potential wealth. In this way museums of the Punjab were perpetuated two-fold - trying to establish a network of 'interchange'

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51 Ibid.
52 Home Proceedings, General Department, No 4, 28th February 1863, Serial 6807, PSA.
between various museums, and aligning the standards of exhibition and economic gain (see Chapter 2). The previous hindrance of finding educated superintendents for museums is reportedly overcome with engineers and medical officers being well qualified; but a new problem arose that of a suitable building.

AN EXHIBITION: In connection with local museums, Cleghorn’s memorandum reiterates the interest shown towards holding Agricultural and Manufacturing Industries Exhibitions in the Punjab following the beneficial results shown in South India. This exchange of ‘models’ and ideas within India initiated the beginning of an exhibition culture and set forth staging patterns for others to follow; yet each exhibition remained unique by displaying remarkable local products. This is certainly true for the Punjab, for which the Madras Exhibition of 1855 was a template, as outlined in the catalogue. The list of the main classes of objects exhibited includes raw materials, machinery and manufactures of the Madras Presidency and its Neighbouring states, and in a similar way to exhibitions in other parts of the world, prizes were on offer being rewarded to

...those Articles of Manufacture...which fulfil in the highest degree the following condition viz., increased usefulness, such as permanency in dyes, improved forms and arrangements in articles of utility, and superior quality or superior skill in workmanship. New use of known materials, use of how materials, new combinations of materials, as in metals and pottery, beauty of design in form or colour or both, with reference to utility, cheapness relatively to excellence of production.

The underlying tone is redolent with the will to learn and improve but these efforts were always directed towards identifying new avenues of exploiting the resources available; thus the priority of any exhibition was simply profit. It is to the first exhibition of the Punjab that I now turn in order to move onto the next stage of the Lahore Museum, and a new location.

53 Museums mentioned include - Lahore, Peshawar, Umritsar [sic], Delhi, Mooltan [sic], and Simla in India and Royal Gardens in Kew where commercial samples were sent for valuation by Dr Forbes-Watson.
54 Letter from S.W. Forsyth (Vice President of the Punjab Agriculture and Horticulture Society) to The Secretary Punjab Government, dated August 1860. In Home Proceedings, General Department, No 99-100, 8th September 1860, PSA
55 See Madras Exhibition of 1855 - Catalogue Raisonne of the Thirty Classes into which the Articles in the Exhibition are divided by H.P. Hawkes (1855)
56 (ibid:30).
The exhibition committee set up in 1860 took three years to finally organize the first spectacle of the Punjab. A sub-committee organized the allotment of prizes, medals and certificates, with a ‘Prize List’ being published that outlined the different categories of objects that would be admitted and those up for prizes. This list was circulated in the form of a general prospectus amongst ‘native chiefs and gentlemen’ to get them to fully participate by exhibiting objects. An example of contribution and interest by ‘native gentlemen’ is of the Fakir family of Lahore, an influential family whose ancestors were high ranking officials in the Government of Ranjit Singh, through which they amassed what became a family collection. The British, knowing the benefits of maintaining good relations with local elite, contacted the Fakir Family for objects related to the darbar of Ranjit Singh for the exhibition, since the family had previously donated items to the Lahore Museum, including paintings and swords of French Generals. Other contributors to the exhibition included the local committees of various districts, Government Administrators, Thuggie School of Industry, Lahore Jail and ‘native princes’; an altogether collaborative effort in showing the ‘wealth’ of Punjab.

The only museums to send objects were the Lahore and Amritsar Museums, the former contributed samples of silk, Bahawalpur durrie, straw shoes from China, women’s caps and article verses from Arabia. Four sections (Raw Material. Manufactures, Machinery and Fine Arts) with thirty-three classes of objects were arranged, and each object displayed was labelled with name of the exhibitor, locality, district and price - if for sale. It must be noted that the inclusion of products from beyond Punjab was not taken to be disruptive rather they highlighted existing ‘imports’ and trade-routes from other provinces and countries (Baden-Powell 1868), and mapped the economic viability of Punjab.

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57 Prizes were awarded from the general funds gathered for the exhibition. Home Proceedings, General Department, No 47, 18th July 1863, PSA.
58 The prospectus was translated into the vernacular and sent to Maharaja o Cashmere & Jumoo [sic], Patiala, Raja of Jheend, Mundee, Kapurthala and Chamba. See Home Proceedings, General Department, No. 51 & 23, 1st August 1863, PSA.
59 Also referred to as Faqir, meaning ‘humble one’. The family still has a private museum the - Fakir Khana in Bhati Gate.
60 See Saifur Rahman Dar 1990 for the family’s history.
61 I would like to thank F.S. Saifuddin Sahib for bringing this to my attention and providing his Great-Grandfather’s (F.S. Khairuddin) correspondence with Robert Montgomery on the matter.
Despite long-term planning of the exhibition by the Committee, when it came to the building that was a hurried affair. A special building was constructed on the later named Exhibition Road near Anarkali, to house what Percy Brown\textsuperscript{63} states as ‘the vast number of exhibits which it was anticipated would be sent’ in the development of local arts and industries (1994:17). The building was never intended to be permanent, and so was hastily put up with the funds from local,\textsuperscript{64} provincial and imperial funds (Latif 1892:353). Little else is known about the construction plans of the first purpose built exhibition building in Lahore.

The exhibition was opened on 20\textsuperscript{th} January 1864, G.R. Elmslie, a British Administer in the Punjab (1858-1893) gives an insight into the occasion:

\begin{quote}
The chief event at Lahore in the early part of 1864 was the opening of an Industrial Exhibition, in a building specially built for the purpose in Anarkali... I am afraid I did not feel very much enthusiasm in the matter, having inherited a prejudice against ‘Exhibitions’ as savouring of humbug to a considerable extent.\textsuperscript{65}
\end{quote}

Elmslie’s distaste for such performances continues in his diary entries, outlining the events of the opening week:

\begin{quote}
January 17...This week is to be the regular week of tamashas. A large number of Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners are collected in Lahore, with Rajas and Nawabs \textit{ad lib}. The European visitors are principally located in a large camp in Anarkuli. The native grandees are on the plain on north of the city. Tomorrow is fixed for the grand durbar or levee for the reception of the Native Princes, etc. The Civilians have to appear in evening dress at twelve noon! A terrible go, is it not, for those whose dress suits have had much wear and tear? However, there is not help for it. Sir Robert [Montgomery] will no doubt be resplendent in diplomatic uniform, cocked hat, gold lace, orders, etc. On Tuesday H.H. the Lieutenant-Governor gives a grand fete at Shalamar to all residents and visitors. On Wednesday the Exhibition is to be opened with all possible pomp. On Thursday come a grand review and ball. Friday, State visit to the city...Of course, cutcherry is entirely suspended, but I would rather spend the holidays in the jungles than at the monster
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{62} See \textit{Official Handbook of the Punjab Exhibition of 1864} for a complete list of each object.


\textsuperscript{64} Baden-Powell lists each local contribution - with the total amount calculated as Rs 34,424 (Home Proceedings, General Department, No 6-7, 1\textsuperscript{st} December 1866, Serial No. 57, PSA).

\textsuperscript{65} Quoted in F.S. Aijazuddin (2003:111).
The actual opening is described as a relatively ‘mild affair’. The exhibition lasted until the first week of April 1864, with 25,027 tickets being sold in total\(^6\) and the highest daily attendance numbered at 3687 on 10\(^{th}\) February when a great majority came from Amritsar by rail.\(^6\) Soon after the exhibition closed discussions took place to decide the future of the ‘exhibition hall’. In a meeting on 20\(^{th}\) February 1864 Sir Robert Montgomery proposed that half of the building should be used for the museum and the other half as a public hall, though the Exhibition Committee pointed out that the building was in need of a new roof, flooring and proper drainage before it could be used as a museum.\(^6\) Despite being vacant, the building was not occupied immediately and lay empty for a while with the ‘debris’ of the exhibition. Once cleared it was used in the Durbar of October 1864, and only then was one-half re-roofed, re-floored and the building divided into two by a ‘handsome double-screen of glass and carved wood’ made by the Railway Workshops.\(^7\) Subsequently some collections from the Lahore Museum were transferred to the renovated half. Space still being inadequate, the other half was also refurbished, and it was only natural that the museum occupied both parts. The first section contained raw produce and Natural History with an annexe of ‘antiquities’; the second newer section was devoted to manufactured products, fine arts, ethnographic specimens and the collection of coins.\(^7\)

The collections of the ‘new’ Lahore Museum were an admixture of objects from the old museum and remnants of the exhibition. Baden-Powell, then curator,\(^7\) notes in retrospect that surviving raw products, a number of models, and some manufactured goods were transferred, he also makes a point of mentioning the donations of the Government of Bombay to the ‘new museum’ of inlaid furniture, Cambay agates and fabrics. Additions were added through purchases and contributions of various

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66 (Ibid: 112)
67 A range of tickets were on sale – Season, Rs 2, Rs 1, 8 Annas, 4 Annas, 2 Annas. In Home Proceedings, General Department, No 24, 23\(^{rd}\) April, 1864, Serial No. 32, PSA.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
70 General Report on the Lahore Central Museum up to March, 1868, Baden-Powell in Punjab Gazette (Supplement) of 22\(^{nd}\) December, 1868.
71 Ibid.
72 Ibid.
districts especially in the departments of antiquities, natural history and ethnography. The relocation of the museum was then an expansive stage and an opportunity to accumulate new materiality. The antiquities were kept in an annexe and were considered the most important acquisitions, some being purchased and others contributed by officers such as Mr F.H. Cooper, who presented carved friezes and fragmentary sculptures from Yusafzai country. In the natural history section for example, Lt C.H.T. Marshall - Assistant Commissioner who was leaving India, loaned his specimens of kangaroo rat, young llama and ourang-outang [sic]. There were fossils from Spiti for the Geological section, and in the Ethnological Department plans for a gallery of dresses of the various tribes in the hills and plains of the Punjab were laid down. The gallery was to build upon the contribution of Dr Cayley who had donated specimens illustrating products of Ladak [sic] and Dr Leitner who deposited his collection of dresses and other curiosities that he had brought from Little Tibet and Daro country. More importantly, this was to sustain the interest that ‘...principal relics of the Old Museum, a series of electro types from the casts of heads of various Himalayan tribes taken by M.M. Schelaginweit’[sic] that remained in the collection had sparked.

The variety and types of objects displayed in the museum and exhibition was thus not confined only to raw products and subsequent manufactures but added to in an ever-distilling image of the ‘people of India’ - illustrations of them, inquiries on them. One important stepping-stone in such visual classification was the publication of Forbes Watson’s eighteen volume series - *The Textile Manufactures and the Costumes of the People of India* in 1866, where fabric type, design, colour, and usage came to represent regions of India and Indian types. This was not a mere catalogue to peruse but one that had its own ‘rules for inspection’, which were also hung up when the series was deposited in the Lahore Museum. However, it cannot be said that there was clear

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73 By June 1867 committees were formed in several districts of the Lahore Division in connection with local museums for the purpose of co-operating with the Central Museum in Lahore; an initiative of T.H. Thornton. (See Home Proceedings, General Department, No 83-84, 6th July, 1867, PSA.)


75 Ibid.

76 Dr Forbes-Watson was Reporter on the Products if India to the Secretary of State for India, who collected/obtained 700 ‘working samples’ of cloth, cut them into strips and formed 20 sets of the catalogue, of which 13 were distributed to museums in Britain such as the India Museum, and 7 in
recognition or accurate knowledge being extracted from objects collected and displayed, it was all a bit more conjectured. Baden-Powell’s comments on the ‘antiquities’ are revealing:

The great bulk of these sculptures are...purely ornamental...others again endless repetitions of the Buddha, surrounded by his pupils—standing-seated—in the attitude of teaching—and so forth; but besides these there are a series of carvings evidently representing scenes of mythic history. And these, if described by competent persons, would probably throw some light on the history of Buddhism. There can, I think, be no question that some of them represent scenes in the life of the Reformer himself.77

The dilemma of ‘competent persons’ was one that hindered progress; with usually one curator being placed in charge of an entire museum who by no means could have been a master of all the ‘subjects’ on display. Baden-Powell refers to the same issue, with regard to the stand still in the arrangement of bird specimens, his lack of knowledge in ornithology lets him down; and the Buddhist friezes remain simply ornamental.

This is not to say that the Lahore Museum was not taking shape, it was, and in 1866 the Governor of Punjab ordered that Rs 200 per month be allocated for its workings; as previously the museum had been supported by local funds with only the curator’s salary being paid for by the Government.78 Interventions were also made towards attracting the public and particularly the ‘natives’ with steps being taken to inform them that the building was now open for visiting. The visitors also included native Princes such as the Maharajahs of Kashmir and Cabul [sic] who not only came to look but also donated objects too.79 Despite the building remaining unsatisfactory, with every part of the roof leaking, and Baden-Powell describing it as ‘damp and dark place’ (1869:522), it was being made more pleasant with ornamented colour stencilling around the arches and some glass cases commissioned for better display. The situation was a challenging one: collections becoming rapidly ‘interesting’ and ‘valuable’, but disappointment and

India - The Lahore Museum still holds theirs in surprisingly good condition. The materials were also used to create ‘mini-museums’ where the fabrics were displayed on a rotating stand.

77 (1869:520).
78 General Report on the Lahore Central Museum up to March, 1868, Baden-Powell in Punjab Gazette (Supplement) of 22nd December, 1868:433. Although in the Report on the Central Museum, Lahore 1868-69 Baden-Powell acknowledges receipt of only Rs 100 which is said to be highly inadequate and left little margin for expenditure on purchases.
79 Ibid. Visitors numbers for December 1867 - 255, January 1868 - 735, February 1868 - 18,256, March 1868 - 8,539. Visitors were not charged entry fee and numbers were calculated as each visitor deposited a wooden counter in a box (in Report on the Central Museum, Lahore 1868-69).
anxiety abound with a lack of funds and generous Government patronage. Although all this was forgotten under the allurement of discovery and surprise of ‘new’ objects arriving, and this remained one driving force that prevented disintegration of the museum; though no doubt better administration, funding, and specialists were major issues.

A new direction and influx of ideas for the Lahore Museum came in the 1870’s, with J.L. Kipling’s initial appointment as Principal of Lahore Art School (see Chapter 2). J.L. Kipling represents one of the key figures and ‘moments’ in the history of the Lahore Museum, as it was under his vision that it gradually transformed from a material ‘archive’ to being actively implicated in the discourse around art/craft reform and popular education in India. J.L. Kipling was himself trained under an apprenticeship, as a modeller and designer, at the pottery firm of Pinder, Bourne and Company in Burslem (Stoke-on-Trent) (Ata-Ullah 2000:224). He later moved down to London to further his practical experience and in 1861 joined the South Kensington Museum as a sculptor/modeller, where his skills were utilized in decorating the new courts of the museum. At this time the drive to establish art schools in India was also taking root with competent persons being sought to head them. C.J. Erskine, a Bombay judge, visiting England at this time was on the lookout to ‘employ practising artist-craftsmen’ for the J.J. School of Art (ibid), and J.L. Kipling fitted the bill landing his first job in India. So in April 1865, at the age of 28 along with his wife, he headed for Bombay and the J.J. School of Art. He stayed there for nine years during which he started to expound his tendencies for his version of art education in India steeped in the ideals of the arts and crafts movement in England.

In 1875, the same year that he was made a fellow of Bombay University, J.L. Kipling shifted to Lahore to head the new art school. It was his ‘energetic and practical temperament’ that attracted the Punjab Government to offer him the principal’s post. Not long after he was also made Curator of the Lahore Museum, in addition to being principal. It is easier to position J.L. Kipling in relation to the art/craft debate in India as this was the underlying paradigm to all his work, and emerges to a large extent in his

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80 See Naazish Ata-Ullah’s (2000) and Mahrukh Tarapor (1980) on J.L. Kipling.
81 This was stated in a letter from J.B. Peile, a former Director of Public Instruction, to J.L. Kipling, quoted in Ata-Ullah (2000:228).
work at the art school and makes his engagement with the Lahore Museum a little skewed. However, this should not be taken as lack lustre approach towards the Lahore Museum where it becomes secondary to the Art School, rather both were vital to the teaching and revival of ‘art’ envisioned by J.L. Kipling. This intertwining of the two institutions brought the Lahore Museum to face up to a new challenge and acknowledge a new set of consumers - the artisans. The concerns for a museum/art discourse and the state of the Lahore Museum under J.L. Kipling can be gleaned from a ‘guide’ he co-wrote, with T.H. Thornton (2002), for travellers wishing to visit the Punjab. The museum is described in detail starting with the Zamzamah gun that stood in front of museum, and said to be a ‘must see’ site for all who come to the Punjab. The museum is laid out for the reader. The first thing to be pointed out is a table with a visitor’s book and copies of Baden-Powell’s ‘Punjab Products’ and ‘Punjab Manufactures’ kept for those desiring more detailed information than afforded by the labels (ibid:75). Then begins a description of the arts and manufactures of the Province, relayed both as an artistic assessment and a general guide and is epitomized in the treatment handed out to the sculptured remains from Yusafzai. These sculptures are called the ‘chief’ valuables of the museum, evaluated as ‘architectonic and conventional’ and never ‘monstrous’ in comparison to Hindu work (ibid:78). The work is highly praised for its purity and the simplicity of the Buddhist creed, which is further venerated as the artistic influence is conjectured to be from Greek art. Coins are mentioned next, but these were principally contained in a strongbox with access available on request from the Curator. Proto-history, though a little thin, was also exhibited in the form of two finely finished ‘celts’ from Swat.

In the central aisle the visitor would be confronted by ‘the somewhat grotesque series of portraits’ (ibid:80) of Princes and Chiefs of the Punjab by a native artist, with cases displaying manufactured specimens such as lacquered-ware of Pakpattan, papier-mache of Kashmir and ivory in-lay work from Hoshiarpur. Once again manufactures are referred to profusely in this account, not just as a list in a catalogue but as overtly expressing the authors’ judgment on the quality and type of goods exhibited. A section

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82 Lahore as it was has been reprinted by NCA, but no publication date exists and it may be guessed that the date was around 1876 when Kipling is said to have written a guidebook (see Gianluig 1994). Also see Latif (1892:353-383) for a description by an elite Indian on the Lahore Museum and also includes several sketches of the Buddhist sculptures made by the author under J.L. Kipling.
on Ornaments is mentioned, though it is declared that this is much more ‘fully illustrated’ by looking at the personal adornment of the people than the few ‘characteristic examples’ in the museum collection. Other cases exhibited musical instruments - pretty complete, pottery - inadequate, damascene-work from Gujarat and Sialkot - stated to be similar to that of Italy, enamelled metal, Bahawalpur silks, rudely carved and hideously painted idols found in the fort, display of Kashmir and Amritsar shawl manufacture thus far ‘imperfectly illustrated’, a similar situation prevailed for the highly important wool manufactures of the Province. Interestingly the influence of ‘foreign textures’ were also evidenced in artefacts such as cotton goods or Russian imitations of Indian *kimkhab* that were ‘increasingly being pushed eastwards’ (ibid:82), although coarse, common and crude they were exhibited to allow the visitors to judge the difference in quality for themselves. The museum then for J.L. Kipling was not just an object lesson on the Punjab but an explicit effort in trying to get visitors to question their own ideals and taste of Indian art, and ideally reform or conform to the ‘correct’ aesthetic.

Ethnography was also visualized in the arts and manufactures section, with weapons and accoutrements of several hill tribes, said to be similar to those of medieval Europe. There was a collection of ‘Thibetan [sic] curiosities’ such as an image made from the ashes of a deceased Lama, along with the ever-present ethnographical heads donated by Messrs Schlagintweit, about which the authors lamented that only details of facial angle and cheeks were provided and not measurement of the skulls. The costumes donated by Drs Cayley and Leitner’s were ‘...arrayed on rude lay figures form[ing] a series...[to] be extended’ (ibid:83). Conspicuous among this array was the costume of a ‘Tibetan Lama of high rank richly ornamented and picturesque.’ (ibid).

The ethnographic artefacts relating to the ‘northern tribes’ coupled with the abundance of Yusafzai sculptures whose value lay in ‘...elucidating the obscure early history of the Buddhist faith’ (ibid:79), are brought to life in a different manner in Rudyard Kipling’s narration of the Lahore Museum as epitomised in *Kim* (1901). The fictional drama that unfolds in *Kim* has a very real base in its link with the Lahore Museum and

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83 In a similar manner to Rudyard Kipling’s opening of *Kim* (1901), except here the inscription on the gun is fully translated to make evident its historical significance.
it is worth examining this in parenthesis for it provides a ‘personal’ attachment to the Lahore Museum. ‘Images’ at the museum, as well as his father’s activities, must have tinted the words written in the opening pages, when Kimball O’Hara takes his newfound curiosity the Tibetan Lama to the Ajaib Ghar/Wonder House/government’s house, a place where there was ‘no idolatry...only a sahib with a white beard’ (ibid:13). The description of the museum rendered by Rudyard Kipling is not too far off from that in his father’s guide, the Lama’s encounter being reminiscent:

Kim clicked round the self-registering turnstile; the old man followed and halted amazed. In the entrance-hall stood the larger figures of the Greco-Buddhist sculptures done, savants know how long since, by forgotten work-men whose hands were feeling, and not unskilfully, for the mysteriously transmitted Grecian touch. There were hundreds of pieces, friezes of figures in relief, fragments of statues and slabs crowded with figures that had encrusted the brick walls of the Buddhist stupas and viharas of the North Country and, dug up and labelled, made the pride of the museum. In open-mouthed wonder the lama turned to this and that, and finally checked in rapt attention before a large alto-relief representing a coronation or apotheosis of Lord Buddha.85

Seeing these sculptures the Lama is overcome with delight and Kim dodging sideways between cases of the arts and manufactures wing directs him to the sahib who humbly introduces himself: ‘Welcome, then, O lama from Tibet. Here be the images, and I am here...to gather knowledge.’ (ibid:15). J.L. Kipling is presented in the figure of the benevolent Curator, portrayed with an overwhelming desire to share his ‘knowledge’, yet simultaneously holding ‘the reverence of a devotee and the appreciative instinct of a craftsman.’ (ibid:16). Rudyard Kipling paying homage to his father here alludes to the empathy J.L. Kipling felt towards the traditional work of craftsmen in India; for whom he envisioned the Lahore Museum as a sanctuary. A place where tradition was depicted and safeguarded in the collections, and it was through this lens that J.L. Kipling envisaged his work - practical and publications.86 J.L. Kipling makes this sensibility evident in the descriptions he gives of the manufactures that are elucidated comparatively in terms of style and design, in some cases compared to familiar styles in Europe; but always trying to champion the traditional Indian aesthetic.

84 The preface to Kim (1901) states the story was written twelve years after Rudyard Kipling left India (in 1889), so the Lahore Museum described is at this ‘stage’ of development.
85 (1912:14).
Returning to the guide, the second part describes the raw materials of Punjab, with location and use value being explained for a variety of raw products like coal, gypsum, rock salt, cotton, lead and timbers. The guidebook section on the museum is completed with a surprising section on the Koh-i-Nur, a model by Messers Olser displayed at the Lahore Museum that was exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851. The Lahore Museum by the latter part of the nineteenth century had continued to maintain the division of artefacts into sections adapted from the previous setting to the new exhibition building. Now instead of an objectified census being displayed, the collections were appropriated through the meta-narrative of craft ideology and the will to improve and restore.

The collections had also been expanding alongside the intellectual rhetoric and objects (plus reports) had been continuously added to the Lahore Museum - a Woodcock shot at Peshawar, coins, a rifle, timber specimens, a stone casket, rice, indigo, specimens of female ant and scorpions, portions of carved tiles, records of Geological and Archaeological Surveys of India. One section that flourished more than others was that of the Yusafzai sculptures, with over 800 duplicates in 1878 and new examples being added annually despite the Lahore Museum having little idea on how to accommodate these ‘superabundant riches’; hence suggestions were made that duplicates be sent to England. Although, J.L. Kipling agreed that sculptures which held historical and artistic value required exposure back ‘home’, he preferred to send casts as this would save on freight costs and give students at the art school practice in clay and plaster modelling. This is a prime example of how J.L. Kipling combined the workings of the two institutions and created a symbiotic relationship. It may appear that Lahore Museum was only a visual archive for the art school students but J.L.

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86 See his articles in the Journal of Indian Art and Industry (from now on JIAI) for example Brass & Copperware of the Punjab in Vol. 1:1-8.
87 An annual list of objects presented and donated was published in the Punjab Gazette, the objects mentioned here are from that of 1871 (see Punjab Gazette, June 29, 1871:818-820).
88 The official setting up of the Archaeological Survey of India under Director General Alexander Cunningham in 1870 must have contributed greatly to this. In direct relation to the Lahore Museum see Descriptive List of Selected Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Central Museum by Major-General A. Cunningham, C.S.I., Director General of The Archaeological Survey of India in Supplement to Punjab Gazette, July 24, 1873:631-636. Another important development was the Indian Treasure Trove Act of 1878 set up to retain Indian antiquities within India.
89 An extract from Mr Ferguson to the Secretary of State dated 11th August 1878 in Home Proceedings, General Department, No 157, July, 1878, PSA.
90 The file (ibid) also contains a Memo on proposed removal of the Yusafzai sculptures Lahore Museum to the India Museum London by J.L. Kipling.
Kipling’s preference to send casts rather than originals is indicative of possessiveness towards the museum. In an interesting letter he pens his thoughts on the museum where it is obvious that he does not treat it as simply an illustration of his larger craft ideals, but passionately argues that:

...we might fairly expect to receive something in exchange for the sculptures and that from the Asiatic Society, Indian Museum or from the continental Museums we might get valuable books or prints or duplicates of their wealth of Indian objects.91

This wish for ‘return’, prompted J.L. Kipling to express his intentions to extend the Lahore Museum’s ‘boundary’ beyond the Punjab, and introduce a more comparative and edifying aspect:

For while I deprecate attempts to make the Lahore Museum an omnium gathereno [sic] of the bric-a-brac of all countries I can hardly agree with General MacLagan that it should be entirely limited to the productions of the Punjab. I think to be fully instructive it should contain examples of all kinds of oriental art, which though varied in its details, is wonderfully homogenous in all vital particulars. Nor do I see how it is possible to prevent the growth of such a collection. Already we have photographs from Madras and other places of India, Cambay agates from Bombay, terra-cotta figures from Oudh, marble idols of the baser sort from Poona, rococo alabaster vases and marble statues from Italy, steatite models from Agra, prints from England etc etc...This class is almost certain to increase and it can easily be so arranged as not to clash or be confounded with things peculiar to the Punjab. It would certainly be much more useful if it contained some good marble inlay from Agra, and architectural photographs and other reproductions of old work from the rest of the country, some good gold enamel and marble sculptures from Jeypore, specimens of the revered Sind pottery now made at Bombay School of Art, some good Bombay wood-carving, Chinese, Japanese and Madras cane and bamboo work, Persian illuminated M.S.S. and many more such objects to which one could take a student or craftsmen.92

Apart from a geographical expansion of the collections, J.L. Kipling was advocating a greater degree of ‘exchange’ between museums, the various surveys of India and societies without abandoning core peculiarities of each Provincial museum; so that objects, which otherwise would be miscellaneous could be employed as comparative samples of ‘others’. J.L. Kipling’s ideas here are better understood if placed within the emerging scheme of things, namely the Government of India’s drive in the late 1880’s to align museums specifically towards the encouragement of the Industrial Arts. This

91 (Kipling 1878).
92 Ibid.
was the first, and to some extent the only real concerted effort made by the Government to consolidate the museums of India in a practical way. Under the umbrella of ‘Industrial Arts, Museums and Exhibitions’, Resolution No. 239 of 14th March 1884\textsuperscript{93} was drafted to better organize museums with purview to promote trade and industries of India and its artisans. The objective was twofold in relation to ‘artistic’ industries: firstly encouragement and assistance of local artisans and secondly ‘advertising’ their work to the public by means of art museums, exhibitions and art publications.

This triad operating in unison was to address issues of trade expansion through increased awareness of Indian artistic products within and beyond India and better design and style, but this time in an efficient manner.\textsuperscript{94} Advance onto the global stage of capitalism with the development of transnational flows of objects and knowledge was the focus rather than the earlier colonial fixation to objectify India, although this shift did rely on the knowledge base accrued over the years from earlier explorations of India. Museums were now appropriately given the guise of ‘economic museums’ or ‘trade museums’: an essential component in this trade organization; simple cataloguing and collecting was dismissed as insufficient for such global activities. Museums became a central feature owing to their ability to visualize and give instant access to the various ‘types’ of objects. The museum once again proved to be the perfect institution from which to propagate colonial ideas.

Resolution 239 clearly affected museums, like the Lahore Museum, as it redirected the attention and activities of museums towards issues pertaining to ‘art’.\textsuperscript{95} This did not however mean that other sections of the museum, like economic or geological, were redundant, since the notion of ‘art’ here was overbearingly that of the ‘sumptuous’ sort and so incorporated all intermediate processes that converted the raw material to the finished product. The Lahore Museum, under J.L. Kipling was integrated within this

\textsuperscript{93} This was a modification of the scheme outlined in the paper of 3\textsuperscript{rd} January 1884 - see Museums & Exhibitions Resolution in JIA 1886:Vol.1.

\textsuperscript{94} The question of alleviating wastage and excess expenditure was a major issue and it was decided that cost and time could be saved if exhibition collections instead of being sold/distributed at the end of an exhibition were used to enrich existing museum collections. Another suggestion was the maintenance of complete collections in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras along with a descriptive dictionary of the commercial products, as this would provide permanent and instant ‘accurate knowledge’ of the resources of India’.

\textsuperscript{95} This is examined in detail in Chapter 2.
trade/craft commercialisation/ideology - as a theatre of taste, instruction and preservation. Although a politically and economically motivated move in India, for J.L. Kipling the rhetoric of the Resolution was akin to that being brandished around by the art reformers in England. At one level, the implementation of Resolution 239 formed a cycle between museums in Europe and India, with objects that had originally migrated to Europe for exhibitions such as the 1851 Great Exhibition and ended up in museums, now ‘returning’ as an ideology of art reform to direct the future and re-instate indigenous models of Indian art; focusing collection of India as art/craft.

One immediate plan of action was for a census to be carried out on the art manufactures; with resultant monographs to be published in the ‘Journal of Art’ as suggested by Baden-Powell and J.L. Kipling.\(^{96}\) This engendered many monographs, confined not to the journal alone but as official reports, that were circulated and exchanged between museums and art schools. What characterizes these monographs is their holistic approach in documenting aspects of ‘art’, seeking a full and comprehensive account from supply of raw materials to the process of manufacture, commercial enterprise, enumeration of goods, wages and profits along with the caste of workers. This surveying via the monograph classified both the materials and Indians alike with illustrations of craftsmen at work objectifying the latter as part and parcel of the materials of ‘art’- the *Monograph on the Gold and Silver Works of the Punjab 1888-89* has images prepared under J.L. Kipling that demonstrate this. A systematic industrial survey was underway, the Provincial Government commissioned monographs every year on a specific ‘art’, though some were written as part ‘local inquiry’. Exemplary here is *A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India* (1880) written by William Hoey, Officiating City Magistrate, on his special duty as Licence Tax Officer in Lucknow (1879-80), he notes in his introduction:

> I soon found that the only safe method of assessing a Licence Tax was to study the trade and manufactures, the arts and dealings of the people with whom my duty brought me into contact. I therefore adopted a system of local inquiry, personal visitation, and note-taking. I took up sample cases of all trades, dealings, and manufactures, noted the processes of manufacture, principles of dealing, and trade practices, and endeavoured to form an approximate notion of the probable profits of each business.\(^{97}\)

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97 (Ibid:np)
For museums, more than the text and visuals, it was the samples of raw materials and manufacture collected as part of these expeditions that were of significance;\(^9\) such acquisitions were useful in judging local work, especially the ‘extent of deterioration’ and how to combat it. However, this sudden injection of the ‘art’ rhetoric as symbolic of museum identity in the 1880’s onwards should not detract from the fact that other modes of collecting and acquisition that had prevailed continued and were a vital source of enrichment; though sidelined they never disappeared but added to the eclecticism.

It may seem that the museums of India, like the Lahore Museum, had become totally embroiled in the fictional desire for purity of design/form to enhance trade and colonial profit (see Chapter 2). To some extent this was true but the grip of ‘curiosities’ was difficult to shake off despite the strong influence of Resolution 239 as attested to by the list of main additions to the Lahore Museum’s collections. In 1891-92 additions included a collection of coins purchased from Mr C.J. Rodgers, noted by J.L. Kipling as the most complete and valuable in India,\(^9\) a collection of shells from the Andaman Islands gifted by Lady Lyall, and some sculptural fragments from Dr Auriel Stein’s visit to Ranigat in Yusafzai. The next year it was more coins, manufactured silk donated by the Director of Land and Agriculture, Punjab Government, enamelled jewellery, musical instruments and the purchase of clay models of ‘Muhammadan prayers’, a Tazia, funeral procession and a marriage procession.\(^1\)0 This episode for the Lahore Museum clearly shows two museum ‘models’ at work firstly that of Resolution 239 and then that which persisted to follow the Indian Museum model - the ‘encyclopaedic’ stance. The two themes fused together forming a concoction in which it is not easy to delineate the dominate mode or even extract an ‘essence’ of the museum; rather it seems the Lahore Museum grew by accruing and fulfilling various colonial ‘fantasies’ that juggled between objectifying India in collections and then

\(^9\) Monograph on Woollen Manufactures of the Punjab in 1884-85 (1886) where the samples of samples of raw and manufactured wool of each district are directed by the Financial Commissioner to be deposited in the Lahore Museum.

\(^9\) The Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1891-1892 (1892) in OIOC V/24/3047 V/24/3048

\(^1\)0 The Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1892-1893 (1893) in OIOC V/24/3047 V/24/3048
commoditizing it. Crucially this was also the time when the Lahore Museum would once again change its persona, adding to it and reorganizing itself as a Jubilee Museum.

THE JUBILEE INSTITUTE: On 5th May 1893 J.L. Kipling retired and was replaced by F.H Andrews (1893-1899) as Curator neatly mirroring the change of location for the Lahore Museum. The new setting was part of an institute built just across from the Exhibition Building and opposite the University Senate Hall. This venture was a permanent construction financed from funds raised throughout the Punjab Province during the commemoration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in February 1887. It was conceived as a complex comprising of the museum, a library, lectures rooms and Art School in one location that also allowed for future expansion. On 3rd February 1890 Prince Albert Victor laid down the foundation stone for the building designed by the architect Sardar Sahib Bhai Ram Singh, who was member of the first batch of students of the Mayo School of Art. Constructed by Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, then Executive Engineer of Lahore, it was completed in late 1893 as the Victoria Jubilee Institute; ready in time for the Punjab Exhibition of December 1893 and later opened to the public in 1894. This finally gave the Lahore Museum a permanent location on which to firmly establish itself, and the Punjab had an 'ideal museum building' that boasted the architectural grandeur of any modern museum, something Hargreaves and Markham had bemoaned as lacking in India, as it had '...but few ideal museum buildings - few cool spacious inviting temples of the Muses such as one sees in many American and European Cities.' (1936:21).

Although J.L. Kipling retired before the new institute was completed he had been an integral part of its formation, particularly in the shape of Bhai Ram Singh - an ex-student of his and later Principal of Mayo School of Art (1909-1913). In his last annual report for the Lahore Museum J.L. Kipling describes how the interiors of the new museum were near completion with designs, models, moulds and casts in embossed plaster prepared for the enrichment of the doorways between galleries, he wrote 'The surfaces of Museum walls afford an excellent field for the practice of the decorative

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101 A Magic Lantern had been purchased in 1892 for the purpose of delivering a series of popular lectures at the museum in collaboration with the Punjab Text book Committee, in the new Institute's lecture hall. Inaugurated in the Spring of 1892, they were said to be well attended and focused chiefly on scientific subjects (The Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1892-1893)- OIOC V/24/3047 V/24/3048.
art...that students of the School of Art may continue the work.' (ibid). This practice was very similar to the ornamentation of the South Kensington Museum where J.L. Kipling and others had been responsible for decorating the new courts. J.L. Kipling was not just involved in surface decoration but also instituting aspects of the collection’s re-organization, he makes special mention of the Buddhist antiquities, in particular the positioning of the Stupa - to be fixed on a drum of brickwork ensuring that the relief work was at eye level. However, the majority of the collections were transferred to the new museum after J.L. Kipling’s departure, the delay caused by the new building also suffering from the ‘evil’ of leaking roofs and until this was rectified most collections remained in the cramped old museum. Once the shift was made the old museum building, now redundant, was turned into a municipal market known as Tollinton Market, catering primarily for the European residents of Lahore; with the old galleries now exhibiting different commodities - those of grocers and general merchants, and round the back poultry. This marked the end of what is popularly termed the ‘Lahore of Kipling’s day’, though his influence remained, finally becoming iconic in the development of the Lahore Museum.

This new era of the Lahore Museum at the end of the Nineteenth century was one of adjustment, arrangement and classification, with F.H. Andrews even designing new furniture and fittings for the exhibits. Rules and Regulations were also set up for the Victoria Jubilee Institute and it was proposed that a Committee of Management should manage its affairs. Within these rules, plans for the Lahore Museum stipulated that there would be sections devoted to Art, Archaeology, Ethnology, Technology, Natural History and Economic Products under the direct control of the Honorary Secretary to the Institute (who was also the Curator). It is unclear exactly how these sections were arranged as the only information available relates to additions rather than specifics of display techniques. One thing is certain though that this re-organization was not a short-term alteration but spanned several years. Percy Brown (1899-1908), then curator, reports that ‘Since [1894]...the work of fitting up the Museum with suitable glass cases, and the arrangement and classification of the specimens according to the

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102 The Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1892-1893 - OIOC V/24/3047 V/24/3048
103 In report from F.H. Andrews to the Revenue Secretary, Punjab dated 20th July 1894 in Home Proceedings, General Department, No 21, August 1894, PSA.
104 Printed in Proceeding No 31 of the Home Proceedings, General Department, August 1894, PSA.
most approved methods, has been taken in hand and is now nearing completion. The plan Percy Brown provides shows four overall galleries (illus. 22) with Industrial Arts taking up most space, however to accommodate the various sections mentioned in reports, sub-sections must have existed within each; and were added as necessitated by collections and arrangements.

**PLAN OF THE LAHORE MUSEUM**

Gradually 'new' objects were increasingly purchased for the Lahore Museum, as this became a legitimate method of tracking down objects of interest or those that would complete a collection. The annual report for 1912-13 records how a representative collection of Nepal’s brass work - deities and worshipping utensils were purchased from a Nepalese trader; and a new case made for their proper display so they could flaunt themselves fully. Though this should not be taken as evidence of ample funds in the museum and a disinterest in acquisition tours, as payment was made from sale of discarded museum objects. Purchasing was one way the Lahore Museum sustained its materialistic development whilst retaining a fervour for unique specimens especially those thought to be in need of rescue, such as Indian costumes said to be becoming.

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‘rarer everyday, as the national costume [was] unfortunately dying out.’\textsuperscript{107} Modes of collecting in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries shifted away from primary reliance on survey collecting activities and incorporated museum officer tours and traders who happened to pass through Lahore selling their wares, but these were always restricted by the availability of funds.\textsuperscript{108} Even with this gradual accumulation soon the Lahore Museum become materially claustrophobic and plans for new galleries were made.\textsuperscript{109} However, space should not be equated with order and successful management here, since the fear of disorder overshadowed illusions to any order; a paradox for each successive Curator. This situation was not peculiar to the Lahore Museum but an affliction for most museums as remarked on by the archaeologist Dr Vogel;\textsuperscript{110} instead it obliged action at an all India level.

Increased communication between museums especially the dissemination of objects and knowledge was one way to stimulate the Indian museum system, and prevent institutions from becoming ‘dumping grounds’. It was at the Conference on Archaeology and Museums held in 1907\textsuperscript{111} that the first India wide forum to discuss the issue of museums took place with some headway being made as a number of resolutions were passed. The overall rhetoric echoed the need for increased centralization of museum activity (particularly Provincial Museums - here included Presidency and State) around the Indian Museum. The suggestions related to a number of museum practices, firstly a systematic exchange network between the Indian Museum and Provincial Museums of duplicates and reproductions of objects; this also required a team of skilled subordinate staff to be trained at the Indian Museum. Uniformity in museums was sought through their organization, training of staff and publications, which could be disseminated to other institutions. Pure and industrial art monographs were considered exhausted and of little use to the Indians themselves as

\textsuperscript{106} Report on the Working of the Lahore Museum for the Year 1912-13 in the Punjab Secretariat Library (PSL from now on), reference E 52.\textsuperscript{107} Report on the Working of the Lahore Museum for the Year 1913-14 in PSL, E 52.\textsuperscript{108} The Curator - Lionel Heath notes that unlike Calcutta and Delhi the Provincial Museums did not have access to Imperial funds for their purchases and were dependent of Local Government. Report on the Working of the Lahore Museum for the Year 1916-17 in PSL, reference E 52.\textsuperscript{109} See ibid. The Local Government sanctioned a grant of Rs 25,000 for the proposed extension, as exhibits had encroached the office, library and printing room.\textsuperscript{110} Information supplied by Dr. Vogel regarding Museums in India in The Report of the Conference of Orientalists including Museums and Archaeology held in Simla (1911:99-117) (PSL).\textsuperscript{111} The resolutions passed at this conference can be found appended (Appendix D) in The Report of the Conference of Orientalists including Museums and Archaeology held in Simla (1911:97-99) (PSL).
they were in English with minimal illustrations, instead a Technical Serial, similar to the Memoirs of the different ‘Surveys of India’, was considered more beneficial especially if it incorporated aspects of a ‘pattern book’.

After Percy Brown was transferred to Calcutta as Principal of the School of Art in 1908, B. Mouat-Jones (1908-1909) took over the position of Curator, briefly succeeded by G.A. Wathen (1909-1911). The Lahore Museum during this time needed a Curator who would be committed to the museum and Lionel Heath (1912-1928) emerged on the scene. After J.L. Kipling, Lionel Heath has the longest tenure at the Lahore Museum and Mayo School of Art - the position of Curator remained co-joined with that of the Principal of the School of Art. Lionel Heath replaced G.A. Wathen at the Lahore Museum on 12th April 1912, the latter was praised for having brought about ‘great improvement’ during his time in the general arrangement of the museum, especially in Zoology, and with the help of Mouat-Jones in the Industrial Section ‘...producing order out of chaos by an entire rearrangement of the [mineral] collection in new cases.’; 112 perhaps an effort to apply some of the 1907 Conference’s resolutions to the Lahore Museum. Lionel Heath’s confession that he had no academic degree or published work of official character but ‘parallel qualifications’ for an artist, 113 made sure that ‘art’ remained top of the agenda 114 for the Lahore Museum in the early part of the Twentieth century.

One of Lionel Heath’s first duties, whilst Vice Principal of the Art School, was to attend the second Museums Conference held in Madras on 15th-17th January 1912. The Conference, summoned by the Department of Education, Government of India, invited heads of local museums, representatives of local Governments and Native States as well as those with a direct interest in museums. 115 Management of museums was the main topic for the symposium though free discussion was allowed. The opening

112 Letter from M.Coose, Offg Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, to The Principal Mayo School of Art, Ram Singh, dated 11th June 1912. In File:H-35, Date:1908-21 in NCA Archives.
113 Heath was Member of Royal Society of Miniature Painters since 1900, Member of Art Workers Guild, London, Exhibitor of Royal Academy since 1890. In a letter from Lionel Heath to Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, dated 22nd May 1913 (Ibid). In 1915 he was also made a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts.
114 I am not suggesting that the notion of what ‘art’ encompassed remained the same, Lionel Heath introduced modifications in sync with changes in society and its taste, but that the focus was on the same subject.
address by Lord Carmichael, Governor of Madras, complemented the work of those working in museums: ‘...you help to increase the sum of human knowledge and this is perhaps as worthy an object as any man can set before himself.'

In dealing with museums and education, the Conference noticed the importance of ‘historical studies’ in understanding the present and future and this was one role in which the museum’s archaeological collections excelled as they could visualize the history of civilizations. Museums, it was suggested could provision a more direct visual tuition in this area, and hence be more effective than oral education. But generally education, of all subjects, was to be enhanced in the museum through practical means of good arrangement (chronological), labelling (in English and vernacular), cataloguing (for dilettante and expert) oral tuition (by the Curator who took on the role of ‘expert’ and initiate lectures, gallery tours and demonstrations). Lionel Heath in connection with the educative impulse considered the possibility of having ‘Student Days’, which would allow students to be satisfactorily guided around the museum without the menace of ‘crowds of loiterers’.

This dialogue on the responsibilities of the museums was all well and good but the only way they could manifest themselves was through expert management and so museum staff had become more active, and in particular for the Curator to fulfil his expert role and not simply be an administrator.

It seems that this Conference tried to think about museums pragmatically, aiming for results that were public orientated and so advanced the work of the 1907 Conference. Possibly scant funds prevented future conferences from taking place in India after 1912, and so Indian museums missed debate on development at this level. This is not to say the two Conferences (1907 and 1912) were without impact on a ‘national’ scale, new links and exchange practices were forged, and more significantly they strongly

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115 Also invited were those from the Geological Survey of India, Archaeological Survey of India and Agricultural Departments, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Government of Ceylon, Federated Malay States, Bombay Natural History Society and Straits Settlements and Sarawak.

116 See the Report of the Museums Conference held in Madras (1912:2) in PSL U.9.

117 The Lahore Museum was said to have taken on this task, and that of cataloguing, in relation to the ‘splendid Gandhara sculptures’; with catalogues on the archaeological collections already published by Percy Brown and one near completion by Mr Whitehead on the Coins and an earlier one by Mr Rodgers. Ibid (1912:16-17).

SPECIAL NOTE

ITEM SCANNED AS SUPPLIED
PAGINATION IS AS SEEN
CHAPTER TWO

MUSEUM, ART SCHOOL AND JOURNAL: LESSONS IN CRAFT REFORM

It is melancholy to see so many branches of Art Industry, which a few centuries ago had attained to very great perfection gradually disappearing in the East, and their place being supplanted by Art-industries of very inferior taste and coarser qualities of manufacture. The spread of modern civilisation from Europe has tended, in a great measure, to deteriorate and vitiate the taste of the native manufacturers...It is our duty as a nation to try to preserve in its simple purity the talent of the East.

Alexander Hunter (1876)¹

EDUCATIONAL MUSINGS

One of the fundamental concerns for most public museums is the degree to which they contribute towards a learning experience for those who visit.² This endeavour can take many forms of interpretative ‘presentations’ for the visitor ranging from a deliberate provocation of previously held ideas by critical curatorship, interactive learning interfaces, guided tours, demonstrations to what remains highly evident still in many museums - the pedagogy of the label. Through one, or a combination of these methods, most museums in essence desire to impart knowledge based experiences to visitors who enter into a visual dialogue with the artefacts. Although the educative attribute of museums is not new, over the last two decades what has come under increasing scrutiny is the quality of learning and educational activities provided by museums. This has prioritized education and is a reflection of larger adjustments in museum administration as well as greater orientation and response towards the community and public (Karp, Kreamer & Lavine 1992); these factors contributing in justifying continued public

¹ Enamelling on Precious Metal in Art Journal 1876, Vol.38:89-91.
² Chapters 4 & 5 explore visitor experience.
J.L. Kipling's own campaign to revive Indian crafts was introduced with the adoption of indigenous models of design for instruction at the Mayo School of Art (MSA). The earliest reports of the school show that students were employed in the study of Indian design - from drawing on the blackboard to actual objects, for example, Muhammad Din is said to have made 'creditable pen-drawings of Kashmiri ewers in the museum...'. J.L. Kipling was keen to maintain the 'unity' of art designs, in which the practice of craft was essential, seeing it not as production but as a way to avoid 'vagueness of aim' and maintain a link between art and practice. The Lahore Museum was handy here as the craft collections exposed the student's eye to the ideal form and trained the hand through drawing and manufacture. By 1879, instruction was given to students in drawing, modelling, carpentry, carpet design, decoration, wood engraving, photography, and lithography, with J.L. Kipling desiring to 'advertise' the work of the school to the public. This opportunity arose with the Punjab Exhibition of 1881, at which the school displayed specimens of furniture and wood-carving that were highly commended for their workmanship and ornamentation. Encouragement also arrived from the South Kensington Museum, who had commissioned work from the school, such as models of objects in the Lahore Museum or facsimile reproductions of wall decoration of Wazir Khan's Mosque. The work of the school had gradually advanced from learning 'principles' to the application of 'national' and 'traditional' ornament on new surfaces - buildings, furniture and designs for carpets, hence design was being salvaged but application expanded.

For J.L. Kipling this progression was pleasing as it dissipated initial anxieties about the lack of motivation amongst some students and misconception of the school that...
This notion of museum education as distinct from the didacticism of the classroom alludes to a break from previous approaches of the 1960’s that saw museum education simply as ‘work with schools’ (ibid) and revitalizes it as an interpretative public service that intends to improve the museum literacy Hooper-Greenhill (a1994) describes. Education within the museum space is envisioned around episodes of active interpretation, be it that of the curator or the visitor, aiming for a connection in order to reach some form of communication through the medium of the exhibition. However, efficacy of communication, as a process is no longer reliant on the transference of a single dominant meaning; rather what is sought is to forge a relationship between the exhibition and the empowered visitors who are liberated to create their own personal meanings (ibid). This may sound close to reaching a postmodern interpretative strategy for visitors, but it must be remembered that interpretation is always within the confines of the museum display and so to some extent bounded by its authority. Hooper-Greenhill (b1994) whilst stressing the ‘active audience’ (ibid:13) notes that limits emerge from the social milieu that the visitor inhabits and thinks through. This socialization of the visitor, who becomes more than a simple receptor to the exhibition message, allows both Hooper-Greenhill (1994) and Hein (1998) to advance museum education as a form of social constructivism, which takes into account applications of previous knowledge and skills by the visitor in understanding and learning within the museum. Education is still regarded as a learning process but less able to predict the educational experience or identity formation. In terms of thinking about the Lahore Museum, I intend to examine educational communication its aims and direction - was it pedagogy or constructivist learning, also exactly why the idea of museum education was transplanted to South Asia in the past.

Museum education may have recently been revived as part of the ‘new museology’ (Vergo 1988) with its myriad of engaging display techniques, narratives and activities. However, a discussion about the museum as an ‘educator’ or an educative space is not a recent phenomenon; it was popularized with the development of public museums in both the west and east in the nineteenth century.⁶ Although museum research has

tended to concentrate on the west ignoring the inextricable ties that existed between the two, I would hope that by now the two could be seen in conjunction as demonstrated in Chapter 1. In the case presented here for the Lahore Museum, colonialism was the mediating factor, exploiting and negotiating power, culture and institutional representation to its own advantage, in which museum education was not left untouched. Ideas around using the Lahore Museum’s collections for educational purposes are traceable to colonial policy on Art Education, which relied upon and incorporated the museum in mid nineteenth century India. At one level this is an attempt to further contextualize the Lahore Museum within larger museum discourses both historical and contemporary, as well as to make evident the translational (Bhabha 1994) processes inherent in the practices and policies of transnational (Appadurai 1996) ideas, objects and educators that connect(ed) museum communities in the west with those in South Asia.

The route that museum education took to enter colonial India was highly specific, enshrined as it was in rhetoric of art education and initially, in contrast to Europe, not directly concerned with mass education of the public-cum-subjects. In terms of actual beginnings the points of departure were different for Europe and India, for the former museums of mid nineteenth century were envisioned as part of the public sphere that hoped to create an educated, equal yet governed citizenry (Bennett 1995). Visual representation at both museums and later exhibitions (Greenhalgh 1994) aimed for mass appeal, and in particular the unskilled and lower rungs of society for whom they could serve as rational recreation and simultaneously act as an alternative mode of cultural education to schooling. It would then appear that museums and other exhibitionary complex sites were also employed in a civilizing mission in the colonial centre (Bennett 1995), aligning itself with the spreading of bourgeois ideals of citizenship, morality, taste and behaviour as indicative of a progressive and modern

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7 Hooper-Greenhill (1991) notes how in England the idea of schooling for all was absent until the 1870’s.
8 The museum was an antidote to other vices that plagued and demoralized society, Henry Cole at the South Kensington Museum saw museums as an alternative to the gin palace for the working classes (Hooper-Greenhill 1991). Though the National Gallery saw the uneducated as an unrefined: ‘impure mass of animal and ammoniacal vapour’ condensed on the painting’s surface and was a source of damage; and generally the crowd were a nuisance who got in the way of those who could appreciate art (Altick 1978:501 quoted in Hooper-Greenhill ibid:19).
state, society and colonial power. Tony Bennett’s (ibid) study of museum development during this era illustrates how this ‘civilising’ and enlightening manifesto was tied up with reformist ideals of Victorian England, but was this moral and cultural uplift of the public extended to the museums in colonial India or was it a more contrived affair?

Public representations at British museums and exhibitions attempted to create a cohesive national identity and public sphere along with mass visual dissemination of knowledge about the existence and ownership of empire. Increasing representation of colonies within the colonial centre,⁹ at first as curiosities of the ‘other’ and later with the onset of mass exhibition culture, guided by principals of social hierarchy and progress, as comparative classification and display of societies - cultural, biological, religious, and economic: including trade and manufactures. Ordered systems of display, informed by ideas of cultural taxonomies, social evolutionism, and industrial progress, inevitably led the exhibitors (colonists) to portray other cultures and societies at a lower level of social and cultural organization and evolution, thus purporting a sense of superiority and an inclusive rhetoric which ‘archived’ the other relationally.¹⁰

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully examine the situation as it developed in the colony, though I do want to attend to one landmark exhibitionary event of the nineteenth century, which enigmatically embraced the above and was responsible for the ensuing collaboration between museums and art education colonial India: The Great Exhibition of 1851. This was representative of the first large scale endeavour that combined education, curiosity, governance, trade, industry, colonial adventure and the impending imperial gaze that held India as its priceless ‘jewel’.

The success of the 1851 Exhibition was largely dependent on the image and aesthetization of other nations and especially colonies. The value of objectified India was primary; its central allocation occupying the greatest space within the exhibition

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⁹ Breckenridge (1989) examines the effects of panoramas and visual paraphernalia that depicted India on visitors to London. For negative connotations of earlier examples of Indian representation in paintings and illustrations by artists and travellers, see Partha Mitter (1992).

What set this apart from other representations of India was not the large scale presence of Indian objects rather it was the abrupt awakening to the quality of the Indian aesthetic that caused art critics, museum curators and officials to muse and instigate art education in India; as in Europe this implicitly required the museum. The large-scale interest and demand shown by visitors towards products of India was impossible for Britain as a colonizing nation to ignore. India was transformed from an exotic curiosity into a symbol of aesthetic taste with the potential to re-educate British designers and public whilst contributing to commerce and revenue from the colony. I am not suggesting that previous to 1851 Indian objects, either as trade or souvenir, were absent from the West, as Partha Mitter (1992) comments Indian applied arts were popular between 1600 and 1800 especially chintz and Mughal curiosities; to this can be added the objects and specimens collected by East India Company Officers or travellers and displayed at the Company museum - the India Museum in Leadenhall Street. In effect the discourse generated around design and commerce by Victorian art reformers created interest in the crafts/commodity of India, one result of this was the exportation of the British Art Education model; museums had already been supplanted.

The supremacy of Indian ornamental design in contrast to the products manufactured by industrial Europe coincided with mid nineteenth century debates and anxieties that prevailed around the debilitating effects of the industrial revolution on the decorative arts and the craftsmen’s guilds. The ‘new’ reformers, including Henry Cole, Owen Jones, John Ruskin, William Morris (Mitter ibid), who later operated variously under the remit of the ‘Arts and Crafts Movement’, venerated Indian design as epitomizing

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12 The objects on display included art objects, craft manufactures, raw materials, fabrics, curiosities such as a stuffed elephant with a complete howdah; Gibbs-Smith (1981) gives a good report on the different categories of objects present.
13 Ray Desmond (1982) gives a detailed account of the India Museum. Many of its collections formed the basis for the museum at Marlborough House; later this turned into the South Kensington Museum (present day Victoria and Albert Museum). Objects from India Museum were also part of the collections displayed at the 1851 Exhibition.
the glorious past being obliterated in British industrial arts by the industrial revolution.

A catalogue of the Museum of Ornamental Art described Indian objects thus:

These works show a people faithful to their art and religion and values, whereas European workmanship shows a disordered state of art at which it has arrived...we have no guiding principles in design, and less of unity in its application.14

This fervour for correcting ornamental practice led to many publications like Owen Jones' (1856) Grammar of Ornament, whose dissection of various decorative styles was an attempt to re-ignite creativity in British industrial art. The attraction for many like Jones, in Indian design lay in the perception that it remained embedded in traditional craft activity that was sustained in harmony with social, cultural and religious norms, thus representing the obverse of events in the west. The upshot of these ruminations in India was that they found support amongst officials such as George Birdwood (more on him later) and significantly brought the first batch of museum educators to the shores of India as art school administrators.

Until the mid-nineteenth century the British had paid little attention to design and ornament in India, if it was noticed it was little highlighted: just recorded and collected as any other observations in ad-hoc reports and surveys by company officials, soldiers, travellers or adventurers, as part their of knowledge accumulation activities into the communities, resources and industries of India.15 However, as a result of the exposure at the 1851 Exhibition, Indian industrial arts occupied a new niche, to be collected, documented, classified, exhibited and traded in collaboration with the development of art schools, construction of 'art' museums, exhibition activity and textual/pictorial representations. This flurry of activity influenced by Victorian ideals was espoused in the Arts and Crafts Movement, which resolved to protect 'pristine' craft communities/guilds from the onslaught of modernization; concurrently inculcating

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15 Early visual records of 'trades', 'craftsmen', and architectural decoration can be seen in the Company Paintings produced by Indian painters in an 'Indo-European' style - examples can be found in the catalogue by Mildred Archer (1992) of Company Painting collections in the India Office and Victoria and Albert Museum. The similarity of these to later illustrations of crafts and craftsmen in government monographs on trade and industry is interesting to note.
ethics of design appreciation and public taste. Museums and art schools became prime locations from which to promote this manifesto to the craftsmen and art school student simultaneously; and re-educating society in both Britain and India. Although later more emphasis was placed on the trade benefits that could result from these ventures, initial preoccupations centred on visualizing, maintaining and educating craft traditions through the schools and museums; the museum and art school in Lahore under J.L. Kipling were par excellence in this respect, to which I turn now.

DESIGNING A MUSEUM EDUCATION

The aftermath of the 1851 Exhibition directly impacted India in the 1850’s with the establishment of ‘art schools’ in the major cities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. This trinity, as noted by both Tarapor (1980) and Ata-Ullah (2000)), sprouted in response to Sir Charles Trevelyan’s 1853 proposal that a network of British-run schools based on the Marlborough House model be founded in India, with similar intentions to train craftsmen and promote their wares. Even though the idea was propagated by the government, actual first steps and funding for such institutions emanated from the private sector; only later coming under the government’s control. All three schools illustrate this - the School of Art in Madras was formed in 1850 as a private concern of the resident surgeon Dr Alexander Hunter, whilst the Calcutta School of Art was set up in 1854 through the efforts of the Society for the Preservation of Industrial Art, being financed by Bengali elite. In the case of the latter Henry Hoover Locke was sent over from Britain to occupy the position of principal, which

16 Usually these three schools are taken to be the first ones set up but interestingly Partha Mitter (1992:278) reports that the first art school based on a western model was set up in around 1798 in Pune by Sir Charles Warre Malet. The school was founded to enable local painters to assist visiting British artists; though short lived it indicates an early interest in this area. However, Mitter (1997:30-31) also noted the idea of a ‘mechanics’ institute’ being suggested in 1830’s Calcutta, with the earliest being the Calcutta Lyceum and later in 1839 the Calcutta Mechanics’ Institution and School of Arts.

17 Naazish Ata-Ullah (2000:227) notes that Sir Charles Trevelyan, even at this formative period of art schools in India, intended his proposal to counter the negative effect that mass-produced European goods being sold at low prices in the Indian markets, was having on local craftsmen and their traditional markets.

18 H.H. Locke was trained at South Kensington at the same time as J.L. Kipling, and in 1864 was dispatched to Calcutta to take the seat of Principal at the Calcutta School of Art. Despite similar training to J.L. Kipling, Locke is an exemplar of the role personal preference and freedom, played in teaching and
he used to construct an identity for the school akin to an ‘Art’ school proper that displayed little interest in the industrial arts. This early bifurcation in the nature of art school education in India was to remain unresolved in the following years, leading to two models of ‘art schools’—those teaching principles of ‘Art’ and others dealing in the ‘lesser’ industrial arts and crafts. At times, this led to a palpable sense of ambivalence in the minds of policy makers and educators in deciding the best curriculum and role for these institutions within India. To some extent, this was aggravated by the fact that art educators in India tended to follow one or the other mode of instruction depending on their training and personal beliefs and values. This uncertain beginning in Calcutta was also evident at the Bombay School of Art when it began with a drawing class in 1857. Despite the fact that Jamsethji Jijibhai, the Parsi Industrialist who funded the school, stated that along with painting the school was to improve the arts and manufactures of the lower and middle classes, preferences of those in-charge leant towards the ‘higher’ arts and slowly the industrial arts were filtered out to the Reay Art Workshops attached to the school.

By 1864, all three schools had lost their private ownership and were under the control of the Department of Public Instruction. This should have been an opportunity to unify a single curriculum and instruction but differences remained with only Madras appearing to replicate Trevelyan’s edict. It was this situation that J.L. Kipling encountered when he arrived to teach at the Bombay School of Art in 1865, prompting him to comment that art schools in India so far were ‘vehicles of a kind of cultural imperialism in which misplaced models of western art were imposed on Indian students to the detriment of any training whatsoever in native techniques.’ J.L. Kipling was placed in-charge of decorative sculpture in marble, stone and plaster with his student’s work adorning many of the new colonial buildings appearing around Bombay, such as Victoria Terminus and Crawford Market. However, it was not until J.L. Kipling moved administration, as he focused his efforts on creating an ‘academy of high arts’; though Locke did not deride Indian ‘high art’.

19 My use of ‘Art’ here refers to the differentiation that permeates discussions around art school education in India which separated ‘Art’ into that taught using western methods with an emphasis on naturalism and perspectival representation, and industrial art, which though using western methods, was based on indigenous design and craft methods.

to Lahore that he was fully able to articulate his 'version' of art education for India that was heavily doused in South Kensington pedagogy. The existence of a school of art in Lahore has so far occupied a mute presence in the history of art education in comparison to the other three. However, J.L. Kipling's influence through the Lahore Museum and contribution of student's works to international exhibitions warrants that due interest is shown to this missing fourth school that is equally a part of the base that set forth art education in colonial India and South Asia today. This oversight maybe due to the fact that the art school in Lahore was founded a little later than those mentioned above, although this set back was result of pecuniary factors rather than disinterest in the Punjab for development of such an institution.

Baden-Powell reports that as early as 1864 the subject of a school of 'Art and Industry' for the Punjab was being enquired into by an Educational Committee, whose initial proposals veered towards a focus on drawing and design; approval was granted but difficulty lay in setting aside funds. Four years later in 1868 this issue was once again discussed by a Committee who added that a more 'practical' execution should infuse any instruction on Ornamental Art as applicable to manufactures and the decoration of buildings. This time practicalities of another nature were also put forth such as a suitable room/building, a drawing master, art 'examples'/models/designs and relevant art materials. In relation to these nascent needs the Lahore Museum was directly implicated as suitable on two fronts, firstly it was indicated that a 'room' could be annexed to the museum and secondly as it 'already has not a few specimens illustrating the design art of the present and past also.', it could provide design samples. A small stock was to be obtained from the Educational Division of the South Kensington Museum to compliment the 'exemplars' present in the Lahore Museum, in an attempt to visualize and familiarize students with good design. These plans, as they

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22 Report from B.H. Baden-Powell to The Officiating Registrar, Punjab University College, dated 31st May, 1872. Reprinted in the Home Department Proceedings, June 1875, No.2, 454-458. PSA. Comments and notes to this proposal were given by both Colonel Maclagan and Dr Alexander Hunter. The latter, becoming an authoritative figure on art schools in India (Partha Mitter (1994).
stood in 1872, laid out what would ultimately be the backbone of the future school of art and were elaborated further by Baden-Powell in his report. A key aspect that he cogitates over is the balance between, and adoption of, theoretical and practical branches of art education from the European model to India. Baden-Powell recommended that the school in Lahore should without doubt offer theoretical instruction to improve the ‘empirical’ understanding of craftsmen India. He envisaged that with time this scientific approach would help further manufacturing knowledge to a more ‘advanced’ stage with practical benefits commencing from the improved eye and hand of the artisan in the workshops. The application of a European model however should not belittle the fact that this ‘scientific’ knowledge was ultimately extracted from an objectified Indian aesthetic as represented in manufactures and exhibited in museums, as Baden-Powell states for the Lahore Museum:

The present collection already contains a considerable part of the requisite material. We have already a fairly good collection of raw produce, metallic ores, useful minerals, fibres, grains, woods, drugs and dye stuffs of the province; and this collection can be added to so as to exhibit in different stages the materials which are the bases of manufacture. There are also a considerable number of specimens of the best manufacture and this department only needs to be increased by a series of examples of designs and manufactures to serve as models and to serve as objects to excite the emulation of indigenous manufacturers.

This discourse around art education then revolved around two opposing yet intertwined forces, those of progress and preservation, or at least ‘emulation’ of ‘correct’ indigenous design models as contained in the museum. In Punjab at least, the museum was a necessary educative component as an illustrator to students and educators alike of the improvement that was required within the industrial crafts of the province. An 1873 report alludes to this specificity for the province:

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27 For Baden-Powell the school was to be have three branches - i) Drawing and design- geometrical drawing and free-hand drawing from models, solid objects and nature, ii) Course of mechanics and physics with theory of mechanics, elements of mechanism and special machinery with class of mechanical drawing, iii) Workshops- to practice actual industrial work and practice better methods of manufacture and produce articles in demand within the market.

Our Art School is to be emphatically an industrial one. We do not wish to imitate the ceramic vases of Madras or the foliated capitals of Bombay, but to draw our experience rather from the royal workshops of the Mughuls, from the best native specimens of Art and Industry in modern India, and from the cyclopean forges of the railways.29

It would then seem that rather than coalescing around a single model of the art school that was brought to India by the British, variants of it were emerging that championed ‘art’, craft or an ambivalent mix of the two, simultaneously being driven by modern advances such as the ‘cyclopean railways’. All such ideas, contradictory or otherwise, were of no use without an actual school and drawing master, both of which were soon fulfilled.

On 24th March 1873, at the meeting of the Central Mayo Memorial Committee held in Lahore, it was decided to utilize the money collected in the province for a memorial to the late Earl Mayo30 to fund a School of Art that would ‘emphatically’ be an industrial one.31 With this sanction, Punjab was to have an art school and in January 1875, the services of J.L. Kipling had been requested from the Bombay School of Art to head this burgeoning institution.32 Once again the ‘exact’ nature of the school was scrutinized over by government officials and the Memorandum by the Honourable Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., on the subject of Exhibitions and Schools of Art and Design in India-dated 24th October 1873,33 was forwarded to the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab as reference. The direct effect of Temple’s memorandum on the school of art in Lahore is unclear but what it does signify is serious effort to mull over the potential future of these institutions. Temple poses several questions that in the main pertain to the formulation of a suitable curriculum that could be adhered to by new art schools and in

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30 The sixth Earl of Mayo - Richard Southwell Bourke, became Viceroy and Governor General of India on 12th January 1869, however, his administration was brought to an abrupt end when he was assassinated in February 1872, by a life-prisoner during a cold weather tour to the Andaman Islands.
31 The total sum contributed by the public, which included British as well as Indians such as the Nawab of Bahawalpur and the Raja of Chamba, was Rs. 66,053-14-0. This is recorded in a letter from E.S. Byrne, Honorary Secretary, Central Committee to The Secretary to Government, Punjab, dated 29th March 1873. Home Department Proceedings, June 1875, No.2, 458. PSA.
32 Home Department Proceedings, January 1875, No.2, 5. PSA.
33 Reprinted with enclosures in ibid (1875:6-22)
trying to resolve his queries Temple invites the opinion of among others J.L. Kipling.\textsuperscript{34} Significantly Temple’s conclusions were influenced more by the suggestions of H.H. Locke\textsuperscript{35} and so he advanced a curriculum based on ‘rules’ of art and observation of nature that would act as a base for the delineation of industrial art skills. Temple’s thoughts are epitomized in the closing lines of his paper:

Therefore, the instructions in our art schools should point out to the native students whatever is best in their own national art, both ancient and modern: should explain to them the exact reason why those particular works of art are good and are specially worthy of imitation...And if such ability shall be once more evoked, it will have the advantage of being guided by the theoretical instruction which we as Europeans are best qualified to supply.\textsuperscript{36}

However, what this memorandum also identified was that a need existed for a school of art in Lahore and despite Temple and J.L. Kipling’s divergent views, this would give J.L. Kipling the opportunity to stamp his authoritative voice in India.

J.L. Kipling arrived in Lahore during February 1875 and immersed himself in his task as Principal of the Lahore School of Art.\textsuperscript{37} After reporting of his arrival to the Director of Public Instruction, he set about ordering materials necessary for an elementary drawing school, to be procured from ‘home’ or made by the school of carpentry in the

\textsuperscript{34} Others asked for their opinion were Dr F.W. A. DeFabeck, Principal of the Jeypore [sic] School of Art and H.H. Locke, Principal of the Calcutta School of Art.

\textsuperscript{35} H.H. Locke clearly shows his preference for ‘art’ when he points to the confusion in elementary teaching ‘...free from the peril which might at any time arise (and I am not painting wholly from my imagination) from the preference of pottery to perspective, carpentry to colour, or shoe-making to shading, by those into whose hands the destinies of an “art school” may occasionally fall. Were it laid down by the Government of India once for all that an art school be regarded as a place where primarily and before everything else those subjects were to be taught which are commonly understood to form the different stages of art instruction, and that if artisan trades or “industrial” arts are to be introduced, they must be added to, and not substituted for, the sound and complete teaching of, at any rate, drawing in all its branches, I am convinced that a great infusion of vitality would take place in our working, and much misunderstanding as to the proper aims of a school of art, and the extent to which in individual schools these aims are reached, would be removed.’ (Emphasis in original text). In Home Department Proceedings, January 1875, No.2, 15. PSA Government of Punjab Home Department Proceedings, January 1875.

\textsuperscript{36} In Home Department Proceedings, January 1875, No.2, 10. PSA Government of Punjab Home Department Proceedings, January 1875.

\textsuperscript{37} During this early period of the school it seems that the Lahore School of Art, Industrial School of Art and Mayo School of Art are used interchangeably in official documents. J.L. Kipling himself uses the first in one of his first official correspondences.
case of furniture.\textsuperscript{38} The school however, was still without a building and so J.L. Kipling proposed starting classes in a rented house,\textsuperscript{39} whilst stating that his preference for the future school building, in agreement with Baden-Powell, was for it to be constructed near the museum; since the latter was a ‘comprehensive “object book” of reference’ for the student.\textsuperscript{40} Meanwhile the first premises of the school were a building off Kacheri Road,\textsuperscript{41} (illus. 24) where it was to remain until the government finally invested the Mayo fund money to complete a permanent home for the school in 1882; its present day location.\textsuperscript{42} (illus. 25).

Part of J.L. Kipling's preparatory work included the formulation of an organizational plan for his school, based on his knowledge and experience of both Europe and India. J.L. Kipling aimed to outline not ‘an ideal school of art, but one suited to local requirements and capable of expansion as occasion may direct.’\textsuperscript{43} The elementary course of instruction, J.L. Kipling reflects, was similar to other schools and so included geometry, principles of drawing, perspective, drawing from nature, general principles of ornamental design (especially Eastern), modelling and soon wood-carving.\textsuperscript{44}

Although this may appear conformist, J.L. Kipling was clear in his intentions declaring

\textsuperscript{38} A School of Carpentry was opened in Lahore in 1874 and soon came under the influence of J.L. Kipling. Report on Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies fro 1874-1875. By W.R.M. Holroyd (1876). OIOC V/24/932.

\textsuperscript{39} J.L. Kipling suggests the use of the house lately occupied by Mr Joseph Harrison. In Letter from J.L. Kipling, Principal, Lahore School of Art, to The Secretary to Government, Punjab, dated 27th May, 1875. Home Department Proceedings, June 1875, No.2, 462-466. PSA Government of Punjab Home Department Proceedings, June 1875.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid (1875:466).

\textsuperscript{41} Until recently the location of the first school site was popularly thought to be an annex at the rear of the Lahore Museum when it was housed in the Exhibition Building. However, Abbas Chughtai - Assistant Director of the PSA, recently located this building off Kacheri Road. (See Mayo School of Arts – A New Light, Lahore Museum Bulletin, Vol. XIII, No. 2, July – December 2000). I would like to thank Mr Chughtai for providing location details to me, so that I was able to visit the building on 07.07.03. Today the building is severely dilapidated, part of it is used as living quarters by workers at the Veterinary College who have no means themselves to restore the building. The architectural features are very similar to those of the Tollinton Market - single storey building with roof tiles and wooden veranda shades.

\textsuperscript{42} The building was situated between the museum and the Band Stand in Anarkali and the lower storey was used for the Punjab Exhibition in 1881, with the whole building being occupied in 1882. This building of the MSA was incorporated with the new museum building that was constructed to form the Jubilee Technical Institute in 1894. (See Chapter 1).

\textsuperscript{43} Letter from J.L. Kipling, Principal, Lahore School of Art, to The Secretary to Government, Punjab, dated 27th May, 1875. Home Department Proceedings, June 1875, No.2, 463. PSA Government of Punjab Home Department Proceedings, June 1875.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.
Illus. 23 Original Building of Lahore School of Art

Illus. 24 Courtyard of NCA Building
that first efforts should be devoted to the training of men to assist in the ornamentation of the new museum and school of art. In return both institutions would serve to rectify ‘The coarseness and crudity of much modern work [which] shews [sic] only too plainly how salutary a study of the best old examples would be to the modern craftsmen.’

Thus in the Punjab, both government officials and the head of the art school in the 1870’s were in agreement about their goal to improve the industrial arts through indigenous design, which for J.L. Kipling extended to protection of the Indian craftsmen and manipulating public taste and consumerism to sustain this. J.L. Kipling’s intervention in the Lahore art school evocatively centred on ‘patronage’ of the Indian craftsmen, as well as the planting in India of the deep seated influence of the South Kensington model and the Arts and Crafts Movement rhetoric. This input was not simply ideological; it created in a highly rudimentary way, a central role for the museum in art education for Indians - as students, artisans, and public. What the museum space enabled was visual education through the ‘models’ or ‘samples’ on display that objectified this ideology in a controlled manner; also permitted display of student’s work representing art education’s progress. The question remains as to the exact nature of this ideology, its manifestations in the Indian context and how did the Lahore Museum serve a version of colonial paternalism.

CONNOISSEURS OF CRAFT AND THE INDIAN REVIVAL

The introduction of art schools and education in colonial India as shown above was not a makeshift development but an extension of the events following the show-casing of Indian artefacts at the Great Exhibition of 1851. More than benevolence, the rhetoric that informed debate around art education in India was guided by British educators whose training was marked by parallel theoretical stances, perceptions and ideologies venerated by those who were part of, or held an interest in, the reform of arts and crafts in England. Early exponents of this in England such as Henry Cole, Richard Redgrave and Owen Jones had concentrated on the formal aspects of design, however, in the late

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1870's and the 1880's this appreciation moved towards a will to revive the industrial arts against culpable mechanization.\textsuperscript{46} The Arts and Crafts Movement as it came to be designated was primarily concerned with reasserting the dignity of the craftsmen in relation to industrialization and the higher status ascribed to fine art in comparison. Although it is not possible to give a full analysis of the situation in England at the time within this thesis, what I do want to emphasise here is the basic premise of this movement, as this directly shaped the thinking of educators in India like J.L. Kipling. The anti-industrial attitude of reformers including William Morris, John Ruskin, and Casper Purdon-Clarke was interested in arresting the 'degenerative' effects of mechanical progress and reviving a past where crafts were not alienated from the craftsmen's innovation. These reformist feelings, even in England were not just confined to a set group but were far-reaching, as remarks by Benjamin Disraeli when distributing prizes at the Westminster Industrial Exhibition on 12\textsuperscript{th} July 1879 convey:

> It may prove to be the case that in exhibitions of the kind which we have been speaking there will be found efficient means of stimulating the fading pride of the English artisan and his work. True artwork in the absence of such a pride, is of course impossible; it is replaced by mere mechanical toil.\textsuperscript{47}

Reformers themselves looked to the medieval period as a golden era for the craftsmen, however, they acknowledged that these degenerative effects were no longer limited to British crafts alone but impacted Indian ones too through European influence - goods, traders, policy of Government of India; a decline was being witnessed in the quality of the once exalted Indian industrial crafts.\textsuperscript{48} Again it was an exhibition that exposed this facet, more precisely the comments of G.C.M. Birdwood in his \textit{Hand-book to the British Indian Section of the 1878 Paris Universal Exhibition} (1878). Even though

\textsuperscript{46} For general background on the Arts and Crafts movement see Barringer (1998), Crawford (1989), Mitter (1977).
\textsuperscript{47} \textit{The Prime Minister on Art and Industry}. In The Art Journal Series, Vol. 18, 205-206, 1879. OIOC P.P.1931.p.c.
\textsuperscript{48} It is interesting to note that this negative influence was not isolated to perceptions around industrial crafts. Casper Purdon-Clarke during his tour of India in 1880-2 on a collecting mission for the South Kensington Museum, visited Major Keith (Assistant to Curator of Ancient Monuments in Central India). The influence of the former on the latter is observable in an article by Major Keith on \textit{Indian stone carving} (1886) published in the Journal of Indian Art in which he writes of the neglect and destruction of India's architectural monuments: 'Be it recorded with regret that the Anglo-Indian Philistine has been a greater enemy to Indian art than either Mohomedon or Mahrata.' (quoted in Levell 2000:83).
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Birdwood had no direct links with the reformist movement in England (Mitter 1992), his observations on the carpets exhibited struck a resounding cord:

The examples exhibited in 1851, which gained their reputation for Indian carpets, were admired for their originality and great beauty of their designs, the harmony of their colouring...These qualities require many elements for their production quite inconsistent with cheapness, and a quick, hasty, and promiscuous demand. To stimulate such a trade requires a complete knowledge of the conditions of the carpet manufacture in India, and experienced skilful direction. But what did the Indian Government do? They handed this great historical craft, this glorious art, over to the Thugs in their jails, and the Thugs strangled it...to the ruin of the honest caste weavers, in whose families the manufacture has been cultivated and perfected by practice through a hundred generations of the lives of men.49

In a letter of thanks to Birdwood for this critical report, William Morris, Casper Purdon-Clarke et al hoped for some sort of salvage and progress from the rapid deterioration that had befallen the 'great historical arts of India' and agreed that it was the economic imperialism of officials that was the culprit:

At a time when these productions are getting to be daily more and more valued in Europe their sources are being dried up in Asia, and goods which ought to be common in the market at reasonable prices are now becoming rare Treasures for Museums and Cabinets of rich men. This result seems to us the reverse of what commerce ought to aim at, and we cannot help thinking that when the producers and the public wake up to a knowledge of the facts of the case, they will be eager to restore these industries to their due position.50

India was then an alternative 'village community with crafts'51 that needed to be rescued from the disturbing effects of European influences. Birdwood in his reply states as much, noting that contact with 'Europe' was inevitable in India and schools of art could not be blamed as 'the presence in India of cultivated English gentlemen at the heads of Schools of Art cannot fail in the end to correct the degrading effects of the

49 Extracts from Dr G.C.M. Birdwood's Hand-Book to the British Indian Section of the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878. In Home Department Proceedings, August 1879, No.2a, 679-680. PSA Government of Punjab Home Department Proceedings, August 1879.


51 This was not universally accepted though, William Morris held such views but others like John Ruskin did not see India as alternative preferring to believe in the revival of medieval values. (See Mitter 1977).
necessary strain of European commerce on the village and sumptuary arts of India. For Birdwood ‘beauty’ of Indian handicrafts was not a formal quality alone, what attracted him to the crafts was their co-existence within social networks. This became ever more apparent in his major publication the *Industrial Arts of India* (1880) in which the ‘master handicrafts’ are venerated as the ‘true’ arts of India, since plastic and pictorial representation eluded Indian artisans. The village craftsmen personified ‘artistic’ skill living in harmony with the environment and in democratic communities, and for Birdwood this required protection from ‘the colossal mills of Bombay, [where he would] drudge in gangs at the manufacturing piece goods in competition with Manchester, in the production of which they are no more intellectually and morally concerned...’. In a similar manner to Birdwood, J.L. Kipling’s focus was on the craftsmen, although they cannot be placed within a single ‘set’, it seemed they took up the cause in their own way.

Both Birdwood and J.L. Kipling are representative of the reformist concerns in India, however, the latter did not share the romanticization of the village social system of the former, for J.L. Kipling what needed to be kept in check was the march of modern civilization and the infiltration of mass produced European goods. This directed J.L. Kipling’s teaching style, which was attentive to indigenous craft techniques and design, though always it must be remembered, within the confines of imperialism. This ‘degenerationist thesis’ (Coombes 1994:61) sanctioned direct intervention in India allowing the British to promote their role as ‘educators’; although the ultimate benefit was for the imperial economy.

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53 Birdwood links the underdevelopment of fine art in India to the effects of the *Puranas* - the Hindu mythological pantheon, which for him had ‘a fatal effect in blighting the growth of true pictorial and plastic art in India. The monstrous shapes of the Puranic deities are unsuitable for the higher forms of artistic representation; and this is possibly why sculpture and painting are unknown, as fine art, in India.’ (1880:125). Others before him linked this perceived incapacity to racial factors and mental inferiority such as Baden-Powell’s comments in his *Handbook of Manufactures and Art of the Punjab- Volume II* (1872).
54 Birdwood (1880:136).
J.L. Kipling's own campaign to revive Indian crafts was introduced with the adoption of indigenous models of design for instruction at the Mayo School of Art (MSA).\textsuperscript{55} The earliest reports of the school show that students were employed in the study of Indian design - from drawing on the blackboard to actual objects, for example, Muhammad Din is said to have made 'creditable pen-drawings of Kashmiri ewers in the museum...'.\textsuperscript{56} J.L. Kipling was keen to maintain the 'unity' of art designs, in which the practice of craft was essential, seeing it not as production but as a way to avoid 'vagueness of aim' and maintain a link between art and practice.\textsuperscript{57} The Lahore Museum was handy here as the craft collections exposed the student's eye to the ideal form and trained the hand through drawing and manufacture. By 1879, instruction was given to students in drawing, modelling, carpentry, carpet design, decoration, wood engraving, photography, and lithography,\textsuperscript{58} with J.L. Kipling desiring to 'advertise' the work of the school to the public. This opportunity arose with the Punjab Exhibition of 1881, at which the school displayed specimens of furniture and wood-carving that were highly commended for their workmanship and ornamentation.\textsuperscript{59} Encouragement also arrived from the South Kensington Museum, who had commissioned work from the school, such as models of objects in the Lahore Museum or facsimile reproductions of wall decoration of Wazir Khan's Mosque. The work of the school had gradually advanced from learning 'principles' to the application of 'national' and 'traditional' ornament on new surfaces - buildings, furniture and designs for carpets, hence design was being salvaged but application expanded.\textsuperscript{60}

For J.L. Kipling this progression was pleasing as it dissipated initial anxieties about the lack of motivation amongst some students and misconception of the school that

\textsuperscript{55} I shall refer to the art school in Lahore as MSA from now on as it is unclear in official records when this came into common usage but the annual reports use this particular name.


\textsuperscript{60} Ibid. Expansion was also hybridization of work - for instance a design for a Mission church in which Mughal forms were introduced or a sideboard in which the open-work geometric tracery of the Punjab was combined with Arabic patterns of similar style in relief.
prevailed amongst Indians that it was a ‘Government Office’ or superior *karkhana* (workshop).61 This was frustrating for J.L. Kipling who desired to have students with natural or hereditary artistic skills, rather than waste time and money on students who entered the school for the wrong reasons. It was the ‘inherent’ capacity for traditional oral/memory based instruction amongst son’s of craftsmen that J.L. Kipling hoped to compliment with textual/mental rules so equipping the craftsmen of the future. This is perhaps illustrated in the sketches J.L. Kipling produced for a short Urdu story *Maa ki Mohabatt* (A Mother’s Love),62 where a mother envisions a possible future for her a son as an educated craft student. A visit by Casper Purdon in 1881, as part of his 1880-82 tour to India on behalf of the South Kensington Museum, reassured J.L. Kipling that his instruction methods were not just personal preferences but authorized by South Kensington.63 By the 1880’s things were better and the school was being recognized as an ‘authority’ by workmen in the bazaars of Lahore who frequently visited to obtain ‘advice and assistance’.64 This progress was soon augmented by a re-evaluation and tightening of official policy in 1884 that recognized art education and explicitly called for the incorporation of museums/exhibitions and art publications, as a targeted antidote to the perceived degradation of Indian industrial arts.

India still possessed a ‘magical excess of sumptuary arts’ in comparison to the ‘amusing but nonsensical objects from other countries’ reported Constance Fletcher on the Calcutta International Exhibition of 1883-84 in *The Art Journal*;65 though ‘carelessness’ appeared in designs that merely imitated poor English patterns. An exemption was granted was to the exhibits of the MSA - a key contributor to the Punjab Court,66 with J.L. Kipling serving on the local committee as secretary and officer-in-charge of the court; for Fletcher this indicated the benefits ‘...of some guidance [to] the Indian craftsmen, the need of some trained artist to overlook his skill and patient

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66 For extensive commentary on this exhibition, the first ‘international’ venture in India see Peter Hoffenberg (1997, 2001).
labour, point out to him in what direction he should tend, and above all when to cease from working.

It would seem that one European - goods, were perceived as the 'evil' for Indian craft, whilst another European - the art educator, was a necessary rectifier. The Government of India finally decided to contribute in a committed and holistic manner bringing together so far disparate elements to ward off this 'threat'. This was done by drawing up a plan to encourage the industrial arts of India by proposing synergistic and efficient relations between art schools, museums, and textual exegesis for the survival of Indian crafts; sublimely couched within the economics and trade expansion of colonialism. Much of the resolution builds on the thoughts and opinions held by individuals such as Birdwood, J.L. Kipling, and Hunter; now veiled in the prestige of 'official' policy.

Resolution 239 was issued by the Department of Revenue and Agriculture on 14th March 1884 outlining the government's manifesto to stimulate industrial arts in India. The objectives laid out were two-fold, firstly to encourage and assist the artisan and secondly intensify promotion of their work through 'art' museums/exhibitions, art schools and publications. These tripartite measures wholly encompassed the resolution's aims with museums employed for their capacity to visualize 'taste' and represent the 'traditional' forms of Indian craft aesthetic in an accessible way to both artisan and public. This integrative approach set out by the government built on the reactionary abhorrence of Birdwood and J.L. Kipling to the wayward strides Indian crafts were taking; primarily influenced by European goods and requirements. Such sentiments were no longer individualistic but supported by official proclamation to halt deterioration: as the resolution notes ‘...Indian art is already being led into new paths to meet European tastes and requirements, that it imitates with little or no discrimination, and that it readily follows ignorant guidance.’

The slowing down or preventative measures were implemented through a networking of the tripartite to operate at a number of levels. Local art committees were set up to
enlist the sympathies of local Indians and together with the provincial committees, attached to a museum and art school, guided local craftsmen by presenting to them 'standard designs', exhibitions and museums displays.\(^{70}\) The Lahore Museum under J.L. Kipling was already actively used as an archive of art 'types' in the instruction of design; this method was to spread to other art schools/museums. This resolution overtly affected existing museums, like the Lahore Museum, since they had to accommodate a second model of the museum derived from South Kensington onto the one they followed - the Indian Museum's encyclopaedic organization. Industrial art collections were to be prioritized with each specimen collected to be numbered and displayed in a uniform manner in all museums to assist collectors, the purchasing public and exchange of specimens. A select repository of 'approved samples' in the museum was to exclude debased versions and help regain a high standard of quality for Indian crafts that would motivate the craftsmen to produce better quality goods and compete in local and global markets.

In a very explicit manner, the government's interest was less in reforming the crafts and more to push further afield the frontier of trade and enter new markets, such as Australia.\(^ {71}\) The setting up of 'art' museums\(^ {72}\) was in part aiming to establishing 'markets' for the 'isolated and ignorant' craftsmen by 'advertising their goods to the public. Museum authorities were urged to act as 'middle-men' and reach out to the craftsmen, visit them, provide advice on design and gain orders by displaying manufactures in the museum.\(^ {73}\) The public being targeted here was both Indian and foreign, the latter through displays at exhibitions, textual matter and exchange of duplicate specimens that could be supplied to foreign museums. For this scheme, museums were not benign archives; they participated as 'trade-museums or sample

\(^{70}\) Ibid (1886:2-3).
\(^{71}\) See Hoffenberg (2001) for an examination of how Indian objects participated at exhibitions and entered new markets.
\(^{72}\) The use of 'art' as a category for museums in the resolution did not designate a move in the development of new museums specifically targeting this area instead this new role was adopted within existing museums or art schools. There is no record of museum development for this purpose alone after 1884 recorded by Hargreaves and Markham (1936).
\(^{73}\) The Journal of Indian Art (1886), Vol. 1, No. 1, 3-4. OIOC P.P.1803.kf.
rooms within the larger objective that framed the resolution - economic and trade expansion. Although this emphasis on trade and commerce was not new, J.L. Kipling's own reasons behind 'educating' craftsmen was to give them economic stability through increased trade thus satisfying his own ideals and those of empire; the difference now was of scale. For Indian museums, this economic inclination was reflected in the fact that their administration was handled by the Departments of Agriculture and Revenue, Statistics and Commerce and Public and Judicial and never by the Department Education and Public Instruction; indexing trade more than cultural status (Tarapor 1980). Resolution 239 is significant precisely for the steps taken towards centralization of art education, beyond a few art schools; enabling collaboration between museums, journals, monographs, and importantly trade. All these aspects became 'reformers' targeting and communicating with the indiscriminate and easily influenced craftsmen and public to salvage Indian industrial arts and boost revenue. Before looking at the effect of the resolution in the MSA and the Lahore Museum, it is useful to examine the emergence of a platform for the textual exchange of views and pictorial rendering of museum objects in The Journal of Indian Art.

Educators, curators, art critics were given a collective 'voice' and with the passing of this Resolution they became experts and official commentators on the industrial arts, museums and art education in India on a par with their counterparts in England (Hoffenberg 2004). Actually it was The Journal of Indian Art that enabled the exercise of this right to disseminate views on the state of Indian 'arts' and seek advice from the global community of experts, gentlemen connoisseurs and capitalists (Codell

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74 The Journal of Indian Art (1886), Vol. I, No. 1, 3. OIOC P.P.1803.kf. It can be noted that earlier efforts in this direction include the work of John Forbes-Watson (1866) on the Textile Manufactures and Costumes of the People of India. Forbes-Watson was Reporter on the products of India to the Secretary of State for India and in this work he extensively uses the terminology of 'samples' and one way of displaying them was in cases which he refers to as 'trade museums'.

75 In the resolution, the Commercial Products, Government of India recommended that a complete collection should be maintained in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras with a descriptive dictionary complied of commercial products of India, so that a more accurate knowledge of resources of India existed.

76 Although this is not to say that the journal was the only publication in which experts wrote articles or short notes on the arts and crafts. In relation to the situation in the Punjab, both J.L. Kipling and B.H. Baden-Powell wrote for the Gazetteer of the Lahore District (for example in 1883-84 or 1916 issues) as well in the Arts and Industries section of the Punjab Notes & Queries which was edited by Richard Temple, see Note 34, Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1883 that was sent in by Baden-Powell patterns of dress trimmings and edgings or Note 138, Vol. 1, No. 2. November 1883, for a piece by J.L. Kipling on Old Marble Work.
2004). J.L. Kipling was involved from the outset, organizing the specimen edition in 1883 (Hoffenberg 2004), then becoming editor and contributing many articles.77 His students at the MSA were also involved with preparing illustrations, attentive to the design features, of objects from the Lahore Museum, as Hoffenberg states:

In many ways, Kipling was perfect for The Journal and it for him. His career in India and the illustrated periodical were both products of England’s imaginative embrace of traditional India and both resulted from the productive interplay among the widely-spread imperial artists and art expert.78

The Journal was also perfect for revealing the ‘evil’ advance of imported European goods; the oft stated cause behind ‘deterioration’. Many of the articles printed in the Journal deal with the ‘plaguing’ of Indian crafts and the unfortunate attraction of European innovation and design to the craftsmen. J.L. Kipling’s articles on future prospects of Indian design as a ‘living force’, this time in architecture, is exemplary. Traditional forms/aesthetics are once again suggested as the best model for the mistry (mason) to follow, since ‘...there are no written records of the traditions to follow...He is indifferent to niceties of style, although he may know one of his own, and can not see why he should not take up a ‘Europe fashion’ if he chooses to do so.’79 The lack of sympathy for indigenous design/forms amongst craftsmen and gentry continued to alarm J.L. Kipling as it signalled an eventual petering out of tradition through unrestrained mixing of elements. Even at a more popular level ‘Oriental’ design was suffering degradation, Mrs M. Rivett-Carnac80 in an article on her visit to an Allahabad bazaar describes trying to abstain from purchasing any item polluted by European influence preferring ‘authentic’ Indian articles, in the case of cloth she recalls:

…it was amusing to see the class of European stuff designed for the Indian market. One wondered who gave these ideas for some of the fantastic extravagances. We were gravely offered a chintz, which for the glaring colour exceeded anything one could conceive. Groups of

77 J.L. Kipling’s first article in The Journal of Indian Art (1886) was on the Brass and Copperware of the Punjab and Cashmere.
80 Mrs M. Rivett-Carnac was the wife of J.H. Rivett-Carnac who served in the I.C.S. and it seems that during her time in India she took to the crafts of India, and was an active collector. At the Vienna Universal Exhibition of 1873 there was an exhibit of peasant jewellery collected by Mrs M. Rivett-Carnac.
impossible palms and startling red and yellow vegetation formed the basis of a crimson and yellow ground... We asked who used this stuff, and were told it was much used to cover chairs and couches. We could only suppose it must be the translation into native ideas of the suitable thing to be used by a native gentleman when he wished to furnish his reception room ‘a l’anglaise.’ This wonderful chintz drove us away, and so ended for that day our pleasant wander in our local Bazaar.81

This unproblematic application and appeal of things European presented palpable difficulties in the rescuing of manufactures. Baden-Powell saw this as a poisoning of the designer’s mind who were enchanted by the ‘...idea of doing something just like a real European article - “asl wilayat ki muafik”, with the worst disease being the passion for bright, raw and fleeting colours of the imported aniline dyes.82 His solution to counter this was to turn the Lahore Museum into a rectifying institution; to which he took some craftsmen and saw that:

After some visits to the local Museum and the pointing out of numerous edgings, borders, scrolls and other details suggestive of work, it was agreed to commence by decorating in graven work....and the workmen at last, after being reminded that the making of such patterns was his forte, set to work with the aid of the Museum examples alluded to, to draw his own.83

These texts portray a longing for the ‘authentic’ article amid discussions on the ongoing negative effects of imported European goods84 that were resulting in ‘modern hybrids’ by which Indian artisans and public were transfixed. However, this contempt for ‘mixing’ was contradicted in reality, even by the work of students in art schools that

83 Ibid (1886:37).
84 Empirical evidence for the increase in importation of European goods and dyes is available in the journal in Edgar Thurston’s article on The Cotton Fabric of the Madras Presidency (1897) In The Journal of Indian Art Vol. 7, No. 54-60, 20-32. OIOC P.P.1803.kf. Thurston states that ‘Exactly a century ago (1796-97) the value of piece-goods from India imported into England was £2,776,682, or one-third of the whole value of the imports from India, while the closing of the present century find the indigenous cotton fabric industry of Southern India strangled by the octopus-like grasp of the enterprising and far-reaching British capitalist, whose influence is manifest even in remote up-country bazaars.’ (ibid:20). In 1895 Thurston reports that the value of imported cotton piece-goods to ports of Madras was valued at Rs. 19,459,073, whilst exports for the same year were valued at Rs. 3,646,946. The dent made by imports was thus substantial. An in-depth analysis of the economics the end of the nineteenth century in relation to raw products and manufactures see India in the Victorian Age by Romesh Dutt (1902), particularly Chapters 7 and 14.
were openly exhibited widely at exhibitions in India and Europe, as Codell states: 'Copies and hybrids, commissioned to preserve traditional styles and to accommodate modern European market demand, permeated boundaries between 'modern' and 'traditional.' (2004:150). Even at the MSA, J.L. Kipling's bastion for the indigenous arts it would have been impossible for such mixtures not to occur, the object lessons at the MSA concentrated on the traditional aspect of the design rather than its application, and so as long as the design was 'indigenous' it could be transferred onto any surface. These creative hybrids were obvious in many of the public works that teachers and students at the MSA executed; Bhai Ram Singh's work stands out as a case in point. A former student, who had remained on at the school as craftsmen/teacher, Bhai Ram Singh was renowned for his traditional woodcarving skills in 'indigenous' style. His work preserved these elements but also hybridized: the woodcarving used in traditional Punjabi doors and windows now decorated government buildings and stately homes in Britain. Between 1885 and 1887, Bhai Ram Singh and J.L. Kipling designed the wood-carved panels for the Billiard Room at Bagshot Park, residence of Duke of Connaught. The success of this project enticed Queen Victoria to commission an 'Indian Banquet Room' at Osborne House, which was designed and executed by Bhai Ram Singh; bringing a flavour of India to the Empress. In effect the MSA had its own version of the 'hybrid' which was accepted as it was premised on the 'traditional' that could be taught and found ultimately only within sanctuary of the museum.

The assurances and willingness of Resolution 239 to re-indigenize Indian crafts found full compliance in the museum as stability was possible through control of what was collected, displayed and interpreted (on the curator's side). The Lahore Museum had

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85 Objects made in art schools were frequently exhibited at exhibitions usually within the Arts and Manufactures section. At the Colonial & Indian Exhibition of 1886 held in South Kensington, J.L. Kipling was special officer for the Punjab Province. The MSA contributed by sending archaeological and models of the Hammam in Delhi, a model of the Golden Temple and decorative drawings of Wazir Khan's mosque, as well as terracotta and plaster busts of racial types by the modeller at the school G.P. Pinto; also J.L. Kipling's own models. The MSA later exhibited student's work at the Industrial & Agricultural Exhibition of the Punjab, N.W.F Province and Kashmir in 1909-1910.

86 See Naazish Ata-Ullah (1998) for a brief look at Bhai Ram Singh's work who later became Vice Principal and then Principal of the Mayo School of Art (1909-1913).

87 Other works included the woodcarving, plaster work, and interior decorations to Barnes Court in Simla, Government House in Lahore and the Circuit House in Rawalpindi.
no problems adapting, considering it was administered jointly by the Principal of the school of art - J.L. Kipling. In a way, the Lahore Museum was ideal, as it had gained the majority of its collections from the Punjab Exhibition in 1864, which contained a large section on Arts and Manufactures. Annual Reports for the Lahore Museum around this time show that the museum was not just a repository of approved samples, other joint ventures between the art school and museum enhanced the collections on display. For example the drawings and sculptures of Gandharan Art made at MSA following a visit to Ranigat in Yusafazi by Dr Aurel Stein and a surveying teacher attached to the MSA.

In line with Resolution 239 an Art Salesroom had also been established at the Lahore Museum in 1887, whose ‘main object was to stimulate the Provincial trade of art wares and other objects of artistic merit, and that the curator should not overlook the desirability of bringing customers into direct communication with the producers and dealers.’ J.L. Kipling did not bemoan this activity as for him it was progress and development of the industrial arts as guided and regulated by the museum and art school educators. The establishment of an Art Salesroom was one practical solution amongst this mass-marketing scheme of ‘art’. The Lahore Museum opened one in 1888, which J.L. Kipling envisaged as primarily serving the needs of tourists, referencing its commercial quality, though he endeavoured to form a list of arts that could benefit from patronization by the salesroom, such as woodwork from Amritsar, Chinot, Bhera and Peshawar, leather-work from Sirsar and Hissar and metal-work- koft work, brass and copper. To some extent, this was a successful step as customers/dealers were brought into direct communication with artisans who were encouraged to ‘...come forth and show themselves and their wares to the purchasing public…thus fulfilling one of the objects of [the museum’s] existence.’.

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88 It was only in 1928 that the Lahore Museum got a separate curator, up until then this post was handled by the Principal of the MSA and usually faired second preference especially in the late 1920’s (See Chapter One).
90 Ibid.
However, by 1892 exporting firms and Punjabi craftsmen were acquainted with each other and established direct links, bypassing the museum as a mediator and somewhat in similar vein to the Art Salesroom, opened their own shops selling Indian art-wares. One worth mentioning was that of Messrs Tellery who even carried out a survey to assess potential customer's taste. Locals too were not oblivious to this opportunity; in the same report (ibid) J.L. Kipling informs that Indian pheri-wallahs or box-wallahs had set up trading in prints, cleverly using the name of the Lahore Museum as an endorsement. Although these private enterprises supplemented the 'trade' manifesto of the Government, it was also feared as a source of 'contamination' since the public was perceived a poor 'judge of art'; and significantly, this meant 'art experts' relinquished their control. The craftsmen who operated through the art salesroom were safe as they could be redeemed from the 'evil' of bad design: their work examined, mistakes corrected by example in the museums and 'good work' encouraged; the apprehension was for those who conceded to the stylistic whims of the uninformed public.

A more lasting influence of Resolution 239 was the direction given to collecting activities of the museum, with many additions being objects that exhibited good design features or those that were representative of manufactures of the Punjab Province. Enamelled jewellery and huqqas were among the objects purchased in 1892-93 along with a collection of silk manufactures that was deposited by the Director of the Department of Land and Agriculture, Punjab.91 The next year, items were bought from the Punjab Exhibition again including huqqas as well as copper sprinklers from Lahore, a painted bow with three arrows, wooden combs, silver toys, and spinning wheels.92 This indulgence in Indian design no doubt inspired the work at the art school and in return, students were involved in leaving a more permanent mark on the museum that was true to J.L. Kipling's own beginnings. Just as at the start of his career in India, nearing the end, J.L. Kipling's students from the art school used the surfaces of the new museum building, next door to the school, for practising decorative art and so embossed

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plasterwork covered the doorways of the main galleries. J.L. Kipling was to leave the MSA and Lahore Museum in 1893 before the two were united as a Technical Institute in 1894, something that he had desired from the beginning, as his style of art education anchored industrial art to the museum in a mutual co-existence. His departure was at a crucial time, for in 1890's the development of industrial art education in India was to question the very ideas and principals J.L. Kipling had nurtured in Lahore; although the indelible path that he carved out for the industrial arts based on traditional design, despite later changes, would never totally be overshadowed.

The end of the nineteenth century was a period of re-evaluation of art school education in India with questions being raised around its utility, performance, and future restructuring; the government was losing patience with reformist morals. Changes were being sought that would retain a weaker version of the salvage mode of industrial arts to continue, yet intensifying trade and profit. The various arguments are neatly presented in a collection of papers that deal with the Maintenance of Schools of Art in India as State Institutions from 1893-1896. The viability of supporting schools of art as state institutions was officially first referred to in November 1893, based on the principals' vacancies at MSA following the retirement of J.L. Kipling and the proposed departure of Ernest Binfield Havell from the Madras School of Art in 1894. This contingency, compounded by the difficulty of obtaining the services of European teachers, caused the Earl of Kimberly (Secretary of State to India) to write that '...there is a general consent that [schools of art] serve no really useful purpose, while the considerable expenditure on them from the Imperial revenues is, in my opinion, unjustifiable.' and a better course would be to absorb these schools with technical schools. However, when this came to be discussed by experts in India at the Art Conference held in Lahore from January 1st-4th, 1894, their opinion was very much to the contrary. In summarizing, Thomas Holbein Hendley (President of the Conference)

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93 Printed as volume of Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department. No. CCCLVI. Home Department Serial No. 23 (1898). In Government College University, Library's archives 5322.
94 Ibid (1898:1).
95 Ibid.
96 Technical education was perceived to be of practical use and available to the 'masses', and so it taught basic drawing techniques as part of general education and produce workers for local industry.
was adamant that those attending the conference saw art schools and museums/showrooms as vital in retarding the decay of Indian art and upholding Oriental models of art in each province. Perhaps this adherence to the revival motif was tiring as Syed Muhammed Latif Khan Bahadur expresses views that would give credence to what officials in Britain were saying, he states:

The people of India are peculiarly conservative. They see on every side brilliant examples of improvements effected by modern sciences, but will not take lesson from them; they witness the great advantages of the pursuit of useful arts introduced by European Civilisations, but show no disposition to follow it.

The sentiments that wished to keep increasing commercialization at bay from the craftsmen in the hope that higher quality of work would be produced, in the end had to let their reformist ideals mix with trade. Not only as official dictate preferred but as private firms in India and Britain got involved in what can be taken as the second revival of Indian industrial arts.

An early indication of the second revival was the re-classification of MSA under ‘Technical Education’ by the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab in 1897. As usual, nothing was clearcut and it would be wrong to suggest that there was some sort of sudden paradigmatic shift as educators were still enchanted with restoration, for instance E.B. Havell whose idea was to redirect attention squarely within India. In his essay on Art and Education in India (1903), Havell vehemently repudiates that any progress has been made in reviving Indian crafts declaring:

Schools of Art...have been left so much to their own devices that for thirty years the teaching in two of them ignored the very existence of any

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97 Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, No. CCCLVI, Home Department Serial No. 23 (1898:3-4). In Government College University, Library's archives 5322.
98 Syed Muhammed Latif Khan Bahadur was Extra Judicial Assistant Commissioner, Gurdaspur, Fellow of Panjab University, and member of the Bengal Asiatic Society. These comments were made describing the local community of Lahore in his publication entitled Lahore its History, Architectural remains and Antiquities (1892).
99 E.B. Havell taught at the Madras School of Art from 1884-1895 and joined the Calcutta School of Art in 1896.
100 In Havell’s Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education (1910), also in this volume see the essay on The Revival of Indian Handicraft (1910:24-86), which advocates the development of Indian markets for Indian manufactures rather than export.
indigenous art. For several years past one of the largest has devoted itself almost entirely to the manufacture of aluminium cooking-vessels...Government subsidies have been given to Art Exhibitions but with so little discrimination or definite purpose that, instead of encouraging the highest possible standard of design and workmanship – the only justification of State aid – they have helped to degrade Indian art...

Nonetheless, changes were being instigated as part of a move to improve industrial education of the Punjab by creating uniformity and a better standard in comparison to other provinces. In 1905, Percy Brown, Principal of MSA, considerably reorganized the syllabus with a basic Elementary Department for all students being set up, after which progression onto the next stage was based on capability or inclination. A major difference was that hereditary craftsmen were not the mainstay of the school and were separated: forming the Industrial Department. This directed course of action incorporated the Lahore Museum in a new format that of a ‘pattern book’. At the Museum Conference held in December 1907, Percy Brown informed that pattern books were to be published based on the Technical Art Series that included drawings of museum objects, as they had a better chance of visually influencing artisan; the designs used as visual tools of instruction. The art-salesroom at the museum continued to operate and the need for representation of design maintained relations between the two institutions. Further change was imminent and gradual shifts culminated in a more wholesale shake-up, firstly with the arrival of Lionel Heath and then with a shift in administrative control.

Lionel Heath joined the MSA in 1911 as Vice Principal, taking over the role of Curator at the Lahore Museum in 1912 (see Chapter 1) and Principal in 1913. Under Heath, the ethos of the school gradually further distanced itself from J.L. Kipling’s foundational

101 Art and Education in India in Havell’s Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education (1910:97-98).
102 Percy Brown gave his opinion on this subject in a letter to The Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, dated 17th July, 1905. File: H-9, Date/Year: 1904-1909, Letter No. 195/91. NCA.
103 The three departments on offer, after the initial 2 years training in the Elementary Department, were i) Draftsmen Department- for those with an aptitude for mechanical drawings, ii) Industrial Department and iii) Teacher’s Department. File: 175-E, Date: 1959 (misplaced perhaps!), Subject Syllabus for School for 1905. In NCA Archives.
era with modifications in curriculum, activities, and attitudes reflecting a ‘change in taste’ amongst Europeans and Indians. Heath was critical of training at the school stating that it lagged behind the times with little demand for *pinjra*, carved or inlaid furniture, instead good cabinet work, joinery, metal work and fibrous plaster decorations were demanded. Essentially, Heath wanted to modernize the school believing ‘...that it is better to have a live art than a dead tradition and that it is the duty of a School of Art to influence and direct the change in public taste, and not try and stop it...’. Whilst building on the reputation of the school for good craftsmanship, Heath was interested also in implementing a successful programme for industrial education based on effective instruction, practical results, and introduction of modern methods.

Lionel Heath’s role can be best described as a promoter of industrial education in an expansive sense, as his duties extended beyond the Principal/Curator to include Inspector of Jail workshops and Inspector of Industrial Schools of Punjab. The division and distinction, previously maintained between industrial arts and technical education, was now blurring with the MSA acting as ‘mother’ institution to the other industrial schools in Punjab, overlooking work, providing advice and teachers. Progress and change in the teaching of craft from the ‘old régime’ was necessary since ‘...industrial teaching was not good, the system of control and inspection was defective, the equipment and maintenance grants by the local bodies quite insufficient...’ (1919:3). Lionel Heath clearly set out his vision in a manual for industrial school teachers - *Courses in Wood-work, Metal-work and Drawing* (1919), in

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107 Evident even at the early stages of Heath’s career, as exemplified in the comments made in the Report of the Committee on Industrial Education, Punjab (1912). (Appendix E). PSL.
108 Lionel Heath visited Borstal Jail in Lahore regularly to comment on the work being carried out in its workshops, such as wood work and metal work and suggest modes of improvement; and monitor staff and teaching standards. Correspondence between Heath and The Inspector General of Prisons, Punjab, is available in File 6-B, H-30, Date/Year: 1913-35, Subject: Scheme for the improvement of Crafts in Borstal Jail. NCAA.
109 The only ‘Industrial Schools’ maintained by the Government in Punjab were the MSA and the Railway Technical School, both in Lahore. Other schools were grant based or run by missionary bodies or local groups such as Arya Samaj.
which he ascribes the failure of the old system to unclear boundaries between primary and craft education. The remedy he proposed was a return to craft education simply to generate greater numbers of 'producers' rather than provisioning elementary education that may induce the artisan to abandon his craft and chase the 'babu' label:

Now a little clear thought reveals the fact that the man who produces or creates, the man who trades or the man who investigates, is a more valuable citizen and brings more wealth to the country than the man who only serves; yet Indian education to-day produces thousands of the latter to possibly one of the former.¹¹⁰

This was not a new problem as it had transpired in the initial years of the school when J.L. Kipling reported ambiguous understandings by the Indian students of the educative aims of the school (see above). Nonetheless, Heath was determined to reconstruct courses whilst continuing the study of good designing 'Avoid[ing] the trade catalogue which can teach you nothing, but rather seek to learn all you can from beautiful monuments of your own country in both wood and stone...'.¹¹¹ One nearby colonial monument that fits in with Heath's preference for design instruction based on physical materiality rather than book-form reproductions was the Lahore Museum, whose art and craft collections had been utilized to emphasize correct design principles since the 1870s; with proximity presenting convenience for students of the MSA.

The Lahore Museum remained a haven for visual instruction of design to students of the art school, and this educational facility was made available to students of other colleges and schools with the introduction of a Student's Day every Wednesday. Students of the MSA, supervised by their teachers, availed this opportunity to obtain ideas for new designs, whilst other students benefited from the collections of geology, natural history, and sculptures. From the general public, women were specifically encouraged to visit with 'Purdah'¹¹² days for ladies only,¹¹³ and at times groups of dignitaries or special visitors were given a guided tour of the museum but on the whole

¹¹⁰ Heath (1919:4).
¹¹¹ Ibid (1919:6).
¹¹² Also called Zenzena Days, these were introduced in 1912 to allow Indian ladies to visit the museum.
education of the general visitor was still not a priority. Education at the Lahore Museum remained largely within the remit of design, results of which were displayed at the annual ‘Craft Exhibition’ of the school held at the museum. The exhibits included works of furniture, metal-work, cotton printing, lithography and photographs; even a play by the dramatic club of the MSA was performed at the museum. In his role as ‘educator’ at the museum, Lionel Heath initially sustained the exclusive ties between the museum and school, but later aimed to widen the educational experience so that it catered for what should have been its prime learner - the museum visitor. By the mid 1920’s, vernacular labelling was given attention being ‘...much appreciated by the Indian Public...’, and lantern slides on ‘new educational subjects were made as well as photographs of museum objects and duplicates of coins available for purchase by the public.\textsuperscript{114} Collections were also modified with ‘inadequate’ and ‘out of date’ collections such as the Agricultural and Forest products being removed to give the museum ‘...an educational outlook of great value and [play] a very important part in the dissemination of knowledge and culture.’\textsuperscript{115} The arts and manufactures collections were still a stronghold and the rare specimen an attractive acquisition. In this manner, the Lahore Museum continued to add to its design repository and pay homage to the legacy J.L. Kipling had imbued in the museum’s activities, as Heath recalls in an acquisition of a pair of earrings:

\begin{quote}
It is becoming very difficult to get such genuine specimens and it was only cupidity on the part of the wife of a Tibetan wayfarer who happened to pass through Lahore that enabled the Curator to acquire them; they were being worn at the time of purchase.\textsuperscript{116}
\end{quote}

It would seem that eventually the Lahore Museum’s narrow educational facility, which to some extent had been stifled, firstly by reformers and then Resolution 239 was losing its grip. This was helped along by a number of steps in the 1920’s that altered the relationship that had been cultivated between the school of art and museum. Firstly, the

administration of the MSA shifted from the Department of Public Instruction to Department of Industries in Punjab in 1920. 117 Secondly, there was the call for a full time curator’s post to be created at the museum so that the principal and vice-principal could focus solely on the school of art. 118 Effectively the first induced a commercial bias to the activities of the school as the Director of Industries, Punjab, hoped the ‘...work done at the Mayo School of Art [would develop] production of artistic products on commercial lines.’ 119 Although Lionel Heath maintained that the school was premised on the tradition of battling against ‘casual contamination of style’, he was not averse to exploiting a more commercial line; apparent in his belief that two branches of the school needed to function together - no longer the museum and school, but the school and factory. 120 Commercial activity at the school was channelled by the new department through the Punjab Arts and Crafts Depot, which in essence was a replacement for the Art-salesroom at the museum, having similar goals as a place where craftsmen could market goods and the MSA monitor design. 121 Orders commissioned through the Art Depot were executed at the MSA, which came from the government, general public and private works as well as objects for exhibitions, such as those sent to the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924. 122 The main difference now was not in the type of work but popular inclinations as spurred on by the new administration. This is evident in the participation of the MSA on the North-Western Railway Demonstration Train, which travelled through sixty-nine stations

117 The Department of Industries emerged through bifurcation of the Department of Agriculture and Industries in 1918. *Report on the Department of Industries, Punjab, for the year ending March 1920* (1920). Subsequently, all industrial institutions including the MSA were transferred to the Department of Industries in 1920 under the control of the Director of Industries. See Appendix D *Quinquennial Report of the Mayo School of Arts, Lahore, 1917-1922* in *Report on the Department of Industries, Punjab, for the year ending 31st March 1922.* Punjab Secretariat Library.


119 *Letter No. 1666 From The Director of Industries Punjab, to The Principal Mayo School of Art, dated 16th March 1926.* File: 44-C, Date/Year: 1926-28, Subject: Expansion in the Building of the Mayo School of Art.


122 The *Report on the Department of Industries, Punjab, for the year ending 31st March 1923* (1923) & 1925 (1925) states that orders for MSA included work at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi and Government House, Lahore.
exposing the rural community, especially the 'cottage workers' of Punjab to the benefits of modern productive methods and knowledge. By the time Lionel Heath retired in 1929, the reformist ideals were diluted, the notion of crafts now included teaching commercial painting and designing; also a course on Fine Arts - painting, sculpture, and architecture. This departure was eventually to overshadow the original ethos of the MSA and slowly sever the bond with the Lahore Museum next door.

The Lahore Museum’s own educational transformation was prompted by the selection of a full time Curator in 1928 - Dr K.N. Sita Ram (see Chapter 1), trained by Lionel Heath and S.N. Gupta. This appointment was important as it returned an individual identity to the Lahore Museum, especially in terms of educational activities, as it forced the museum to pursue a programme orientated towards the learning experience of its visiting public and not subscribe to government art policy or craft ideology alone. With this freedom, emphasis was given to creating better displays so that visual education could be imparted to all: from scholar to villager. At first new labels were made in English, Hindi, Urdu and Gurmukhi for all objects displayed so that even ‘...the common villager who can read can understand their significance.’ Next displays...

\[1\] The train was on view from 2nd December 1927 to 14th March, 1928 and travelled 4,483 miles with an estimated half a million people inspecting the exhibits on board by the various Punjab Government departments that included the Industries Department (Report on the Department of Industries, Punjab, for the year ending 31st March 1928:1928). A feature on this Demonstration Train in the Indian State Railways Magazine February 1928, Vol. 5, pp 327-329 OIOC SV 14, contains photographs of the interior of the Agricultural Section and is reminiscent of museum displays with the classic wooden South Kensington cases.


\[3\] Introduced by Lionel Heath in 1926. File 84-C, Date/Year: 1926, Subject: Scheme of Studies in the Mayo School of Art and File: 44-G, Date/Year: 1926-28. Both NCA Archives.

\[4\] The uptake of Fine Art was helped along by future Principals such as Samrendra Nath Gupta (1929-1942) who had a delection for Fine Art (he later joined the Calcutta School of Art), and even though in the 1940’s questions were raised as to the success of J.L. Kipling’s desire to improve the industrial arts in the Report for the Department of Industries for the year ending 31st March, 1940), it was not an easy foundation to shift. Future students of the school continued to be trained in the basics of the industrial arts even if their eventual destination was as artists rather than master craftsmen - for recollections see the autobiographies of Satish Gujral A Brush with Life: an autobiography (1997) and B.C. Sanyal's The Vertical Woman (2001).

were re-organized 'properly' according to modern methods and along 'improved lines' to which Sita Ram had been exposed on his visit to European museums in 1934.\(^{128}\)

The Lahore Museum was being brought in line with what Sita Ram had learned was the 'Ideal Museum', the trip had alerted him in particular to the need for popularization of the museum amongst students - its potential life-long users. Along with better displays, the Lecture Series at the museum was to concentrate explicitly on topics related to the museum such as numismatics, architecture, sculpture, and so develop interest and attendance.\(^{129}\) Education was now the guiding principal behind museum work, highlighting the benefit of learning about history, art, and culture at the museum to the public. This agenda for the Lahore Museum's own second revival was to instil, instruct, and develop an enlightened museum public and hence progressive society. The modernist ideal that had informed the development of public museums earlier in Europe had arrived at the Lahore Museum having suffered a time lag. Museum education at the Lahore Museum by the 1940's had shifted towards establishing an educational institution that as a whole would attempt to communicate with its public, even if pedagogically. The Lahore Museum was realizing its public role, able to offer educational activities that were based on all its collections including the arts and crafts however, the events of 1947 fractured these efforts to such an extent that even today museum education is in its infancy.\(^{130}\)

**EDUCATION AT THE TEHREEKI MARKAZ**\(^{131}\)

The Lahore Museum and the National College of Arts (NCA)\(^{132}\) remain physically connected, forming what from a distance appears to be a singular red-brick building

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\(^{130}\) See Appendix 1.

\(^{131}\) Tehreek Markaz, meaning a Centre of History, was suggested as an alternative to Ajaib Ghar in Urdu by Fakir Syed Aizazuddin when I enquired after his disdain for the appropriateness of the latter today. (Interview on 03.06.03).

\(^{132}\) In 1958 the MSA was renamed at the National College of Arts.
however, any attempt to get from one to the other is directly obstructed by iron fencing and walls; even a small gate is kept shut. At an institutional level little contact exists between the college and museum as Sajida Vandal (Principal - NCA) told me:

Students do go...from our perspective it is you know to the extent that we can use that museum or we can use other historical and heritage institutions...So if the museum as it stands now is unable to fulfil our requirements and we feel that it is important then we will look for them elsewhere, which we do...We are not working in a close relationship and I think we could benefit from working in a close relationship but we can't, we have our own institution to run and whenever we get an opportunity to help them we do...We encourage [students] to use it to the extent we set up exercises...but what I am saying is that if [the museum] were more conscious of this then it would be a more useful place for us.

For others this issue of incompatibility is premised on more than just the museum’s shortfalls, with Fakir Syed Aijazuddin (Member of BOG Lahore Museum) suggesting that the rift is to do with a lack of sensitivity from the NCA towards the museum since the departure of Principal Shakir Ali (1961-74): ‘[they] have been too busy with their administrative nonsense.’ 134 Perhaps this alludes to a preoccupation at the NCA concerning construction of its image as a federally administered premier ‘Arts’ institution in Pakistan; to which the Lahore Museum remains a ‘provincial cousin’. Different people ascribe their own reasons behind the deterioration of relations on both sides and the sad fact remains that what could be a beneficial environment for education in history/heritage of the arts and crafts of Pakistan in a more vibrant fashion is missing. 135 Consequently, few students from the art college visit the museum of their own volition, usually only as part of their first year classes, Aneezah Moghul an Interior-Design Masters student at NCA, reflected:

Yes when we learn history of art then we are taken to the museum and the teachers tell us this is x or y and relate it to lectures...may go once a year...the colonial architecture is pointed out...[but] students do not go on their own only with the teacher...I think if the NCA campus shifts

133 Interview with Prof. Sajida Vandal on 02.09.03.
134 Interview with F.S. Aijazuddin on 03.06.03.
135 The Lahore Museum does allow students from NCA to visit the museum as well as avail library facilities free of charge.
elsewhere it will make no difference that the museum is not there next-door...students go more to the art galleries.\textsuperscript{136}

At times, it is hard to imagine that once these two institutions operated to each other's mutual benefit, now physical and mental boundaries thwart communication, exchange of ideas, development and education. Museum education in the past had a specific colonial role during what Partha Mitter calls 'The Age of Optimism' (1997:29) when individuals with strong artistic reforms and social beliefs aimed to secure a future for Indian art/crafts whilst maintaining design integrity and purity. The Lahore Museum participated mainly through the influence of J.L. Kipling, who cultivated a close relationship between the museum and the MSA. Museums like the Lahore Museum served to preserve, represent and educate the Indian craftsmen in a revivalist ideology, whilst simultaneously offering a secure space where anomalies amongst factions, in both colonial authorities interested in trade and art educators, could be distanced. The pedagogical certainty enabled by the display of craft specimens (later trade samples) was intimately laced with a fragility revealed in the discourse around the appropriate nature of art education and art institutions. Yet within the museum this threat was masked by the ability to exhibit and teach Indian craftsmen the tenants of traditional craft directly from chosen objects. Even when art reform gave way to trade orientated policies, the museum/exhibition continued to operate as a prolific cultural tool for promoting exemplars of design, advertising wares and altering public taste. Under colonialism, museum education aimed at communicating with the visiting public only emerged at the Lahore Museum once its association with art education through the MSA relaxed and eventually separated. In this respect the European model of museum education suffered an extreme delay in colonial India as its translation was dominated by concerns of art/craft reform and revenue.

The colonial period of museum education and its present state of affair at the Lahore Museum are comparable, firstly in the demoted position given to the needs of the ordinary visitor and secondly the predominance of pedagogical methods. The shift from a concentration on indigenous design to educating the public may have taken

\textsuperscript{136} Interview with Aneeza Moghul on 20.07.03.
place but the structure for informal education recognized by Hooper-Greenhill (1994) is still an ideal. For the Lahore Museum to become ‘educational’ today it has to confront a different set of limitations and acknowledge the multiple experiences of its visitors that rarely stay within the confines of learning history or culture per se (see Chapter 4). In the past informal education was not a priority as the museum taught craftsmen of the art school, inspired consumers, accumulated revenue and somewhere along the line there was an ordinary visitor; today the craftsmen is absent and people with a different sort of imagination consume the museum.
CHAPTER THREE

Colonial Mementoes to Postcolonial Imaginings: the transformation of
the Lahore Museum

Indeed, Pakistan possesses great potentials for establishing a series of varied types of Museums throughout its length and breadth. Its history is long, its culture is colourful, its arts and crafts are bewitching, its archaeological discoveries rank topmost in the world, and its technological achievements are great.

(S.R. Dar 1977:2-3)

On Independence, Pakistan received a small share of museums situated within its territorial limits...But there was no institution in Pakistan where the people could obtain anything approaching a general conspectus of the development of civilization in this country during the many millennia in which man had lived here. It was soon realised that the young Pakistani Nation required a National Museum worthy of its great cultural heritage...

(S.A. Naqvi 1970:1-2)

A NATIONAL NARRATIVE FOR THE AJAIB GHAR

The optimism voiced by Dr Saifur Rahman Dar, former Director of the Lahore Museum and prominent Pakistani archaeologist/museologist,1 in the mid 1970’s pointed to the cultural and historical riches available to the nation for development of new Pakistani museums. This characteristically reflects the desire among new and postcolonial2 nations like Pakistan for self-representation,3 which is politically rationalized by the need to construct cultural icons that visualize and interpret the

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1 Dr Saifur Rahman Dar is an experienced archaeologist and museologist in Pakistan, a key figure in Pakistan’s museum culture and at the Lahore Museum where he held the position of Director from August 1974 to April 1998, a tenure fondly remembered by staff members as one that was productive and vibrant. Dr Dar was also influential in setting up the first Provincial Department of Archaeology in the Punjab and was its first Director General, this is important here as museums in Pakistan are under the control of the Archaeological Directorate. Even though the Lahore Museum is an autonomous institution, it receives funds from the Government of Punjab through the Department of Archaeology.

2 I employ ‘postcolonial’ throughout this chapter to mean the change in political status of a colony after gaining independence, i.e. national.

nation’s ideology, identity and as S.A. Naqvi states ‘development of civilization’; situating the nation in the chronology of history. Museums are vital cultural and national capital for postcolonial nations, since they publicly embody and exhibit national character through their material collections and displays, presenting a collective identity for citizens to consume; whilst acting as custodians of cultural heritage. The ‘national museum’ is an investment by the nation for its citizens and justified by its multi-faceted benefits – social, cultural and educational, as S.A. Naqvi suggested when reflecting on the inauguration of the National Museum of Pakistan in Karachi:

The basic objectives of a national museum are to collect, preserve, study and exhibit the records of the cultural history of a country and to promote learned insight into the personality of its people. Cultural relics of a nation are the virtual foundation for the advancement in corporate life. As achievements acquired after prolonged struggle with nature and environment, they manifest the store of creative intelligence, initiatives, perseverance and integrity that have gone into the making of a particular national character.

Although important I do not wish to investigate the formation of new national museums here, my interest lies in examining aspects of decolonization of the museum in postcolonial society that is frequently missed in museum research; specifically the ambiguous transformation of colonial museums into national icons. The status of colonial museums in postcolonial societies is popularly imagined as that of barren, dusty storehouses, which have little interest from its public or curators and subsequently the researcher; attracted more by the new architectural splendours of the modern nation. Yet, postcolonial nations of South Asia alongside the construction of new wonder houses have had to contend with the colonial museums that remained once the British had left. It is my contention here that these colonial museums, at least in

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4 This is not a novel strategy as museums/exhibitions since the nineteenth century have been employed for such political cause. See Tony Bennett (1995) for modern Europe and Peter Hoffenberg (2001) on exhibitions in Europe, India and Australia in displaying empire.

5 Naqvi (1970:2).

6 I use the term colonial museum(s) to mean those museums today that have their origins in colonial activity and now form part of the national heritage of postcolonial societies, like the Lahore Museum and others in South Asia – Prince of Wales in Bombay or Indian Museum in Kolkatta.

7 This image of the dusty storehouse was related to me many a time when I informed academics of my intention to study the colonial museums of South Asia.

8 See Guha-Thakurta (1997) who looks at the exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts in London titled Exhibition of Art chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan in 1947, which was later followed up by exhibitions in India such as at Government House in New Delhi – Masterpieces of
South Asia, should not be sidelined as they occupy an ambiguously tantalizing position that disrupts the presumed chronological progression from colonial to national museum representation, whilst deposing the lifeless image associated with colonial museums through local visitor’s curiosity and attraction for them (see Chapters 4 and 5). In attending to these neglected institutions of contemporary South Asia, not only is the imagining around culture, history and the nation (Anderson 1991), as portrayed in South Asia museums better understood in its own right, but the precarious nature of decolonization as a process is exposed as partial and incomplete; reflecting in part on the ambivalence of nationalism itself (Bhabha 1994).

The severance of the umbilical cord with colonial representations of culture and history in the museum space by re-inscription and re-wrapping of the colonial museum’s displays within national narratives of cultural integration, stability and history of the nation can be complicated in reality. This transformation of the museum from colonial to national is not simply a case of replacing an old cultural/political discourse with another, the process is contingent on interest, investment and the strength of national ideology, and can be riddled with contestation, with questions arising around whose interest is served — elite/subaltern; moreover the transformation is not always immediate. It is with this in mind that I wish to investigate with the Lahore Museum’s postcolonial history to date, which began not with a new Pakistani identity after the struggle for Independence but the disruptive effects of Partition; thus decolonization was double edged: firstly the British colonists and secondly the ‘other’ of the self — India.

The negative repercussions of Partition on the continued development of the Lahore Museum from the late 1940’s when it was re-organizing its collections along modern and scientific lines (see Chapter 1), is obvious if we note the time lag between Partition on 14th August 1947 and the timing of Dr Dar and Dr Naqvi’s comments regarding the potential development of ‘national’ museums. Immediately, one is forced to consider why it should have taken nearly three decades for this recognition, and makes us re-think how the relationship between museums and national development may actually operate in a postcolonial society; where it is not limited only to acts of re-interpretation

*Indian Art* (1948) allegorizing history and nationhood. Also Martin Prösl (1996) examines the nationalist re-ordering at the National Museum in Colombo, Sri Lanka.
but progressive policies and stable ideologies. Fifty-eight years after its creation, democracy and national stability evade Pakistan, so what has this meant for the postcolonial predicament of the Lahore Museum; what route has decolonization taken? A good way to proceed is to start with the political events that led up to colonial India gaining Independence in 1947, and in particular for Punjab – Partition, which dislocated people, cultural boundaries and the museum (professionals, collections and narratives). An additional problem was the compatibility of a Pakistani national ideology that tussled between notions of Islamic nation and secular Muslim state with a museum that had evolved materially to represent in an encyclopaedic way society, arts, religion, history and material economy of the Punjab Province in colonial India. To gain some sense of the material eclecticism in the Lahore Museum today, one has to attend to the confusing yet staggering changes that Partition induced, causing the Lahore Museum to adopt a new identity as part of a smaller Punjab Province in the new nation of Pakistan.

On 3rd June 1947 Viscount Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India, announced the British Plan for the transfer of power, including the provision for the Partition of Punjab and Bengal Provinces under a Boundary Commission for each. Partition was the bitter finale to the struggle for Independence in India, which along the way spawned communal politics and nationalism(s). The inherent politics and rivalries of Indian nationalism were a culmination of social fractions among the communities, each aligned strictly along religious, translated into cultural, identities; accompanied by separate Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh political movements all vying for political representation at the centre of government. To some extent, this was the outcome of British abstinence from reforming religious and cultural spheres of society, enabling communal tensions to gain a stronghold particularly after the introduction of separate electorates for Muslims and non-Muslims. This aggravated differentiation between communities, equated with communal identities and eventually national identity. Therefore, when it came to ascertaining where the artificial line of political division

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9 Organizations such as RSS, Arya Samaj, Akali Movement, All India Muslim League and with time even the Indian National Congress who despite espousing secularism was seen to be favouring the Hindu communities.

10 See Partha Chatterjee (1995).

11 Legislation such as the Morley-Minto Reform of 1909, Montague-Chelmsford Reform of 1919 and the Government of India Act of 1935 all reinforced regional particularisms. (see Jalal 1995).
would be positioned this too was decided on segregating areas of majority Muslim from non-Muslim provinces.\textsuperscript{12}

It would be misleading to suggest that Indian nationalism and the subsequent nationalist heroes of India and Pakistan, from the outset operated in a communal manner. However, cultural and religious identities played a significant political role in Indian nationalism from 1920’s onwards, primarily in response to disputes over representation and voice in central government; concluding with the creation of the separate nations of India and Pakistan. The constraints of space prevent me from discussing in full the intricacies of Indian nationalism and so I will confine myself to the figure of Muhammed Ali Jinnah, or the future Quaid-i-Azam (Supreme Leader),\textsuperscript{13} who founded Pakistan and directed activities of the All India Muslim League (AIML) from the 1930’s towards the creation of Pakistan.\textsuperscript{14} Though maligned as the divider of India, Jinnah is also representative of the complex negotiations that occurred between Indian nationalists (Hindu and Muslim), which turned an ardent secularist into a communalist who took up the idea of Pakistan.

The beginning of Indian nationalism has its roots in the late nineteenth century when elite Indians, and increasingly the educated middle class, were being introduced to liberalist ideals of democracy, self determination, community and the nation; yet were denied equal citizenship rights and access to public institutions.\textsuperscript{15} The hypocrisy of the situation led to the formation of a nationalist consciousness headed in 1885 by the Indian National Congress (Congress from now on), as an all India platform for political self-assertion. It was with the Congress that Jinnah’s national political career took off; when in 1906 he became private secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji, the then President of Congress. In the Congress, Jinnah’s political inclinations allied the goal of national unity espoused by Dadabhai, and he kept the company of nationalist stalwarts like Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Bal Gangadar Tilak. Ironically, in 1906, the AIML also

\textsuperscript{12} Both the provinces under division had majority Muslim populations: Punjab - 57% and Bengal - 55% (Jalal 1995).
\textsuperscript{13} Interestingly his contemporary Gandhi gave this title to Jinnah.
\textsuperscript{14} For varying biographical accounts on the political life of Jinnah see Akbar Ahmed (1997), Ayesha Jalal (1985) and Almeida (2001) who gives a good account of the inter-relationships between Jinnah, Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.
formed in Dhaka, but Jinnah did not join at this time, significantly indicating that his political convictions were secular and he was interested in a united India. Even when he joined the AIML in March 1913, Jinnah's loyalty to the Muslim cause did not eclipse his nationalist ideals; his intentions lay squarely in unifying Hindu and Muslim communities; earning him the title - 'Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity'.

It was with his firm belief in the nationalist cause for a united India that Jinnah began work for Hindu-Muslim unity. In October 1916 whilst proposing a transformation of provincial governments he stated ‘The Hindus and the Muslims should stand united and use every constitutional and legitimate means to effect that transfer occurs as soon as possible...we are on a straight road, the promised land is within sight. “Forward” is the motto...for young India’. Initially even the AIML was primarily interested in endeavouring to secure constitutional rights for Indian Muslims as a religious minority in the separate electorates rather than establish a separate Islamic state. However, what was of concern to minority and non-Brahmin groups, like Indian Muslims was the rise of extremist elements in Congress who were using the platform for construction of a Hindu national identity. Communal agitations between Hindu and Muslim communities had been on the rise in the latter part of the nineteenth century, evinced in various religious movements, popular imagery, and rhetoric employed; it now had a political edge and was steering Congress’ interests more towards the Hindu community. In response, Muslim communities and AIML were consolidating a unified cultural identity for themselves. Muslim activists began mobilizing religious symbols and reinterpreting history based on the Mughal empire, the early days of Islam,

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16 Outside of the political arena, the Muslim community’s interests had been spurred on by the modern reform ideals of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) and the Aligarh movement in the United Provinces. Sir Syed is revered for establishing an educational foundation in Aligarh and giving birth to the idea of the ‘two nation’ theory after criticizing Congress and noting the incompatibility of North Indian Muslim elite and the Bengali babus pointing to the dangers of Muslims as a minority. (See Talbot (2000) who examines this history).
17 B.G. Tilak even secured Jinnah’s services as a barrister in his 1908 and 1916 in cases against him by the British for seditious writing. (Almeida 2001).
19 See Pinney (2004) in relation to chromolithograph representations of the Cow Protection Movement and other political nationalist imagery
20 For example B.G. Tilak’s explicit revival of the Ganapati festival in 1894 (see Raminder Kaur 1998) and the Maratha hero Shivaji as the symbol of militant nationalism in Maharashtra, the latter being also associated with anti-Muslim sentiments. Ian Talbot (2000) gives other examples of Hindu revival. Elements of communalism existed in the latter part of the nineteenth century, such as the Hindi/Urdu controversy, the Cow Protection Movement (Gauraksha Andolan) in 1880’s and 1890’s. The nationalization of Hindu identity can be judged from the nationalist slogan that equated ‘Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan’.

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especially the *hijrat*¹¹ and the universal Islamic brotherhood – the *ummah* (see Talbot 2000); the latter sentiment was most evident in the work of Muhammad Iqbal.

During the 1920's and 1930's, Muslim nationalism benefited from the ideological cogitations of Muhammed Iqbal – the poet, philosopher and ideologist.²² Iqbal's political philosophy fostered a position that demanded for the Muslim community political independence within its own state if in a majority, or complete self-determination if in a numerical minority (Qureshi 1979). The Muslim issue for Iqbal was not just a constitutional one, as it was for Jinnah, but a cultural problem in which Muslim identity had to be actively sustained through spiritual activity and Islamic values. In this respect, Iqbal was not interested in a unified India; his political stance was closer to the earlier Aligarh movement's call for Muslim separatism. Iqbal in his earlier poetry, like Jinnah, eulogized a common Indian nationality. However, by 1930 he was convinced that a Muslim nation based on personal Islamic law (*Shari'at*) was only possible in a separate state. The crux of the problem for Iqbal was not just of Hindu versus Muslim, but Islam versus nationalism, where the construction of any polity on national terms was not to displace Islamic principles of solidarity (*millat*); his solution was to re-introduce the ‘two-nation’ theory (Ahmed 1979). Iqbal expounded this vision for a separate Muslim state, present-day Pakistan, in his famous presidential address at the Allahabad Session of the AIML in December 1930:

> I would like to see the Punjab, Northwest Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me the final destiny of the Muslims at least of the North-West India.²³

Religion and politics were not separable in Iqbal’s plan for a Muslim state, for him only Islam could provide the moral fibre required for good governance,²⁴ however, with Iqbal’s death in 1938, this vision was not to be realized within his lifetime. The question then is under what circumstances did this idea eventually come to inspire the

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¹¹ The holy migration from Mecca to Medina of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and his followers that led to the formation of the first Muslim community.

²² In Pakistan Muhammad Iqbal is known as Allama Iqbal, given the status of National Poet: generally known as the ‘Poet of the East’. Iqbal joined the London branch of the Indian Muslim League in 1908 whilst studying Law and Philosophy in England.

²³ Quoted in Ahmed (1979:54).

²⁴ Iqbal was not in favour of a theocracy of an *ulama* headed state. Religion was an individual pursuit, however, the individual was not isolated but part of a cohesive Islamic community.
founding ideology of Pakistan and its founding father - Jinnah, as Barbara Metcalf (1979) notes during his own life Iqbal's political thought and philosophy was largely ignored. In contrast to Iqbal, Jinnah considered religion a purely personal matter and for him constitutional politics and a just legal framework were the basis of a nation; so, what caused Jinnah to adopt Iqbal's political philosophy? The switch can be understood if one looks at the turning point in Jinnah's political attitude from secularist to communalist, which came with the publication of the Nehru Report in 1928 that was severely criticized by the Muslim community as compromising their position at the centre of power. Jinnah offered Congress amendments to the report in an attempt to negotiate between the two communities but these were rejected and he decided to part ways with Congress. On 28th March 1929, Jinnah published his alternative to the Nehru Report in which he outlined the Muslim Agenda in the famous fourteen points that delineated a better constitutional position for Muslims. Even after being elected as the AIML's permanent president five years later in 1934, Jinnah's stance for a united India remained unaltered; in 1936 he confessed:

Whatever I have done, let me assure you there has been no change in me, not the slightest, since the day when I joined the Indian National Congress. It may be, I have been wrong on some occasions. But it has never been done in a partisan spirit. My soul and only objective has been the welfare of my country. I assure you that India's interests are and will be sacred to me and nothing will make me budge an inch from that position.

Jinnah was essentially an Indian Muslim, however, when this became entangled with the need to establish Muslim solidarity in order to advance and protect Muslim interests at the centre of power and on a par with Congress, he had to alter his position. After the 1937 elections and provincial particularisms, when Congress swept the board and the AIML performed dismally, Jinnah was forced to demand a separate independent state along communal lines that would enable him to form an alliance between the various Muslim interests. Increasingly Jinnah had to employ rhetoric based on a Muslim identity to unify and overcome differentials that fractionalized Indian Muslims

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25 In this respect Jinnah differed with Gandhi, both knew Independence lay in the unity between Hindu-Muslim communities, the former was a staunch constitutionalist and the latter employed mass movements such as non-cooperation to gain Swaraj.

26 The main obstacle was the difference between Muslim ask for one-third representation in the centre of future government and the Nehru Report outlining one-quarter for them; and so the report was taken as a Hindu document that opposed Indian Muslim's needs.

27 Jinnah at Lahore in March 1936. Quoted in Almeida (2001:249)
and weakened the AIML’s political solidarity and organization. Jinnah now took recourse to Iqbal’s ideological ruminations and proposals, as this allowed him to give the AIML a vision and mass appeal among Indian Muslims that it had so far lacked. This change in emphasis was communicated to the masses on 23rd March 1940 as the Lahore Resolution. Premised on application of Iqbal’s ‘two-nation’ theory, Jinnah wanted to rally support from the Muslim majority provinces of Bengal and Punjab, which would be key to the AIML’s future success; in his Presidential address he stated:

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal but manifestly of an international character and it must be treated as such...If the British Government are really earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of the sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into autonomous national states.

This shift in Jinnah’s attitude that called for a separate nationhood was a matter of redefining boundaries for him rather than wholesale import of Iqbal’s religious nationalism. Although Jinnah was increasingly highlighting Indian Muslim rights along communal lines, echoing both Iqbal and the earlier Muslim activists of the Aligarh movement, where Hindu and Muslim came to signify two nations and cultures, his vision was of a secular Muslim state. For Jinnah this pointed to geographical unity of majority Muslim provinces, as he was adamant that his leadership and the Muslim nation-state would be constitutionally secular and multi-communal, emphasizing equality and tolerance between Muslims and non-Muslims, as well minority rights (Ahmed 1997, Qureshi 1979). The demand for Pakistan as the national goal of Muslim India now occupied all of Jinnah’s efforts and negotiations and in replying to a letter from Gandhi in 1940, Jinnah expressed his justification for Pakistan, which in turn reflected his own political change from secularist to communalist:

I have no illusion in the matter, and let me say again that India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a Sub-continent, composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations. Today you deny that religion can be a main factor in determining a nation, but you yourself, when asked what motive in life was the thing that leads us to do what we

28 The Muslim majority areas of Bengal and Punjab were not interested in governance from the centre but vied for provincial autonomy. In the 1940 Lahore Resolution Adopted by AIML the demand was that ‘...the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Easter zones of India should be grouped to constitute “Independent States” in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.’ (Quoted in C.M. Naim (ed) (1979:208).

29 Quoted in Qureshi (1979:31-32).
do, whether it was religious or social or political said: ‘Purely religious’...I do not know any religion apart from human activity...30

The inability of Congress to fulfil Muslim representational demands or acknowledge the AIML as the united voice of Indian Muslims, led Jinnah towards communalism in the 1940’s, with a view to safeguarding Muslim needs by creating a homeland where political and cultural autonomy would be possible. Jinnah, the unifier of India’s Hindu-Muslim communities, was now differentiating between the two, as he stated in his Presidential Speech at the Madras Session of the AIML in April 1941, entitled ‘Our Five-year Plan’:

Since the fall of the Mughal Empire, I think I am right in saying that, Muslim India was never so well organized and so alive and so politically conscious as it is to-day...We have established a flag of our own, a national flag of Muslim India. We have established a remarkable platform which displays and demonstrated a complete unity of the entire solid body of Muslim India. We have defined in the clearest language our goal about which Muslim India was groping in the dark and the goal is Pakistan.31

At the same time, Jinnah also suggested the setting up of a future five-year plan so that departments of ‘national life’ could be organized in anticipation of Pakistan, concentrating on four pillars – Educational Plan for knowledge and enlightenment, Economic Plan, Social Uplift and Political training/consciousness (Akhtar 1945:81-82).

It would seem that the nation-building project had started in advance of Pakistan’s creation and although the emphasis was on a nation for Indian Muslims where they could exercise their constitutional rights, Islamic values and culture, Jinnah did not see a place for religion in state politics; that was to remain secular. This was unmistakably put by Jinnah, in the now famed words on his election as the first President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan ‘You are free, you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the State.’32 Religion and caste divisions for Jinnah had been the root cause behind Indian society’s domination by a foreign power, and even though he was aware that Muslims were divided by religious fractions and provincial identity, he

31 Quoted in Akhtar (1945:80).
hoped these discriminations would disappear under the concept of citizenship – being a Pakistani.  

On 14th August 1947, India was split and midst the turmoil of Partition, Pakistan came into being composed of two halves – West and East Pakistan; with Jinnah as its first Governor-General. Sovereignty was gained, but Pakistan was a fragile new nation with weak political and economic infrastructures, no constitution and impending rehabilitation of migrants from India. This delicate condition of Pakistan was evident to Jinnah who engaged in rallying support and encouraging for initial attempts at nation-building through industrialization, strategic-defence, modern, scientific and technical education and cultural integration of the provinces; in order to further consolidate sovereignty, unification and prosperity of Pakistan’s future. Although all these areas required investment and development, cultural integration was most precariously situated, since the idea of a secular Pakistan and Pakistani citizen was in contention with stronghold of religious and provincial identities among the population. The problem for Pakistan was with the conceptualization of national integration based on a weakly formulated secular Muslim identity, which was unable to offer a pan-Pakistani identity that could replace existing well-established provincial identities and their local practices, cultures and languages; acutely aware of this Jinnah stated in 1948:

Pakistan is the embodiment of the unity of the Muslim nation and so it must remain. That unity, we as true Muslims, must jealously guard and preserve. If we begin to think of ourselves as Bengalis, Punjabis, Sindhis etc. first and Muslims and Pakistanis only incidentally, then Pakistan is bound to disintegrate.

33 In his 11th August, 1947 address as President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Jinnah stated: ‘...even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on and among the Hindus you have Brahmins, Vaishnavas, Khatris, also Bengalese, Madrasis, and soon – will vanish.’. (Quoted in Qureshi 1979:34).
34 West Pakistan was composed of the four provinces constituting present day Pakistan and East Pakistan was the former province of East Bengal, which in 1971 became Bangladesh.
35 See Ayesha Jalal’s (1995) Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia, which looks at a number of historical and economic factors that have led to conflict between state and society in Pakistan.
36 Jinnah’s insistence that Urdu be the national language was an attempt at creating a pan-Pakistani identity: ‘Let me make it very clear to you that the State language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Without one state language, no nation can remain tied up solidly together.’. Address at a Public Meeting in Dacca on 21st March, 1948 (Quoted in Qureshi 1976:96).
Pakistan had come into existence with a multitude of problems and the onus was on Jinnah to find a solution, a responsibility that was astounding at the best of times let alone in a new nation that only really existed on paper. During his time as Governor-General, Jinnah did very little to develop any policies, set priorities or instigate infrastructural or institutional developments, as Saleem Qureshi (1979) suggests he had little time, opportunity or possibly the inclination. Perhaps Jinnah himself was recognizing the challenges that lay ahead when in a Broadcast to the people of United States on 22nd February 1948 he relayed:

> The Constitution of the country has yet to be formed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what its ultimate shape is going to be, but I am sure it will be a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam...we have many non-Muslims – Hindus, Christians and Parsis – but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same rights and privileges as any other citizen...38

Thirteen months after its creation, on 11th September 1948, the architect of Pakistan passed away, and with it any hope for political stability, cultural integration, an egalitarian and democratic Pakistan. The turbulent history of postcolonial Pakistan, chequered by extensive periods of military dictatorship that depoliticized society, exposes the gargantuan task that Jinnah faced immediately after Partition; it took nine years for the first constitution to be framed and a staggering twenty-four years before the first general elections were held in 1970 (Jalal 1995). Several contributing factors have prevented the realization of Pakistan into the nation that Jinnah envisaged. At a political level, Ayesha Jalal (ibid) notes one problem in the unequivocal appeal colonial ideology of an indivisible sovereignty has had on the postcolonial states of South Asia, whereby they have retained a strong centralized state, which at regional levels relies on the local bureaucrats and elite for support. In Pakistan, after Partition the political centre was fragile since the AIML was weakly organized, and following the demise of Jinnah the way was clear for bureaucrats and military personnel to dominate and establish themselves within the political structure. Paradoxically, this tightening of central control was urgently needed for the new nation to demonstrate its independent and consolidated nature at a politico-structural level; although this resulted in an obsession with centralized politics in Pakistani society that has denied basic democratic rights (Jalal ibid). At a provincial level, this domination by the elite was problematic,

38 Quoted in Qureshi (1976:65).
setting up tensions between centre and region. This too can be traced to Partition, as Jalal (ibid) notes the coalition of Sindh, NWFP, Punjab, Bengal and Baluchistan provinces that formed Pakistan in 1947, lent their support hoping to negotiate a constitutional arrangement by which the political structure would be based on strong provinces and a weak centre – the ‘independent Muslim states’ of the 1940 Lahore Resolution. However, this has never been entertained by the postcolonial state, which has concentrated on developing a Punjabi dominated centre\(^{39}\) and thus having to deal with sub-nationalist movements, ethnic and cultural conflict.

This oligarchy of Punjabis that form the majority of central government have tended to jettison ethnicity as parochial and blindly elevated socio-religious dogma for identity formation of the nation as part of the *ummah* (brotherhood of Islam). In reaction to this, weaker ethnic groups have redefined and reasserted their identities more robustly, within Punjab itself, the Seraikis of South Punjab demand a separate region called Seraikistan and a similar process of ethnic-identity revival has taken place in Baluchistan, where the Baluchis want to maintain their regional cultural and political autonomy (Hewitt 1996). Mobilizing local cultural symbolism, language\(^{40}\) and social values, ethno-nationalists highlight the disparity between the central state’s image of society and their own, demanding regional and cultural autonomy - call for Pukhtunistan by Pushto speaking Afghan/Pukhtuns of the NWFP. By far the most noticeable of these ethnic insurgencies has been that of the *Muhajir*\(^{41}\) community since the 1980’s in the Sindh Province, who formed the MQM (*Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz/The Muhajir National Front*) calling for recognition of their separate ‘nationality’ and an increased Sindh involvement within central politics (Alavi 1973, Malik 1996).

The issue of ethnic-conflict is a major obstacle in constructing a cultural identity for Pakistan as the nationalists have been unable to offer a vision of national culture that accommodates the diverse provincial cultures that compose it. Pakistan’s uncertainty

\(^{39}\) Termed the ‘Punjabisation’ of Pakistani society and politics. The Punjab is the most populated province (approximately 56.1% of the population in 1998 - 74 million), an important agricultural and industrial region but within the state, it holds disproportionate access to power (see Talbot 1998).

\(^{40}\) The problem of Urdu as a national language instigated the Bengali nationalist movement in the 1950’s ending in the creation of Bangladesh in 1971. For further examination of the political dimensions of language in Pakistan, see Tariq Rahman (1996, 1999).

\(^{41}\) *Muhajirs* are the Urdu-speaking refugees who came to the Sindh in large numbers during Partition from the United Provinces.
in this respect is ultimately rooted to the inflexible adherence to a monolithic ideology of an Islamic nation, which is intended to supersede individual loyalty to regional identity. Today, as in the past, local cultural/social affiliations and community bonds are ever pervasive, being closely linked to political power and self-representation such as regional language, popular/doctrinal Islam, tribal idioms and forms of organization remain in Baluchistan, NWFP, Sindh and in the Punjab biraderi (patrilineal kinship ties) or zat (social group) inform social and political structures. Attempts at projecting a unified image of Pakistani history, culture and society in the media and education are made, in which there is a common national dress – shalwar kameez, language – Urdu, flag, currency, religion (pre-dominantly Sunni Islam), national martyrs and cricket team. However, this pan-Pakistani image as constructed by the state fails to provide national integration and contests with regional differences: a prime example being Urdu – this has the status of a lingua franca but for the majority remains a second language. The root of this problem again lies in the misreading of Pakistan’s inception, where a weak coalition of majority Muslim provinces used their Muslim identity simply as a strategy for political solidarity and not to replace their ethnic identity or affiliation. Jinnah himself envisioned Pakistan to be secular Muslim state not an Islamic nation subject to the laws of Shari‘at, yet postcolonial nationalist discourse in Pakistan glosses over these intricacies around the birth of the nation. Islam is a religious identity for the majority, but this sits alongside other cultural identities (see Chapter 4), with Pakistani identity taking precedence only at heighten moments of nationalist feeling such as a cricket match or marking Independence Day, at other times it is very much secondary.

In political rhetoric, the foundation of Pakistan is monumentalized and historicized in terms of Islamic history and culture, in which political personalities such as Jinnah or Iqbal symbolize founding fathers and icons of Muslim heritage - defenders of Islam from British colonist and Hindu India. The AIML and Muslim nationalism of the colonial period is historically reinterpreted as almost mythical movements of Islamic

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42 See McGill-Murphy (1996) for ethnography of such negotiations in contemporary Lahore.
44 The majority of the population in Pakistan is Muslim (approximately 96.3%) of which more than 75% are Sunni, and 20% Shi‘a, smaller sects also exist. Other religious groups include Christians (2.5%) with Hindus, Buddhists, Zoroastrians and Animists (in the tribal Northern Areas) (1.2%).
45 Shari‘at is personal Islamic laws and its most recent fundamental proponent was Zia-ul-Haq (1977-88) and his Islamisation laws.
revival in the sub-continent after the decline of the Mughal Empire in the early nineteenth century. Jinnah and the demand for a Muslim state are romantically filtered through a communal reading of Pakistan’s history that attaches itself to the Islamic history of the sub-continent extending as far back as the arrival of Islam with Arab traders in the seventh century. This postcolonial interpretation is couched in terms of civilizations – those that existed before the arrival of Islam – Indus Valley or Buddhist, and then the onset of Islamic civilization with the political rule of the Sultanates in medieval India; associating Pakistan with Islam and Muslim culture the roots of Pakistan extend beyond the nationalism of the twentieth century. In a rather simplistic way this comes to align Pakistan’s ideology and culture to that of Islam’s history in the sub-continent - the nation symbolizes Islamic culture with the ideal citizen being a good Muslim and both having closer links with other Islamic nations and the ummah.

Perhaps this is reflective of what Gyan Prakash (1996) sees as a climate of unmaking history in the non-west where fragments from the past are used to construct an imagined community (Anderson 1991). The rigid faithfulness to the belief that Pakistan’s very origin was to fulfil a religious ideal and create an Islamic state for the Muslims of India (Alavi 1988), in postcolonial Pakistan has prevented the cultivation of pluralistic pan-Pakistani identity and culture that offers cohesion to the various provincial forms of identity other than as a religious discourse. Simultaneously, Pakistan’s preoccupation with internal political wrangling and external defence has actually meant that little interest and investment has been made in the development of cultural institutions that reflect its diverse cultures and societies. Returning to our original concern over the postcolonial Lahore Museum, what impact did Partition and the contrived political imaginings of the nation in subsequent political eras have on this cultural institution; it is time we explored the museum’s fate in all this.

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46 The Cultural Policy of Pakistan (1995) revised under the government of Benazir Bhutto, narrates the history and development of Pakistan along these lines.
47 See Ayesha Jalal (1985, 1998) and Humza Alavi (1988), who problematize these ideological misconceptions of Pakistan’s history.
48 Use of ‘imagined community’ from Benedict Anderson (1991) here is used in line with Bhabha (1994) and Chatterjee’s (1995) critical reading in which they question Anderson’s division of imagining the community into forms of temporality - messianic and homogenous empty time. As Bhabha (1994) notes nationalism and the nation has to be understood as part of cultural systems that preceded it and out of which, as well as against which, it came into being – ‘The ‘meanwhile’ is the sign of the processual and performative, not a simple present continuous, but the present as succession without synchrony...’ (ibid:159).
Partition of colonial India in 1947 spilt the Punjab Province into two, leaving the Lahore Museum on the Pakistani side and in dire need of help, as B.A. Kureshi notes 'There was hardly any staff and annual grants for maintenance were minimal' (1994:1). The upheaval of Partition had disorientated the Lahore Museum and presented it with multi-dimensional problems, most severe being the absence of expert staff, which prolonged the lull in recovery following the effects of Partition (see below). The scarcity of museum professionals affected the museum pragmatically in that there were no cultural caretakers, and importantly depriving it of a visionary helmsman at the beginning of the postcolonial period; an obstacle that persisted and left a lasting impact on the Lahore Museum. At the time of Partition, the museum was in the charge of the archaeologist Charles Fabri, who previously carried out re-organizational work at the museum when he was posted there as Officer on Special Duty in 1936-37; but in 1948, he departed for Delhi. Had Fabri stayed on at the Lahore Museum, it may have recuperated faster, escaping much of the mayhem that was to ensue; as it would have retained a professional who could bridge the gap between the colonial and postcolonial periods. Instead, the Lahore Museum's set-up was ruptured, the last of the colonials had left, and the museum was very much a remnant needing new guidance; not an easy task as it turned out. The primary concern was the provisioning of a new curator who could administer the museum during the unstable years of post-Partition.

Curators/Caretakers: The first curator to be appointed, following the departure of Charles Fabri, was M. Ismail who shifted from Moenjodaro Archaeological Site and Museum, however, his tenure lasted for four years (1948-1952), after which the post was occupied by an officiating curator - Malik Shams who held the position until a suitable candidate was found. This crucial formative period of the postcolonial Lahore Museum required new guidance; not an easy task as it turned out. The primary concern was the provisioning of a new curator who could administer the museum during the unstable years of post-Partition.

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49 Mr B.A. Kureshi headed the first Advisory Committee for the Lahore Museum, later becoming Chairman of its BOG. He served for 27 years (1968-1995) taking many of the initiatives that led to the revitalization and subsequent maintenance.

50 Charles Louis Fabri (1899-1968) - archaeologist, art critic, and scholar was born in Hungary but held British citizenship and eventually made India his home. He was an Assistant Conservator at the Kern Institute of Indian Archaeology in Leiden University under Dr J. Ph. Vogel. He visited India for the first time in 1931 as part of an archaeological expedition with Sir Aurel Stein. In 1934 Fabri returned to India at the request of Rabindranath Tagore to teach art history at Santiniketan and became involved with the Archaeological Survey of India. After his shift to Delhi in 1948, Fabri was involved in writing, lecturing (during 1949-50 at the National Museum of India in Delhi), and broadcasting on art and drama.
Museum was tainted by the constant shuffling of museum 'curators', who were characterized by their museological ineptitude. The Lahore Museum needed focus and direction to reform and reconstruct its image, instead the shortage of trained staff caused the museum to fall into a decline under what Dr Dar called 'unprofessional' management. In the first instance, Malik Shams' background was in education, he was an Inspector of Schools, and so lacked even basic knowledge of museum practices, and in hindsight, this turned out to be highly unfortunate for the Lahore Museum. Any attempts that were made towards re-organization of the museum had more of a detrimental effect and as Dr Dar suggested despite some reorganization this initial period was in fact characterized by disorganization with many colonial records of the museum and objects being misplaced, lost, and even destroyed. It would seem that after the first few years of Independence the future of the Lahore Museum was desperate, the position of curator recurrently filled by inexperienced individuals who were either unable to visualize or not interested in re-constructing the museum as a national institution. Following Malik Sham's departure from the Lahore Museum in 1965, some positive moves were being made, with individuals such as B.A. Kureshi realizing that this cultural institution needed rescuing, and so an Advisory Committee was set up for the purposes of renovation.

In distinguishing the various phases of the Lahore Museum's development since its inception, the period immediately following Partition is seen as the bleakest, with former Director of the museum, Anjum Rehmani (1994-1999), terming the first 10-15 years as 'dormant' and one of neglect. In 1965 the museum came under the watchful eye of B.A. Kureshi and initiatives began to turn towards much needed restoration, evident from the condition he describes of the museum when it had reached its 'lowest point', both physically and in its organization:

Plaster from walls had fallen, floors were broken, wood work was crumbling and all ceilings leaked. There was no electricity and the heat and glare streaming in through the large Gothic windows scorched the exhibits. The Museum had no laboratory, store for reserves or workshop, not even drinking water or public toilets. One of the rooms inside the Museum was used as library with reportedly 6,000 un-catalogued books and journals without a Librarian. Outside there was no wall or fencing and the ground was uneven littered with filth and overgrown with wild

51 Interview with Dr Saifur Rahman Dar on 10.01.03.
52 Interview with Dr Saifur Rahman Dar 02.08.03.
bushes. There was stagnant water all over with a few turfed patches where stray dogs roamed and gamblers found shelter.53

Attention was then given to refurbishment of the museum building and galleries: walls were re-plastered, floors re-laid, woodwork treated, the windows screened off to reduce glare, and artificial lights introduced (Kureshi 1994). B.A. Kureshi’s interest in the Lahore Museum as head of the Advisory Committee set up in 1965 was pivotal here, as at that time he was working in the Planning Department, Government of West Pakistan and could utilize his contacts to implement this re-configuration; finally some transformation of the Lahore Museum was underway.

However, the appointment of professional curators remained disappointing and the next curator - Syed M. Taqi, was once again a School’s Inspector with little interest in museology. Perhaps this was a timid attempt at creating an educational environment for the museum and clearly indicates the dearth in museum specialists faced by museology in Pakistan. Re-initiation of the Lahore Museum was proving to be a tentative affair hindered by a lack of professionalism, that impacted not only on administration of the institution but also on the re-classification of material disorder cast on the collections after Partition (see below). The museum was in need of more than just a cosmetic facelift and required a complete re-ordering of the objects into sections that reflected a national ideology if decolonization was to be successful. Partition had abruptly left the museum bereft of proficient administration, knowledgeable curatorship and part of the material displays from the colonial era. Before assessing the gradual changes that were being implemented in the immediate decades after Partition, I want to give a sense of the chaos that prevailed in the museum by recounting a chance meeting with Ejaz Ali Sahib. This personal account is important as it relays an insight into a period of the Lahore Museum that is officially not well documented and so it proves difficult to convey a clear account of events in the museum. Ejaz Ali himself had migrated to Lahore and I want to begin with his own experience, as it was during this time that he developed a keen interest in the Lahore Museum.

53 Kureshi (1994:1)
Ejaz Ali: One October afternoon I found myself chatting about my time in Lahore to a gentleman, who like most Lahorites was curious to find out which part of his city I had encountered, and so he methodically questioned me on the places I had visited so far, and whether I had been to the *Ajaib Ghar* yet. When I replied that I had and explained my own work there, his face lit up, and our conversation turned from a run of the mill mundane chat into an interesting afternoon of recollections and memories about his affection and keen interest towards the Lahore Museum. The person in question was 66 year-old Ejaz Ali from Imamia Colony, which is a suburb in the north of Lahore, lying just off the main Grand Trunk Road; a lower class residential area with mainly small brick houses, *kaachi* lanes and a small main bazaar. Until recently, Ejaz Ali was a rickshaw driver being forced into retirement following an accident that left him with poor eyesight. Before this, he said he had tried his hand at many jobs such as bus hawker, bulldozer operator, and worked on board ships, which afforded him the opportunity to travel to Iran, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, and Greece.

Ejaz Ali was born and brought up in Amritsar and came to settle in Lahore in 1947 during Partition when he was 11 years old. At that time his family settled in the Gowalmandi area of the Walled City, later moving to Kasurpura in the north of the city and then after his marriage to the suburb of Imamia Colony; where he now lives with one of his sons, daughter-in-law and grandchild. An avid collector himself, he has several collections of coins (*sikay*), stamps (*ticket*), pens, books, and ‘art’ pieces that comprise of little statuettes, carvings, damascene work, an extensive array of old tiles and carved architectural stonework that he found abandoned in the Walled City. Another interest was photography, collecting photographs and making decorative albums: he told me that often relatives and friends would ask him to make albums out of their photographs similar to his own albums. He enjoyed doing this as it allowed him to be ‘artistic’ in creating a story montage around the photographs, a technique he learnt from a friend of his who was a studio photographer. In the past his collections had been quite large and a source of immense pride and he enjoyed showing and telling others about his ‘antiques’. But sadly he admitted that over the years some of his stamp books and coin collections, as well as books had been sold, especially in periods of cash shortage; now due to his age and failing eye-sight he was inclined to divest many
Ejaz Ali was fascinated by beautiful and curious objects, things that sparked the imagination more that adhered to rules of authenticity or value and this was further supplemented by his extensive 'knowledge' on a range of subjects. His interests spanned history, medicine, religion, travel, art and ancient civilizations, he proudly stated:

I have gained all this knowledge by myself I am self-taught, I read books, watch television, I love to watch National Geographic and Discovery and films English, Indian, Pakistani all of them...Also when I attend mahfil (gathering) of friends or Imams that is an opportunity for me to learn and discuss and I like to discuss what I know. Sometimes people will make things up just to impress others but I can tell they are wrong and I will tell them so and usually they are astonished by what I know as when they look at me, the way I dress and even my profession they think he won't know anything. A rickshaw-wallah, in a shalwar-kameez with my dhoti over my shoulder I always carry that it is my adhat (habit), I even had it on my wedding day!...If only I had pursued these interests when I was growing up but in those days no one encouraged me and then there were no resources...even when I visited the Ajaib Ghar my father used to ask me why I went there and what I did in there and what I got out of it, as he saw no benefit in going there.

Ejaz Ali is an interesting individual in relation to the Lahore Museum as not only does he defy the conventional stereotype that museum staff hold of the visiting public, but at one time was a ‘regular visitor’ to the Lahore Museum. It is his cherished memories of these visits and his initial exposure to the museum in its early days after Partition that make this encounter worth recalling here. The day before meeting Ejaz Ali, I had taken photographs of a few objects in the museum and when we met, I promptly showed them to him. The delight on his face was obvious, as if the memorialized objects in his mind had again come to life. At times, his eyes struggled to focus on the images but he intently examined each photograph and confirmed that indeed this object was from the museum recalling its position within the museum as he had remembered it. For each object, he told me its name and the significance it held such as the Fasting Buddha, ‘...which depicts the Bodhisattva attaining enlightenment.’. The photographs got Ejaz Ali thinking and talking about the museum and its collections, re-igniting a passion he held for the place. Just talking about his experiences of the museum had imparted much happiness to his soul (rooh), as he said it was not possible to share this

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54 I would like to thank Ejaz Ali for presenting me with some ‘pieces’ from his collections.
55 Conversation with Ejaz Ali on 30.10.02.
56 By regular here I do not mean every fortnight or so, but consistent visiting in the South Asian context would be once or twice a year; Ejaz Ali stated that he had been 18 or 19 times in his pastime.
with everyone as ‘...pitifully most people in Pakistan did not care for old objects and I don’t understand their mindset....’. As we talked, Ejaz Ali remembered his initial visits to the museum and how he became interested in the place. After moving to Lahore, Ejaz Ali joined Islamia School on the Lower Mall, being so close to the Lahore Museum, he said there were regular visits to the museum and it was through these that he started to take a keen interest in the institution. These visits were not part of the school timetable but more to do with his teacher from 8th to 10th Class,57 who was interested in the objects at the museum and so frequently took his students along with him. This early introduction to the museum by his enthusiastic teacher may account for some of Ejaz Ali’s own interest in the museum; however, what he also remembered of that time was the disorder that prevailed in the museum.

In the years following Partition, Ejaz Ali recalled that the Lahore Museum was an unorganized place despite having many inspiring objects, there was also much chaos, with gallery floors being cluttered with objects and sometimes piles of objects in the middle. This condition of the museum was understandable he said, as ‘...it was a time of change and we had just had Partition...but work was slow and not very focused and I would not have been surprised if many objects went missing during that time as anyone could have come in and taken things, security was not an issue at that time, not like it is today.’ 58 These comments were based Ejaz Ali’s own observations and participation in trying to help clear some of the disorder. He remembered how in those early years of post Partition people, especially college students, were called to libraries and the museum to help out with checking, classifying and cataloguing what had been left and was present in these places. The Lahore Museum was one such place where Ejaz Ali, as a teenager, spent many days listing objects in registers and putting them back on display:

...there was no one way of doing it, we were just given registers and told to list the objects and I wondered how they would later make sense of them as one person wrote descriptions whereas another would just put down ‘a bowl’. We were not experts and so could not give the detailed sort of description they would give but we did our bit to help and it also gave me the chance to hold some of those things and see them up close

57 8th Class is for 12/13 years olds and 10th 14/15 years old.
58 Conversation with Ejaz Ali on 30.10.02.
that was fantastic...later the museum got better and things were displayed properly with labels... 

Ejaz Ali's recollections date back to the 1950's, prior to the renovations instigated by the Advisory Committee in 1965 and perhaps it was this dismal state of affairs that also prompted officials like B.A. Kureshi to intervene. For this to take place the museum was closed for a while with the work carried out including a ‘...complete [restoration] of antiquities and the creation of new sections.’ (Rehmani 2000:3). These efforts concentrated on two fronts, firstly to the physical building/galleries and secondly it involved a re-shuffling of the collections as noted by Rehmani (ibid). This presented an ideal opportunity to re-focus and improve the museum somewhat through ‘scientific planning’ (B.A. Kureshi 1994); attention was directed towards freeing up extra space for new exhibitions and, more importantly, galleries. One collection that emigrated was the industrial material, the majority of which was moved to the Industrial Department of the Punjab Government (ibid). Although objects in this category that contained the capacity to express historical or cultural significance were retained by the museum to demonstrate its conversion into a ‘Cultural and Historical Museum’ centred around ‘antiquities’ (ibid:3). This movement of objects from the museum in order to give it a more cultural emphasis was a planned move, and although the museum was suffering from a lack of maintenance and professionalism, Partition had left a greater mark by requiring it to de-accession some of its objects that took place in a less planned manner.

**Collections/Objects:** The brunt of Partition, as a specific historical juncture in South Asia's political history, was felt by the Lahore Museum directly when it fractured the institution's image and patina that it had accrued over 91 years since its establishment under colonial rule as the museum of the Punjab Province. Partition forced de-accessioning and splitting up of the collections possessed by the Lahore Museum between India and Pakistan. Ironically, this gave the new nations parts of the same collections for subsequent utilization in signifying two different authorships of cultural heritage and national history. 

In discussing the division of objects Mrs Nusrat Ali (Keeper of Fine Arts) suggested that many objects were temporarily shifted to India in

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59 Ibid.

60 See Christopher King's (1994) *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India* for a detailed examination of a similar process in the politicization of language in the Hindi-Urdu controversy.
haste for safeguarding during Partition and negotiations were supposed to take place to return some of them, but these never took place and in reality, she pragmatically resigned, were unlikely to as 'We have not been able to sort out Kashmir so what hope is there for the objects at the museum...and perhaps this is for the best as they look after their culture!';\(^{61}\) adding on a lighter note that ‘...we in Pakistan don’t even have agriculture let alone any other culture!’.\(^{62}\) In order to understand better such politically impregnated thoughts as well as the inescapable hybridity the Lahore Museum’s collections have as Pakistani objects retaining colonial modes of representation and display, one has to firstly return to the ambivalence of Partition at the end of British rule.

Operating alongside the ‘bargaining’ for territory on the political table where nationalists pit social identities and histories of the various communities against one another to gain authority, representation, and a voice in the political centre, there was bargaining for cultural property too. It is undeniable that the establishment of new national ‘borders’ during Partition had its real effect on the people, who were displaced in their search for security, identity, freedom, and trying to escape communal violence and threat; yet, people were not alone in being exiled. Alongside the artificial displacement of societies was the migration of mobile cultural property that also came under contestation, whilst immobile religious and cultural monuments were offered protection. This broader scope of Partition invoked division of historical, geographical, religious, social, and economic assets of the Punjab and Bengal Provinces.\(^{63}\) Within the Punjab, the Lahore Museum as harbourer of cultural wealth, held material forms of all these assets, and became another zone of contestation alongside territory that had to be divided between India and Pakistan.

However, during Partition the prestige of the collections amassed under colonialism lay in their ability to potentially act as symbols and assets of cultural heritage in the

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\(^{61}\) Meeting with Mrs Nusrat Ali on 17.09.02.

\(^{62}\) This is a twist of Sir Ganga Ram’s famed rebuke ‘You Sir, talk of Culture, Culture, I know only of one Culture, and that is agriculture.’. Ganga Ram was an Executive Engineer and was responsible for the construction of Victoria Jubilee Institute - today is bifurcated into the Lahore Museum and the NCA; for more information on his life see his biography *Harvest from the Desert: the life and work of Sir Ganga Ram* by Baba Pyare Lal Bedi (2003).

construction of nationalist narratives for the modern nations of South Asia. The division boundary for Punjab was demarcated on the map but socially and culturally this was a period of uncertainty and chaos. This left the museum occupying a liminal space, its possessions up for grabs to the culturally astute, who could potentially utilize the objects to exhibit and construct their own version of history and culture, however the decision of what objects were to go and which to remain was speculative and undecided. It is unlikely that at the time of Partition the upcoming nationalists of India and Pakistan were concerned with the institution’s immediate future or the symbolic power it could yield in the projection of a nation’s worth - economically or culturally; but it did not take long for such realizations to become apparent. Visualizations of nationalist projects that laid bare particular versions of self-ideology in terms of identity, history, and memory began early for their respective citizens and the rest of the world (see Guha-Thakurta 1997); the form this took in the Lahore Museum and its success will be explored below.

Concern was not just about the division of property through splitting, it was also about the need to safeguard all objects in the museum. This issue was raised in discussions about Partition under the category of ‘other factors’, where the need to protect ‘cultural institutions’ was mentioned and though the Lahore Museum was not specifically identified it would is quite possible to presume that it was included as requiring security during turmoil of events that eventually culminated in Partition. Lahore’s institutions in particular required this guardianship, as geographical proximity - only seventeen miles to the proposed (and current) border crossing, placed it at the core of the pandemonium and destruction of Partition in the Punjab. What made Lahore more vulnerable was its historical, political and economic significance for its major communities - Hindu, Muslim and Sikh, who fiercely laid claims to it, making Lahore the focus of some of the worst violence (Tan & Kudaisya 2000).

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65 The border on the Pakistani side is known as Wagah and on the Indian side as Atari. Richard Murphy McGill (2001) has written the daily national performance acted out at the border in the flag ceremonies on both sides of the border.
66 Like the Lahore Museum, Lahore itself was (and still remains) a palimpsest of historical and cultural inscriptions and different communities inhabiting it feel possessive towards it. According to the Hindu epic the Ramayana, Lahore was founded by Loh one of the sons of Ram - there is a small temple within the grounds of the Lahore Fort said to be Loh’s Temple. For Muslims the Mughal heritage is evidence of the spread of Islam and a period of cultural and artistic beautification of the city. For Sikhs it was
During periods of political unrest, prior and leading up to Partition, the Lahore Museum was never attacked but at times of increased disturbance the museum was closed to protect both visitors, and perhaps more so, the valuable antiquities. What posed a threat was the possibility for objects within the museum to elicit communal interpretations in the minds of those exposed to the political conflict and propaganda beyond the museum. The imagination of the public would have been honed by the heightened emotions of the various communalisms that were concerned with projecting purified identities, and so politically active members of the public could have turned their destructive attentions onto sections of the museum that were emblematic of the 'other'.

References to this protectionist stance by the museum during moments of social and political unrest are made in some annual reports that interestingly point to an uncertainty that emerged around the museum, where it was actually thought to be in direct competition with the ‘spectacle’ of politics. Lionel Heath in his 1907-1908 report whilst trying to offer an explanation for the noticeable fall in visitor figures remarked on the ‘political unrest’ in Lahore considering it as a possible contributing factor:

…it has been suggested by my staff that the large number of political meetings held in Lahore during the year have affected the numbers who usually flock to the Museum, as these assemblies have in some way acted as a counter attraction. I give this suggestion for what it is worth...It may be noted that the weaker sex appears to have been unaffected by the cataclysms and agitations which have been brought forward as responsible for the falling off of the numbers on the ordinary days.

It would seem that closing the museum did prevent unnecessary damage despite the reduction in visitors who would also have been put off by practical difficulties of getting around Lahore city, even if they had wished to visit the museum; with those from outside Lahore being further discouraged. However, Lionel Heath notes that the situation for the museum was short-term and in a later report states that:

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67 This political dimension/threat to the Lahore Museum is still in evidence today. I was told by Mrs Zarina Khurshid (Keeper of Ethnological Collections) of how the museum was closed during 1992 at the time of the Babri Mosque incident. This was due to counter-attacks in Lahore by mobs on Indian/Hindu targets such as old temples, and could have turned their attention onto the museum’s Hindu/Jaina/Buddhist collections, especially sculptures that could be taken as anti-Islamic symbols; and so to protect these the museum was shut.

The Punjab disturbances did not upset the routine of the Museum for more than a few days prior to the establishment of Martial-law, the collections having to be closed to the public as a precautionary measure only. The office staff attended regularly throughout the Hartal, and no trouble from the frequenters of the Museum was experienced, but the number of visitors was greatly reduced.69

The museum institution as such was not noticeably at risk, what made it a target was the uncertainty around the perception of the public and their interpretation of the museum objects in terms of political signification. The objects were no longer simply signs of colonial India or its curiosities but became porous and open to the political climate in which cultural signification was being forced to pay allegiance to suggestions of various political persuasions. The involvement of the museum in political activity and debates on Partition should come as no surprise since the museum as a cultural technology was never neutral rather an implicit tool in the ‘politics of representation’ (Karp and Lavine 1991), especially in India where the museum was unequivocally employed to aid colonial expansion, knowledge, and propaganda. This political franchise of the museum took on an enduring reality in the hands of nationalists in modern South Asia, and in Pakistan’s fifty-seven years after Partition, is still under construction. However, this is not confined to the museum space and the reasons behind this in Pakistan are the constantly shifting political ideology, and difficulty in formulating a substantive democracy (Jalal & Bose 1998) and national identity crisis. The implications of this on additions and display changes to the museum’s galleries are dealt with later on in the chapter, but for now the point to be made in relation to the Lahore Museum is that its collections provisioned India and Pakistan, to construct different narratives of history, culture, and identity based on the sharing of a common ‘wealth’.

One question that remains unanswered so far in relation to this is what exactly was split between India and Pakistan? Unfortunately, this is a grey area where answers are not easy to come by. The Lahore Museum, like other historical monuments,70 being a fixed

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70 The potency and association of identity with material artefacts and monuments, especially in re-inscription along nationalist lines during Partition, has repercussions even today at times of political and religious conflicts; epitomized in the activities on both side of the border following the destruction of the sixteenth century Babri Mosque in Ayodhya on 6th December, 1992 by Hindu activists (karsevaks) of the BJP/RSS/VHP heady mix. In Lahore, disused temples that were remnants of the past in Pakistan became targets for such attacks - misinformation led to the destruction of the Jain
property was off limits to division, however its mobile feature - the collections, were not exempt and so part of the Lahore Museum’s objects had to prepare to travel; whilst all were to be re-assigned a different role to play as conjured up by a new set of authoritarians. So, what happened when it came to the division of the Lahore Museum? Clearly, this took place as what were previously a single museum’s material holdings now resides in two museums on either side of the divided Punjab Province - the current Lahore Museum in Pakistan and Chandigarh Museum in India.

However, the task of assessing the actual basis of division of cultural property from the Lahore Museum is not an easy one as official documentation relating to the transfer of objects is scant and none is available in the archival institutions of Pakistan. Even the Lahore Museum is unclear about which objects are now in India, though the split is said to have entailed around forty percent of objects being sent, this figure was often repeated by museum staff as an indication of ‘their’ loss and the lack of reciprocity from India. At times it was also suggested that division was random and something of an unfair deal, almost as if it was a confidence trick by the ‘Hindus’ working at the museum at the time of Partition who understood aesthetics and the value of art and so took many of the ‘best’ objects, especially sculptures and paintings; whilst the Muslims, being ignorant of such artistic merit saw such objects as idolatrous and in effect gave away such ‘treasure’. It is difficult to prove such hearsay and maybe this is just a reminder of the pervasive nature of political antagonism that exists in South Asia. Despite the lack of ‘official’ record, the only way to clarify the situation is to look at the ‘real’ evidence that resulted from the transfer of objects, namely the Chandigarh Museum; whose formation was the ultimate destination for the relocated objects in

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**Mandir in Lahore.** This temple was not consecrated but home to an elderly couple but the Jain Temple was taken to be a sign of Hinduism and thus to be razed in retaliation.

71 Within Pakistan, there is no consensus on the actual date of transfer or the objects that were sent to India. In conversation with Dr Dar (02.08.03): he suggested that partition of objects took place in 1954 but it is impossible to corroborate this, as I found no official records in Pakistan.

72 Only two documents in the Lahore Museum exist that partially record the division of objects. Firstly, a list of 237 objects - including pieces of Gandhara, textiles, utensils and articles of furniture, that I was told by Dr Anjum Rehmani were related to object distribution. Miss Humera Alam, Keeper of Pre-Islamic Collections, brought the second to my attention - a list compiled by Dr Elizabeth Errington (Coins and Medals Department, British Museum) on the Gandhara collection at the Chandigarh Museum, where she tried to correlate register entries of objects sent and received.

73 According to Dr Dar (02.08.03) the forty percent did not include coins, which were supposed to be exchanged for items in return; never took place.

74 Such sentiments are alluded to briefly by Dar (1977) where he suggests the taking of ‘best’ objects to India.

75 Although I was unable to visit the Chandigarh Museum.
India. According to the Chandigarh Museum, the division of objects took place on 10th April 1948 when once again it is said that forty percent of the Lahore Museum’s objects were sent to India. At first, they were accommodated in Amritsar, then Simla and by 1954 shifted to Moti Bagh Palace in Patiala; finally finding their permanent home in Chandigarh.

The drive behind establishing the Chandigarh Government Museum and Art Gallery was Dr M.S. Randhawa, Chandigarh’s first Chief Commissioner and an art scholar. The museum building designed by Le Corbusier in 1952, was part of a wider museum complex, and opened to the public on 6th May 1968. The museum today contains six main permanent Exhibition Galleries - Brahmanical and Jain Sculpture, Contemporary Painting, Graphic-Print and Sculpture, Gandhara Art, Miniature Painting, Terracotta Sculpture and Decorative Arts and Coins; these galleries in fact inherently reflect the museological roots of the majority artefacts back to the Lahore Museum, mirroring its familiar organizational nomenclature and classification of galleries. The Chandigarh Museum owes its very existence to the objects of Partition and perhaps this has allowed many of the objects the opportunity to be displayed and admired as it is unclear where they would have ended up had the museum not been built. The most revealing paradox here is that the objects of the old Lahore Museum now find themselves being used in the projection of what is seen in much religious-political rhetoric to be diametrically opposed ideologies of nationalism. Yet, the reality is that culturally there is more similarity than difference particularly for the Punjab - East and West, and perhaps this is why the division of objects for the Lahore Museum is still such a sensitive topic. Partition in 1947 may have drawn a line on the map but it failed to divide the deeply entrenched culture of the region that never was nor is, bounded by religion or politics.

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77 Le Corbusier (1887-1965) the Swiss-French architect, painter and writer also designed other buildings in India including the, Museum in Ahmedabad (1953-1957), High Court Building in Chandigarh (1950-1963), Chandigarh Arts School (1959), 1955 Chandigarh Assembly, and Boating Club.

78 The complex expanded to contain the Arts College added in 1959, Museum of Evolution of Life in 1973, and City Museum that was inaugurated on 17th December, 1997.

79 [http://chdmuseum.nic.in/](http://chdmuseum.nic.in/)
The division of objects for the Lahore Museum stands as a dramatic marker of change in terms of possession and the bifurcation of ‘priceless treasures of the Museum.’ (Rehmani 1994:i), however, the effects on the museum were not just sentimental but very palpable in the actual state of the museum at the time; B.A. Kureshi (1994) remembers:

A portion of the collection moved to India under the agreement at the time of Partition leaving awkward gaps, which the Museum Administration have been endeavouring to fill...After Partition, the Museum’s condition deteriorated rapidly.\(^{80}\)

The Lahore Museum then approaching the middle of the twentieth century was left physically decapitated and ideologically marred ‘...deprived...of many historical objects. It was more than a decade before steps were taken to give a new shape to the Museum, a process that continues to the present day.’ (Rehmani 1994:3). Today the Lahore Museum is considered a premier cultural institution of Pakistan containing the ‘...richest collection of cultural heritage of Pakistan’ (Rehmani 2000:i) and is ‘...the most popular public institution of its kind in the country (Rehmani 1994:4). So how did Partition transform the Lahore Museum or more importantly re-configure its development from colonial remnant to national icon? What role did political and cultural forces have in the re-organization of the Lahore Museum and along what lines? Was there a further filtering down of the collections to exclude certain objects/representations and include new ones that fitted in with a specific image of Pakistani culture or does the museum remain a tribute to the colonial era?

Essentially, the creation of ‘images’ at the Lahore Museum and the processes that surrounded this are of interest to me here. I shall now assess these by examining aspects of cultural diplomacy or at times cultural dictatorship, from statecraft assignations - past and present, to Provincial Government or private initiatives, all of whom try to exert cultural authority onto the meanings constructed in or around the museum (Durrans 1992). My concern is not limited to measuring ideological repercussions of nationalist or provincial political preferences for the museum but to take these as one dynamic among a multitude of forces that impact(ed) the Lahore Museum and those who work there. In this way it is imperative to identify the various

\(^{80}\) (1994:1).
layers of the Lahore Museum, peeling away to reveal how the museum is appropriated the relationships it has with different socio-political and cultural ideologies and imaginations.

TRAPPED BY THE COLONIAL SHADOW: DECOLONIZING THE LAHORE MUSEUM

At the time of Partition, the museum had seven galleries\(^8\) and slowly new ones were added as the Lahore Museum modified and expanded (see below). The creation of a distinctive museum image and aura for the postcolonial Lahore Museum needs to be assessed in terms of re-forming the museum as a cultural symbol of the nation of Pakistan. Left with objects of colonial acquisition policies, arranged and displayed according to the specific political/cultural/economic agenda of that era, how easy was it for decolonization to take place? The postcolonial identity of Pakistani society and culture is effectively a hegemonic pedagogy that narrates the nation by equating it with Islamic culture in the sub-continent and beyond - the Muslim brotherhood. This has been problematic for the integration of Pakistan as a nation (see above), so how successful has it been in the recuperation of the Lahore Museum from the colonial shadow or has it created an amalgamation of colonial sedimentation and national imaginings, leaving the museum to occupy a hybrid space (Bhabha 1994). What are the implications of such nationalist imaginings on the material culture of the Lahore Museum, has it meant subjugation or abandonment of collections and objects deemed 'un-Islamic', retaining only those objects that exhibit Islamic civilizations and culture, such as Mughal artefacts or Quranic manuscripts. However, as the museum’s collections (see Chapter 1) show this is not the case, as an eclectic mix of collections is on display, highlighting that the ‘ancestors’ of the nation were not just Muslims, as Homi Bhabha states: ‘In ‘foundational fictions’ the origins of national traditions turn out to be as much acts of affiliation and establishment as they are movements of disavowal, displacement, exclusion and cultural contestation.’ (1990:4). The nationalist ideology takes care of disavowal, Partition the displacement, so has there been any exclusion or cultural contest? The larger question is about the compatibility of galleries

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\(8^\)Mentioned by B.A. Kureshi (1994:1), however, he gives no more information regarding the types or names of galleries.
like the Hindu, Jain(a) and Buddhist, full of bhut for a museum that symbolizes Pakistan?

The Lahore Museum today endorses an image that favours a paternalistic attitude, as a keeper and preserver of heritage, antiquities, tradition, and history of Pakistan. This is reflected in the fact that the Lahore Museum is widely acknowledged as the pseudo-national museum, despite this title being given to the lesser National Museum of Pakistan in Karachi. When I enquired after the status of the Lahore Museum within Pakistan, Dr Dar confirmed that 'Officially no, but collection and size wise it is [the national museum] and embraces an entire history and culture of the country. It is the Lahore Museum and is still called a Provincial Museum...but academically it is the national museum.' However, this does not mean that any opportunity is missed to bring this ‘unofficial’ standing of the Lahore Museum, within Pakistan and beyond, to the notice of the visitors - from students to VIPs, especially at public events held in the museum such as Quiz Shows or lectures. References to this status of the Lahore Museum, ranked as second place in South Asia and tenth in the world in terms of its navaadrat (collections), are frequently made by the Director in his opening address at such events; already pre-empted by a short slide show of some unique ‘masterpieces’ (baymisall navaadrat), thus consolidating the image. The image of the museum as Pakistan’s cultural capital is implicitly tied up to its collection – the material archive that it possesses and on occasion, this was iterated with allusion to ownership of global patrimony. This was illustrated when the qaumi adahra (national institution) was evoked in terms of regional importance, the Director stating that it preserved the culture of other civilizations from South-East Asia and the Far East through sakafati mutalakat (cultural connections). These cultural connections are vital in projecting the prestige of the museum among Pakistanis but also within a sphere of cultural exchange that does not rely on mediation of the west. The Gandhara collection is a prime example in facilitating this regional co-operation and interest, as visitors, academics and dignitaries frequently visit from Japan and South Korea specifically to see the collection; also presenting an opportunity to attract funding. At a local level this is accommodated by

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82 Interview with Dr Dar 02.08.03.
83 The Lahore Museum puts its visitors into categories that range from the ordinary public right up to the VIPs (Very Very Important persons).
84 At the time of my research, the Director was Dr Liaquat Ali Khan Niazi, who joined the Lahore Museum in mid 2001.
offering, as the Director stated: ‘...an ideal place where people could learn about other traditions and religions...through comparative study.’ All this points towards a will on behalf of the Lahore Museum to highlight its significance as custodian of cultural heritage (national and international) for its citizens and global tourists. The assertion of the Lahore Museum as Pakistani heritage was repeatedly communicated to me in my interview with Dr Niazi, leaving little room for misconception of this image and on my behalf about the role of the museum. This perception or aspiration of the museum permeates the thoughts of most staff - Mr Asim Rizwan the Assistant Public Relations Officer I (APRO from now onwards) held the opinion:

Well the Museum is the identity of any society. The work of our forefathers is kept right here, these are our assets basically, and this is our presentation of them to people who come from all over the world to visit, they look at the work of our forefathers and estimate what they did, were like in the past and compare them to us today, so they can make the difference [sic]...

Some gallery attendants also hold similar views, this in itself is not surprising, as their knowledge about the museum is primarily based on fragments of information that Gallery In-charges pass onto them or they overhear when the APRO’s are giving a gallery tour. Zaida Saeed, who joined the Lahore Museum in November 2002 as a clerk in the Hindu, Jain(a) and Buddhist Gallery, in thinking about the role of the museum in society told me:

Yes, there is a lot of benefit because it is part of our inheritance so the public and especially students should be aware of those objects that are our inheritance. I think it is very important that people learn about this and the students of this country can benefit a lot from all this, you can say for their own future.

Once again, the issue at hand is that of ownership and possession accented here with a stress on an inherited heritage that gives a sense of depth to the origins of Pakistani society. Nadeem Yousaf, also a clerk in the Jain(a) Temple, Swat/Ethnological II and Armoury Galleries, opined that: ‘...what we have here are things which our ancestors

85 At the Quiz Show held in the Lahore Museum’s auditorium on 11.01.03 on the History and Collections of the Lahore Museum.
86 Interview with Dr Niazi on 07.01.03.
87 Interview with Mr Asim Rizwan on 19.11.02.
88 This term is used for museum Officers who are below Keepers.
89 Interview with Zaida Saeed held on 08.04.03.
have kept here and maybe [the public] may get something out of it. [The objects] might awaken the public to do similar work...'.

This cultural role suggested for the Lahore Museum as a conduit between the past and the present, safekeeping the ‘heritage’ of the nation’s ancestors and forefathers, however, counters the centrality given to Islamic history as delineated in the national ideology, since this heritage also glorifies a past in which Buddhist, Hindu and Jain cultures flourished. The Lahore Museum’s sections at the end of colonial era were classified by either artefact types such as – art, numismatics, inscriptions, textiles, arms, models, applied arts and crafts or miscellaneous, or into specific archaeological or ethnographic theme, for example – Gallery of Indian antiquities, Gallery of Central Asian objects, Gandhara Sculptures.

The aftermath of Partition and significantly the absence of museum professionals, meant little re-organization took place prior to the late 1960’s, so how did the museum accommodate its heterodox past with the hegemonic identity of Pakistani culture? Although it is unclear which new sections were created in the re-shuffling following the interest in the museum of the Advisory Committee in 1965, or whether a new gallery chronology was given, but one definite addition was the Islamic Gallery in 1966-67.

The Islamic Gallery: In the annual report for the Lahore Museum in 1942-42 there is mention of a Gallery for Islamic Arts and Crafts of India, however, it is unclear whether the postcolonial Islamic Gallery was started afresh or a derivative of the former. Nevertheless, the overt aim of this gallery is stated as providing a greater visual presence of Muslim arts and culture in the museum as it was considered under-represented in the ‘old museum’ (Kureshi 1994). It seems no new acquisitions were made of Islamic arts/crafts and so it can be speculated that objects remaining from the old Gallery for Islamic Arts and Crafts of India would have been combined with others that fitted this loose theme of ‘Muslim culture’, to create the current Islamic Gallery. The desire to give the museum an Islamic feel can be regarded as entertaining the possibility of political intervention and reflection on the museum’s future identity as mimicking the ideology of Pakistan. However, this would prove to be premature, as this introduction cannot be allied with a direct policy of Islamization. In fact the

90 Interview with Nadeem Yousaf on 08.04.03.
93 It is not possible to indicate the size of the collection or even the gallery, but as Anjum Rehmani (1994) notes the Islamic collection previous to this was confined to a single showcase formed in 1910-11.
generic application of ‘Muslim culture’, in which the gallery was an ‘...historic event in the life of the Museum...This gallery housed all the treasure of Islamic Arts and Crafts spreading over the wide range of the objects which are truly reflective of Muslim Art and genius.’,\textsuperscript{94} was unclear about cultural or geographical limits that it represented. This would lead one to believe that perhaps it was a first step in thinking about a new identity for the museum, in response to other exhibitions in Pakistan on a similar theme of Islamic heritage from the late 1950’s, and so a need was felt for the museum to participate and have a permanent display along these lines.\textsuperscript{95}

However, more likely this development was a case of using objects already present in the museum to fit a new ‘theme’ that needed to be propagated, namely the Muslim identity of Pakistan. It is important to realize that rather than religion per se being depicted in the new gallery, an identity label was attached to the museum attempting to divorce it from its previous character. Attempts at this subtle tweaking of the collection’s meanings would have extended to the entire museum as old collections - objects of ‘art and craft’ were incorporated into a new mode of representation. An uncanny quality was thus imparted to the objects during this re-coding, where ‘art and craft’ became a signifier of the ideological rhetoric of Pakistani identity, whilst continuing to embrace the logic of the encyclopaedic museum. This ambiguity about the ‘meaning’ of these objects continues today, Mr Shoaib Ahmed, the Islamic Gallery In-charge, stated that:

First of all this gallery, despite its name, is not a reflection of Islam as such but actually represents Islamic arts and crafts. I remember when I took over this gallery and had a look round I wondered why this gallery was called the Islamic Gallery when it contained musical instruments and had nothing specifically to do with the religion except a few Qu’rans. But when you think of it in terms of art and craft then the name makes sense and even the musical instruments, as they are used in qawali. So it should really be the Islamic Arts and Crafts Gallery but this is the name given to it when it first came into being so it has stuck.\textsuperscript{96}


\textsuperscript{95} During 1957-58, an International Exhibition of Muslim Art and Culture was held in the Fort, Lahore, as part of the International Islamic Colloquium. Later in 1965, an Exhibition of Muslim Art and Architecture was held in Karachi.

\textsuperscript{96} Interview and Gallery tour with Shoaib Ahmed on 07.11.02.
This discrepancy between the gallery name and the displays that Mr Shoaib Ahmed conveys as a conceptual unease also suggests a problem in the representation of Islam as an objective display, since Islam is conceived of as a set of practices rather than orthodox beliefs. The exhibiting of Islam as an aesthetic, a style, form or look is possible, in other words as art and craft but not as religion. The Islamic Gallery neatly exemplifies a conflict that emanates from the convergence of two stages of the Lahore Museum - colonial and national, whereby an uncertain rawness surrounds the actual meaning of objects, which ideological discourse can hide but not control other interpretations (see Chapter 4).

A quick look at some displays present in the gallery makes this disjuncture apparent. Many of display cases have items that date to the eighteenth/nineteenth century such as embossed and engraved metal-ware, enamel work, papier-mâché, smoking hookay (pipes), lacquer ware, glass mosaic, footwear, woollen and silk embroideries, ivory/mother of pearl/horn objects, jewellery, glazed pottery from Multan and Bahawalpur, and carpets made in Multan Central Jail. Other objects include a sixteenth century Sozni piece that depicts the birth of Christ, sixteenth century stone inscriptions from the tomb of pir Hasan Balkhi from Lahore as well as Sikander Lodhi, a seventeenth century carpet, letters and orders of Mughal and Sikh eras and a small fifteenth century Durrani period cannon. It becomes impossible to construct a coherent narrative out of the eclectic mix of objects that have been displayed other than as vestiges made under Muslim patronage/rule, for a Muslim ruler or about a Muslim person. Interestingly enough it is evocation of industrial art, as a connotation of a definitive style, that allows for conceptual unification based on aesthetics. Within a political framework, this quality is extrapolated to symbolize the glories of Islam as a religion and richly creative civilization having a prolonged existence in South Asia since the seventh century.

Returning to initial efforts to reform the ‘old Museum’ what took place overall was a general tidying up, addition of a new gallery and shuffling around the other galleries.

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97 As a point of clarification, I would like to note that all labels in the gallery as elsewhere in the Museum bear only a generic date that refers to a century nothing more specific is given.
By 1967, this initial restructuring of the Lahore Museum was complete and the museum was inaugurated by the then President of Pakistan Field Marshal Ayub Khan on the 27th November 1967. This restart for the ‘new’ museum with hindsight is referred to as creating ‘...a principal repository of objects relating to the cultural heritage of Pakistan and other regions.’ (2000:3). However, it is unlikely that the museum at this time could have practically imbibed the wholesome nationalist vision even if it was influential as an ideology, since attention was focused on getting the museum back into a working order with the main change being the Islamic Gallery. At best, it seems the leftovers from collections after Partition were re-displayed midst the little resources available for cultural ventures: the museum at that time was not a prime recipient of large-scale investment from the government. Under Ayub Khan’s military regime (1958-69), development was concerned with modernization and socio-economic reforms that would aid national improvement by alleviating problems of housing, health and transport; although Ayub Khan was interested in culture and media as political propaganda with an imposition of censorship. This state control did not extend to the Lahore Museum as no collections were discarded or banned, seeming unfit for a national culture, and so other than the introduction of the Islamic Gallery no major changes took place. Yet, the terminology and rhetoric around the museum was beginning to be laced with a sense of responsibility as a cultural symbol of Pakistan. Simultaneously at this point, the museum administration also shifted, since Partition control had oscillated between the Director of Education, Lahore and the Education Department of Punjab Government, but in 1969, the museum was given the status of an autonomous body under a Board of Governors with B.A. Kureshi as its first Chairman. Just as structures of governance, economics and social management were being formulated in Pakistan, so too the museum was being slowly re-structured to index the nation at least in discourse, if not in form.

Nearing the end of Syed M. Taqi’s curatorship at the Lahore Museum in the 1970’s, among other overhauls there were two additional changes to the museum’s galleries

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98 This refurbishment of the Lahore Museum can be taken as part of a general move in the mid 1960’s and early 1970’s when many of Pakistan’s museums were extended and some built. The only comprehensive list of museums in Pakistan up to 1989 is a Pamphlet that was published by The Pakistan Society of Archaeology and Museum, authored by Dr Dar.
99 In relation to cinema see Gazdar (1997).
100 This transfer took place under the West Pakistan Government Educational and Training Institutions Ordinance of 1960 (Kureshi 1994:4).
that were highly visible and worth noting as they conspicuously branded the museum as Pakistani. The first of these was the creation of the Independence Movement Gallery in 1973 on the first floor of the museum.\textsuperscript{101}

**Independence Movement Gallery:** Today this gallery charts the history of the Pakistan Movement mainly through the workings of the All India Muslim League (AIML) and its stalwarts. Over 2000 images are said to be exhibited including reproductions of photographs, drawings, paintings, portraits, and etchings - the originals are not displayed for fear of damage by the ‘excess’ of visiting public who veer towards tactile consumption;\textsuperscript{102} there are also original front pages of the *Inquilab* newspaper, documents and letters. This visual excess of the gallery is beneficial in that it provides easy access to the narrative on display that putatively links modern South Asian politics to the larger scope of Muslim nationalism as rooted in the end of the Mughal Empire and the actions of Tipu Sultan in South India: the first text panel states the gallery charts ‘...200 years of the Independence struggle.’. The overarching dogma that controls the sequence of image presentation is one that naturalizes the emergence of Pakistan, as something necessitated by the relegation of Muslims to secondary position in comparison to ‘others’ culminating in the two-nation theory. Propagators of this vision that eventually led to the Pakistan Movement are celebrated in the gallery such as Sir Syed Ahmad Ali Khan, Allama Iqbal, Mohammed Ali and Fatima Jinnah. The reasons behind the construction of this gallery are transparent, signs of nationalist activity and history needed to be inserted into the Lahore Museum to avert ambiguity\textsuperscript{103} over its cultural value as an institution of Pakistan. This new gallery, along with the Islamic one, commentate on the ideology behind Pakistan and their introduction created an umbrella under which other collections could be anchored and imbued with meaning as history, art, and antiquity of Pakistan - part of its heritage and roots.

\textsuperscript{101} Interview with Anjum Rehmani (07.06.03). The museum was a single storey building, but under B.A. Kureshi’s chairmanship, a first floor was added to part of the museum, which the Freedom Gallery occupies.

\textsuperscript{102} Interview with Mr Asim Rizwan on 19.11.02.

\textsuperscript{103} I will deal with the issue of ambiguity in relation to museum staff and more importantly visitor interpretations of the objects later in Chapter 4. Suffice to say that nationalist dogma of the Independence Gallery referred to here ends up being just one of meanings taken away regarding the ‘value’ of the museum and specific collections or objects.
It is worth noting the precise nature of nationalist history charted out in the gallery as this reveals the extent to which the museum adheres to official political discourse on this topic or whether it attempts to contest this. The political history that is traced out, visualized, and suggested in the Independence Movement Gallery is presented in a series of ‘stages’, starting with the eighteenth century until Independence, in which Muslim identity in India is shown as politically virulent and in opposition to ‘others’- at first the British then the Hindus/Sikhs. Visual clarity is established in iconic images of various stages and personalities that are emblazoned on the walls of the gallery testifying to the ‘struggle’ of Muslim nationalism and later the creation of Pakistan. The current Gallery In-charge- Mr Asim Rizwan (also APRO I) underscored this in his opinion on the gallery:

The gallery looks at the personalities of the Freedom Movement….we try to show photographs that are not present in any other place and so have unique photographs…..to show the contribution of various individuals so that the youngsters of today can be educated…..[The Public] can see a complete film of the Pakistan Movement here, they can see the whole picture and all the public involved. Also the life histories of Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Iqbal are presented and since they are our heroes, [the public] can see who they were.

This gallery is the most factual of all with large text panels in Urdu expounding a paradigm that is entirely didactic and biased towards glorifying the nation’s struggle for existence. Textually this is explicated on 24 panels interspersed between images elucidating a specific version of events with the first set of panels dealing with the ‘Revolutionary Period 1757-1856’. These first hundred years earmark the end of the Mughal Empire, Islamic expansion and the establishment of the East India Company’s political ambitions at the 1757 Battle of Plassey. The text interprets these events simultaneously as the decline of Muslim power and the instigation of Muslim nationalism by religious movements and ‘patriotic’ individuals such as Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in the four-year war at Seringapatam; the latter is exalted as a primordial

104 I was told by Dr Anjum Rehmani - a former Director of the Lahore Museum (1998-2001) that it was under him that this chaptering of the gallery took place. Interview with Dr Anjum Rehmani on 07.06.03.

105 On the whole the gallery is geared towards elucidating ‘personalities’ or key figures and this is in a similar vain to the way history is narrativized and illustrated in school textbooks. In the centre of one portion of the gallery are cases in which are displayed some belongings of Mohammed Ali Jinnah such as a typewriter, teapot, pipe, watch, Muslim League badges.

106 In an interview with Mr Asim Rizwan on 19.11.02.

107 I would like to thank Fouzia Kanwal (APRO II) for her patience and help in translating these text panels to me.
nationalist and freedom fighter. This early Muslim nationalism is interpreted as foundational and influential on efforts of the later organization of the Pakistan Movement; both are united as opposed to the ‘other’ - self ‘Muslims of India’ versus the ‘other’. This slant permeates the remaining text at the juncture of the 1857 ‘War of Independence’, which is reduced to a battle between anti-Muslim British/Hindu collaboration and the ‘patriots’ (‘mujahidin’) who defended Islam.

The next section in the gallery examines the ‘modernization’ of Muslim nationalism in the work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan under his Aligarh Movement and the outline for the two-nation theory, which took on political expediency with the formation of the AIML in 1906. Representation from this point onwards focuses squarely on the AIML’s manifestoes, meetings and particularly the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah after he joined the party. The pictorial and textual presentations together examine various key moments in the life of the AIML, its dealings with the British, Congress, and the key-stage passing of Lahore Resolution on 23rd March 1940 that invigorated the struggle of the Muslims as a qaum. The contribution of women and student wings of the AIML is also noted in the creation of Pakistan, whose birth is depicted by images of refugees moving across the Wagah border. Again this moment is propagandized, the narrative informing that this was a result of ‘Hindu/Sikh’ agitation alone rather than a tragedy inflicted on both sides of the new border. The last image in the gallery is a large painting showing Jinnah making a speech with Lord Mountbatten in the background, and a Pakistani flag, said to be the one hosted by Fatima Jinnah in Lawrence Gardens in Lahore, stands firmly beside it signalling the victory of what this gallery epitomizes as a Muslim struggle for Pakistan.

The political scene of the time was dominated by a period of democracy following Pakistan’s first elections in 1970, which saw the dawn of the ‘Populist’ politics of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1971-77). Bhutto’s Pakistan People’s Party promoted Islamic socialism, land and labour reforms and most of all encouraged nationalisation of industry and banks. The next major addition to the Lahore Museum in the 1970’s was linked to the cultural expression of this nationalisation – in the mural work of Sadequain, whose work already adorned many other public and national spaces of
Pakistan. Sadequain’s imprint on the museum has left an unparalleled visual impact - less pedagogic or directly assertive in meaning, the ceiling mural in the Central Gallery (Miniature Paintings Gallery) was painted on chipboard in 1973. The mural is composed of 48 separate panels that cover the entire ceiling and from below appears as a multitude of concentric circles, stars and rotating rings in blues, oranges and browns. This celestial vision is a meditation on verse from the national poet - Allama Iqbal: *Sitaron say agay jahan aur bhi hain* (Beyond the stars there are other worlds). This is inscribed in the mural itself though not easy to decipher amongst the explosive and dynamic movement depicted that investigates the development of man in relation to issues of time, science, knowledge, and evolution; concluding with the word *aaj* (today) with a pair of hands holding the world. The mural’s dense iconography - philosophical, poetic, religious, and political, operates on many levels of meaning, and for official interpretation the mural along with other Qu’ranic calligraphy by Sadequain in the Islamic Gallery expresses not so much artistic expression as veneration of Muslim identity and Pakistani creativity. The mural as a mode of mass communication serves the purpose outlined by Satish Gujral (1997), who sees this form of art as fusing aesthetics with social commentary and political satire, being a visual inspiration for movements of social change. However, in the late 1970’s social change in Pakistan took a jaundiced trajectory that was not liberating for society, so how did it bode for continuing change and interpretation of the Lahore Museum?

Between 1977-88 Pakistan was under the Martial Rule of Zia-ul-Haq and his quest for Islamization of society, perhaps Sadequain’s pictorial commentary whose finale - *aaj* in the form of a hammer and sickle, pre-empted satire on this situation. Sadequain’s Qu’ranic calligraphy at the Lahore Museum though executed during Zulfiqar Bhutto’s era paradoxically also fitted the stringent conceptualization of Pakistani culture in Zia-

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Sadequain (1930-1987) was one of Pakistan’s prolific and distinctive modern painters, who was wholly self-taught and is remembered today especially for his murals in public places such as the Lahore Museum. His other murals include the ones in, Karachi Airport (1957), Head Office of State Bank in Karachi, Mangla Mural (1962). In 1967 he painted 4 murals for buildings in Lahore - 2 for the Punjab University Auditorium, 1 for University Library and 1 for Punjab Public Library. From 1969, Sadequain devoted his work to calligraphy, in 1972 he wrote *Surat Yaseen* from the Qu’ran on wood panels and donated it to the Lahore Museum - this 260 ft calligraphy has been affixed to the display cabinets as panelling above the glass in the Islamic Gallery. Between 1969 and 1985 Sadequain lived and worked in Lahore and donated more work, other than the main mural, the Lahore Museum gained the *Asma-ul-Husna* (the 99 beautiful names of Allah) in 1969 and further calligraphy in which the Qu’ranic Verses of *Surat Rehman* were calligraphed into separate panels; the museum also holds some of his earlier figural paintings.
ul-Haq’s version of an Islamic society governed by Shari’at laws. This was the first time that such a politicized religious mandate endeavoured to produce a unified nation as an Islamic monolith; the ideology had been there but no attempt at holistic intervention.\(^\text{109}\) Zia justified his position and right to implement these changes by stating it was divine ordination to him so that he could oversee the realization of Pakistan’s Islamic identity; for him the key to social stability and national unity.

Although this was the first time that nationalist ideology influenced policymaking and social re-structuring of Pakistani society in a puritanical manner, its success was marred by the marginalization of social sectors\(^\text{110}\) and a rise in sectarianism and sub-nationalism. This era was also restrictive and counter-productive for the arts and culture of Pakistan, especially in terms of creativity. Salima Hashmi (1997) has examined this in relation to the visual arts and notes the detrimental effects of stringent shift in policy from Zulfiqar Bhutto’s populist ideals and patronage of a wide variety of arts to the polar opposite of ‘cleansing’ art forms to instil pure Islamic aesthetics under Zia.\(^\text{111}\)

During the 1980’s the Lahore Museum also gained other additional galleries - one such gallery was formed in 1983 through internal division of the Islamic Gallery that extracted Islamic manuscripts and specimens of calligraphy and exhibited them in a corresponding gallery entitled Manuscripts and Calligraphy. The creation of this gallery was a pragmatic necessity for the museum as this was one area of collection growth with an active accessioning policy for Islamic manuscripts.\(^\text{112}\) Obviously, this policy when contextualized within the Zia climate of the 1980’s is not at all unexpected, as it allowed reinforcement of an Islamic image in the museum;\(^\text{113}\) thus legitimating another ‘Islamic’ gallery. In 1984, another two galleries opened that were not inhibited by the prevailing ideological restraints but fitted a generic nationalist

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\(^{109}\) See Jamal Malik (1996) who examines the relationship various religious groups, factions and ideologies in relation to the idea of Pakistan.

\(^{110}\) See Anita Weiss (1993) for an account on the transformation of the Women’s Movement during Zia’s rule.

\(^{111}\) The imposition of an Islamic ‘code’ of conduct in terms of artistic representation often centres on the use of figural and particularly facial representation and the Zia regime is exemplary in applying this rule, where art essentially become a textual art form of calligraphy. For an cogent exposition on this topic with reference to the Bamiyan Buddha see Flood (2002); and in relation to the female figure and its representation in Pakistani popular culture see Batool (2004).

\(^{112}\) Today the museum holds around 1500 manuscripts, also manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, and Turkish.

\(^{113}\) In an Interview with Dr Dar 10.03.03.
genre. The first was the Contemporary Crafts of Pakistan, which was based on relocation of objects from the redundant Industrial Arts Museum in Chuburji, Lahore. The gallery today exhibits a mix of crafts similar to those displayed elsewhere in the museum, with no clear denotation of origin or date. Simply the craft type is labelled - so there are objects of lacquer-ware, papier-mâché, copper and brassware, silver jewellery, even taxidermy and models of birds with visual differentiation from crafts displayed in the General or Islamic galleries being moot. When I asked the current Gallery In-charge - Mr Ishfaq Cheema, about the nature of this gallery he was only able to confirm that all objects were contemporary as they were not antiquities, mostly made after the 1950’s by ‘some artists’. The third ‘gallery’ was the Stamps Gallery, essentially a small room in which stamps and first day covers of Pakistan Post are displayed in chronological order from 1947 to 1981, with a separate case that holds a special series of stamps issued as ‘Pioneers of Freedom’. Rather than confer assessment on the usefulness of the Stamps and Contemporary Craft galleries, what I want to point out here is that both these galleries are in close proximity to the Independence Movement Gallery and Pakistan Coin’s Gallery, forming a conglomeration in the museum that explicitly visualizes Pakistani culture and nation. From an architectural point of view, this part of the Lahore Museum on the first floor forms a neat section in which ‘new’ postcolonial galleries are housed that explicitly trace a chronological history of the nation through material forms such as stamps and coins. Other sections, although not directly linked to any political manifesto have emerged out of older collections that could also fit into the national identity rubric, such as the Ethnological Gallery III or the Contemporary Paintings Gallery, in which most of the work was collected under B.A. Kureshi’s chairmanship. The former in particular aspired to accommodate a unity in diversity theme, taking a mixture of climes and provinces to exhibit the characteristic material culture of these regions of Pakistan.

By the late 1990’s, the Lahore Museum had expanded from its seven galleries in 1947 into eighteen sections, a gradual process over 45 years or so, guided in part by the

114 Interview with Mr Ishfaq Cheema on 11.11.03.
115 It is worth noting here that both the Contemporary Crafts and Stamps Galleries are considerably smaller in size to the galleries on the lower floor of the museum.
116 In my interview with Mr Asim Rizwan (19.11.03).
117 The collection/display of coins can be traced to the colonial era, however it is unclear when the collection was moved to this part of the museum; but it was chronologically re-ordered in 2002 Interview with Miss Naushaba Anjum on 20.11.02).
shifting political ideals of the nation. At one level the Islamic Gallery, Independence Movement Gallery, Sadequain's calligraphy, Manuscripts Gallery symbolize how the museum has embraced a ‘correct’ political standard that tries ideologically to create an integrated Pakistani society, by creating a visual Islamic resonance. However, what is inescapable is the way in which the Lahore Museum has bypassed total control from any political regime, through a ‘front’ that proclaimed adherence. The glaring presence of many objects in the museum today that have their origins in the colonial era indicate just how much the museum escaped the radical ‘cleansing’ that could have quite easily set about removing non-Islamic collections or ‘images’ such as figural representations - pictorial, as displayed in the Contemporary Art Gallery or ‘idols’ in Hindu/Jain(a) and Buddhist or Gandhara Galleries. The Lahore Museum remained beyond the grips of grand political ambition, and whilst exhibiting conformist signs, it could glide in and out of the various themes given to nationalism and democracy in the different political eras of Pakistan; the majority of which were anything but elected. These slippages cannot be taken as a form of resistance, intentional contestation or evasion of political ideology by the Lahore Museum, perhaps this position of the museum was a result of inconsistent investment, museological engagement, and interest by the Government and in the main professionalism in the museum. Interestingly, though it has allowed the Lahore Museum to acknowledge a representational democracy of Pakistan’s complex history and heritage that is elusive in other nation-building projects or ideals.

Clearly changes since Partition have been made as examined above, but equally there have been many hindrances, the obvious being, shortage of funding, space, expertise and vision, supplemented by the instability of the socio-political arena beyond the museum. Alterations and re-organization of the material collections in the Lahore Museum have taken place rather than a total revamp of the museum, collections such as the Pre-historic Collections or Gandhara have also being incorporated as primordial history of the nation. The erratic and abrupt shifts in political ideology have led to

\[\text{118} \text{It took Pakistan almost 24 years after formation to hold its first General Elections in 1970 under the military government of General Yahya Khan. Pakistan’s political history is plagued by a lack of democracy with almost 24 years under military bureaucracy, and continues under the current administration under President Musharraf who became President in 2001.} \]

\[\text{119} \text{The brief period of democratic politics — Benazir Bhutto (1988-90, 1993-96) and Nawaz Sharif (1990-3, 1997-99), that was followed by the Musharraf regime did not cause much change in the Lahore Museum. Benazir Bhutto’s government instigated a popular Islamist basis of Pakistan and promoted its origins in the Indus Civilization. Such musing by the National Commission on History} \]
additions of new sporadic narratives in the form of the Islamic Gallery or Independence Gallery: though nationalist at heart they have increased the eclectic feel of the museum since the majority of the museum remains largely untouched. In a very effective and simple way the fickle nature of some of these changes is illustrated in a comment made by Dr Dar: ‘...when the PPP [Pakistan People’s Party] were in power they had to put a picture of Bhutto and his father in the Pakistan Gallery and then when Bhutto was ousted people started saying why is his picture there and so it had to be taken down.’.  

THE POSTCOLONIAL PRESCRIPTIVE: PERSONALITIES AND IDEOLOGIES

The Lahore Museum and its objects today are enmeshed within a different set of global and local networks to the ones that propagated its beginnings, severed by the cultural effects of Partition in 1947, what remains fascinating about the museum is the resilience of colonial archive and mode of representation. The majority of the collections, although shifted around, still signify a previous reality, perhaps this is what comes with historical insight, but for those who visit they are still curiosities, and those who work with the objects now they are ‘culture’, but of the past no longer a present. It is this projection of antiquity that has been utilized as an ‘image’ to create narratives of history and heritage that has occupied the majority of changes and developments in the Lahore Museum in its national life so far, interspersed by signs alluding to nationalism.

I have been interested in exploring these changes and the personalities that brought about change - material and discursive, around the museum in its attempt to rehabilitate itself from the dramatic events of Partition that not only altered the face of society in South Asia but also set about instigating a need to materially justify these events as cultural nationalisms. As a result, the succeeding nation of Pakistan was engaged in visualizing its national identity and interpreting coherent roots for its existence. These were and are the main preoccupations of cultural policy particularly at times of military rule in Pakistan; when pedagogic dogma prevailed. The museum once again is the

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and Culture lead to the publication of The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan (1996) by A. Ahsan who was Benazir’s Interior Minister during her first term (Talbot:2000:213).

120 Interview with Dr Dar on 10.01.03.
place where such nationalist interventions have materialized, even if sporadically, so that they no longer remain simply cognitive imaginations. However, the Lahore Museum was never engaged in a total abandonment of its previous identity, instead the colonial sedimentation has persisted and today forms the ‘antiquities’ that confer cultural capital and prestige to the museum. From the 1960’s onwards the museum was introduced to elements of Pakistani identity in the displays of new galleries for its visitors/citizens. This can be thought of as inclusive politics but it must be remembered that the colonial archive has not permitted a total conversion; national ideology or government agendas could not permeate the museum to remove this accumulation of the museum’s past that existed prior to Pakistan itself. This leaves the Lahore Museum with a strange eclectic feel that somehow feeds into retaining the other colonial label acquired by the Lahore that is equally persistent – the Ajaib Ghar. Yet, the wonder house cannot be deemed a failure, in fact this very quality attracts the curious public to its galleries (see Chapters 4 & 5), and for curators the almost heterodox mixture of display gives a sense of pride that is evident when showing VVIPs the vast range of cultural antiquities of Pakistan and beyond that the museum possesses.

Specific political eras brought about their own engagement with the museum as I have shown, but they are all united in attempts to create value and give agency to the museum as a subjective space where the ‘self’ (nation) could be displayed without opposition. Although ideologically this was possible, it is difficult even today to grasp this when visiting the Lahore Museum: there is the Independence Movement Gallery that shouts nationalism with extensive displaying of images of Quaid-i-Azam or Allama Iqbal, but largely the nationalist ventures have incomplete signification. Fragments of nationalism are present within what can be seen as the colonial shadow that has been so difficult for the Lahore Museum to overthrow; it dominates. The political meta-narratives that are exhibited in the museum are unambiguous ideologically, yet, when placed amongst the other collections; they are incomplete signifiers (Bhabha 1994). At best, the process of change that took place at the Lahore Museum is a type of bricolage, whereby the colonial objects loosely connote the Pakistani nation and identity as heritage. Out of the eighteen sections, eight can be classified as national and only three have totally new collections – Independence, Stamps and Contemporary Craft

121 Islamic Gallery, Independence Movement Gallery, Contemporary Paintings Gallery, Contemporary Craft Gallery, Stamps, Islamic Manuscripts Gallery, Coins Gallery, Ethnological Gallery III.
galleries, all the others may have been added to but rely old colonial objects. The postcolonial prescription fails to remove the ambiguous meaning of the majority of objects in the museum, especially if one projects Pakistani identity singularly around Islamic culture and history.

In this respect, there is no linear progression from colonial to postcolonial representation as predicted by Euro-American museology; the colonial archive is stubbornly untranslatable. Instead, there is an accretion of new meanings onto the same objects with the national being another layer of meaning on the museum palimpsest. I have tried to show here that if the postcolonial label is understood in conjunction with the socio-political reality in which the museum is present, museums like the Lahore Museum are not harbourers of dust but complex institutions where history and politics are more than representational narratives. The postcolonial museum is revealed to be recursive and operating in an in-between space that does not separate the colonial and national, which in South Asia was fractured by the events of Partition, and as yet are not beyond living memory.

I remember on my first day at the Lahore Museum I was quickly made aware of an event in its history whose recollection brought forth feelings of possessiveness that museums feel for their objects; explicitly said to 'belong' to them, their society and their nation. These views prevail especially if part of a collection or a prized object is displaced from the museum, as occurred in the Lahore Museum during its transformation into a postcolonial museum of the Pakistani nation. I then realized the pertinence of Partition for the museum when Mrs Nusrat Ali122 asked if I had ever visited the Chandigarh Museum. Unfortunately, I was to disappoint her, I had not visited it, and this reply seemed to dash her hopes of hearing about objects in that museum. I was intrigued to find out why she had shown such zeal in asking me about the Chandigarh Museum when most people usually enquired after museums of the West. At that time, I did not fully comprehend the significance of Mrs Ali's query and it was only later that the reasons behind her interest materialized. As it turned out it was an attempt on her behalf to access information and not random chitchat: an effort to delve into the current use of what she subsequently referred to as once part of 'our'

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122 At a meeting with Mrs Nusrat Ali (17.09.02).
collections that at the time of Partition were handed over to India. Usually accessioning of objects by a museum, considered as moments of growth dominate work on museum collections and displays. Yet, here I was presented with the reverse process of de-accession, an area much less focused upon when it can be equally politically and culturally motivated as it was for the Lahore Museum during the Partition of Punjab.

At one level, this was ‘innocent’ questioning, however, as it transpired this was a fundamental desire to suture old relationships with objects that in the past belonged to the Lahore Museum and now exist only as part of its historical memory. What struck me most about this encounter was the personal connection and longing for the objects Mrs Ali termed as ‘part our collections’ that paradoxically are still somehow seen as an extension of the Lahore Museum; its ‘inalienable possessions’ (Weiner 1992) that were alienated and now exist as part of a new set of cultural and political frameworks. It seems that the division of objects, like Partition itself, left a scar on the memory of the museum just as on society, and for the Lahore Museum engenders sentiments of denial, of conceptually achieving what would otherwise be a ‘complete’ museum – a museumized aporia. The persona of the Lahore Museum as a cultural symbol of the nation was ‘written’ following the birth of Pakistan out of the political and cultural upheaval at the end of colonial rule; the Pakistani nation now is one of ‘transcendent truths’ but the Lahore Museum’s postcolonial narratives and existence is not so panegyric.

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123 This is more pertinent in contemporary South Asia where despite the transnational flows (Appadurai 1996) of information and images via media there remains a lack of exchange on cultural/research information including the museum’s displaced artefacts. The political climate is changing with the thawing of relations in between India and Pakistan, after the defeat of the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) and election of India’s first non-Hindu Prime Minister – Manmohan Singh on 22nd May 2004.
CHAPTER FOUR

Visiting the Museum: Curiosity about the Ajaib Ghar?

As he drummed his heels against Zam-Zammah he turned now and again from his king-of-the-castle game with little Chota Lal and Abdullah the sweetmeat-seller's son, to make a rude remark to the native policemen on guard over the row of shoes at the museum door. The big Punjabi grinned tolerantly: he knew Kim of old. So did the water-carrier, sluicing water on the dry road from his goatskin bag. So did Jawahir Singh, the museum carpenter, bent over new packing-cases. So did everybody in sight except the peasants from the country, hurrying up to the Wonder House to view the things that men made in their own province and elsewhere. The museum was given up to Indian arts and manufactures, and anybody who sought wisdom could ask the Curator to explain.

Rudyard Kipling (1901:11-12)

My country cousins, Roshan and Chaman, have come on a pilgrimage to the City of Lahore. I am asked to take them to Ajaib Ghar (museum) and Chidhia Ghar (zoo), the chief attractions on the itinerary of every visitor, and also show them the sights of the Mall popularly known as Thandi Sarak...We hire a tonga on an hourly basis...proceed towards Gol Bagh, making our first stop at the famous museum, which is one of Lahore's proud possessions...it has a vast collection of antiquities, art objects, paintings, etc. As we pass through its galleries, my country cousins are wonderstruck by the size and range of the exhibits.

Pran Nevile (1997:46-47)

WANDERING VISITORS

The magnetism of the Ajaib Ghar, attracting visitors from afar that Kim witnesses in Kipling's novel, as well as the 'wonderstruck' captivation of Nevile's cousins in the quotes above, reveal a popularity and dynamism that effuses around the expectation of visiting the Lahore Museum. Today, from the early morning various groups of friends, family, couples and truants still make their way to the museum to revisit, inquire anew or while away a few hours in the much-famed Ajaib Ghar of Lahore.1 The dormant

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1 Visitor numbers for 2002/03, collated by the museum reveal that there were 324,978 visitors to the Lahore Museum (July 2002 to August 2003). The only breakdown available is that 3,126 were
galleries become alive with their echoes and movement - scuffling feet, jangling payal (anklets), whispers, laughter and discussion, as they snake round the museum. Some scuttle from one display to another in the hope to catch a glimpse of everything on their museum march, whilst others are absorbed by an object and try to decipher a meaning at length. Rarely is the Lahore Museum a temple of silent contemplation that is espoused by the rules of ‘proper’ museum visiting habits in the west; where any divergences are referred to as naive misconceptions of the institution. Instead, visitors at the Lahore Museum in a very striking manner imbricate themselves as an essential part of the museum that is hard to ignore. The museum then is not just inhabited by object collections and curatorial - ownership or manipulation, but by the transient viewers of the objects who enter the museum with their own set of ideas, motivations and desires. Visitor experience and discourse run parallel to those of the objects and institutional ideology and cannot be assumed to replicate either; visitors have their own agendas. This becomes ever more significant in the South Asian context where the idea of a museum, as a colonial introduction, had a double ‘translation’, one for the colonial authorities and another for the local public – past and present. It is to the local appropriation/resistance of this global technology that I want to attend here, teasing out what may appear on the surface to be misunderstandings, when in actuality they are viable alternatives in conceptualizing the meaning of the museum in South Asia; not as exotic other but as other ways of experiencing this cultural space locally. Do visitors seek out the ‘wisdom’ Rudyard Kipling (1901:12) suggests or the proud possessions of Lahore, or perhaps the nation’s culture/identity? Then again, maybe they are interested in different readings altogether that accommodate an eclectic mix of these – refusing some and reifying others?

In the Hindu, Jain(a) and Buddhist Gallery, a father leads his family around the gallery, with wife and children in tow, to whom he relates what is exhibited in the cases with such authority that his quick sideways glances to read some labels go unnoticed. The

foreigners; thus on average the museum had 27019 visitors a month, the highest - 33999 in August 2002.

Visitors here include those visiting the Lahore Museum other than students/college students on school trip. However, I do include any student or college student who happened to be visiting on their own.

See Chapters 1 and 2 for colonial collections and Chapters 3 for postcolonial representation of collections in the Lahore Museum.

See Appendix 1 for a sense of the relationship between the collections and the Officers-in-charge/Keepers.
father does not pass these sly knowledge acquisition skills to his children, instead is content to bask in his illusory superiority. On the other side of the gallery a couple of middle-aged men walk around engrossed in animated dialogue about what they are viewing, preferring to stand back, point and inquisitively question each other asking ‘Yeh kya hai?’ (‘What is this?’). The Buddhist shrine from Burma, which takes up one of the far walls in the gallery, is partially obscured by visitors posing in front of it to have their photograph taken; exposing its aesthetic appreciation as a beautiful backdrop.5 A trio of schoolboys stand giggling at the nudity on display in some of the sculptures, and other children unable to resist the open space, run about. One little girl clad in a green and metallic gold patterned frock summons her nayi bhajee (new sister) over, whose intricately hennaed hands and shimmering gold rings contrasted well with the relics on display, and simultaneously signalled her recently acquired status as a new bride; the family accompanying the new couple to the museum are not too far behind. A group of young boys make their own way round the gallery with the eldest, about nine or ten years old, boldly tells the others ‘Yeh sab India hai...’ (‘This is all India!’). Stopping at the statue of the Hindu goddess Radha, he confidently asserts: ‘India may aisi sari pehantay hai!’ (‘In India they wear saris like this!’); when one of their mothers joins them to point out a small ivory sculpture of a tree with a snake entangled in its branches asking them ‘Sanp ko dekha, kahan hai?’ (‘Have you seen the snake, where is it?’), the boys just move onto the Tibetan section with the recurrent ‘Bas, sab India hai!’ (‘This is all India!’).

Visitors to the Lahore Museum engage with the visual delights on offer in a varied but active way with the majority concerned to consume as much as is possible before fatigue or boredom sets in, as one friend told another in his group ‘Ahe jugga hai dekhan wastay behtan wathan wastay nahi!’ (‘This place is for looking not for sitting around!’). A minority of visitors use the museum in a way that is less concerned with visual consumption and more with the seclusion it offers - shelter from the public gaze;

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5 There are several such photographic ‘hotspots’ in the museum - the carved wooden doors in the Miniature Gallery, the large wooden doorway in Akbari style in the General Gallery. The life-size proportions of the objects allow the visitor to physically embody them and use them as ‘backdrops’, similar to other heritage/tourist sites in Lahore and Northern Pakistan. See MacDougall (1992) and (Pinney 1997) for the Indian context.
this is the case for what the museum classifies as ‘couples’. However, the conventionally non-intrusive environment of the Lahore Museum retaliates here by setting a time limit of fifteen minutes before such ‘couples’ are asked to move on by gallery attendants; in attempts to prevent what is seen as disruptive and improper behaviour in a public museum. The ‘couples’ recognize this shunning and some make their demands known, as one anonymous visitor commented ‘Security members should not disturb visitors especially “Dates”…Please arrange rooms for couples because [the] security member[s] create problems.’. Not all visitors are equally welcomed by the museum and not all are satisfied either, as one member of a group of men leaving the museum announced ‘Das rupay wi laylithaynay thay has pittal day paanday dekhaiy!!’ (‘They have taken ten rupees and just shown brass utensils!!’). The disappointed visitor however, is eclipsed by the fascination and expectant wonderment that surrounds the Lahore Museum in the perception of the majority of visitors, who approach and use it with this mindset.

Just beyond the museum’s outer fencing, frequently there was a dahi-balay stall and usually someone selling snacks to the families picnicking in the verdant lawns of the museum. During my visits there would also be a man sitting on an old cotton sheet wearing a brightly coloured hat claiming to be a fakir. He sat with a defunct record player and a paper record on the turntable, marked with a multitude of concentric circles and letters; using this ‘computer’, the fakir professed to predict the future of any willing participant. With an invocation of Bismillah he got the customer to spin the record and stop it at will three times, yielding a series of letters significance of which were translated by the fakir’s knowledge into predictions about the past, present and future. In a neat way, this physically personified and strengthened one popular guise of the museum - as the ‘Wonder House’. The atmosphere of ambivalence and uncertainty around the Lahore Museum is built from the outset; the rational is pervaded by the curious, as it did in the past, when anguish around possible misreading(s) of the modern museum as place of wonder and curiosity by the ordinary visitor prevailed.

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6 Increasingly the museum is seen as an opportune meeting place for courting couples to meet beyond the gaze of the general-public much to the concern of the museum; similar ‘hidden’ spaces are sought by couples in other museums (see Elliot (2003) for the Indian Museum, Kolkata).


8 Paul Greenhalgh (1997) mentions similar ‘fair’ like atmosphere at nineteen/twentieth century exhibitions and world fairs.
The cursory description of visitor activity in the museum given so far is indicative enough to suggest that visitors are not mute observers but employ their own agency and creativity in interpreting this cultural institution at a level relevant to their needs. Visitors therefore, just as much as the material collections and curatorial presentations, need to be accounted for in any investigation of the museum, especially in South Asia, where their role is highly visible, palpable and not confined to learning. At times the museum is overcrowded with people vying for the best view of an object that it is impossible to understand what is taking place, as others secretly try to touch an object with gallery attendants admonishing any such attempts berating that: ‘Jitni dair yeh haath na lagalain inko assay lagta hai jessay dekha hi nahi.’ (Unless they touch, they feel as if they have not seen it). However, as the smooth surfaces of artefacts not secured behind glass, such as the Sikri Stupa where the relief work display a sheen accrued from repeated touching and rubbing, evince the objects are not just desired visually they are equally enjoyed through tactility.9 What I hope to show is that in this seeming perception of chaos of misrecognition and disinterestedness, visitors to the Lahore Museum are interpreting and creating meaning that addresses a different set of requirements other than authorized knowledge as learning. In exploring who the visitors are and what meanings they ascribe, or resist, to the objects they see, I do not want to bracket this investigation of the South Asian visitor as part of the recent museological turn that accommodates the active museum visitor or ‘audience’ (Hooper-Greenhill 1995), (see next Chapter); what is important to recognize is that such interpretations are subjective and contingent to the local and contending with the missing visitor in museum analysis - that of the ‘indigenous’ spectator. This redress has to emerge from the historically situated visitor, who so far has mainly been spoken for or written about in South Asia (Prakash 1999), when in fact slippages of visitor interpretation in the colonial discourse show that perhaps formulation of alternative meanings were operating alongside the colonial dogma (Bhabha 1994). It is with the incipient contact between the South Asian public and Lahore Museum during the colonial period that I proceed.

9 And even the tactile vision. See Pinney (a2002) for evocation of this visuality, where he applies Taussig’s critical re-reading of Benjamin (1999) in Mimeses and Alterity, to state the ‘eye as an organ of tactility’ (ibid:355).
REFUSAL OF THE COLONIAL GAZE

It is easier to pay attention to dominant rhetoric, narratives and visions of institutional representation in a museum than to the visitors’ experience and reception in colonial India, more so than today; mainly as evidence relating to the museum public is scant and minimal at best. However, this should not deter or conceal the fact that museums were popular institutions and actively engaged with by the Indian visitor; presenting one arena where equal access was not denied to them. Inferences from clues scribed in annual reports that recorded attendance numbers and comments on visitor behaviour for various museums can help in some reconstruction of this space as utilized by local visitors. Though usually brief, such remarks do enable some insight to be gained about the translation process, or indigenization, of the museum by the mass public in colonial India. Observations by colonial administrators and curators clearly refer to and ‘speak’ of visitors, and in doing so they implicitly recognize the presence of the ‘other’, despite preoccupations of colonial authorities in establishing museums being bound up with mapping India - collecting, displaying and disseminating economic, socio-political, historical and cultural knowledge. Evidently, museums like the Lahore Museum in colonial India were not distanced from the Indian public at large, they were being appropriated, and not just by those with ‘second sight’ (Prakash 1999:34).

In the annual report for 1891-1892, J.L. Kipling states that the Lahore Museum had maintained its popularity with the public who continued to visit.10 Subsequent attendance figures attest to a growing awareness around the museum amongst the Indian visitor, marked by figures ranging from lowest 133,905 in 1893-94 to 600,072 in 1921-22.11 Interestingly enough it is only in the report for the year 1916-17 that European residents of Lahore are stated to have been roused and started visiting the museum frequently and being shown round by the curator.12 This directly leads one to

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10 The Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1891-1892. OIOC V/24/3047.
11 Recorded in the annual reports on the Lahore Central Museum – years 1887-1898, 1916-1917, 1923-44. Unfortunately, there is no breakdown of these figures; though attendance on Zenana Days from 1912-1913 onwards is available. OIOC V/24/3047, V/24/3048.
12 The Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1916-17. OIOC V/24/3048. One reason for this may have been the ‘unscientific’ perception of the museum due to the large numbers of Indian populace visiting. Noticing the stronger attraction for the Victoria and Albert Museum (Bombay) amongst the Indians, the curator Cecil Burns (1903-1918) wrote: ‘...the attraction the Museum has for all classes of the community. Nowhere can so many different types be seen together as in the Galleries...On the other hand the European community do not visit the Museum in large numbers. The
deduce that the majority of visitors up until then to the Lahore Museum must have been from the Indian public and this is corroborated by the highest attendance every year coinciding with local festival days. At the Lahore Museum, this was around Chirangan ka Mela (Fair of Lamps) that took place in Shalimar Gardens or the end of Muharram. Other prominent times were during pilgrimages when pilgrims from Sindh and Multan passed through Lahore on their way to places like Hardwar, as well as at events like the Viceregal Darbar held on 30th November 1894. This surge in the volume of visitors around festival days, led F.H. Andrews to comment on the conduct of the public visiting the Lahore Museum during 1895-96 to be ‘...as usual...good. The rustic visitors are always noisy. Particularly on mela (fair) days, but their behaviour is otherwise invariably orderly.’ A major contributing factor that might have enhanced favouritism towards the museum, other than curiosity, must have been its accessibility to all sections of society that despite being employed in the representation of various colonial agendas did not operate a 'rule of colonial difference' (Chatterjee 1995:18) established in other institutions. The museum it would seem was more committed towards cultivating a democratic space; inhabited by the mutual agency of both colonizer and colonized. At the Lahore Museum, this extended to the female domain with Zenana days being held on the first Monday of every month to allow female visitors, observing purdah or wishing to avoid the unwarranted attention of male visitors, to have a chance of seeing the museum. However, it would appear that the indigenous visitor was not content with simply viewing the exhibits as presented, they differentiated their appropriation from within, by simultaneously enjoying colonial re-

reason for this firstly is that the gardens are more attractive...second no single collection of specimens has been kept with the scientific accuracy and thoroughness to attract professional and amateur scientists...labels were either missing or were altogether wrong, or lack sufficient detailed information to arouse any interest.’ (quoted in the Victoria and Albert Accession Book (1946:155-156)).

13 This increase in numbers of visitors at museums during festival time is reported by other museums also. E.A. D’Abreu states that the Central Museum in Nagpur ‘...makes a strong appeal to the public which at such times as the Dashera festival visits the institution in very large numbers.’ (Report on the Central Museum, Nagpur for the Year 1922-25). In a similar way the highest attendance at the Lucknow Provincial Museum was during Kurttik Purnima where attendance ‘...has always been phenomenally large and gone beyond ten thousand.’ (Annual Report on the Working of the Lucknow Provincial Museum for the Year Ending 31st March 1935).


15 Other exhibitionary spaces were desired to have the same effect and remarks in the opening address of the Honourable Mr Drummond, Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Provinces at the Provincial Exhibition in Agra in 1866 exemplify this: ‘Last, but not least, among the objects of the Exhibition is that of promoting cordiality of feeling and friendly association with one another, of all the numerous classes, European and Native, whom I hoped to attract, and whom I am delighted to see so well represented around me this day.’ (In the General Report of the North West Provinces Exhibition (1868). Lahore Museum Library (LML)).
constructions of their culture but de-constructing the displays from a local perspective, using their own ‘internal’ meanings (Chatterjee 1995).

The Lahore Museum tried to cater for all its visitors and garner public curiosity in the history, culture, arts and science through its displays, thereby attempting to reform and progress society. These late Victorian ideals were instilled amongst the elite and educated Indians who saw immense educational value in the museum for the public; S.N. Gupta’s comments here are instructive:

The Museum is an extremely interesting institution and should always win the affections of the public. It should be constantly improved and made up to date as it has an educational outlook of great value and plays a very important part in the dissemination of knowledge and culture.16

This wish to educate the mass public was not straightforward since it was offset by the fear that learning would be countered by widespread adherence to superstition and irrational beliefs among the Indian public,17 compounded further by illiteracy. It was hoped that the museum’s visual immediacy could act like a ‘book’ for the illiterate, as Dr Bhau Daji Lad – co-founder of the Victoria and Albert Museum remarked at a public meeting held to establish the museum in 1858:

...to the learned especially – and in that we must include the very great majority if our countrymen – a Museum is a book with broad pages and large print, which is seen at least, and by mere inspection teaches somewhat, even if it be not read.18

Any success here was dependent on the alignment of the colonial and Indian gazes, with repetitive exposure thought to be the key in debunking ‘unscientific’ beliefs and opening the eyes of the Indian public to new visions of progress; as noted for the Nagpore Exhibition of 1865:

The Natives cannot understand a new thing, unless it be held before their eyes with something of continuous perseverance. The first time they may wonder; the second time they may understand; the third they may observe with a view to practice.19

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18 Quoted in Prakash (1999:31).
Lahore Museum reports state that visitor conduct was generally 'orderly' and 'good', with only minor disturbances - regular breakages of cabinet glass, remarked to be accidental and some attempts at theft of objects. However, these small acts of 'rustic' behaviour are telling of how the fears of the Indian elite were not baseless. Greatest attendance, as already noted, occurred around festival days and conversely dramatic decline in numbers during a singhat in 1897, which F.H. Andrews stated was an inauspicious year for Hindus' and particularly affected the number of wedding parties visiting.\textsuperscript{20} There were also regular incidents of shoe thefts, clearly meaning that people must have been taking off their shoes before entering the museum; and more so that the museum was not functioning as a popular 'textbook' for the local visitor. Instead, the 'indigenous' gaze was positioning the museum within local Indian connotations of social and cultural realms of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is impossible to say exactly what these were, as it is difficult to find a 'rustic' visitor’s account of a museum visit and so it can only be conjectured that it was a mixture of wanting to see the curious, new, as well as religious affirmation - darshan of gods/goddess for Hindus and viewing religious scriptures for Muslim visitors. As J.L. Kipling writes in relation to the Gandhara sculptures in the Lahore Museum:

\begin{quote}
Much is being written and said of Indian Buddhism, but the bulk of the people have never heard of the great saint; and his numerous statues in the Lahore Museum are as new and strange to the crowds of the native visitors as would be the contents of the Vatican Museum in Rome.\textsuperscript{21}
\end{quote}

The visual and corporeal experience of new exhibitionary space was not limited to the museum but interrelated with ephemeral exhibitions to which 'new names' were ascribed: 'During his tours Mr Temple has found that the returning visitors have spread the news all over these Provinces...In some places a new name, Pradarshan [performance] has been applied to this Occasion, and the word now is in regular use.'\textsuperscript{22} Although one differentiation that separates the two modes is that exhibitions at first were regarded with suspicion in relation to their intent. Visitors to the Nagpur Exhibition (1866), when they first heard of the exhibition '...thought it was a fresh device whereby the British Government intended to replenish its coffers...'.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[22] Report of Nagpore Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Produce, December (1865:23-24). (Home Department Proceedings for the General Department, Proceeding 8th September, 1866, No. 98-100. Punjab Archives).
\item[23] Ibid (1865:9).
\end{footnotes}
Similarly at the North West Provinces Exhibition (1867), it is stated that it had the utmost commitment to avoiding incidents that had given ‘umbrage’ to the ‘Native visitor’ elsewhere.\textsuperscript{24} This mistrust of authority did not appear in relation to museums, where perhaps the permanence of representation and the ability for repeat visits, made it a more familiar place, with favourite sections and objects being discernable. No specific mention is made of the most popular sections at the Lahore Museum though it can be suggested that the attractions included the ethnological section, religious idols and the odd curiosity; as was the case for other museums. Henry Burkhill (Acting Superintendent of the Industrial Section) at the Indian Museum wrote:

\begin{quote}
My figures show that the Ethnologic Court is the most popular in the Industrial Section and experience tells us it is the most popular in the whole Museum. The life size castes and tribes of India, the smaller ceremonies, shoes and hats and musical instruments these attract most...In the Art Court the Bhavnagar House-Front, the Hludaw throne. The Burmese glass-mosaic...ivories and pottery attract most...the carpets do not attract natives of India, though they greatly appeal to Europeans.\textsuperscript{25}
\end{quote}

At the Lucknow Provincial Museum, once again the Ethnological Section is praised for its ability to lure visitors with its ‘tribal artefacts’ of the province and images of gods and goddesses such as the bronze image of Valli that was found most attractive.\textsuperscript{26} This is not just a case of the Indian visitor’s choice, as some museums promoted the image of the ‘wonder house’, such as the Watson Museum in Rajkot;\textsuperscript{27} an advert for which stated that its ‘interesting exhibits’ included – a manuscript written on camel skin, and Italian view carved out on a single stone, a postcard containing 21005 letters, a stone sounding as a bell when struck, a flexible sandstone,\textsuperscript{28} a child with two heads and a life-size portrait of the World’s smallest man.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{24} General Report of the North West Provinces Exhibition. (1868:vii). LML.
\textsuperscript{25} Annual Report of the Indian Museum 1903-1904: Industrial Section (1904). LML.
\textsuperscript{26} Annual Report on the Working of the Lucknow Provincial Museum for the Year Ending 31st March, 1934. LML.
\textsuperscript{27} Annual Report for the Year 1940-41 for the Watson Museum: Rajkot (1942). LML.
\textsuperscript{28} Such ‘curiosities are still highlighted in South Asian museums. A similar sandstone is exhibited in the Economic Section of the Indian Museum, Kolkata.
\textsuperscript{29} Objects thought to be of interest due to rarity or uniqueness were also collected and sent to museums such as the museum of the Nara Ratna Mandir in Indore, where in 1940 tiger foeti and a stone bearing a natural tree design were presented (Annual Report on the Working of the Museum and Nara Ratna Mandir, Indore for the Year 1940.) LML.

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It would appear that the Indian visitor to colonial museums in India was not interested so much in informal education as feasting their eyes on the strange, magical, unique and entertaining, in a similar fashion to what they may have encountered at fairs, pilgrimages and other places of recreation such as the zoological gardens. However, it is also a distinct possibility that this was not just a case of the wandering visitor moving about the museum space hoping to be enchanted by something unusual; the museum experience for the indigenous visitor can be assessed at a more nuanced level.

What is important to realize here is that although visitors to colonial museums are generally portrayed by colonial authority as disorientated, it is simultaneously acknowledged that the objects they engaged most frequently with were those which held some resonance for them. Comments on visitors to the Victoria and Albert Museum, Bombay exemplify this: ‘Interest of visitors of this class lay in that with which they were familiar, especially ethnology and mythology.’ (Fern 1926:9).

Markham and Hargreaves also give an account of ‘indigenous’ resonance following observation of group of visitors:

They were particularly interested in exhibits which fell within their comprehension. They crowded round the cases showing indigenous games, village industries, agricultural operations etc., excitedly named the exhibits, laughed over well-known figures and explained things to one another, their faces wreathed in smiles and themselves enjoying every minute.

Despite this recognition Markham and Hargreaves refrain from giving any validity to this participation stating that visitors still approached the museum as a ‘...peep-show, a wonder house, a mansion full of strange things and queer animals and the main appeal is to the Indian sense of wonder and credulity.’ (1936:61). Colonial observers then continued to situate misreading(s) with the ‘native spectator’, believed to be gullible and misinformed by their own naïve dialectics of seeing, rather than give legitimacy to

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30 The popularity and similarity of visiting patterns of museums and zoological gardens is remarked on by H.P. Tollinton (Financial Commissioner and Secretary to the Development Department of Government of Punjab States): ‘The [Lahore] Museum shares with the Zoological Gardens the premier place in the affections of Lahore sightseers and the numbers of visitors to it during the year was again over half a million.’ (The Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1922-1923. (1923)). OIOC V/24/3048. Certain government officials noted benefits of this, such as those suggested by J.A. Gillian (Superintendent Deputy Commissioner’s Office and acting curator, Lahore Zoo): ‘The Zoo is always full of visitors, especially from the rural areas, and would be an excellent place to set up a propaganda stall on rural reconstruction.’ (Annual Report on the Zoological Gardens, Lahore, For the year ending 31st March, 1935). P.S.L.

31 Markham and Hargreaves (1936:61).
other bodily interpretations that lay beyond a textual or singularized dominant narrative (Bennett 2003). It was the possibility of visual interaction that exceeded reliance on literacy that enabled visitor agency and presented a dilemma for colonial representation; as prescribed textual and visual narratives constructed in the displays were open to negation and other meanings and interpretations (Prakash 1999).

Pleasure for visitors had a definite curious edge to it, although perhaps not in the most obvious and conventional sense of such appreciation. The viewing of objects in the museum context would have educed a ‘strangeness’ for the Indian public, which would have intensified when consolidated with the fact that visitors were seeing a representation of one’s own culture in a new medium – entombed in glass cases. Colonial museums had to face up to these ‘icons of ignorance’ (Prakash 1999:40) who were showing their subjectivity by interpreting objects that were not of an ‘other’ but of Indian culture being viewed by Indians. The situation was then opportune for deviation from the colonial object displays that constructed an image of Indian culture and society with its own imperial agendas, and the appearance of what were perceived as ‘improper’ meanings and viewing experiences by colonial or European reckoning. The culture on display, through the ‘indigenous’ gaze, revealed a neglected existence and meaning of objects that emerged from a living concreteness grounded in a ‘native particularity’ (ibid). This ‘native’ visual appropriation was a disturbance for the projected unity of colonial vision of India, as it expressed an agency that the latter wanted to suppress. It is this intimacy that is exposed in the minor details presented by museum curators in their reports, an ‘indigenous’ appropriation that failed to assimilate, keeping its freedom by not returning the colonial gaze, thus undermining hegemonic authority from the margins (Prakash 1996). This indeterminate figure of the ‘native’ visitor explicitly showed that the museum in colonial India had not been transplanted into an empty space but one of a living culture and society. The realism elicited was not simply of colonial imagination: ‘other realisms’ (Pinney 1998) allowed for other interpretations that had to be contended with.

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32 Markham and Hargreaves (1936) attributed the low rates of literacy (1 in 10) as a contributing factor in the low number of museums in India in 1935, which numbered 105.
33 In a similar way to the experience of the Egyptian visitors at the exhibition in Paris described by Timothy Mitchell (1988).
Visitors to the Lahore Museum continued to confront the museum space with a variety of realisms – the sacred, secular and magical, with increasing force and numbers; in 1923 ‘...the Museum show[ed] no signs of losing its hold on the public.’ The mass appeal among the ‘rustic’ visitor had its administrative uses also, such as in the need to justify calls for the purposes of funding, as Lionel Heath cogitated:

Other cities in India give large sums towards the maintenance of the Museums and are proud to have a “Wonder House” for the benefit of the people...and the crowds that besiege its turnstiles on public holidays show how greatly the people from far afield love the wonders and beauties they can only see in Kipling’s Ajaib Ghar.

This embracing of the visitor by the Lahore Museum Curator in 1926 cannot be taken as a dramatic shift in attitude towards the humble visitor, it was more a case of trying to secure adequate pecuniary funds; demonstrating that at times the Indian visitor was worth counting. Nearing the end of colonial rule and thus administration of museums, the outlook towards the Indian visitor was still heavily laced with distaste. In the eyes of Indian curators, the visitors were a ‘crowd’ whose activities were far from realizing the idealized experience of rational recreation or informal learning in the modern museum. The comments of Zafar Hasan, at the Lahore Museum writing to the Museum Development Committee in 1943, show how ingrained such views regarding the visitor had become within the institution:

...on Sundays, when the Museum opens for half a day...due to free admission and also the observance of holiday on Sunday by the Local shopkeepers, there was always a great rush of aimless visitors, causing great inconvenience to visitors themselves and a considerable difficulty to the Museum staff in maintaining discipline and preserving exhibits from damage.

The Lahore Museum like other public museums in colonial India had difficulty in confronting visitor appropriations and so any aspersions were primarily based on differing ways of seeing between the former and the latter; the museum in this capacity occupied an ‘interstitial’ (Prakash 1999:40) space. In part, this divergence can be taken because of scant interest by colonial curators or educated Indians working in museums;

34 In the review by C.A. Barrow (Financial Commissioner & Secretary to the Government, Punjab – Development Department) of The Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1923-1924. (1924). OIOC V/24/3048.
who simply engaged to produce ideal visitor behaviour. By leaving it wholly to the 
visual efficacy of the museum display, visitor interpretations referred beyond the four 
walls of the museum to other indigenous arenas to comprehend what was being shown 
and so remained a curiosity itself (see Chapter 5). For now, I want to return to the 
present and examine the contemporary situation at the Lahore Museum, examining the 
museum’s relationship with, and opinion of, the visitor. Does it encompass issues of 
identity and cultural heritage or is it still about wanderings as portrayed by Markham 
and Hargreaves; suggesting an ‘indigenization’ that experiences the museum space in 
other ways?:

We make it our business, therefore, to accompany some of these parties 
round museums; such parties were usually the average family group of 
five or six, the father walking ahead followed by the women and 
children. Occasionally he would stop and say “there is a baboon”, or “A 
sword”, and the family would all cluster round, the children sometimes 
asking questions, but generally using their eyes much more than their 
tongues.\(^\text{37}\)

THE ZOO OF OBJECTS

Whenever I brought up the question of ‘visitors’ with Officers In-charge or Keepers at 
the Lahore Museum, their initial reaction more often then not confirmed a consensus -
that most visitors perceived no distinction between the *chidhia ghar* (zoo) and the 
museum. Miss Naushaba Anjum put it plainly: ‘...the general *public* do not know what 
the difference is between a zoo and a museum, they just come for a quick look and for 
their *recreation* ’;\(^\text{38}\) this was supposed to be answer enough. True enough many of the 
visitors to the museum may also visit the zoo, considering both are on the Mall Road. 
However, by equating the museum with the zoo for the visitor, Officers contrast the 
‘proper’ research value of their work with the ‘inappropriate’ recreational desires of the 
visitor. These perceptions about the visitor are formulated primarily on observations 
made by Officers In-charge during their routine visits or time spent during gallery 
maintenance/display change; as little else brings them into contact with visitors. No 
regular surveys are carried out as I was informed by Mr Asim Rizwan, but sometimes

\(^{37}\) Markham and Hargreaves (1936:61). 
\(^{38}\) Interview with Miss Naushaba Anjum on 20.11.02.
he questioned visitors on how they like the museum, stating: "...this is just my own personal interest...[there is] no culture of regular surveys, we do get feedback in the comments you hear going round the galleries." 39 He also informed me that once a "Comments Book" was made available for visitor response generally and during a temporary exhibition 40, though regrettably this was a one-off insight into the visitor world of the museum. This minimal communication between the museum and its visitors does not bolster the former to rethink its stereotype of the latter; so what exactly is imagined?

Museum officers when thinking about the public who visit and consume their exhibits unequivocally categorized visitors into different types; ascribing visiting habits accordingly. Other than students, the only other visitor credited as capable of "properly" visiting the museum is the foreign visitor: "...who come with interest and have background knowledge of where they are going and what they will see." 41 This classification of visitors into distinct types is assessed purely in terms of perceived level of education that is taken to directly reflect willingness for knowledge acquisition and on this scale ordinary visitors (aam log) are explicitly labelled as the 'uneducated'. Miss Humera Alam told me: "Another public is the uneducated that just come and see then go, maybe just worried and leave...they think these are old things, they look at the statues and are amazed, they try to understand them. But they get their amusement here." 42 In addition to this tripartite division, other categories of visitor were marked by their absence—the non-visitors. Overwhelmingly these are the elite or upper classes of Lahore society who rarely visit and if they do, it is usually to accompany guests, as one querying resident of Defence 43 asked me: "Why do you go there? There is nothing in that place. We tell our servants to go there, its good entertainment for them. That place has nothing for us, maybe if it was like museums abroad then I might visit.' The museum is aware of this 'boycott' by this class and takes it as a phenomenon of this

39 Interview with Mr Asim Rizwan on 19.11.02.
40 A general 'Comments book' was set up by the Public Relations Department in 2001 though the exact period is unclear; it was not there when I arrived in September 2002. Two books (English and Urdu) were opened during a temporary photographic exhibition (27th March – 13th April 2002).
41 Interview with Miss Humera Alam on 12.11.02.
42 Ibid.
43 This recently developed area is known as Defence Housing Association (DHA), occupying land which previously was thought not suitable for residence as it nears the border with India. However, today it is one of the fastest expanding in terms of construction and is taken to be emblematic of an upper class residential area with planned streets, large modern housing and lifestyle.
class’ hectic lifestyle and distanced location - being on the wrong side of the city for them. However, one significant reason overlooked here is the association this class makes of the museum as a place for lower class recreation. In relation to consumption of culture, the elite are of the opinion that the Lahore Museum does not do enough to foster a vibrant image of national identity, or preserve heritage to a level that makes it appealing to them. It is also the case that for many in this class their cultural aspirations lie elsewhere, beyond Pakistan, as the Defence resident stated if the museum had been more like a foreign museum, meaning Euro-American, she would have visited. In a paradoxical situation, the educated visitor the museum yearns for, distances itself from it; Mr Shoaib Ahmed poignantly noted:

This modern class we have, the wealthy and progressive modern people they do not come. The reason being that if you cut yourself from your roots, if the clothes you wear are not of your country, the language you speak is not your language, the kind of architecture you live in is not your architecture then what interest will you have in the museum...It is because of a different lifestyle, they have no interest in such aspects of Pakistan, basically they do not own this culture so why would they visit.

Apart from the elite, the only other group identified as non-visitors were religious schools and orthodox public, who were said to refer to the museum as anti-Islamic - a place of idols; Dr Niazi highlighted this allegation and stated that he tries to point out to these groups that the displays portray a comparative history of religions and this subtle shift in emphasis alleviates most of their anxieties towards the museum. Just as the ‘uneducated’ visitor is thought to be unaware of the ‘real’ value of the museum as a place of learning and research, similarly this type of visitor is thought to be too ‘rigid’ in their criticism of figural representation in displays. My interest here lies in

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44 This distinction of the upper classes through cultural and consumptive outlook/practices that focus beyond Pakistani culture is different from the aspirational desires of the middle/lower middle classes for such a lifestyle; for the latter it is usually amalgamated within a local or national way of life. Few sociological or anthropological studies on either of these classes exist but in relation to the replacement of Urdu with English as the preferred language of communication among the upper classes (See Tariq Rahman (1996, 1999) and Ian Talbot (1998) on the rise of Urdu among the young elite. In Lahore, this separation of social and cultural worlds is physically mapped out and spilt by the Bari Doab Canal – northwards are the older parts of Lahore and southwards the more affluent areas (See McGill Murphy (1996).

45 Interview with Mr Shoaib Ahmed on 7.11.02.

46 Interview with Dr Liaquat Ali Khan Niazi on 07.01.03.

47 Interview with Mrs Nusrat Ali on 04.03.03.

48 Although the objection may not be so much to figural representation but to the presence of nude sculptures as suggested by Mrs Fouzia Kanvil (Interview on 16.11.02.), conflicting with social mores on what is appropriate to view within what she called the ‘family setting’.

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investigating the overwhelming majority of visitors who are described as the ‘uneducated’ and form the bulk of those visiting, who as Mr Mujeeb Khan explained:

[The] public in my observation...just come for entertainment alone and are not concerned with education or to learn...the learning aspect we do not see this in them, it is just entertainment. The Lahore Museum is just playing the role of entertainment and this is a real factual thing.49

This judgment by the museum retains hints of the ‘rustic’ visitor of colonial times who was thought to be attracted by the curious alone; Mr Ishfaq Ahmed Cheema alluded to this when he remarked that ‘...the uneducated come to see ajeeb aur ghareeb (strange) things and to see what is kept here, as things like statues and the like cannot be found in the market and so not seen, so they come to see new things.’ 50 I am not suggesting in a reductive manner that the visitor has remained unchanged since the colonial era rather that perhaps this is one enduring appeal of the museum for the South Asian visitor. This is certainly borne out by the popularity in the Swat Gallery of a mannequin, which as Mrs Zarina Khurshid recollected brought fame to the gallery by attracting many visitors who came simply to see this one exhibit:

When I made this figure with the head covered in a shawl it really attracted the public. They came from afar to see this figure as they thought I had made something magical, called it the jadu wali (magic woman) others called it the kantohn wali (woman with earrings)...I still don’t understand what these people saw in this but they were attracted.51

This labelling of visitors as ‘uneducated’ and their experience of the Lahore Museum as improper is too generalized to be informative about what is a more complex situation and needs to be investigated further; as I hope to do. However, this negative image does not deter the public and contra to the ‘daunting’ or difficult experience Merriman (al989) identifies for those with inadequate ‘cultural competence’ (Bourdieu 1996:2), the ‘uneducated’ at the Lahore Museum have no such barriers, instead they are determined to see what they want, as Dr Dar’s anecdote illuminates:

I was passing by the Swat Gallery one day when it was closed for some changes to the display work and saw some rural women and children sat in front of the door. So, I went up to them and asked “What is the matter?” and one of the women said “This gallery is closed and we want

49 Interview with Mr Mujeeb Khan on 14.11.02.
50 Interview with Mr Ishfaq Ahmed Cheema on 11.11.02.
51 Interview with Mrs Zarina Khurshid on 07.01.03.
to see it." I told them to go look at other galleries as this was not open yet...After I returned three and a half hours later the same people were still there waiting, and I went up and asked "Why are you still here?" and the same woman replied "What else is there, we have come specifically to see the toys..."

The Lahore Museum is definitely offering an experience to the ‘rustic’/’uneducated’, as much as to the student/scholar/researcher, primarily through visual inquisitiveness evident in the queries put to the gallery attendants about the originality of objects, their function and history. It is my intention here to understand the experience of the visitor, who more than the objects he/she views has been misconceived by the museum, without reverting to a typified characterisation of the visitor as ‘illiterate’ or uninterested; instead illuminating visitor experiences that understand the Lahore Museum as a juxtaposition of ajaib, popular and informative.

THE SUBJECTIVE MUSEUM

I have so far been referring to the Lahore Museum’s attending public as ‘visitors’ of the institution, which has suggestions of an imbalance in power relations, with communication, authority and ideological hegemony of the institution seemingly superior to the agency and subjective experience of the public. Recent studies in museology try to relocate the visitor as an active component in interpreting the museum message by reconceptualizing them as ‘audience’ (Hooper-Greenhill 1995, 2000). The practice of simply counting museum visitors (ibid 1988) or converting them into homogenized statistical data is now, theoretically at least, deemed insufficient and uncritical following the ‘museological turn’ of the late 1980’s (Lumley 1988, Vergo 1989). Increasing emphasis is placed on the contingent relationship that exists between the museum and its communities of consumers, investigating the thoughts, feelings and experiences of visitors, whether conforming or resistive, as part of different modes of communication – symbolic, verbal and corporeal. The need to understand museum communication and consumption is urgent as Hooper-Greenhill notes:

52 Interview with Dr Dar on 10.01.03.
53 Gallery attendants pointed out that the normal visitor’s queries were not being answered and often they were approached and asked if they felt scared working in a place like this, whilst other questions were along the lines of ‘What is this?’, ‘Who made this?’, ‘When was it found?’, ‘Is it really old or just a copy?’ (Interviews with Mrs Zaida Saeed (08.04.03), Shobana (08.04.03) and Tahira (08.04.03).
The biggest challenge facing museums at the present time is the reconceptualisation of the museum/audience relationship. After almost a century of rather remote relationships between museums and the public, museums today are seeking ways to embrace their visitors more closely.\textsuperscript{54}

The assumption by museums that the message they construct in the displays is consumed unquestionably by an unimaginative and passive visitor is misleading, and to redress this, research is trying to re-socialize the museum by reconnaissance of the visitors as an active meaning maker; whilst exploring both as part of the socio-political, cultural world they both inhabit. Admittedly, it is difficult to locate the Lahore Museum's current supposition of its visitors as part of this progressive discourse, however, where this is useful for South Asian museology is in opening up the realm of interpretation to that beyond the museum's own message. This liberates comprehension of the museum and displays from the fetters of institutional dogma and with the majority of the South Asian public still unclear about the role of a museum in society, their previously inappropriate understandings can now be contextualized as resulting from their social and cultural moorings. A greater probability then opens up for the formation of alternative meanings based on experiences of other consumption arenas not just museums, especially social practices of viewing (see next Chapter) and persisting structures, values and practices of culture, history and identity.

This reinvestment in the visitor as an active agent capable of negotiating the meaning of museum objects was in reaction to previous visitor studies; the majority of which emanated from the US during the twentieth century, and limited themselves to examining the educational impact and proficiency of exhibits in relation to psychological behaviour (Hein 1998, Lawrence 1991). This survey mentality of museum research became popular in Britain in the 1950's as a heuristic tool to gather social and cultural indices as statistical demographics, and by the 1970's was ingrained with two-thirds of evaluation being of this nature (Lawrence 1991). The addition of sociological\textsuperscript{55} dimensions instigated shifts, but methodologically, research remained tied to the survey technique, for example the work of Nick Merriman (a1989, b1989) who used a postal survey to assess the motivation and perception of visitors/non-

\textsuperscript{54} Hooper-Greenhill (2000:1).
\textsuperscript{55} The survey method was as employed in the work of Bourdieu and Darbel (1991) on art museums in Europe, and so extended its reach to academic analyses too.
visitors towards heritage consumption and museum visiting in correlation with social and economic disposition.\textsuperscript{56} Along with Hooper-Greenhill, Merriman now propounds a qualitative exploration of visitors with respective recent work concentrating on investigating subjective experience of museum/heritage visitation, the visual interpretative moment for the former and ethnography the latter.

One vital factor that has helped in foregrounding the subjective experience of museums is investigation that adopts the ethnographic method. Interest and support for using ethnography signals dissatisfaction with totalizing images/narratives about visitors, preferring to pay attention to the partial and contingent meanings, as Ang notes: 'It is not the search for (objective, scientific) Truth in which the researcher is engaged, but the construction of \textit{interpretations}, of certain ways of understanding the world, always historically located, subjective and relative' (1996:46 emphasis original). Ethnography can provide a ‘deeper’ understanding of museum consumption that does not concentrate on the completed museum message (Handler & Gable 1997), or the critic’s own agendas; for this reason museologists and museum anthropologists\textsuperscript{57} are enthusiastic (Butler 2000, Handler & Gable 1997, Merriman 1996, 1999, Perin 1997). The museum then demands analysis not as a neutral global technology but as a ‘social arena’ that is contested and debated by both its various producers and users,\textsuperscript{58} as Handler and Gable state museums should be regarded as arenas for:

\begin{quote}
...significant convergence of political and cultural forces. Intellectual developments both with and beyond the academy have made it impossible to continue to view museums as simple repositories of cultural and historical treasures...[very little research] focuses on the museum as a social arena in which many people of differing backgrounds continuously and routinely interact to produce, exchange, and consume messages... there has been almost no ethnographic inquiry into museums as arenas of ongoing, organized activities. As a result, most research on museums has proceeded by ignoring much of what happens in them.\textsuperscript{59}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{56} The conclusions reached were akin to those based on the concept of ‘\textit{habitus}’ as outlined by Pierre Bourdieu (1996:170). Although Merriman’s (b1989) work examines social and cultural factors it is limited in that it was essentially based on a postal survey; glossing over any idiosyncrasies that may have been present.

\textsuperscript{57} Although it must be noted that the museum anthropologists are lagging in what should be its natural domain having confined itself to representation of the ‘other’ and not so much how the ‘other’ chooses to interpret this global cultural technology.

\textsuperscript{58} See Bulter (2001) on the debates around the reconstruction of the Alexandria Museum in Egypt.

\textsuperscript{59} Handler & Gable (1997:8-9).
It is with this in mind that I utilize ethnographic moments to give some insight into ‘communities of response’ (Davis 1992:9) at the Lahore Museum.

**VERNACULARIZING THE LAHORE MUSEUM**

The subjective experiences of the Lahore Museum’s contemporary visiting public now needs to be enquired into and not left relegated to an undifferentiated mass or a ‘rustic/uneducated’ figure in search of entertainment. I would like to explicate visitor agency despite the museum’s wallowing adherence to the latter image that is opposed to an imagined ‘ideal’ visitor socialized in middle/upper class ‘habitus’ possessing the ‘cultural capital/competence’ described by Bourdieu (1996) to appreciate the museum. The preference for a specific type of visitor is a desire on the Lahore Museum’s part to unify consumption practices within accepted ways of experiencing and seeing a museum that extols Eurocentric middle class museum-visiting regime and denigrates other modes as antithetical. The latter rooted in Euro-American sociological analysis of the museum takes class to govern visiting habits and categorizes museum visiting as best suited to middle/upper-class sensibilities. Although recent research in museums emphasizes reflexive analysis of museum consumption by different sectors of communities, social class still subliminally underlies issues of ‘aesthetic’ appreciation and appropriate understanding within museum thinking; to some extent naturalized and uncritically accepted, as in the case for the Lahore Museum. However, what if the norm is different, should this be necessarily taken as a sign of failure for the museum to perform, or can these instances be taken as attempts at indigenization of this space — the Lahore Museum? Some clarity can be attained through understanding of visiting habits and reception in the Lahore Museum using responses to questionnaire/interviews, part

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60 I apply this term in a similar way that Arjun Appadurai (1995) uses it in relation to the vernacularization of cricket in India, to examine how far and in which way the institution of the museum has been made ‘local’/South Asian.

61 This dilemma presented itself to Euro-American museums in the nineteenth century when they became public museums (later exhibitions too). (See Bennett 1995).


64 The following data on visitors/audience is based on responses from a 100 questionnaires carried out during April/May 2003 in the Lahore Museum. However, these questionnaires were more like interviews as on average they took around 45 minutes to complete and were filled in by myself (except one) — writing down the responses. I was aided by a research assistant - Ayesha Farooq, who asked initial questions. In the 100 questionnaires the respondents had a 49:51 male:female ratio with the age.
of which is to debunk the persistent, almost mythic, singularization of the visitor through class.

**What Class of Visitors?:** A striking feature of the Lahore Museum’s visiting public is the pervasiveness of group visits either as family – joint or nuclear, with other relatives or friends; single visitors are rare and predominately male. The group sizes vary from two to fifteen plus - the larger sizes prevalent among families from rural villages or small towns from districts in the Punjab such as Sargodha or Bahawalnagar, especially during festival periods like Data Sahib’s urs. However, on average groups are composed of five persons, indicating that museum visiting is rarely conceived as a solitary activity and any interpretation between the viewer and object is a collective engagement of spectatorship, discussion and sharing of knowledge. Even the process of planning a visit is subject to group consensus with equal respondents claiming that the decision was shared with family/relation. For many, family and friends are primary sources through which they hear about the Lahore Museum, either from parents as children or friends, as Fariha Sherazi from Muridkay recalled: ‘...my mother and elders had told us that children should not go to the museum as there are lots of scary bhuts and murday (corpses).’ Word of mouth (suni sunai) and sharing of museum encounters between individuals and generations, more than any museum advertising, prevents the museum from being forgotten. This popular discourse on the museum among the public contributes greatly in generating intrigue around the Lahore Museum; perpetuating a desire to visit. Sumera, a young girl who lived in village near

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**Notes:**

65 88% of people questioned said they had come as part of a group. It was beyond the scope of this research to comprehensively account for intra-group associations and the problem of choosing who spoke within a group was overcome by having a random system of picking informants – the tenth person who entered a gallery. Appadurai & Brekenridge (1992) also note visiting as a group activity.

66 A stigma still persists around women, especially unmarried young women, visiting public places on their own especially for recreation.

67 Visitors from the villages are commented upon even by the gallery attendants, who identify them from their attire as dhoti-wallay, meaning they have come from a gaon (village) as someone from a city or large town would prefer a modern sartorial style.

68 Equal numbers of visitors questioned - 43, stated either they themselves or family suggesting coming to the museum, whilst 10 said that friends choose and 4 got the ideas from school.

69 63% identified family and friends as the first place where they heard about the Lahore Museum, with 36% stating other sources, such as school and 1% by chance or said they ‘just knew’.

70 Fariha Sherazi, a 13 years old student had come from Muridkay, which is north of the Shahdara a suburb of northern Lahore.
Islamia Town\textsuperscript{71} and worked as domestic help in Lahore had never visited the museum, yet from the vivid accounts she had heard, could visualize it in much the same way as anyone who had visited: ‘I have just heard that people go there to look at very very old things such as talwaran (swords), topian (hats), tophaan (canons)...things that Mughal’s used and many bhut...I would like to visit if someone took me but I haven’t even seen the zoo!’\textsuperscript{72}. This discursive action and dissemination of information on the museum within social groupings, lodges and circulates ideas on the museum within public memory; constructing an image of the museum prior to any visit.

Many visitors point out that their current visit is a ‘first’, however, this should be loosely interpreted, as it usually refers to the fact that they have not visited for a while maybe since childhood or for a couple of years. Return visits are then often claimed to be ‘firsts’ when in actuality they are periodic reintroductions of the museum, which with time/age conspire to offer a more engaged experience of the objects with increased corporeal awareness (hosh mai); each visit adding to and rejuvenating previous memories, as Zainab from Kamoki stated:

I knew there were old things like bhut here, stones and Chinaware. These things were here when I came as a child and it is to see these sorts of things that we come, but back then it was just a recreational thing now with each return visit I am getting more and more interested.\textsuperscript{73}

Regularity of visits is another distinguishing feature of visits,\textsuperscript{74} which despite temporal gaps of two years or more, visitors referred to ‘regular’. This constancy is evident from the purported annual visits by family groups during favourable recreation seasons;\textsuperscript{75} visits that are more frequent are availed, once again, by the male visitor with one young man claiming it was his twentieth visit.

The relationship between the Lahore Museum and many of its visitors is surprisingly stable and not just one-off haphazard visits by entertainment seekers, which beyond the visit is maintained through social discourse, memory and subsequent visits over several

\textsuperscript{71} Islamia Town is about an hour’s bus ride from Lahore. Sumera who was not sure of her age but said, would be about 13, lived with her parents, two sisters, and a brother. Her father and brother worked in a textile mill and her mother and elder sister came to Lahore to work as domestic help earning around Rs. 500 – 800 per month for each household.

\textsuperscript{72} Interview with Sumera on 12.09.02.

\textsuperscript{73} Zainab, a 42 year old, ran a private school in Kamoki, which lies north of Lahore City (19.04.03).

\textsuperscript{74} For 52% it was their first visit, the rest 48% were returning out of which 37% claimed it was their third or more visit.

\textsuperscript{75} Usually the months just before onset of winter - September to November, and then in spring (mausam bahar) - February to April.
years; a commitment strengthened by the fact that over half\textsuperscript{76} of those questioned stated this is the only museum they have visited. Even those who had visited other museums in Pakistan said in comparison they preferred the Lahore Museum in terms of size, atmosphere and variety of collections. Clearly, the users of the Lahore Museum propagate a reputation that sustains popularity for the museum outside of the institutional rhetoric that misconceives local appropriation as uninformed 'uneducated'/rustic behaviour. This institutional distancing is not maintained geographically either, with almost equal quantities of urban visitors from Lahore city and other cities, towns and villages in the Punjab Province,\textsuperscript{77} whose class and education does not fit either of the above homogenizing labels. It would seem the stereotype of visitors, as 'imagined' by the museum based on class alone as the majority; is somewhat missing. This is because class singularly cannot accurately determine behaviour or appropriation of the museum in South Asia; other social and cultural factors affect the museum's interpretation and use. Class is a misleading sociological concept to use in assessing visitor predilections in South Asia. Deviations from a western class-based norm that anticipate visitor types cannot be judged as a 'wrong' class of visitor: it is more a case of local appropriation, whose exact nature is a quandary that has prevailed in South Asian museums since the colonial era (see above).

The issue of museum visitor class has been investigated most clearly within notions of middle class \textit{habitus} and cultural dispositions as presented for museums in Europe (see Bourdieu and Darbel 1991, Merriman b1989), but is this universalization applicable to the Lahore Museum; are its visitors of the class conjectured by the Museum Officers? Although I do not wish to typify the visitor, a generalized profile here can help illuminate the complexity involved in trying to confine the visitors of the Lahore Museum to a specific class, and justify interpretation in relation to class characterization based on social/cultural/economic indicators. The limitation of research here permits me to briefly examine only a number of indicators – education,

\textsuperscript{76} 55\% replied that the Lahore Museum was the only one they had visited in their life, 31\% had visited other museums in Pakistan – Taxila, Harrapa, National Museum, Karachi, and 6\% visited museums abroad in the Gulf States – Kuwait, Bahrain whilst working out there as migratory workers.

\textsuperscript{77} Visitors from Lahore comprised 46\% from lower-middle class to middle class areas such as Mozang, Shadbagh, Krishanagar, Anarkali, Walton, Yateem Khana, Begumpura, and Samnabad to upper class areas of Garden Town, and Defence. 53\% came from other places within the Punjab Province such as Sargodha, Chinot, Faisalabad, Sheikhapura, Narowal, and Multan and 8\% from other Provinces usually Karachi or Hyderabad in the Sindh Province or Leepa in Azad Kashmir; only 1\% came from abroad – a family from the South Asian diaspora in England.
occupation, property and ownership of material goods. In terms of education, the majority of the visitors stated that they were educated in Government Urdu Medium schools, a third of whom obtained secondary education - Matriculation, with a similar number going onto higher education at various levels. The occupation of visitors covered a myriad of jobs from skilled workers, civil servants, landowners, teachers, shop-owners, farmers, tailors, mechanics, bankers, rickshaw drivers, textile mill workers, railway guards, in government employment – including armed forces, or unemployed; most of the women were either housewives, teachers or students. Combining this with property and material possessions, the bulk of visitors indicated that they lived in owner occupied (including joint family system) and most owned a radio, television, fans, cooler, over a third had cable at home and nearly half had a motorbike. From these cultural indicators it then seems that the majority belonged to the lower-middle to middle classes and not the uneducated/rustic. However, the cultural disposition of the ‘middle classes’ in South Asia, as Rachel Dwyer (2000) points out for urban India, is not as uniform as that espoused by Bourdieu (1996). The problem for South Asia is that this class contains a multitude of cultures within itself, and any inference that is attentive just to class is partial; it is better to contextualize by focusing on the actual practice of consumption and interpretation.

Both Dwyer (2000) and Varma (1998) separate the ‘middle classes’ into three sections comprising of the old-, lower- and new-middle classes that cover a large spectrum of social and cultural values, consumption and economic capital. This is added to by another major difference for a middle class in contemporary South Asia that it is less fixed to education and economic determinants, as Ashis Nandy (1998) rightly points out this class is not an indicator of a specific group but is best understood

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78 80% went to Government Urdu Medium schools others went to English Medium (Private and Government), Convent and 2% studied at village schools called takhiti (slate) style. The latter and 15% of the Urdu Medium school only studied up to class 5 either as they lived in villages or otherwise, if women, there was no family desire to provision them with education.

79 28% were Matriculation pass, 11% F.A. (Intermediate), 28% B.A. and 11% held Masters Degrees, with 1% currently studying for ‘A’ levels.

80 82% lived in owner occupied and 18% in rented accommodation.

81 A cooler has a cooling system that passes air through an internal water stream to provide a refreshing breeze during parts of the summer.

82 100% had fans, 68% - cooler, 71% radio, 89% - fridge, 89% - television, 36% - cable, 40% - motorbike, 27% - car (shared in joint family), 18% - air-conditioner and 2% had satellite.

83 Rachel Dwyer (2000 - especially Chapter 3) considers that the concept of ‘middle class’ needs to be examined in relation to the specific historical and economic changes in South Asia, though Dwyer focuses on metropolitan Mumbai this has regional significance for most urban areas like Lahore. Also see Pavan K. Varma (1998).
in political and aspirational terms rather than purely economic. Adopting aspiration and desire as a primary indicator for social mobility, although less quantifiable, is helpful for Pakistani society where Sabeeha Hafeez (1991) notes that there has been no emergence of an idealized middle class instead an ‘artificial’ middle class has come forth. In an ironic manner the majority of visitors the Lahore Museum is attracting are from a section of the ‘middle classes’ that exist in South Asia: mainly the lower-middle classes consume the Lahore Museum whether from the urban or rural areas.

All this suggests that though class identity exists for the Lahore Museum, it does not function in provisioning class specific cultural competence, taste or status in South Asia as for the west; revealing very little about actual museum consumption and visual interpretation. It is only when one examines how the museum and its collections are actually interpreted, socialized and perceived that restrictions of class association are broken-down. In South Asia, although a ‘habitual way of seeing’ (Rogoff 1995) and interpreting related to class alone is absent, there is a cultural space for the social imagination, beyond class, where cultural identity and its representation is negotiated (Pinney 2001). This allows for multiple ways of seeing in different classes to be simultaneously informed and unified by overarching cultural dispositions that cut across class distinctions; thus although a specific class maybe visiting its behaviour and practices are reflective of wider cultural socialization.

**Pseudo-curators:** The subjective experience begins and incorporates with *a priori* expectations, perceptions and feelings of visitors towards the Lahore Museum that often oscillate between combinations - identifying it as a *tehreekı ghar* (historical house) to a *bhut bangla* (house of idols). On a rare occasion someone like Masroor from Multan Road in Lahore, would say: ‘I hoped for many things, that there would be mementoes (*nishaaniyan*) from different historical periods and also Pakistani culture (*sakaft*).’, however, such a strict association between the museum and history or culture is occasional. Mostly, responses expressed the intention to see something old (*purani cheesain*), weapons, idols (*bhuts*), things associated with the Mughal period, as well as new and special (*khas*) things. Anticipating a medley of artefacts motivated

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84 This ‘artificial’ middle class aspires to have the status of the upper classes and has attained this not through education or inherited economic capital but increased wealth through migratory work and so can attain this position through conspicuous consumption.

85 Masroor, 35 years old, worked in the State Bank (20.04.03).
many visitors with prospect of visual pleasure and amazement. Saima Taufail, a fourth year BA student from the Krishanagar area of Lahore, who often visited the Lahore Museum with family, related this expectation:

You feel strange before you go, you wonder what will be there, don’t know what to expect, if you have heard about it then you know but if not then you just wonder and have strange thoughts and feelings about what might be there and what are these old things...all my cousins who visit from Multan, they all want to see what is there as they too imagine what’s in there and what not...First time I went with my uncle and auntie we looked at all the first and second galleries, the pictures and read all the things, the Holy Quran samples are very well written, the stamps and coins upstairs were very attractive and you have all of Quaid-i-Azam’s life history that is attractive...I remember everything and where it is because I have seen it so many times, it is memorized...so now it is mostly for entertainment.86

To pinpoint a single reason behind spectatorship of the Lahore Museum – history, culture, curiosity, ignores the fact all or any one can form part of the motivation to visit including recreation (saehar-o-taffri), general interest (shauk) to see the museum as well as to learn; the latter regarded as particularly apt for children. What comes to mind is the notion of rational recreation in modern public museums, as a visit to the Lahore Museum for many is preceded or followed by excursions to other heritage/recreational sites in Lahore: shopping in nearby Anarkali Bazaar, going to McDonalds, parks or the zoo.87 What significantly prevents simplification is that the will to learn is also present, not as a by-product of recreational activities, but resulting from the interest people show in the museum that is not always fulfilled, as one person stated he wished to understand more but the museum had left him too stunned (hayraan) to do this. Ilyas Anjum, whom I met whilst he was showing his nieces round the museum, had been a regular visitor to the Lahore Museum, living and working as a photocopier technician just behind the museum in the Old Anarkali area. Originally from Jhang, he professed he liked looking at ‘antique’ objects in the museum and tried to ‘see’ in them reflections of how people in the past lived and their sense of being. When I asked Ilyas his opinion on visitor motivation, he told me:

Most people come just for recreation, they come here to look around and say they have seen the museum. But some people I have seen they take

86 Interview with Saima Taufail on 01.08.03.
87 The other sites in Lahore include the Fort, Badshahi Mosque, Minar-i-Pakistan, and saint’s shrines – Data Darbar or Bibi Pak Damaan, or Shalimar Gardens. Mainly visitors from outside Lahore visited these on the same day, though at weekends and public holidays Lahirites also participate.
notes and try to make sense of the things, maybe it is for their knowledge or library, but as far as I know, they have an interest in the things, to learn something...

The perception of the Lahore Museum thus cannot be reduced to opposing motivations of either learning or entertainment, as for the public there is no clash or unease in stating that they wish to do both; it is not a case of one or the other. Interestingly enough in a similar stance to the museum officers, most people were of the viewpoint that though they were engaged in learning/enjoying others were less interested in any ‘educational’ benefit, particularly villagers. However, this suspicion of others is undercut by the recognition that pleasure and inquisitiveness is there in all visitors, as the museum is a different and exciting place, allowing the viewer to see in reality, with their own eyes, things that they have heard or read about. Irum Bhutto from Sheikapura suggested: ‘People come for history and not recreation. Look people are here and obviously, they will learn something. And you know there is a real difference between being told and actually seeing it with own eyes...’. This ability to see with ‘ones own eyes’ was a key reason for visiting, and the visual impact produced guaranteed objects stayed in their memory; alluring a return, to see these objects again and refresh visions held in memory (yaadash). Perhaps not in the conventional sense of pedagogic knowledge but people want to interact with the objects on display and learn; so what kind of resonance occurs (Greenblatt 1991)?

**Familiar, Attractive and Wondrous:** The visitor’s physical movement traverses the Lahore Museum and likewise the building’s physicality influences their mindset and the visual encounters that take place by creating a background atmosphere; mutually habituated by viewer and object. Several visitors commented that the museum gave them a feeling that was reminiscent of being in a Mughal monument or library due to the architectural features and the layout, although for many others it was incomparable and had a ‘unique’ sense of place. This was appreciated practically in terms of maintenance - cleanliness, security and lack of pollution, as well in its atmosphere (mahaul), described as ‘decent’ for a public place; meaning conducive for

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88 Interview with Ilyas Anjum on 13.07.03.
89 39% of respondents in the questionnaire stated they came to see history, 33% for recreation, 12% for general interest to see what a museum is, 9% for culture and 7% for general knowledge.
80 Irum Bhutto, a 25 years old housewife from Sheikapura (07.05.03).
81 Other replies suggested that the museum was reminded them of an old school out of a horror movie, bazaar, shopping plaza and even a science laboratory.
family visits and bringing female relations. The relative peace, in comparison to the busy life outside the museum, was an attractive characteristic, which Saima Taufail liked:

...the peaceful atmosphere and that is totally different, a home or bazaar has its own atmosphere, but there in the museum it is kind of old old and like we are watching old films that type of atmosphere, I feel like this when I go there, is something there, you feel like you have come to such a place that existed in the past and is very different.92

The Lahore Museum as a whole embodies an effectiveness that results in Saima Taufail’s feelings of the place, however, this is not intentional atmospherics on behalf of the museum but an imaginative leap by the visitor; high ceilings, dim lights and excess of old things create a theatrical effect of the past. The colonial archive/representation that persists in the museum, along with a lack of chronological layout gives it a tenacious orientalizing quality that adds to the curious ajaib feeling of the place. Tanveer Akhtar, an engineer and movie maker/photographer from Qila Lakshman Singh in Lahore, in recalling his visit to the Lahore Museum remembered: ‘In the Ajaib Ghar, when I entered, I felt that I was in a very mysterious place...I mean the atmosphere that is created, the dim lights and then on top of it the things, mostly from the past, and so immediately you think you are living in the past.’93 This museum feeling can cause apprehension and uncertainly for some, making them unsure as to what may happen when they visit; Ayesha Ashfaq a Masters student from Mozang, visited the museum with her two friends who wanted to show it to her, in retrospect deliberated:

...when I went home I thought I should have been scared but I was not, you know when one of my friends went for the first time she fainted... all those statues kept there like the one of Kali devi...so the place and the things have the ability to scare you...also I wondered whether in the evening once everyone had left all the objects moved around [laughed]...94

In a palpable way, the museum building and galleries housing the objects create a strong impact on the visitor, not quite the classical temple-effect as in the west but an impression that inspires awe and imagination, attracting and drawing in the visitor to experience it further; Kurat-ul-Nainh from Naushehra said: ‘I really like this place. I

92 Interview with Saima Taufail on 01.08.03.
93 Interview with Tanveer Akhtar on 14.08.03.
94 Interview with Ayesha Ashfaq on 08.07.03.
thought it was only one gallery but there is more and even though I cannot understand how these things were created or how they work, I am amazed by them. I really wanted to visit it. Fondness for the Lahore Museum is built on its ability to adduce an emotive response that is different, in which negotiation of meaning can take place bound not to a search for accurate comprehension of an object or a collection’s history/educative value but an imaginative sensual relationship. This willingness to explore the ‘strange’ or ‘new’ is enjoyed and so contrary to expectation, little is disliked simply because it is not understood.

In fact it was difficult to delve into visitors’ disappointment with the museum, most saw nothing that they disliked, as for many there was no question of disliking anything since this represented a negative mindset; one visitor from Multan stated: ‘We simply cannot dislike anything, if it was a question of disappointment we would not have come here. It is all a matter of the mind if that is settled on seeing the museum then you won’t be disappointed.’ Although an ‘aesthetic’ dislike of objects is not forthcoming, what did manifest itself was a difficult or ‘uncomfortable’ viewing of some objects, particularly the ubiquitous bhuts; thought to be un-Islamic (baymazbhi) and not Pakistani. However, it must be realized that for most it was the large numbers on display: their profuse presence that was complained about, rather than any desire to abolish them, as some people found them highly attractive and a pleasure to see; especially the beauty and radiance that was felt to emanate from the Radha and Krishna statues. However, some expressed their disappointment in not finding more Islamic culture on display by linking it to national identity, as Abid from Hyderabad articulated: ‘Islamic things should be kept here or those from the Mughal era or from Turkey not Hindu and Buddhist things that are not Pakistani.’

On the odd occasion, this was demonstrated in a more direct manner, as became apparent one day whilst I was talking to a gallery assistant in the Gandhara Gallery. A young man accompanied by two females entered the gallery and proceeded to mockingly punch one of the Buddha statues, which encouraged one of women to slap another. The intensity of response to a particular

95 Kurat-ul-Nainh, a 17 years old visiting with her mother from Naushehra near Peshawar (09.05.03).
96 A 28 years old male who owned a garment’s shop in Multan had brought his niece – Javeria, to the Lahore Museum. They were on vacation in Lahore. (20.04.03).
97 Abid, a 40 years old television repairer from Hyderabad in Sindh (08.05.03).
98 Although such behaviour at the Lahore Museum is rare, usually only expressed as disdain to there not being more Islamic representation to counter the large number of bhuts, it would be wrong to interpret this as a desire for iconoclastic behaviour similar to the events around the Bamiyan Buddha.
‘image’ or object is not confined to the bhut, which to some extent are overt targets that are interpreted as signs venerating idolatrous worship in an Islamic society; other general dislikes also exist.

For Rukhsana Saif from Karachi the problem was with clay models in the Fabrics Gallery: ‘There was a bit of difficulty when looking at the two models of marriage and funeral, these should not be kept so close, as then you have happiness [kushi] and sadness [ghum] next to each other. It is difficult to look at.’  

Dislike is not a consequence of anxiety around a lack of understanding or information, despite some people asking for more labels and guides, it is an unfamiliar or disturbing visual-emotive response. Visitors also exhibited apprehension towards objects that transgressed moral values around what are suitable public images, such as ‘nude’ sculptures; this time the museum was accused of ‘inappropriate’ behaviour. Overall the visitor’s accommodation of the variety of collections on display made for a pleasant surprise: very little was found visually disconcerting and yet what this does highlight is that visual consumption by the visitor is initially affective resonance or disturbance; and this is more so for what was found pleasurable too.

At the level of the gallery, trying to establish partiality towards one gallery elicited weak response; most visitors were of the opinion that all galleries were ‘good’ (acchi). However, with a slight alteration of emphasis from ‘favourite’ to a sense of enjoyment or spectator pleasure, the visitor was able to identify specific galleries that were more attractive to them than others, including – Islamic, Contemporary Paintings, Ethnological II (Fabrics), and General galleries. The choice made was reliant on interest, some prior ‘knowledge’ or awareness of the object, in the sense of ‘resonance’

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99 Rukhsana Saif, a 30 years old housewife from Karachi (03.03.04). The clay models Rukhsana referred to were of a Tazia Muharram procession that she identified as a wedding scene and a Hindu funeral procession.

100 A number of objects on display in the Lahore Museum can be cast as exhibiting ‘nudity’ such as a small brass Jain Mahavira sculpture or a wooden semi-naked wooden sculpture of a woman with child in the Hindu, Jain(a) and Buddhist Gallery. Though no visitor directly referred to them just stating that there are ‘some’ things not suitable to be seen by children or families.

101 The concept of galleries was not clear to all visitors and most understood, and called, galleries kamray (rooms) or halls.

102 15% preferred the Islamic Gallery, 12% for both Contemporary Paintings and Ethnological II, 8% General. 18% still claimed they had no specific favourite with 8% saying ‘all’.

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See Flood, who records how one report claimed that the Bamiyan episode was actually initiated after Taliban officials confronted a semi-naked bodhisattva in the Kabul Museum and slapped it across the chest and face (2002:651). For further discussion on popular Islamic imagery and shrine images see Batool (2003).

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as used by Stephen Greenblatt (1991),\textsuperscript{103} where an object has the ‘power’ to reach beyond formal boundaries of the museum into the larger world of the viewer and its complex dynamic cultural forces. This interpretative visual extension is brought into the museum with the visitor’s gazes, who then try to interpret objects to which they are initially drawn by local particularity – literal and allegorical;\textsuperscript{104} thus vernacularizing museum consumption in the first instance. It must be noted here that labels have very little impact in determining the meaning of objects as most labels are basic at best - with a ‘name’, ‘province’ and ‘date’, and if read, gives the visitor a name from which to expand their understanding.\textsuperscript{105} In terms of literal resonance, the Islamic Gallery was easily comprehended as it exhibited religion, culture and Mughal heritage, as Saida Abdul from Sialkot Panwal told me: ‘Islamic [Gallery], because at least we have an understanding and recognition of it and we have that knowledge, we know something about those things and so we can like them...’.\textsuperscript{106} However, the allegorical can appear at first to be mere disparate associations within the remit of a resonating object, for example Taslim Akhtar from Karachi\textsuperscript{107} when viewing the antiquity and visual narrative of the Buddha’s life in the Gandhara Gallery was reminded of the old houses and artefacts in the village she originated from, near Mirpur Khas. The variety of objects on display in the galleries can be bewildering but attempts to resonate some interpretation are resolute; starting by trying to imagine how the object can fit into some aspect of the viewer’s own society and culture. This can make analysis appear generalized at times, yet this polysemous quality is what makes the Lahore Museum a success, as it incorporates different degrees of resonance whilst also augmenting wonder.

A sense of ‘wonder’ is understood as the ability of an object to arrest a viewer through exalted attention (ibid): perhaps through uniqueness or intense attraction of the visitor’s gaze; as Greenblatt (1991) notes both strategies are concurrent. This is certainly true for

\textsuperscript{103} Though here I want to apply Greenblatt’s (1991) terms not as types of museological display praxis but ways of viewing and experiencing displays.

\textsuperscript{104} By literal I mean objects that are still used or present in the society. Those objects that have a more free-flowing association allow visitors to make associations with objects that are allegorical of local meanings and personal imagination; but not in an obvious or predictable reading.

\textsuperscript{105} Galleries such as the Swat Gallery or Independence Movement Gallery did display in-depth labels and small panels of information but their size and length prevented any active consumption.

\textsuperscript{106} Saida Abdul was a 38 years old teacher (03.05.03).

\textsuperscript{107} Taslim Akhtar, a 54 years old housewife from Karachi was visiting the Lahore Museum as she had heard about it from her brother who was a teacher at the NCA (28.05.03).
the Lahore Museum where ‘wonder’ and ‘resonance’ are actively mixed to constitute the interaction between object and subject. This duality is akin to the notion of ‘resonance-reverberation’ as evoked by Gaston Bachelard,\(^{108}\) where both (de)familiarization and (dis)identification occur simultaneously for the subject. Using this I would like to suggest that interpretation by visitors to the Lahore Museum is a kind of flux that uses differing interpretative strategies to elucidate various meanings/feelings inherent in the object; some of which I wish to illuminate. Firstly, there is interpretation that recognizes in the objects the ‘mundane’, though originally collected as part of colonial interest in objectifying ethnography (see Chapter 1) and preserving craft design (see Chapter 2), these same objects now transmute into ‘everyday’ artefacts by virtue of surviving in contemporary culture. A. Shehzad from Chinot found the Akbari wooden doors most interesting: ‘...as I am from a rural area and we still have doors like this and similar work can still be seen there.’\(^{109}\) Recourse to ‘my’ or local culture was implicit and also prompted cultural memory work as in the case of brass/copper utensils in the General Gallery, which many said were puranay bartan (old utensils) that they remember owning and using; now replaced by plastic. This nostalgic resonance was linked to discussion on a khandani\(^{110}\) way of life and traditional objects of this social unit, with particular delight shown in viewing a charpai (bed), chulha (cooker), chimta (tong) and charka (spinning wheel) in the Punjab Section of the Ethnological I Gallery; noting that this is ‘our’ heritage. Prior knowledge and local particularity anchors the subject and object, drawing them into a mutual visual contract, understanding and discourse; Ghulam Nabi from Chicawatni, when looking at the terracotta toys from Moenjodaro stated he liked looking at these, especially the horse and cart as ‘...I am a zamindar and so I know what it is and how it works and I was just telling my friend this!’\(^{111}\) Yet, this resonance and familiarity was tinged with an arresting quality for visitors, who are amazed to see their ‘ordinary’ objects, typically found in villages, bazaars and recently industrial/handicraft

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\(^{108}\) Bachelard suggests ‘resonance’ as the possibility of understanding and making connections with other feelings and echoes and by contrast, reverberation brings about a change in being, whilst their duality brings about the uncanny. In Françoise Lionnet (2001)

\(^{109}\) A. Shehzad, 28 years old from Chinot who was visiting a friend at the University of Engineering and Technology (02.05.03).

\(^{110}\) Khandani here refers to a traditional joint family household system where various generations lived together and share all aspects of domestic life. Though the joint family system is prevalent in Pakistan, increasingly in urban areas, each nuclear unit operates separately, giving the allusion of a khandan.

\(^{111}\) Ghulam Nabi, a 26 year old zamindar (land owner) whose family also owned a PCO in Chichawatni – about 20 miles from Sahiwal in Multan District (09.05.03).
exhibitions, displayed in this way – as unique objects worthy of spectatorship. The singularization and decontextualization of ‘living’ objects in the past and present are now resocialized by the indigenous gaze; though with an element of curious wonder and attraction towards their past in opposition to the modernity of today.

Attraction, as an arresting power of the object frequently accounted for why certain artefacts were found visually appealing and amazing. Pleasure and astonishment lay in the quality, aesthetic beauty or over-whelming nature of some objects, particularly handiwork, as Nazia from Shahdara commented: ‘...the hand-made objects are so attractive they pull (khainchtay) us towards them.’ The ‘pull’ as described by Nazia was a fascination in trying to decipher the unique and seemingly ‘impossible’ feats of human skill in making such objects, which for many were outcomes of divine beauty and artistic endowment. Repeatedly mentioned were the ivory carvings and miniature ivory figures, such as the ivory tusk carved with Buddha figures and handicrafts displayed variously in the Hindu, Jain(a) and Buddhist, General and Islamic galleries. Ejaz Ali tried to explain this feeling and imagining that visitors experience when they participate in interpreting the objects they like:

So, when you see the things you think of the craftsmen and how brilliant they were in their art of sculpting or designing or engraving and how they copied identically onto metal or wood. These things when we see them in the Ajaib Ghar they have a strong impact on our minds and hearts and you feel proud that we are the owners of this ancient heritage. Our culture is buried in them and when we look at the work done by our ancestors, its quality and the heights their art reached and that after all these centuries it still impresses us...their handicraft is so powerful that the machine work of today cannot compete with it...the skill they must have had amazes you and you think were they human or some sort of jinn who made these things...

Ejaz Ali’s statement in a very direct way shows how views held by the ‘uneducated’ are very similar to those of the Museum Officers, in that they do consider culture and

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112 See Lionnet (2001) whose opening analysis of a fictional encounter of Idris with a sub-Saharan museum, would epitomize the situation here: ‘Idris opened his eyes wide. All these objects, of unreal cleanliness, frozen in their eternal essences, intangible, mummified, had surrounded his childhood and adolescence. Less than forty-eight hours before, he had eaten from that dish, watched his mother using that grinder.’(ibid:50).

113 Nazia, a 23 years old thinking of going on to do a M.A. was visiting the museum with her cousin (26.04.03).

114 Similar to the enchantment described by Alfred Gell (1999).

115 Interview with Ejaz Ali on 15.09.03.
heritage; though the latter would not expect the former to have such awareness. However, it must be remembered that within the museum there is little verbalization of these feelings, discussions revolve around how much an object attracts, telling others to view it also, internal feelings are not evoked, as Sabra from Mardan stated: ‘[The museum] is very nice, all these things are so wonderful and make me happy, my heart is touched.’. The work of previous artisans was appreciated not for specific history of the objects or their makers, but as remarkable works of art capable of touching the heart (*dilkhush*). The visual appeal of the design caught the visitor’s attention, just as it had for the colonial art reformers/educationalists during J.L. Kipling’s time at the Lahore Museum, but now for different reasons.

Other objects that captivated and enchanted many visitors included the bronze statue of Queen Victoria in the Arms and Armoury Gallery, whose size and imposing presence was felt by Afsha from Karachi, who commented: ‘She is shown as quite a large lady and she has a *rooh* [spirit], it is very nice as you feel that is just how a queen should be.’. In contradiction to the objections raised by many about the display of numerous *bhuts*, Asif from Shahdara found their unique presence in the museum alluring: ‘*Bhut mata*, the idols from India I liked those as they have an attraction in the way their faces and hands are made, it was really nice to look at them.’. From the resonance of ‘everyday’ objects, enjoyed as they could be recontextualized, wonder takes over in determining how other objects are approached as attraction in the process of interpretation; it is here that the element of *ajaib/ajeeb* (strange) or the curious comes into play once again.

A consistent image of the local visitor to the Lahore Museum is that of someone seeking the strange, curious, a wonder – the *ajaib*, however, what quality makes things *ajaib* still remains unclear. Even today, visitors when asked if the things on display are strange will defiantly state that indeed they are; so what does this refer to? It turns out that *ajaib* in fact refers to objects that appear ‘strange’ since they are not a regular part of contemporary culture and people’s scopic regimes, curiosity surrounds objects as a

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116 Sabra, a 16 years old embroiderer and seamstress from Mardan (NWFP) who was visiting whilst vacating with her uncle and auntie in Lahore (09.05.03).
117 Afsha, a 28 years old social worker from Karachi was visiting the Lahore Museum as part of a social welfare organization’s visit to Lahore.
118 Asif, 19 years old doing his B.A. was visiting on his own.
form of novelty and thus are experienced and referred to as ‘new’. Ejaz Ali clarified this by stating: ‘We call them ajaib because the things there are those that have not passed before our vision (nazar) or those things from two or three hundred years before we were born...and are not here any longer.’119 The temporal distance between the visitors’ present and the object’s ‘other’ past(s), creates this aura of the ajaib, which grips and fascinates the visitors who try to traverse it by imagining what this past was like; as Tanveer Akhtar told me: ‘...it is ajeeb from the point of view that those things are not from our time so they appear strange. I mean if you keep a pair of jeans and t-shirt from the present it will not appear strange...but those things are from a period, a time that had been passed [sic].’120 The Lahore Museum is an Ajaib Ghar as it displays curiosities from the past that once circulated as part of society but now are unique artefacts that appear ‘new’, as Saima Taufail commented: ‘Yes they are...just look at the world we are surviving in. We do not get to see these types of objects, murti of those people, ivory antiquities, their clothes...we have not seen before and when we look at them they are new things for us.’.121 Ajaib cannot remain an indiscriminate naïve interest that is directly opposed to comprehension within boundaries of form, function or historicity; it operates as an attraction and the reverse of resonance; starting from wonder and moving to some recontextualisation.

The ajaib nature of the majority of objects on display attracts and is inviting, yet equally baffling, for the visitors when it comes to interpretation; usually generating more questions and curiosity. Wonder and undecipherability in the minds of visitors also arises in the form of disbelief in what is displayed, as a couple of girls suggested: they liked a large pot on display in the Islamic Gallery as it was said to be made of clay covered in poison,122 but to them it looked metallic and they were intrigued as to its use in relation to the suggested layer of poison. A sense of museum deception and effects of trickery, draw visitors to objects and creates a space in which they can negotiate some meaning or idea about the object, as Naeem from Behra claimed: ‘I am not sure what is realistic or imaginary, it is all a bit confusing but I am trying to make sense of

119 Interview with Ejaz Ali on 15.09.03.
120 Interview with Tanveer Akhtar on 14.08.03. Ajeeb is the Punjabi for ajiab.
121 Interview with Saima Taufail on 01.08.03.
122 It was stated on the label that the pot was covered in poison and so touching it would be harmful. When I enquired into this it was revealed that this was written on purpose to prevent visitors from touching the pot.
Paintings in the Contemporary Paintings Gallery were especially thought about in dualistic terms of realism/trickery, such as a portrait of a seated girl, which many found hard to believe was not a photograph. Attracted by her 'totally eastern' look many people would stand fixated by the image, trying to assess its reality whilst also taking pleasure in the 'eastern values' portrayed. Other paintings that were popular included one of a village scene with buffalo and another depicting a windstorm - both by Ustad Allah-Bux; intrigued for their 'illusory' powers, each painting was said to 'move' (buffalo in former and windstorm in latter) when walking from one side to the other. The artistic creativity was appreciated not as an aesthetic or formal quality, but for the brilliance of creating this illusionary effect that was felt by the viewer, who in comparison to other abstract paintings, could understand what was being shown and be amazed by it.

This trick-effect was opposed to objects that exhibited 'realism' as narratives of tradition and culture; often this was credited to the clay models on display in the Fabrics Gallery, as Muzahir Hasan from Krishanagar opined: ‘...they are so natural looking and don't seem like they could have been made by hand...they show reality.’ The clay models were immensely popular and visitors said that this was because they show 'our' culture fully, which was easily visible in them. This lucid visualization and representation of culture in the clay models raises the issue of authenticity of objects. These clay models are referred to by the museum as 'toys', yet visitors thought more than anything else they depicted what appeared to them authentic culture. However, authenticity for the visitor is less about the traces of history left on ‘antiquities’ or ‘masterpieces’ that lend credence to historical, cultural and monetary value, or their chronology, for them it is about how it feels through interpretation - in their iconic and allegorical readings in relation to their own ideas of culture and history.

This pluralistic nature of visitor interpretation and understanding of objects at the Lahore Museum means that it is difficult to reduce it to a specific set of museum behaviour or consumption practices. It is misleading to state that in the South Asian context the subjective experience of a museum like the Lahore Museum is an interest in the ajaib, a term whose meaning has remained orientalized: signifying a form of

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123 Naeem, 40 years old man from Behra in Sargodha who was currently unemployed but had worked in a Jute Mill and been a rickshaw driver (26.04.03).
124 Muzahir Hasan, 42 years old who has a imitation jewellery stall in the up-market Liberty Market in Lahore, was visiting with his family.
consumption that is rudimentary and improper in its appropriation of the museum. However, as I hope the above shows this seemingly ‘inappropriate’ mode, opposed to a Eurocentric notion of interpretation, at the Lahore Museum encompasses a spectrum of strategies employed by the visitors that range from ‘everyday’ resonance to attractive/new/deceptive objects. In a way, these eclectic responses should be expected in a museum like the Lahore Museum where eclectic colonial vestiges in the displays remain intact to a large degree, with little national re-inscription (see Chapter 3). The excess on display lets visitors marvel at the many things they cannot see elsewhere and so experience them as new and exciting visions that captivate their imagination. For this reason the question of finding anything missing from the museum by the visitors was unthought-of, generally there was simply too much to see. One way to understand the discrepancy between an ajaib informed interpretation that advances local appropriation of the Lahore Museum as legitimate, against the pedagogy of the institution, which itself has not taken on wider ideological narratives of the state, is how they relate to the representation of history and culture as objective reality in the museum. Local ideas of history, culture and identity are equally located in other participatory social arenas, events and ‘feelings’ that are shared with the wider community (Bharucha 2000). As visitor remarks demonstrate above, references are made to seeing history or culture on show, but as a sense of ‘attraction’; so in what way do local visitors translate the Lahore Museum as a place to seek overt signs of history or culture, if at all?

HISTORY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE, BUT NOT MY IDENTITY

A concern for cultural heritage (sakafat) was claimed by many visitors to the Lahore Museum as something positive and necessary for preservation of the past. They envisioned the museum as capable of making the past ‘visible’, especially for future generations, who could then see how people used to live and so keep it alive by refreshing their cultural memory; as Zafkar Hussain from Nabi Park in Lahore stressed: ‘...this is important for our future generations as then they can see all this and be pleased by it.’ 125 In this sense, the museum was regarded as a place that archived

125 Zafkar Hussain, 54 years old retired army electrical engineer, was visiting showing his wife and daughter-in-law the Lahore Museum since they had never been. He himself had visited many times, as
history (tehreek) that could be passed on between generations and it was natural that people should be interested in their past and want to know about it, as Raja Amir Khan Junjua commented:

It is human nature (insanni fitrat) that we want to see all this here at the museum as it is our past and because like a person remembers things that are no longer with us, so we remember the past. Just like when we are looking around and visiting historical places there is an urgent need to see the past as it reminds us to think about who we are.\textsuperscript{126}

The recognition that the past is exhibited at the museum was easily identified with by visitors who themselves were amazed in being able to see the achievements and glories of past cultures before them; Ghulam Sarwar from Karachi felt that: ‘When I see these things I get interested as they show how our ancestors lived and to see their culture and past and what they wore and so on.’\textsuperscript{127} This connection of the Lahore Museum with history differs in the association made between that history which is of ancestors and that which represents ‘others’ past, and so maybe it would not be wrong to suggest that the museum displays ‘histories’, as Tanveer Akhtar chose to differentiate:

...history is there, our glorious history and memorable things from our past, religious things, things that we have read about or heard of like Jehangir’s coins or what Mughal emperors used to wear, swords and there are lots of other things that you have been told about or read and when you see them you feel and remember your glorious way of life, obviously you do being a Muslim. Also you see other culture’s historical objects like Buddhism’s and Sikhism’s...\textsuperscript{128}

This selective approach to the history on display separates the museum into ‘our’ past and ‘other’s’ pasts, meaning that personal identification is partial and only with collections that appear or feel to be Pakistani, Islamic or Mughal history and society in the past – Islamic, General, Freedom Movement and Shaheed, Fabric and Arms/Armoury galleries. The history represented in the museum is partly identified as ‘our’ past at two levels, firstly in displays that have signs reflecting nationalist historiography such as the Freedom Movement Gallery, in particular the life history of Quaid-i-Azam and his role in the creation of Pakistan as a Muslim state. Secondly,
history was assessed as the passage of time, in terms of progress, contrasting how much culture and society has changed and continues to do so as part of modernity. Cultural transformation was traced in exhibits through a change in design, manufacture and use of objects, such as much of the handicraft and jewellery, but also the way of life as related to contemporary culture; its traditions and values.

The Lahore Museum although thought to be ideal for keeping safe (mehfoozh) the history and cultural heritage of the past as part of social memory to prevent cultural amnesia, was however, not associated with contemporary identity. It was difficult for many to forge a direct link, as many visitors stated the museum represents the past and not the ‘now’. Present-day culture could not be seen at the museum as it was said to reside in ‘our’ way of living (raehain saehain), customs and traditions (reeti rivaj) that had stable core values whilst simultaneously evolving as society developed; it could not be located as fixed to a collection of objects in the museum, maybe history is something inscribed on the body (Bennett 2003). Discussing this with Tanveer Akthar, he epitomized the inability of visitors to attach their culture and identity with the museum; whilst trying to explain this his wife Irum brought in some tea and snacks, prompting him to quip: ‘See this is our culture, the Lahori way!...we like to eat well, dress well and like to live...in our mohallay where everyone knows everyone, so this is our culture and we are proud of this...’.

The Lahore Museum, for Tanveer, fitted in as culture and identity of his ancestors but not his own, as he was a man of ‘today’, he stated history counts for little and it is all about reputation and having the right character; so the museum:

I can call it my culture but not my identity...but we can say we have no clear idea or lack of knowledge of what our identity is...but it can never be or no one will ever acknowledge that [the museum] is our identity. There is a very real difficulty in admitting this maybe one feels shame in it or just do not know that this is our identity or our heritage. I mean it is, it is our ancestor’s and land’s heritage and culture and history, but you cannot relate to it personally, it is cultural inheritance but not my identity...

Identity (pehchaan/sanakth) and the Lahore Museum are not synonymous in the mind of visitors even if, as noted by Tanveer, the concept of identity in Pakistan is not clear

129 Ibid.
130 Ibid.
other than as an ideological construct. This is further complicated by the fact that in Pakistan there is a crisis in the representation of cultural identity beyond the image perpetuated by political ideology of an Islamic state with ideal Muslim citizens. This ideological construct has failed, at a local level, to replace identification and affiliations with class, caste, religious, regional, and language identity that cut across a weak national identity. Identity for many Lahorites, as analysed by Richard Murphy McGill (1996) is incoherent and ambiguous, better understood as a ‘cubist’ complex of debate between the many different facets – national, religious, Punjabi – culture and language, caste, baradari, morality and modernity. Identity then retains a ‘fuzziness’ (Kaviraj 1992) – social, political and cultural and so what is held onto are those aspects that are most stable and for many in Lahore these are associations with Punjabi culture and a Muslim identity that links them not just to other citizens but the larger Islamic world – the ummah. Trying to classify the Lahore Museum in relation to any one of these identities is only possible at a basic level: in the displays that extol a nationalist self – Independence and Shaheed Galleries and a provincial self – Ethnological I, III (Fabrics) Galleries. The rest of the museum remains distant in terms of identity formation or affirmation and hence a curiosity and attraction of objects that are deemed unrelated to the visitor’s own culture. In this way the Lahore Museum has failed to present exhibits of objects and collections that belong to the visitor’s own culture and identity and not some ‘other’ – one that is rooted in the land and is not obscured by the constricting vision of nationalist ideology which is fixated with the events of Partition. A contestation of the nationalist vision is possible at the Lahore Museum, as it has kept safe the multiple pasts and civilizations that make up Pakistan’s past – Buddhist culture of the north-east, the Indus Valley and Hindu civilizations; a religious and cultural diversity that is missing in other accounts of cultural identity. However, unclear narratives and for the Museum Officers an obsession with protecting ‘masterpieces’, prevent the visitor from being able to see how the museum can be part of their identity, thus relegating it to a past that is acknowledged as their own yet separate from them; as the sanitized nationalist discourse on identity highlights only one identity – the Muslim self.

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131 See Chapter 3.
132 Caste in Pakistan is not the same as the religious hierarchical system in Hinduism. It is a cultural identification that binds social groups together and is prominent at times of marital negotiations when caste can play a role in choosing prospective partners; many matrimonial adverts in newspapers state the caste of the person – Jat, Rajput, Arain and so on.
However, the refusal to allow cultural identity to be associated with the museum was reflected in visitor responses that consistently failed to attach this to the museum: not a single person was of this opinion. Overwhelmingly, identity was attached to being a Muslim, importantly not as a political self, but its living aspects - religious festivals such as *Eid*. Even this identification as Muslims, for many was the 'proper' answer to give; adding shortly after that identity was also present in their clothes, food, Pakistani cricket team and Mughal monuments. Muslim identity referred to here is not the political religious dogma that informs much nationalist discourse, it is recourse to the cultural aspects, as a way of life, Ilyas Anjum reminded me that Muslim identity is based on the dualism of *deen aur duniya* (religion and this world); both being equally important. Identity is more of a complex fluid entity with many aspects and so it is difficult to give an accurate definition, but where it is most easily correlated is in those 'performances' of culture where shared values allow for the formation of collective identities (Freitag 1989) beyond the nation state; as Saima Taufail related, her identity was attached to:

...our festivals. That is our true identity like *Eid*. *12 Rabil-al--awwal* where the procession passes in front of our house...*basant* these occasions are for enjoyment too...because the things at the museum are not *surviving* in our life they were here in the past so we cannot say they are our identity now...in a roundabout way we can say our history is kept there...and culture but we cannot say identity that the museum is our identity, we cannot say that.

The Lahore Museum's inability to represent the different identities is compounded by the fact that many visitors see their own identity and culture as something living that is engaged with in festivals and cultural activities, which are cyclical and thus repeatedly performed (Bharucha 2000). The Lahore Museum then is not necessarily visited with the intention to consume or experience one's own culture or history; though delight is

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133 Interview with Ilyas Anjum on 13.07.03.
134 Interview with Saima Taufail on 01.08.03. The Islamic festival of *Eid* includes both *Eid-ul-fitr* which celebrates the end of Ramadan and *Eid-ul-Adha* during which marks the end of the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca. *12 Rabil-al-awwal* is the Islamic date for what is otherwise known as *Eid Milad-an-Nabi* marking the birth and death anniversary Prophet Mohammed (PBUH). *Basant* is a popular festival that marks the onset of spring and is celebrated in much of Punjab by the flying of brightly coloured kites and the profusion of the yellow colour in dress and decoration that is embellished into feasting and dancing. *Basant* traditionally celebrated on the rooftops of houses in the Walled City is now becoming increasingly commercialized and marketed by tourist boards as a cultural festival at a national and international level. During 2004, many visitors from India came over to witness this festival as well as the cricket matches being held between India and Pakistan. (See Murphy McGill (2001 for a discussion of *basant* in Lahore and the imagining of authentic culture).
shown if it is represented in something recognizable and part of their everyday life. The culture on display at the museum in contrast to the vibrant, participatory, social arena beyond it, appears only as historical representation that is unsocialized and frozen in time; a never changing static sedimentation of cultural identity. Whilst visitors occupy a social and cultural world where identity is internally stable, such as the reference to Muslim identity, on the outside it is living, evolving and debated within the dialectics of modernity, authenticity and tradition; as Saima Taufail stated: ‘I am a Muslim that is my identity but society and culture today is concerned with things modern...’. This living culture is not visible at the museum for visitors to subjectively experience and identify with on a personal level or reaffirming their cultural identity at various levels. Despite there being a gallery devoted to Islamic culture most people were of the opinion that this was underrepresented, at a regional level the Punjab section of Ethnological I Gallery was considered incomplete, as Nazia from Shahdara complained: ‘The culture of Radha and Krishna is shown but we would like to see that of Sohni-Mahiwal, as we want to see the culture of the Punjab and Pakistan as that is our culture really.’ The desire to see their culture and identity on display was lamented by visitors at many levels and was often related to an aspect that strongly represented who they were. Conversely, if any signs were evident of their culture, delight was expressed, as Raja Amir Khan Junjua from Multan, proud of his Rajput caste identity upon viewing signs of what he saw was Rajput identity confessed: ‘We can see our Rajput heritage here who were the rulers of India and their things are kept here. This Rajput heritage makes me feel very proud as I myself am a Rajput...’

In the subjective experience of the Lahore Museum, history and cultural heritage were identified, but extending this to the personal level of identity formation was not possible. This effort is made difficult by two factors: firstly, the sparse re-organization of the museum’s collections along cultural or political identity (see Chapter 3) leaves ample room for visitors to interpret the museum as a mixture of past culture and wonders. Secondly, identity itself is a complex issue in Pakistan where national

135 Interview with Saima Taufail on 01.08.03.
136 This is a romantic folklore tale from the 17th century from the Gujrat region in Punjab that is retold not only as a story but as poetic prose, in plays, sung about in songs and made into a movie also.
137 Nazia, a 23 years old thinking of going on to do a M.A. (26.04.03).
138 Raja Amir Khan Junjua, 43 years old, zamindar and export businessman from Multan (03.05.03)
identity has not replaced local affiliation and so for many the sense of being Pakistani is only evident at heightened moments of patriotism – war or cricket. Identity is most often referred to as provincial identity – Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and also is felt most keenly through cultural festivals. Though the museum is a prime cultural technology in which identity – cultural, religious and national can be consumed, at the Lahore Museum this is not the case; identity lives outside the museum’s walls.

The Lahore Museum is not given the cultural status it may have in Euro-American society where one goes to consume one’s own, or an ‘other’s’ cultural/historical identity, and so interpretations around the museum do not focus overtly on this appropriation of the museum; instead history and past cultures are consumed as spectacle and wonder. Since, there is little personal identification, many of the collections remain *ajaib* (distanced), but paradoxically the subjective experience is one of attraction (closeness). If the Lahore Museum is assessed in the Eurocentric sense of a museum: how far it contributes to a sense identity and community, little is gained as this exists in other social arenas, only by taking into account subjective understandings and interpretations can some sense be made of the way people do actively interact and appropriate the museum. The museum visitor in South Asian museology has too long been derided for not being capable of using the museum ‘properly’ and of being concerned only with the *ajaib*. However, if South Asian museology is to develop its own culturally appropriate sensibilities, it too must understand how these concepts operate among its visitors who at times arrive at conclusions that are close to what the museum would like to narrate. Only the visitor’s interpretations may not be grounded in pedagogical readings informed by textual or linguistic knowledge, but in the embodied and affective that they identify and imagine; as James Clifford (1985) notes the attachment of identity and cultural wealth to material objects is not a universal aesthetic.

So, who are the Lahore Museum visitors? They cannot be said to be the illiterate/rustic but individuals who use their knowledge and experience of the socialized world they inhabit – a locally situated ‘cultural capital’ to interpret the museum for their own needs and desires. For many visitors a vast amount of objects at the Lahore Museum are not present in their culture or society, thus allowing interpretation of them as ‘attractions’ and curiosities. However, this sense of ‘undecipherability’ is the pleasure, just as
Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) notes for the allure of art objects to visitors in the west, where the unknown enables the imagination to flourish. It is necessary for the museum to take note and to get to know the visitor as someone who is genuinely interested in gaining ‘knowledge’ and pleasure from what they view; were it not for the visitor the colonial museum in South Asia would become the dust house many think it is. The importance of the visitor was poignantly recalled by Fakir Syed Aijazuddin:

I still remember and it still motivates me one day I went to the museum and I noticed a family, the husband and sons were walking, the mother was a cripple and she was dragging herself along on a pirri, must have come from a lower middle class family, not as if she was a beggar...so here was this woman with her sons and husband in the museum and she was dragging herself from showcase to showcase...her motivation was inspiring and I was fascinated when I saw this woman that this is really a thirst for knowledge, for her to come into the museum. Why she could have gone to any stall and had fruit juice or something but it was a choice, just that, just that.139

139 Interview with Fakir Syed Aijazuddin on 03.06.03.
CHAPTER FIVE

Nokta Nazar\(^1\) of the Lahore Museum’s ‘Audience’

I am convinced that a museum in the East which ignores the display of curios, or which neglects “attractions”, will not – at the present stage of education – satisfy the requirements of the public. What is urgently needed is to stimulate the imagination of the people, but a purely scientific or formal arrangement of exhibits can never succeed in effecting this great end. The mosques in India, as well as the temples, do not neglect the custom which was so common in European cathedrals and churches, or go back still further to the religious shrines of Greece and Rome, in which curiosities in the form of votive offerings were displayed and Murray mentions, as an example, ostrich eggs…a photograph of the shrine of Moiyud-din-Chisti, or Kwaja Saheb, at Ajmere, which showed a number of such eggs suspended from the ceiling. There are other curiosities in the Durgah, the drums and great brass candlestick from Cheetore, which the former Emperor Akbar presented after the conquest of that famous hill fortress in 1567-8. In Delhi, amongst other treasures in the great mosque, are shewn a reputed hair from the beard of the Prophet of Islam and his shoes…Temples in India contain many jewels and much rich clothing in their treasures, but these articles are usually only displayed upon the images and not in the treasury itself. It is by the sculpture on the outer walls of their shrines that the priests attract attention, and through the eye teach the myths on which the exoteric part of their religion is based and made popular.

Colonel Thomas Holbein Hendley\(^2\)

‘ATTRCTIONS’ AND THE ‘MUSEUM SPIRIT’

Thomas Holbein Hendley wrote the above in 1914 as part of a monograph entitled *Indian Museums*, commenting on a proposal for the construction of a comprehensive museum of Indian collections in the ‘Capital of the Empire’ – London, he uniquely ruminates over suitable definitional attributes essential for a successful museum in the ‘east’. As might be expected for a colonial official, Hendley explicitly invokes

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1 *Nokta Nazar* in Urdu would translate as one’s own ‘way of seeing’ inflected by personal interest and subjectivity.
2 *Indian Museums* (1914:34). In the JIAI Vol. 16:125:33-69. Thomas Holbein Hendley was a member of the Royal and Bengal Asiatic Societies, Residency Surgeon and the Honorary Secretary and Curator of the Jeypore Museum. He was also the Honorary Secretary for the Exhibition of Indian Art Metal Work, Imperial Institute, Governor and Member of the Executive Council of the Imperial Institute, Chairman (Executive Committee) of the Jeypore Exhibition (1883), Chairman (Jeypore Committee) for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (1886).
elements of the ‘wonder house’ stating that the prevailing idea in the east of a museum remains firmly tied around to the notion of the Ajaibghar, with the principal ‘attractions’ being tufachis or tuhfajat, meaning rarities or curiosities. However, employment of this idiom by Hendley, reflecting in part on its perceived conceptualization amongst ‘the masses’, was not simply an expression of orientalizing alterity but suggestive of the fact that this was key to comprehending popular use and development of museums in the east. At the outset, he states that the museum as defined in the west at the beginning of the twentieth century, as an institution for the ‘scholar’ or ‘man of science’, was too narrow to explain the situation in Indian museums since it ignored the alluring pull of ‘attractions’. Both instruction and entertainment were necessary and critical, contributing towards the generation of interest among the public by rousing the spirit of enquiry through these attractions ‘lead[ing] to most valuable results.’ (1914:33). This recognition has close resonance with what I tried to expound in the previous chapter where the concept of ajaib was investigated as a specific way of encountering the museum space that did not necessarily confound the desire to learn or experience knowledge; but supplemented it. Likewise, Hendley does not entrust the experience and sensation of curiosity to naïve understanding but purports it as a universal instinctual quality inhabiting all museumgoers. For modern museums in the west, he alludes that this emotive response and reception of objects has been overshadowed and suppressed by the quest for, and emphasis, on science and order. Backing his thoughts with a quote from William Morris’ October 1898 lecture delivered at Burslem on Art and the Beauty of the Earth; where the latter articulated:

But first, lest any of you doubt it, let me ask you what forms the great mass of the objects that fill our museums, setting aside the positive pictures and sculptures? Is it not just common household goods of past time! True it is that some people look upon them simply as curiosities, but you and I have been taught most properly to look upon them as priceless treasures that can teach us all kinds of things.

Hendley remarks that ‘Surely these wise words justify the existence of the museum as a House of Wonders in our own day.’. Museums and exhibitions for Hendley, in the

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3 The use of Ajaib Ghar here is generic rather than with reference to the Lahore Museum in particular.
4 Hendley indicates that he is using Arabic words.
5 Quoted in Hendley (1914:34, n.2).
6 Ibid.
east or west, were inherently caught up with this directing of the visitors' attention towards ‘amusements’ or ‘attractions’ (1914:34) as a way of bringing the subject and object into contact with each other. It was curiosity that drew visitors to interact with exhibits and more so for the museum public of colonial India since attraction inspired curiosity, and the local public was conditioned to respond by other cultural encounters – at the mosque or temple as a particular visual invitation. In addressing the needs of local visitors Hendley was essentially questioning if ‘...Indian museums [were] fulfilling their utmost as useful purposes...meeting the wants of the general public, students and experts in both India and Europe, if not how to add to their value.’ (ibid:33). Even today, this monograph remains distinctive in its attempts to explore a vernacular perspective on museum consumption that accommodates expectations and experiences of the museum that deviate from the hegemonic norm, which saw most indigenous participation as inappropriate; and so is worth considering a little more.

Hendley’s emphasis on curiosities and attractions as central to satisfying the needs of visitors was linked to the fact that these opportunities for spectatorship stimulated the imagination of the visitor, which in turn it was hoped, would compliment learning as evident in other cultural arenas. What Hendley overtly suggested was that museums in India needed to foster a ‘museum effect’ (Alpers 1991) similar to that found in shrines and temples – Indian versions of European cathedrals and Greek temples, where curiosities were exhibited to attract and captivate the attention of the visitor. Aligning the ‘museum of the east’ with the classical and medieval shrines of Europe, Hendley was not necessarily maligning the former in terms of temporal progression or referring to the museum as a sacred site. Instead, he usefully employed this comparison to locate a mode of visual interaction and experience between objects and visitors in a museum within a larger social context; an appropriation Hendley commented had been displaced in modern museums of the west by concentration on linear pedagogy.7 He further developed ideas on a locally informed mode of visual engagement premising it on the

7 Hendley does not restrict himself to the museum and suggests that the Greek museum has been transferred to ‘gardens’ in India – as a place of intercourse and exchange of ideas (1914:34, n.4). Perhaps the gardens that surround many museums in India added to this zone of contemplation and discussion beyond the museum. Hendley also refers extensively to David Murray (1904) Museums, their History and their Use; with Bibliography and List of Museums in the United Kingdom, which cites museums in parts of Europe that continued to have curiosity as its display strategy, such as the Green Vaults in Dresden or Naturhistorische Hofmuseum in Vienna. For a similar discussion also see Alma S. Wittlin (1949) The Museum: its History and its Tasks in Education, especially Part I: Section III.
pleasure and delight of seeing curiosities being ‘revealed’, a process that engineered an intensified sensory (initially visual), rather than linguistic, experience; extending this to new objects Hendley states:

The Indian is never weary of seeing something new and of talking about it. A museum is peculiarly fascinating. Its attractions are proportionate to their power of arousing his curiosity and of satisfying his love for the marvellous. In this respect he has the mediaeval mind and not that of the scientist.

The ‘mediaeval’ mind referred to should not be taken literally but as a call by Hendley for the restitution of the visitor’s sensory desires when discussing success of museums in colonial India, where cognitive scientific classification, which sought to control wonder, had not eclipsed the imagination and the bodily experience. Hendley wanted museums in India to embrace the marginalized and subaltern (Prakash 1991) understanding of the museum by indigenous visitors and he justified this by recourse to the popularity of other indigenous spaces that possessed what he termed ‘museum spirit’ (Hendley 1914:39), in other words a form of local exhibitionism. The insightful observations offered, help contend that perhaps one way to comprehend the local visitor’s appropriation of the museum is by investigating it in relation to other public spaces of exhibition: arenas of visual consumption, social action and imagination; it is precisely this allusion that justifies quoting his thoughts at length here:

The large numbers of visitors to Indian Museums have often been noticed with surprise, but it is really not remarkable if we consider how little attraction there is in the ordinary Indian shops and bazaars in which rare and valuable articles are kept out of sight for very good reasons. Moreover, it must be recollected that the craving for excitement, and the love of the strange and curious, are quite as great as mediaeval times in Europe, and that the people in the East are credulous as ever were those in the West. These peculiarities are kept alive most sedulously in the sphere of religion. Fairs, wayside shows, the strange feats and exhibitions of ascetics, pilgrimages, religious processions, and the special displays, all tend to keep up what we might term the museum spirit...At fairs, which are generally associated with pilgrimages, all sorts of attractions are to be found. Ascetics vie with each other on exhibiting some form of self torture...The pilgrim on his way to a holy spot...passes perhaps the head of a living man which sticks out of the mud on the roadside...or on a platform he may see a great variety of images, the object of both exhibits being, of course to make money.

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8 See Stephen Bann (1995) *Shrines, Curiosities, and the Rhetoric of Display* (1995), examines the spectacle of pre-Renaissance forms of display at pilgrimage sites and cathedrals in Europe linking these conventions to the formation of cabinets of curiosity in the 16th and 17th centuries.

9 Hendley (1914:39).
Then there are clever triptychs and pentaptychs, or little portable shrines with folding doors, on which numerous myths are painted, or paintings on cloth, etc, which the owner explains to the passer-by...or at places such as Hurdwar at one of the great pilgrimage fairs, or melas, at which small armies of ascetics attend...ravelling each other in the strangeness of their exhibits.10

By drawing attention to a ‘museum spirit’ that existed beyond the museum’s four walls, yet pervaded it through visitor expectation, Hendley rightly claimed that the museum public would anticipate similar affective ‘attractions’ at the museum. The museum in colonial India failed to acknowledge the presence of this active indigenous mode of consumption belittling it as misconception (see previous chapter), which as Hendley notes was ‘part of education’ at that ‘stage’. Hendley’s exegesis illuminatingly chooses to confront this by comparing the performance of the museum to other ‘exhibitionary complexes’, pointing out that the museum in colonial India was part of pre-existing social arenas, cultural consumption and ways of seeing. By extension, the manner of interaction and participation with displays outside the museum space – visual, sensory and imaginative, would also be used by visitors to comprehend the museum; so success hinged on employing a display rhetoric that incorporated indigenous visual predilections.

The other spaces of indigenous ‘exhibit’ appropriation that Hendley refers to bolstered his conviction that the marvellous, fascinating and imaginative were fundamental aspects in the consumption of ‘attractions’ and mediated by sensory reactions at first, the visual then those of other senses such as touch and smell.11 Hendley further exemplified this by recalling an event he witnessed whilst attending one of the local fairs in Jaipur where a Jain banker from Ajmer exhibited his idea on the birth of the first of the Jain Tirthankars and the heaven from which he descended. Using gilt and brass models the banker depicted palaces, sacred places, different Jain heavens and a large number of figures of gods, men, animals, trees and so on. The banker was so impressed with his display that Hendley reports one day he found the man ‘...scattering leaves of roses and other flowers, and even small seed pearls and minute precious stones, as well as bruised spices about the models to increase, through the sense of smell as well as sight, the effect on visitors...’. (1914:40). Remarking on this Hendley

10 Hendley (1914:39).
11 Pinney (a2002).
states: ‘Is it not marvellous that under such conditions the wonder side of a museum is most popular.’ (ibid). It is this acceptance of ‘wonder’ allied with an imaginative curiosity: a local way appropriating and experiencing the museum, which simultaneously socialized the museum space as part of a wider ‘museum spirit’ that differentiates Hendley’s perspective on indigenous museum consumption in India from other colonial accounts. Interestingly, Hendley’s perceptive insights and term ‘museum spirit’ are wonderfully coterminous and pertinent to what I wish to explore here, specifically the consumption of the Lahore Museum as a visual encounter in relation to the existence of the ‘interocular’ (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992, 1995) in South Asia (see below). The contemporary relevance of Hendley’s ideas in this leap from the early twentieth century to the present-day indicate that the curious and wonder are stable and important components of museum culture in South Asia and not just an orientalizing reflection. This was demonstrated for the Lahore Museum in the previous chapter but is evident in other museums in South Asia also, for example in the very city where Hendley was curator – Jaipur, for which Rupert Snell (1992), whilst relating his experience of researching manuscript collections states:

Also in Jaipur is the Museum of Indology, a privately run collection...This museum is a real ajāib-khāna, and includes such diverse artefacts as a glass dholak, a rabbit-hair inscribed with the gāyatrī mantra, many kinds of crystal, a Rs. 10,000 note issued by S.C. Bose’s ‘Bank of Independence’, a glass bottle with some verses of the Quran written on the inside [sic], and a Bhutanese postage stamp in the form of a plastic gramophone recording of the national anthem.12

Interrogating concepts of ‘attraction’ and ‘museum spirit’ along with the ‘interocular’ (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992, 1995) that share a commonality in foregrounding a fluid visuality, I want to re-socialize the Lahore Museum within a wider visual framework where the museum acts as one visual site; consumption of which is congruent to other sites in the visualscape of Lahore that both the visitors and museum cohabit - including shrines, bazaars, film and television.

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12 Rupert Snell (1992:40) further notes that: ‘One is reminded of the Pitt Rivers holdings, or of Kim’s encounter with the mysteries of Logan Sahib’s house.’ (ibid). The Museum of Indology in Jaipur is a privately run museum that was established in 1960 by Acharya Ram Charan Sharma ‘Vyakul’ and has 18 sections of folk and tantric art collection on three stories.
THE MUSEUM ‘EYE’

The most conspicuous issue that Hendley (1914) was trying to contend with in his monograph hovered around the redefinition of a museum model that had its foundations in the local; specifically being attentive to the activities of the ‘eye’. Essentially, this recourse to visuality – as a way of seeing and more specifically in South Asia its corporeal reciprocation and sensual affinity (see below), of the local Indian society enabled Hendley to localize the museum in his exegesis as one visual exhibitionary arena of wonder and imagination among a fluid ‘museum spirit’. If we then start to accept that we need to begin with the local ‘scene’ of social relations, historical connections and cultural production of meanings (as this thesis has suggested throughout) then both the museum and its visitor need to be pursued further by recontextualizing them within this setting. In other words, what I am specifically advocating is a socialization of the Lahore Museum based on South Asian precepts of visuality; however, this is not to isolate vernacular museum understandings that become diametrically opposed to the global. Perhaps a more reasonable reflection for most museums in the non-west is the ‘g’local’ where local appropriation presents one reality amongst other more transnational meanings that surround and influence a museum. One way to address this is by exploring the museum as a mode of visual consumption, which is the primary form of interaction as well as being the most direct and instinctual relationship between museum objects and visitors. Yet what is important to realize at the outset is that the visitor’s gaze is not globally uniform either, with vision itself being guided by well established culturally informed scopic regimes, which are applied in experiencing the museum space.

By highlighting the role played by visual consumption in South Asian museum appropriation, my concern is not to dichotomize this form of communication into whether the ‘message’ is received or not, since this provisions limited answers and is of little use in understanding ‘alternative’ local ways of seeing the museum. The suggestion is that effectiveness of a museum should not be judged on the success of linear communication as pedagogic knowledge. A more fruitful investigation into visual interpretation is best approached through a grounding in the cultural grammar of

seeing that operates within South Asian society – its beliefs, common sense and everyday practices (ibid). Research into other visual media in South Asia – soap operas and television (Das 1995, Monterio 1998), film (Ubero 2001), photographic image (Pinney 1997) and chromolithographs (Pinney 2001), have shown how consumption and interpretation are contingent upon a visual grammar that affect the South Asian viewing/bodily praxis. Furthermore, this visual lexicon is not exclusive to each media but it is intertwined creating ‘intervisual dialogue’ between media that help debate as well as intensify accretion and constitution of social and political realities (Ramaswamy 2002). However, before immersing the Lahore Museum into this expansive arena of mobile visual genres and their dialogic consumption, I want to combine this emphasis on visual consumption within parallel movements in museological discourse that have taken cue from research on visual communication in media studies. This focus has squarely shifted towards the interpretative moment as a process of visual consumption, which has allowed critical museology to further empower the visitor by allowing the museum to be permeated by pluralistic meanings, negotiations and experiences. In this regard, museum consumption becomes an active and subjective practice in a similar manner to other arenas of cultural consumption (Miller 1995). So how has the humble museum visitor been turned into cultural spectator as part of a museum ‘audience’ (Hooper-Greenhill 1995)?

The change in terminology in which visitors are referred to as an ‘audience’ was proposed by Hooper-Greenhill (1995), who borrowed the term from work in media reception within cultural studies, at a time when the visitor was being reinserted into museological discourse (see previous chapter). This conceptual adoption was facilitated by the fact that both disciplines were preoccupied with re-evaluating their respective analysis of the reception process with intentions to reveal a nuanced subject position. Interestingly here, the more visually inclined term ‘audience’ is also apt in accounting for the experience of the public at the Lahore Museum; many describing their activity in such terms, as Khalid Zubair wrote: ‘The museum is a delight to watch...’.14 Before examining local inflections on such visual terminology as ‘watching’ (dekhna) for the South Asian context, I want to concentrate on the

14 In the public comments book (English section) for the photographic exhibition on the monuments of Lahore held between 27th March – 13th April 2002. Khalid Zubair was not alone, other members of the public also mentioned ‘watching’ as their activity within the museum.
theoretical shift that created a platform whereby the subjective visual experience was examined as a negotiation. This linkage is of vital significance when undertaking an investigation of museum consumption in South Asia as a visual mode since it prevents association of ocularcentric interpretation as being only pertinent to the ‘other’ – usually the ‘illiterate’ or ‘uneducated’, and makes it relevant to all museum visitors; with the Lahore Museum being one exemplar.

Regard for visitor agency and visual interaction in museology took on a more central role when it decided to experiment by opening up to an interdisciplinary outlook and amalgamated insights from other areas of research that were engaged with visual reception such as media studies. First signs of this shift were initiated when ideas around spectatorship as a process of communication from media studies, in which institutional hegemony, plural interpretations and resistance all played a part in the eventual reception of the message, were taken on board. Media studies had rigorously theorized the audience since the 1980’s in reaction to its own dissatisfaction with the simple mass communication’s model that had rendered the audience as passive receptacles.15 A ‘New’ discourse was put forth which worked on principles of ‘Incorporation/Resistance’ (Abercrombie & Longhurst 1998) that did not venture to replace the text with the reader but insisted on ‘negotiation’ being the key to interpretative complex. Principally, this reflected a general move in cultural studies where the ‘reader’ was not obliged to take up the subject position offered by the ‘text’ instead there was a contestation of power relations (Ang 1996, Morley 1992, 1995) and a ‘mutual constitution’ of reader/text (Hall 1999). This manifested itself in media studies as the ‘New Audience Research’/‘New Revisionism’ of the 1980’s and 1990’s; typified by David Morley’s ‘ethnography’ based research on British television audiences (1992).16 In some instances criticism was targeted at this approach for blind

15 The frustration with this ‘hypodermic’ model was that it concentrated primarily on the ‘text’ which was assumed to dupe the passive audience/reader and concerned with behaviourist effects of ‘uses and gratifications’; as encountered in the Frankfurt School theorists (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998, Ang 1996, Morley 1995).

16 The use of ‘ethnography’ by Morley (1992) to reveal a variety of interpretations of the text in relation to social and cultural context of viewing, has been criticised for being more of an ‘applied methodology’ (Ang 1996) than a prolonged exposure to the natural environment of viewing from which the participants in his study were removed. (For similar work to Morley’s also see Roger Silverstone’s (1994) Television and Everyday Life).
celebration of popular creativity, however, as Morley (1996) pointed out awareness of the 'politics' of communication was crucial, and in agreement with Ang (1998), stated that 'active' should not be equated with 'political' clout to alter power relations. Hence, the principle of 'negotiation' overcame this and created room for dialogue and multiple interpretations.

Similarly, keeping Morley (1996) and Ang's (1996) reservations in mind, I do not want to use this shift to reify the visitor/audience since this itself would lead to an abstraction, rather I too take visual negotiation between the museum and its audience as a dialogic interaction which is ultimately constrained by the institution. This is an important consideration when focusing on audience participation in the interactive moment and subsequent negotiation of cultural values, identity and meaning in the appropriation of the 'message' represented. Acceptance here of the ultimate limits set around interpretation by the museum space also avoids the extremes of popular creativity that are warned against; as are premature closures or totalizing assumptions of the audience's intentions and interactions. Therefore, the museum's authority does not dissolve or mutate into hybridized forms of representation, it retains a sense control – physical and conceptual, even if only weakly as in the case of the Lahore Museum, offering a unique experience that is different from other visual experiences, as commented upon by most visitors to the Lahore Museum. Despite the increasing shift towards accommodating polysemous museum meanings that open up the opportunity for different strategies of visual interpretations, as in the case of Hooper-Greenhill's (2000) 'post-museum', one should remain wary of endless postmodern pluralism as infinite signification is anchored by the subject's mind and body; giving provisional closure.

In setting out this agenda for the museum audience, what Hooper-Greenhill (2000) does not explicitly prise out is the vision or the form visual sensibility takes within a specific culture. The act of viewing and the experience of visual cultures within a society implicitly direct an audience's reception, and vision itself conforms to socially appropriate ways of seeing, thus the situation of uncontrolled melange of responses is

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James Curran (1996) and Ien Ang (1996) have been wary of this liberal attitude towards the audience as all powerful to the extent that the text becomes passive – as in the work of De Certeau (1984) and John Fiske (1989) on popular culture consumption.
even more improbable. Visuality is an anchoring force that determines how people interact with, and what they expect from, the objects on display. For us here the examination of a South Asian visuality can help avoid any ahistorical or unsocialized celebration of reception pluralism; by taking into account the local visitor’s gaze as tied to ‘vestigial dialects’ (Nandy 1995) that direct South Asia vision through a shared grammar. I do not wish to essentialize South Asian visuality as darshan or nazar, when it may share certain ways of seeing in Euro-American museums that are sometimes denied by pedagogic representation; vision then becomes something more than local but less than global (Pinney 2004).

Another factor that comes into play when dealing with visual interpretation is the wider visual arena of society; the museum cannot be isolated from this. A visitor’s vision is a socialized sense, it is not switched on or off in a specific way to see the museum. Visitors, along with a shared visual grammar, actively employ their experience and knowledge of other visual cultures in society to comprehend museum displays. It is not so much the ‘struggle’ over meaning between the institution and the viewer/spectator’s acceptance/resistance that concerns me most, what I aim to do is employ this active audience stance by contextualizing it in relation to local visual practices and other cultural technologies with which the museum competes, in similar vein for media, Ang states:

...we should stop conceptualizing television, radio, the press, and so on, in isolation, as a series of separable independent variables having more or less clearcut correlations with another set of dependent, audience variables.18

Among Ang’s ‘so on’ one could place the museum institution, as like other media it is constructed and ‘performs’ alongside other visual technologies and images that help construct, confirm or introduce values, identities, pleasure and wonders for its consumers. From this perspective, once again the Lahore Museum is not an unyielding or misconceived space by its visitors but a fecund forum, with the potential for a plethora of meanings/contestations in relation to other spaces that are present alongside it in the visualscape of Lahore – saints’ shrines, bazaars, films and so on.

18 Ang (1996:67). Also see Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998:121-157) who also put forth the need to consider the relationship of different media within society, not only for audience consumption but how they interrelate.
In addition to Hooper-Greenhill, a number of other studies in museology have drawn on this approach to illuminate the subjective quality of audience interpretation. Increasingly this communication is contextualized by recourse to wider "communities" that provide interpretative frames, other than the museum’s, for the negotiation of meaning and viewing - social and cultural aspects. Constance Perin (1992) in proposing a theory of representation and reception suggests that the museum public is part of the institution’s ‘communicative circle’, simultaneously acknowledging the audience as immersed in social life and better analyzed as ‘interpretative communities’ (ibid) or perhaps better for us here as ‘visual interpretative communities’. A local politics of interpretation is something that can be put forth as seeking to unmask museum communication as principally dialectical; which Kratz (2002) describes as a ‘reciprocal constitution’. In relation to South Asian collections and viewing Richard Davis (1997), (also starting with the notion of ‘interpretative communities’), observes that interpretative strategies are not natural but learned within a particular social setting and prone to change. Davis coins the phrase ‘communities of response’, which he states is ‘valuable for considering the plurality of ways viewers approach and encounter the visual object...[where] different ways of seeing animate the objects seen in different ways.’ (ibid:9). The polysemous object then encounters the pluralism of interpretation/viewing strategies, performing different roles over time – historical and cultural, for the various members of the audience. Visual interpretation is thus inherently tied up with the museum and more so for institutions in South Asia where society utilizes vision and visual media not just for scopophilia but affectively to engage with imagery as well as negotiate collective

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19 For example, Fyfe & Ross (1996) explore the various ‘readings’ made of museum exhibits by residents in a conurbation of Midlands, UK in relation to criteria of household dynamics, family structure, life histories and social relationships of subjects. Worts (1995) investigates ‘visitor creativity’ and the role of personal meanings when viewing art by using ‘Share your reaction’ cards in the gallery. Falk & Dierking (1992) put forward what they call the 'Interactive Experience Model' through which they try to explicate and track the 'total' museum visiting experience from initial thoughts to the actual visit and then recollections of the visit, but disappointingly they still search for patterns and structures of behaviour as in earlier work on museum visitors. Radley (1991) tries to capture a ‘bodily experience’ and praxis where exhibits can shock, disrupt or provide moments of reconstitution or discontinuity.

20 See Karp, Kreamer and Lavine (1992), Clifford 1997, Simpson (1996), but here I want to highlight a community’s meanings and practices as an anchoring framework for interpretation.

21 Kratz (2002) investigates how different museums and audiences handle the same exhibition, engendering multilayered and poly-vocal discourses. The exhibition Okiek Portraits travelled between Kenya and US between 1989-1997, during which time she records the responses of the institutions and the various publics – American and Kenya; and intra-community differences.

22 Davis (1992:9).
identities, tradition/modernity and exercise their social imagination. It is to the elucidation of this South Asian visuality that I turn next, which in fact is more akin to different types of visualities that Woodman Taylor calls 'polyscopic' (2002:297) and rely heavily on the sensual and corpothetic (Pinney a2002) to be efficacious.

SOUTH ASIAN SCOPOPHILIA

**Darshan/Dekhna:** When thinking about vision and the act of viewing/looking in South Asian society, one immediate association is with the 'regime' of *darshan* (see Babb 1981, Eck 1981), particularly in the religious context of *puja* (worship). This mode of viewing is examined as the visual reception of sacred images in Hinduism - be it sculptural, pictorial, photographic or 'human', whereby taking *darshan* the devotee seeks blessings and plenitude through seeing and conversely being seen by the sacred image. Potency of this visual modality is identified in the reciprocation of the gaze that enables the exchange of mutually fixating glances; to the point of intensified absorption between viewer-viewed or subject-object. As a religious form of visuality *darshan* is one possible way of seeing open to visitors of South Asian museums, where many images of Hindu gods/goddess can be found in galleries which the 'communities of response' (Davis 1997:9) can approach with the intention to have *darshan.*

23 *Darshan,* as a religious visual practice is a highly appealing frame through which to explore the museum, as it allows comparison between the 'temple effect' and the museum, as well as the co-existence of the 'cultic' and 'exhibition' values of objects (Benjamin 1999). However, what it prevents is the formulation of a more generalized notion of South Asian visual consumption of the museum that is not restricted by overtly religious affiliation; this does not necessarily mean that the concept of *darshan* is redundant for us here. In relation to the Lahore Museum, it is true that no visitor would state that they

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23 Although not so evident in the Lahore Museum today this could have been the case in the past and as noted in the last chapter visitors did take off their shoes before entering the museum space. Also it is not uncommon to see individuals touch the feet and look up at a statue depicting a god/goddess as they pass through galleries in museums in India; I saw this happen at the Prince of Wales Museum in Mumbai and also at the Indian Museum in Kolkata (see Elliott 2003). Interestingly, though one day I did see a garland of flowers, most likely from Data Darbar shrine in Lahore placed round a carved image of Ganesh in one of the wooden doors on display. Another point is that much research on visual culture and visuality in South Asia has been confined to India, which thus provides the main theoretical framework, however, similar visual practices can be found in other South Asian societies.
perform *darshan*\textsuperscript{24} as a religious visual practice at the museum, the practical reason because very few visitors are Hindus; the expression most frequently used by visitors is that they have come ‘ajaib ghar ko dekhnay’ (to see the museum). Interestingly, if *darshan* is removed from a strictly religious subtext it becomes a good starting point to discuss attributes of a South Asian way of seeing that the mass museum audience of the area embrace, also allowing the revelation of some similarities between *darshan* and *dekhna*; especially in the desire for reciprocity and sensual response that goes beyond retinal stimulation.

Diana Eck (1981) in her investigation of *darshan* is almost suggestive of this more profane application, but her focus on Hinduism prevents this, when she notes that:

In addition to the *darsan* of temple images and sacred places, Hindus also value the *darsan* of holy persons, such as *sants* (“saints”), *sadhus* ("holy men"), and *sannyásins* (“renouncers”). When Mahatma Gandhi travelled through India, tens of thousands of people would gather wherever he stopped in order to “take his *darsan*”\textsuperscript{25}.

Eck’s comments above on the ‘value’ of having *darshan* of holy persons, certain pilgrimage sites and deified political figures\textsuperscript{26} is not confined to Hinduism alone, it is a popular aspect of South Asian culture that is equally evident in Pakistan also; even though at times it is referred to as un-Islamic (see later). What I am trying to extrapolate from *darshan* is the fact that everyday vision in South Asia encapsulates more than just the act of disembodied looking, as Eck remarks for *darshan* in the Indian context, seeing is a form of ‘touching’ and ‘knowing’\textsuperscript{27}, in fact it is an ‘...imaginative and constructive activity, an act of making. It is not simply the reception of images on the retina.’ (1981:19). These elements are also present in everyday vision and visual practice as I hope to elucidate for the Lahore Museum within the visual culture it inhabits, allowing one to further stipulate grounds for a general South Asian visuality.

\textsuperscript{24} I am not suggesting that people in Lahore or other parts of Pakistan do not use the word *darshan*, it is used generically to suggest intentionality in seeing someone one or something, as if fulfilling a visual wish or desire. I was informed by Chris Pinney (pers. comm.) that Muslims in India also invoke *darshan* when visiting saints’ shrines.

\textsuperscript{25} Eck (1981:5)

\textsuperscript{26} For discussion around chromolithographs of Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Bhagat Singh and other nationalists in colonial and postcolonial India, which in the case of Gandhi built on formats of representation used to depict deities, see Chris Pinney (2004) particularly chapters 6 and 7.

\textsuperscript{27} See Pinney (a2002).
Critically evaluating Eck's elucidation of *darshan* Sylvian Pinard (1991) adds to it by linking *darshan* to other senses such as taste and at one point interestingly looks at its connection to 'taste' within the remit of the arts and aesthetics in the Vedic philosophical notion of *rasa*. Pinard notes that the aim of arts in India, whether verbal or visual is to produce and communicate *rasa*, which he clarifies by quoting Sudhir Kakar's explanation:

From cave paintings to temple sculpture, from Sanskrit drama to classical dance and music, Indian art was traditionally dominated by the goal of creating (by the artist), evoking (in the audience), and absorption (by both) of *rasa*... *Rasa* consists first in the creation of one of the eight emotional states – love, laughter, sorrow, anger, high spirits, fear, disgust and astonishment – in the theme or subject of a work of art. Second, it implies the evocation of the same emotional state in the spectator, listener or reader. And finally, it summons the complete mutual absorption of the audience and the artist in the emotional state that has been so created.28

The parallels between *darshan* as a visual modality and the form of cultural spectatorship elaborated by Kakar are clearly striking, and significantly the underlying fact that unites them both is the emphasis on mutuality and absorption of object and audience. Another context in which this darshanic quality of mutual reliance between viewer/viewed was essential is that of the Mughal courtly culture. Sandra Freitag (2000) exposes the central role of vision in delineating the hierarchy of power and patronage in performances that were part of the courtly culture.29 She shows how the power of the gaze was associated with royalty but this had no value, efficacy or integrative force without its counterpart the audience or performers who would partake and return this gaze. The enduring nature of vision in South Asia it seems has never been concerned with just looking: it has always sought in many arenas to incorporate other senses and emotions, thus uniting vision with the somatic whilst concurrently diminishing the distance between the subject/object. Being an audience member or a viewer then is not a neutral position: the viewer has expectations to be attracted and drawn in by an object or representation and to become 'interlocked' through vision; leading to feelings of knowing and other emotional responses.

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29 Freitag also looks at *darshan* and *bhakti* as well as live performances and modern day media in determining the public sphere in India – past and present.
The act of viewing in South Asia within sacred, profane, political or artistic realms clearly cannot be said to be incongruent but compose a fluid visual field in which the gaze migrates from one arena to another maintaining a unity through a grammar based on the expectation of embodied experience and pleasure. Whether *darshan* or *dekhna*, both contain a notion of viewing that anticipates negotiation between the viewer and object without reification of one over the other, coupled with emotive responses and a sense of ‘knowing’ or affirmation of prior knowledge. If this is applied to consumption of displays in the museum, where visitors simply state that they have come to ‘watch’, within this larger context ‘just watching’ (*dekhna*) refers to much more than simply looking. However, the significance of the visual in South Asia should not be approached as only a sensory predilection for viewing; rather it is a social practice that is best accounted for in relation to ideas bound up with notions of viewing. Visual representation and reception does not operate outside of socio-political or cultural agendas but is caught up as one expression of these, which in South Asia is highly effective, as Vishvajit Pandya (1998) suggests for *Kachchhe* art and architecture in Gujarat: viewing of which is intimately tied up with establishing social interaction and preservation of the *Kachchhe* world view ideology.  

**Nazar:** The act of viewing is not conceptually limited to that which comes under the auspices of *darshan* or *dekhna*, which render significant the anticipation of a fixated intense moment of seeing or revelation of an object when viewed; in turn helping accrue meaning for both the subject and object. However, as noted above it is important to realize that vision for South Asia is in fact ‘polyscopic’ (Taylor 2002:297), indicating other ways in which vision is encountered. Alongside the modes of visuality discussed above there is the highly pervasive notion of *nazar*, which at one level can be translated as vision and on another level it highlights the fact that this vision is not a neutral term, not in the politicized sense, but in South Asia *nazar* pertains to ‘good’ and ‘evil’ vision. Examining the latter notion first, *nazar* is used by some people as suggestive of having a distinctly negative way of looking – ‘*nazar lagana*’, which must be averted. Once again, this points to vision as a powerful social practice in South Asian society, whose attributes this time present a reverse scenario of the absorptive

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30 Pandya (1998) shows how visitors are expected to see and be shown the interior of the house whose walls are intricately decorated particularly with mirrors that reflect light and can attract the viewer. Visuality and visual markers then create and maintain social bonds in this context.

31 *Nazar* is the Persian derived Urdu word for vision or sight and is equally used in Hindi as it is in Urdu.
qualities of *darshan*, where there are active attempts to avoid reciprocation of the gaze and not be the recipient of such vision. Activities of *nazar* are prevalent in Lahore and it is suspected to be one of the most common factors causing minor ailments, failure in a business or social venture, bad luck and general decline. Individuals often discuss who may be the culprit, speculating it was such and such because ‘*usski nazar toh hai bhi bahut burri*’ (his/her way of looking is very bad). It is worth briefly investigating how people try to combat this forceful visual element to demonstrate how in South Asia this negative side of vision is dealt with physically and socially.

In attempting to translate *nazar*, the most obvious association to a similar concept in the west would be the case of evil-eye syndrome, however, there are specific local strategies that attempt to combat this and remove the evil eye (*nazar utharna*). In Lahore, people were always fearful of being caught by the evil eye (*nazar lagjani*) and some placed a small dot of black antimony behind their ears, wore black bangles (very popular for young children) or tied a black rag on cars to act as a barrier against it. Often when someone had made an effort with his or her appearance for a social function they would be told by a family member ‘*nazar say baachna*’ (keep safe from *nazar*); clearly, an element of risk is attached to *nazar*. At an everyday level one resident close to where I was living in the Karim Park area of Lahore, was always expressive of the possibility of *nazar* from her domestic help. She told me that whenever she cooked something special or purchased something new she always saw to it that her helpers got some of the food or something new too as a countermeasure.32 Failure to attend to this distribution for her could result in *nazar* that could bring ensuing misfortune, as she said ‘*ahna di nazar wich hi rendi hai*’ (‘their [helpers] *nazar* remains attached [to the object]’). This fear is palpable but resignedly one that cannot be wholly avoided and so prevention is sought at many levels.

The most common antidote is known as *mircha warna* whereby dried red chillies are rotated clockwise around a person’s body circumference, who has been afflicted by *nazar*, seven times, once anticlockwise and then passing it between their legs, after which they are burnt. The strength of the subsequent flame and choking smoke provide evidence for the strength of the *nazar* and its removal. A similar method to this, which

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32 This relationship of *nazar* and food is also commented upon by W. Cockburn in his note (no. 793) in the *Punjab Notes and Queries* (Vol. 1, no. 9:June 1884. PSA), where a family set apart a little of everything they are about to eat before a meal, if only to throw it away, to prevent *nazar*. 

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I was informed about is to get some salt-like mineral called phutkari, do the same
circular movement round the body as for the chillies, burn it and as popular lore goes
the piece of salt on contact with heat should transform into the face of the person who
caused the nazar.\textsuperscript{33} It would seem that embodiment or transference of negative effects
of nazar following visual interaction are clearly feared, and the ubiquity of this within
South Asian society was also noted by many wandering British colonialists who
reported their observations of this popular and enduring local vision along with
accompanying preventative strategies.

The \textit{Punjab Notes and Queries} was a monthly periodical founded and edited by
Richard Carnac Temple from 1883 to 1887, with the stated mission of being: ‘Devoted
to the systematic collection of authentic notes and scraps of information regarding the
country [India] and the people.’\textsuperscript{34} One ‘authentic’ topic that is systematically thought
to be worth commenting on as illustrative of the Indian colony and its inhabitants is that
of nazar. Appearing in the ‘Folklore Section’, over the months there is an
accumulation of information on the practices and beliefs that surrounded this aspect of
vision in Punjab. In the first issue of 1883 a note is sent in by Denzil Ibbetson entitled
\textit{Black a protection against evil eye}\textsuperscript{35}, where he links the use of black to iron as the ‘real
charm’ whose ‘...virtues have been extended to its colour.’\textsuperscript{36}, as a form of protection
against nazar. Ibbetson exemplifies his statement by relaying that ‘...a house under
construction should always be protected by the presence of an iron pot; though a ghará
(earthen pot) painted black, being cheaper and answering nearly as well, is often
substituted as a nazar wattu, or evil eye destroyer.’\textsuperscript{37} However, what was ‘new’ to
Ibbetson was the extension from iron to the use of the colour black that revealed itself
to him in a conversation: ‘Sáhib – “Why don’t you keep that pretty child’s face clean?”
Father – “Oh Sáhib! A little black keeps off the evil eye”.’\textsuperscript{38}

33 There are also a number of preventative measures, which people carry out regularly to avoid nazar
and alleviate hardship, called giving sadka. Sadka is the word used for a type of alms given in the
name of Allah. Sadkas are given weekly or as required with Tuesdays and Saturdays being best. A
common form of sadka is: people get some goat’s meat touch it and then dispose of it by throwing it in
flowing water so it moves away or at a crossroads where crows and eagles will consume the meat.
People advise not to go near it or cross over it, as it is ‘potent’ and a risk exists in contracting the bad
fortune someone else is attempting to rid themselves of. Many variations exist, with slight alterations
for different places in Pakistan.
34 Introduction to the first volume of the \textit{Punjab Notes and Queries} Vol. I, no. 1:October 1883. (PSA)
36 Ibid.
37 Ibid (emphasis original).
38 Ibid.
The attention of Ibbetson to such pieces of ethnographic information is no surprise, but on the pages of the *Punjab Notes and Queries*, *nazar* became the staple of contributions by a W. Cockburn, who regularly penned down his encounters across Punjab. Beginning with an initial note relating to an appropriate definition of *nazar* he wrote:

The expression "the evil eye" is perhaps not quite correct as a translation of the Hindu [sic] word *nazar*. It is generally accepted by English people to indicate the supposed ill effects on life and property accruing by the intentional gaze of avarice. The word *nazar* is much more comprehensive, and represents ill effects of the gaze of any one, not excepting the most benevolent or affectionately disposed, when that gaze has induced complete satisfaction in the mind, with the object observed, whether animate or inanimate. Intention is quite left out of the question here...39

The two notes immediately following this above clarification pick up on ideas of *nazar* wattus, once again black in the use of *kajal* is said to be particularly effective, since dark colours are ‘...considered by natives who are fond of gay colours to be the most likely to cause dissatisfaction in the mind of the observers.’ 40 The second of these notes is worth quoting here as it demonstrates well the interactional dynamics between a viewer and the recipient who averts the desire for satisfaction that is difficult to textualize; whilst exploring a little further the role of intention within this W. Cockburn suggests:

In the matter of ordinary *nazar* the argument is, that the human mind is so constituted that covetousness is involuntary; that is to say, that a man blind of an eye...is almost certain on observing another with a particularly fine pair of eyes, to be led to think of his own, and wish involuntarily that he had such a pair: in this case he will have cast *nazar* on him, which unless counteracted is sure to result in something serious affecting his health. If, however, the blind man’s attention has been distracted by the other’s having put *kajal* (lamp black) on his eyelids, or by a scar on his eyebrows, or by a piece of white thread hanging therefrom, or anything else of that sort calculated to distract the attention, the idea of a fine pair of eyes would have been conveyed to the mind in combination with one of those defects, and would have induced, and as involuntary as the fine eyes did covetousness, an element of dissatisfaction which is fatal to *nazar*, as I observed before, absolute satisfaction.41

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39 Note 354, Folklore Section. Vol. I, no. 4:January 1884:40. (PSA). In this note Cockburn wrote that *nazar* was a ‘Hindu’ word which is incorrect and perhaps he meant Hindi; even if he was attributing religious affiliation, in a later note he contradicts this as he states that Muhammadons are more fearful than the Hindus as they firmly believe in ‘witchcraft’ often providing the latter with texts from the Quran to help ward off *nazar* and prepare love potions and so on (Note 931, Folklore Section. Vol. I, no.11:August 1884:124. (PSA).


The distraction of *nazar* by what Cockburn calls ‘disgusting’ objects is shown by him to be the most potent and fatal sentiment and antidote.\(^4^2\) Cockburn is forthcoming in presenting a manner of cures and distraction techniques that are availed by locals to vanquish the effects of *nazar*: such as the burning of chillies (similar to that noted above) mixed this time with bran, salt, mustard and eye-lashes of the inflicted.\(^4^3\)

‘Natural’ remedies include people born with deformations for instance double thumbs or bald men,\(^4^4\) as they are considered lucky for having these ‘natural distractions’. Material accretions to the body in the case of personal beauty can be helpful also, like the tying of an old rag to the left arm, or if a suspicious look is detected the pretence ‘...to limp or contort his visage and spasmodically grasp his elbow or ankle as though he were in pain...’\(^4^5\) can distract the unwarranted attention. Less theatrical, but more elegant, is the case of carrying a ‘gaudy handkerchief’, as Cockburn writes: ‘My sub-assistant a Jadon – Thakár, showed me one with a broad red border, and black checks in the centre, which he informed me was first-rate for this purpose’.\(^4^6\) This element of distraction as linked to giving a sense of dissatisfaction to the viewer is reported to be the reason for producing deliberate defects in objects such as spoiling or irregularity of patterns on ornamental clothes\(^4^7\) and misspelling of words or blotting of characters in literature.\(^4^8\)

*Nazar*, as a form of visuality, contains within it an almost habitual fear that surround the effects of vision and being seen in South Asian society, and in opposition to the desire for mutual interaction of the gazes in *darshan/dekhna*, social practices actively try to prevent a complete satisfaction of the gaze. The performed cures and

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\(^4^3\) Note 448, Folklore Section. Vol. I, no. 5:February 1884:51. (PSA).
\(^4^4\) Note 530, Folklore Section. Vol. I, no. 6:March 1884:64. (PSA).
\(^4^5\) Note 531, Folklore Section. Vol. I, no. 5:March 1884:64. (PSA).
\(^4^6\) Note 930, Folklore Section. Vol. 1, no. 11:August 1884:124. (PSA).
\(^4^7\) Note 597, Folklore Section. Vol. I, no. 7:April 1884:75. (PSA). This note was written by Richard Temple himself.
\(^4^8\) Note 596, Folklore Section. Vol. 1, no. 7:April 1884:51. (PSA). This is an interesting note as it presents a different operation of *nazar*; here W. Cockburn records how literary characters that are being protected from ill effects, commenting that ‘Literary characters are liable to have ill effects of *nazar* conveyed to them through their writings, and [writers] always head their compositions with the words Shri Rāmji (Great God). In some Hindi verses, which I possess, written by a very intelligent Snād Brahman, not only are the words Sri Rāmji written on top of the page, but the first letter on the fourth line has been deliberately blotted, so as to be on the safe side, and distract the attention of those that have not the fear of God in them, and to introduce an element of dissatisfaction, however slight.’. The evocation made is to almost prevent textual based *darshan* as the wrong type of vision maybe used.
materialized *nazar wattu* used are put in place to deny and avert the very pleasure and efficacy sought by fixated glancing where absorption and affective reaction are most significant. It would seem that the social activities that surround *nazar* are more concerned with a distraction but in doing so they once again show the potency that is present in South Asian notions of vision, and help us to get a better sense of the 'polyscopic' (*Taylor* 2002:297). One morning, whilst making a purchase in a shop in the main bazaar of Delhi Gate area in the walled city of Lahore, I witnessed a man passing from shop to shop, wafting *tuni* (smoke) into to each shop as he passed. In his hand, he had a utensil composed of three conjoined metal containers – one containing heated coals and in the other two grains of some sort, which he sprinkled over the coals releasing a dense and potent smoke that infused the surrounding air; leaving a trail that lingered in the shops for a long time after he had left. In return for this, the shopkeepers gave him a few rupees. When I asked the man why he was doing this, he responded by saying that 'It is good to do this.' (*'Aeh karna accha hotha hai'*) and moved on leaving the smoke as evidence of his visit. Nothing was said, and no one demanded to know what was happening, as it was known that the *tuni* would help avert the evil eye that maybe cast on the goods and business prospects of the shopkeepers.

I have so far evoked *nazar* as a malevolent mode of visuality that operates and is actively counteracted by specific private and public actions/performances in South Asian society, however, *nazar* can also be comprehended as a 'poetics of sight' (*Taylor* 2002:297); involving tactile vision that is congruent with *darshan/dekhna*. *Woodman Taylor* (ibid), in the context of Indian film, identifies the representation and performance of both types of intense ‘penetrating’ gazes – one being *drishti* and the other *nazar*; what interests him with regard to the latter is its veneration as a form of visuality that has poetical connotations dating to the Persianate court culture of the

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49 Chris Pinney informed that in India there is the similar process of *dhup dehna* for protection (pers. comm.).
50 Delhi Gate visit on 12.02.04.
51 The focus is on Hindi films or what is now globally known as ‘Bollywood’ cinema, although Taylor does look at Mani Ratnam’s *Bombay* (1995), which was originally made in Tamil then dubbed in Hindi.
52 *Taylor* (2002) explicates *drishti* in a manner akin to *darshan* exemplified by recounting visualization of religious practice within a film. However, *drishti* refers to an intense gaze or focusing of the gaze upon a particular object not necessarily in the religious context and so the emphasis for *Taylor* is more on the fixity of looking between subject and object that renders the visual encounter replete with meanings for viewers and producers.
Mughals. In which articulation of nazir in poetic stanza allowed sensual proximity and proclamation of feelings between individuals in public that was otherwise forbidden by social mores; thus working within a paradox where performance is public yet simultaneously private in its effect on the emotions. This ability of nazir to overcome cultural boundaries around private/public conduct through the penetrating gaze was adopted by Indian cinema – particularly for the romance genre, where the meeting of nazir (nazar mil ana), extended beyond visual acknowledgement of the other. The ‘holding’ of each other’s gazes by the hero and heroine at opportune moments marked the peak of emotional expression, and remains so. Both producers\(^{53}\) and viewers alike understand this interlocking of the gazes to depict the onset of flourishing romance and release of emotions so far suppressed by the romantic protagonists of the film. Taylor (ibid) also recognizes the fact that the gaze is aurally and symbolically embellished in the lyrics and music of film songs heightening the emotive quality of nazir. The elucidation of vision as more than simply looking, in which the viewer seeks to feel, touch and hold the image through the gaze and other bodily senses is something that the polyscopic visualities of South Asia demand and viewers of the films expect.

Corpothetics: The proposition of a tactile vision is all too clear here (Pinney a2002), however, what the above forms of fully engaged vision darshan/dekhna/nazar suggest is that there is a corporeal reaction and performance around the reception of images. The eyes are a type of instigator that send and receive the gaze and feel the object as a bodily reaction, triggering sensual and emotional responses leading to a corporeal experience, in the case of film suturing the actors on screen but more significantly in the audience.\(^{54}\) Visual pleasure resulting from the act of looking as in darshan/dekhna/nazar for viewers in South Asia is heavily reliant on evincing a visceral response that is anticipated in relation to the consumption of images (or avoided as in the case of evil eye). The association that I am trying to prise out here is that of an embodied vision, based on what Chris Pinney advocates as ‘corpothetics’ (2001:157), a concept that does not reify South Asian visuality but links it with visual

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\(^{53}\) See Tejaswini Ganti (2002).

\(^{54}\) In many Bollywood films the locked gazes of the romantic pair leads directly into a song sequence in which the lovers are free to fully express their emotions in an almost dream or imaginative location.
practices in other societies – a ‘counterhistory of visuality’ (a2002:359). Pinney (a2001, a2002) outlines the need to recover the body’s performance in discussion of art and aesthetics: in relation to visual consumption (darshan) of Hindu chromolithographs, he proposes:

...the use of the term ‘corporthetics’ as opposed to ‘aesthetics’ to describe the practices that surround these images. If ‘aesthetics’ is about the separation between the image and the beholder, and a ‘disinterested’ evaluation of images, ‘corporthetics’ entails a desire to fuse image and beholder, and the elevation of efficacy (as, for example, in barkat) as the central criterion of value.

Urging us to be sensitive to nuanced appropriation and aesthetic engagements that are social, embodied and most importantly aware of the desire in image consumption to reduce the distance between object and subject, this timely emphasis on bodily praxis equally alerts us to the mutuality and unison of the human sensorium. Corporthetics does not seek to isolate one sense – as in the case of the modern gaze, where corporeal visual response was subdued under a ‘scientific’ discourse, as Pinney states ‘...the locked in; and ‘reciprocated’ gazes are expression of affective intensity that abolishes the ‘space of contemplation’ conceptualized as a disembodied cerebral construction of the world as picture.’(2002:359). Hence, any analysis or prognosis of the consumption of visual culture needs to be attentive to this, especially for museum consumption in South Asia which is a visual as much as phenomenological experience.

Corporthetics amalgamates the visual sense with the somatic in image consumption, where the choice is not between the cerebral or the body but both working in conjunction to engender an affective consumption, which in South Asia is more palpable since visual regimes function at an intensity that embraces a multi-sensorial experience. However, this corporeal response is not confined to the use of images in religious devotion but extends to other visual spaces and genres such as film and

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55 This ‘counterhistory’ is something that was alluded to in the beginning by Hendley in terms of museum consumption when he draws similarities between Indian museums and medieval collections and shrines.
56 I am not suggesting that chromolithographs are confined to Hindu worship or indeed that they are only in the religious context alone, as Chris Pinney (1997, 2001) himself demonstrates there are chromolithographs with Islamic iconography (also see Farida Batool 2003 for a brief look at Shi‘ite chromolithographs found at Imam Baragh). For a cogent examination of the history, development and visual referencing of such popular imagery within the spheres of politics, nationalism and religion in colonial and postcolonial India see Chris Pinney (2004).
photography (Pinney 1997); and to the museum, in visitor's response to objects. Corporthetic’s foregrounding of the bodily and ‘powerful’ South Asian ways of seeing - *darshan/dekhna/nazar*, seek to re-engage visual pleasure with bodily praxis and feelings. In the museum context, South Asian visuality overrides the modern discourse of the western museum on visual consumption by abolishing the distance between the audience and the museum object. However, once tropicalized the museum has had to answer to the visceral needs that constitute visual consumption among the local public, who are attracted by the *ajaib*. This expectation of ‘attraction’ is natural as it is catered for in other visual arenas (see below) and cannot be superficially replaced by the distancing pedagogy of the institution, at least for those without ‘second sight’ (Prakash 1999:34); rather they become parallel visions. What makes this more compelling is the fact that South Asian visual practices are enduring and operate across visual genres and media in what Appadurai and Breckenridge (1992, 1995) call the ‘interocular’; and Hendley (1914) called ‘museum spirit’.

**Interocular:** The ‘interocular’ as espoused by Appadurai and Breckenridge (1995) is the visual equivalent of the ‘inter-textual’ (Bakhtin 1981) reading/interpretation process referring to the dialogic nature of viewing and interpretation. This inter-visuality textures and directs the public gaze in South Asia with the onset of a particular form of modernity that is characterized by the consumption of ‘new’ media; enabling the creation of what Appadurai and Breckenridge term ‘public culture’ (1995). The mass media in South Asian modernity operates within the interocular, envisaged as a complex of different visual arenas (global and local) interacting and impacting on each other. Appadurai and Breckenridge describe this as a field ‘...structured so that each site or setting for the socialising and regulating of the public gaze is to some degree affected by the experience of other sites.’ (1995:12). This visual complex captures the ‘cross-referencing’ element of seeing, in which the visual field is influenced by

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58 The term ‘public culture’ as formulated by Appadurai and Breckenridge (1988, 1995) attempts to offer a discourse in similar vein to Euro-American ideas of the public sphere and mass culture that accounts for the particular experience of modernity in South Asia in the late twentieth century. Rightly assuming that modernity is not a singular phenomena and globalization too is not uniform, Appadurai and Breckenridge (ibid) state it is a varied experience and so must be analyzed comparatively on equal terms between the west and non-west, in which the local actually negotiates and engages with modernity at different cultural sites. For an insightful exposition of the theoretical basis, and shortfalls, of public culture see Pinney (b2001).
migrating genres (narratives, styles, textures, objects)\textsuperscript{59} between media/technologies that are local/transnational creating new contexts and meanings for each other (Appadurai & Breckenridge 1995).

This public modernity of India is described by Pinney (b2001) as a zone of cultural debate whose potency and specificity lies in the fact that it elides oppositions of ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture, and avoids reducing consumption and interpretation to that which is predictably structured/socialized in terms of Bourdieu’s concept of \textit{habitus} (Appadurai 1990). Rather, as Pinney identifies for cultural agency in the viewing of Hindi film, this arena:

\begin{quote}
...connotes a field that far exceeds both conventionally conceptualized ‘politics’ and ‘culture’, an extended field of intervention in the world in which the spectatorship and appropriation of commercial artefacts plays a central role.\textsuperscript{60}
\end{quote}

In a similar vein to media studies and some ‘new museology’, public culture is attentive to eliciting the experience of consumption as a subjective and embodied experience. The intention behind public culture is to create a shared community of consumers/citizens in a zone of contestation: where consumption of texts/images/experiences is through debates around identity, nation-state, tradition and modernity; which to some extent are facilitated by a shared anchoring in historical episteme/grammar or ‘vestigial dialects’ (Nandy 1995).\textsuperscript{61} It is not possible to fully examine the concept of public culture here however, what I wish to highlight is its ‘cultural agency’ (Pinney b2001:17),\textsuperscript{62} which permits diverse groups within South Asia to communicate through consumption as a ‘public’. Public here does not signify a

\textsuperscript{59} It is important to recognize that although a fluid visual space is promoted in which images and visualizations inhabit multiple spaces across time and space, in some media and representation concerns addressing a specific group or class are expressed and consumed in the narratives. In relation to Hindi film, see Pinney (b2001) who notes that recent film narratives can cater for audiences of cities and small towns of South Asia and ignore the sensibilities of the majority who remain rural.

\textsuperscript{60} Pinney (b2001:17).

\textsuperscript{61} However, public culture is not as emancipated from the fetters of class, caste, religion, social and economic factors, as Appadurai and Breckenridge (1995) themselves note the target of this culture is the middle class market in urbanized areas however, they go on to state that print media and visual media are not reliant on disposable income and can be far reaching. Although true, what can prevent the creation of a public is the content or genre which maybe be concerned with the preoccupations of metropolitan lifestyle, aspirations or taste and so be exclusive, leaving the 'subaltern' on the margins.

\textsuperscript{62} Pinney uses ‘potential common ground of action’ (b2001:5) to describe the middle ground of possibilities of cultural agency public culture constructs whilst recognizing the immense differences between communities – middle class to rural India.
homogenized entity but shared cultural sentiments, expressions and feelings that cut across boundaries of cultural groups, social class, religion and even nationality to create an arena of cultural debate.\textsuperscript{63}

Public culture can take many forms: Appadurai and Breckenridge (1995) identify cinema, television, sport spectatorship (mainly cricket), restaurants and the museum, which are related by interocular themes and images. Naturally, I want to concentrate on museums that are explicitly identified by Appadurai and Breckenridge (1992) as part of public culture. Although this inclusion is viable, it is highly questionable for South Asia; can museums really be considered places where South Asian citizens reflect/debate national identity, culture and history in an objectified way? A disjunction becomes apparent if one reflects on the outcome of the ethnographic material presented in the previous chapter where the Lahore Museum’s visitors failed to consider it in these terms: having little to do with the constitution of identity in its many forms and indeed the visitors were clearly differentiated in terms of class and education. Rustom Bharucha (2000) provides an evocative, but brief, critical re-assessment of Appadurai and Breckenridge’s (1992) proposition that museums in South Asia are fully integrated part of this democratized urban space.\textsuperscript{64} For Bharucha, Appadurai and Breckenridge’s ‘non-dialectics of seeing’ (2000:13) prevent them from acknowledging the reality and social dynamic that surrounds the ‘colonial relics’ or ‘bureaucratic nightmares’ (ibid:12), as he chooses to refer to museums in South Asia. The museum in South Asia, as exemplified by the Lahore Museum, is difficult to position as a facet of public culture for two simple and pragmatic reasons – firstly the museum envisages its role as one of objectifying specialized knowledge – history, cultural patrimony, antiquity, which overshadow the visiting public’s needs. Secondly, visitors are not interested in debating their citizenry or cultural self in the space of the museum, instead they want to see attractions that evoke emotions and stimulate the imagination. However, museums can be considered part of the interocular visual practice as the visitor is exposed to, and

\textsuperscript{63} Public culture at one level is concerned with the nation state however, the transnational flows of media, particularly film and television means that images travel beyond national boundaries and when cultural unity is stronger than national ties, the nation state becomes redundant. This is apparent in the popularity of Indian soap operas and films among the Pakistani public as they are said to show ‘culture’ – a culture that is uncannily familiar.

\textsuperscript{64} Bharucha (2000) notes the theoretical nature of Appadurai and Breckenridge’s account being empirically thin and not grounded in reception studies and the fact that the some sites of public culture they focus on are exclusive and distinguish between social groups in terms of economics – restaurants, department stores.
affected by, other media that shape and frame their mode of interpretation – other sites of ‘exhibition-cum-sale’ (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992), television or film.

One further issue here is the assumption that the interocular is confined to consumption of modern and transnational visual forms/textures/styles (Appadurai & Breckenridge 1988, 1995). In South Asia at least, as there are enduring visual practices and arenas that disrupt and illuminate the juxtaposition of the ‘archaic/modern’ (Pinney 1998). The transformation of old ways of seeing into new ‘spectacularized’ forms of visuality should not be so hastily presumed, as Bharucha notes the ‘...back and forth temporalities of seeing Indian artefacts, both within and outside the boundaries of the museum’ (2000:13-14) impact visual consumption making it ambiguous in terms of modern/traditional practices. This is augmented by the acknowledgement that culture and history – performative and visual, cannot be chronologized into an evolutionary timeline in South Asia, since these are repetitive and recursive practices and idioms. Visual consumption within the museum will therefore resist singular appropriations as South Asian culture is continuously mutating and hybridizing with the modern to create ‘surreal juxtapositions’ (Classen 1996:52) in the public culture.

These archaic and modern public visualizations socialize the visitor’s gaze and the museum, as Hendley (1914) recognized when he emphasized the central role of visuality in understanding South Asian museum consumption and successful interpretation. Attempts to comprehend what museum visitors really see and experience when they stand in front of objects in a museum must contend with a visuality that is archaic yet flexible enough to incorporate new visions, as Bharucha states for South Asia: ‘What we need is not a new museumisation of museum, but a new socialisation of its radical possibilities.’ (2000:19). It is now time to contextualize

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65 Also see Diane Eck (1981) who used the dualism of mythic:imagination, with the former being an enduring genre of visual narrative. However, both genres are equally potent visual structures as found in many Hindi films – see Ashis Nandy (2001) for interesting discussion of these.

66 The hybrid form of modernity is represented in visual forms such as Hindi film, such as Kuch Kuch Hota Hai (Something is Happening (1998)) where Tina (Rani Mukherjee) a modern college girl who wears miniskirts and at an instant burst into a rendition of the bhajan Om Jai Jagdish Hare. This juxtaposition bemused the colonials also who could not understand why Indians held onto uncivilized traditions when they were being offered progress and modernization, as Rudyard Kipling’s attitude to magic in India shows in The Bixara of Paree (in Plain Tales from the Punjab Hills) where he writes: ‘All kinds of magic are out of date and done away with, except in India, where nothing changes in spite of the shiny, top-scum stuff people call “civilization”.’ (quoted in S.Sajjad Husain Kipling and India (1964:312)).
the museum as part of the larger visual field, exploring what is consumed and how; by
being attentive to the visualscape and its consumption beyond the museum's four walls
a greater insight can be had into the particular meanings that are constructed in the
museum space. Museums need to be examined as part of this wider visual arena as
Michael Ames recognizes: ‘...cultural work gets done not only in the established
heritage institutions but also in the more popular ‘museums’ of everyday life such as
department stores, marketplaces, shopping malls and fairs.’ (1992:112). This approach
allows the stuffy and introverted museum institution to open up to new meanings and
cultural agency, breaking down the monopoly and dominance of the western museum
model. The myriad and multilayered knowledge and experience of South Asian
visuality, is not only a cultural force but gives life to the museum in the South Asian
context, as Sandria Freitag comments: ‘...[In] this ‘increased priority of the visual
register’ (Friedberg 1993:16)...participants in South Asian civil society are presented
with more flexibility, not less; with more capacity to shape and influence the values

‘MUSEUMS OF EVERYDAY LIFE’

When I enquired among visitors to the Lahore Museum if they had encountered any of
the objects on display in other cultural arenas, most responses alluded to the museum as
an object based aide-mémoire. Conferring connections that were interocular in
nature, people stated that they had seen similar (milsthay jhulthay) pottery, utensils and
craft objects like embroidered shawls and jewellery in their own villages (or when they
lived there if economic migrants or moved after marriage), where such objects were
still in use and being made. Qudsia, a 42 year old housewife who was originally from
Kohat but now lived in the Gari-Shah area of Lahore, was visiting the Lahore Museum
with friends and remarked: ‘Jewellery and the wooden doors and the embroidered
shawls we have those in our village, actually the woodwork on the doors in our old
houses have better designs and are more beautiful than those here!’ However,
differentiation was made through a discourse on modernity when it was stated that the

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67 Hooper-Greenhill (2000) identifies this as a hermeneutic process of meaning construction.
68 This refers to the phrase used in the quote above by Michael Ames (1992).
69 As part of the visitor questionnaire/interviews.
70 Qudsia (26.04.03).
style of object remained the same but decorative designs had changed, although the ‘antique’ look was returning as a fashion statement in the ‘ethnic chic’ market — available in the local bazaar to the boutique/art gallery, as Mrs Mujahid from Bhati Gate in the Walled City, who was visiting the museum for the first time with her family, commented: ‘I have seen things like this in the Fort and the windows and wooden doors are similar. In the bazaars too you can get utensils like those shown here, as they are being made in this old style again. It is coming back into fashion!’ Others stated that they had seen similar Quranic manuscripts in the museum’s of Badshah Mosque or at the Fort, bhut in the Taxila Museum, as well as in the documentaries on the television.

However, this immediate interocularity of the museum does little to reveal what I have outlined as a South Asian visuality where it is associated with an intensity of feelings in the act of interpretation that cannot be grasped totally in linguistic expression. I want to elucidate this as a leap of the imagination between visual genres and spaces in which desire for the object is related, recalling the way Saima Taufail likened her experience of the museum to that of watching an ‘old film’. The question that remains to be answered is what constitutes the interocular visual field of the Lahore Museum that influences the visitor’s experience, encouraging it to seek the curious and ajaib. The visual field that I will expound here renders the museum as one visual form in the ‘metropolitan’ visualscape of Lahore that traverses both the modern/traditional. Fortunately, rather than having to haphazardly explore a variety of visual forms that present the museum spirit, it is possible here to complement everyday visual consumption (film, television) with that falling into the category of commercial (bazaars) and the popular attendance of saints’ shrines. Many visitors stated that they regularly incorporate visitation of shrines, national monuments, bazaars and so on with their Lahore Museum visit. Out of town visitors usually embarking on a route through Lahore City that is similar to the ‘study tour’ of school trips (see Appendix 1), whereas groups from Lahore visit one or other place in conjunction to the museum visit

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71 Interview on (27.04.03).
72 Interview on 01.08.03.
73 Part of the questionnaire/interview I carried out with visitors.
as are local residents.\(^7^4\) Lets us now turn to examine some of the other visual sites that potentially inflect the visitor’s Lahore Museum experience.

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**Television:** The strong impact that visual consumption of images can have in the domestic space through electronic media, such as television and film, became apparent to me whilst visiting a neighbour in Lahore.\(^7^5\) With a resigned tone of voice, Samina connected her eldest son’s recent migration to the United States of America directly with the stickiness of images shown in programmes. Handing me the mandatory soft drink, she remarked how people are influenced by the ‘pictures’ they see in films and on television ‘...[images] stick in one’s mind and even when we stand to pray they are in front of us, in our eyes! They are so strong.’.\(^7^6\) The grip of images for those like Samina definitely emphasizes not only representation or communication but also culturally informed visual interaction/aspiration; so how and what kind of images are being consumed and desired within the home through the technology of television and the associated ‘cultural invasion from the skies’ (in Brosius and Butcher 1999:14)?

Television was introduced in Pakistan on 26\(^{th}\) November 1964\(^7^7\) under the state run venture of Pakistan Broadcasting Corporation (PTV), which over the years has projected state policy and cultural integration by directing programme themes to cover issues of social order, religion, morality, civic and national responsibility, agricultural reforms and development.\(^7^8\) Entertainment on PTV has largely consisted of Pakistani soap operas (*dramay*), which are extremely popular for their social realist genre; however, this interest is now greatly challenged by Indian *dramay* with the onset of

\(^7^4\) The focus on vision is once again highlighted in that when referring to visiting the phrase used to describe whether a person had already visited a place was *dekhaya hai* (already seen it) or in anticipation of a visit – *dekhana hai* (will see).

\(^7^5\) My reference here to television and film viewing in the domestic space is not unaware of the fact that there are public spaces where both can be consumed – such as tea shops and more commonly at the cinema, however, these spaces are male dominated and class specific.

\(^7^6\) Samina Qureshi (10.09.02).

\(^7^7\) This first transmission did not cover the whole of Pakistan – the initial broadcast in black and white was from a small pilot television station in Lahore with television centres being later set up in Karachi, Rawalpindi/Islamabad in 1967 and in 1974 for Peshawar and Quetta. (http: \www.ptv.com.pk webptv ptv-overview.asp).

\(^7^8\) On PTV’s website the programmes section states the corporation has been explicitly concerned with ‘...educating viewers about the values that are vitally important in building a united, integrated and disciplined society in the light of Islamic injunctions.’. (http: \www.ptv.com.pk webptv ptv-overview.asp).
Saira Sajid of Defence lamented that with the subsequent increase in television channel variety the realist quality has suffered over the last decade:

Before we had good dramay like Ankahi [Unspoken] that showed our real life, now it is just music, you just get Shehzad Roys and Abrar-ul-Haqs...there are no talk shows, we used to like them...now just songs...the dramay we have just show glamour and they show Dubai and such places...of course it is good to see these places but there are no storylines anymore...79

The shift of pleasure from narrative to visual content of recent Pakistani dramay80 such as Mehndi (Henna)81 is tied up with the intrigue for viewing 'glamour' and signs of conspicuous consumption, as well as a curiosity for representations of modernity amongst the increasing group of ‘middle-classes’ (Dwyer 2000). This trend of portraying upper middle class lifestyles in Pakistani dramay has followed similar projections in highly popular Indian dramay, which are consumed with vivacious enthusiasm by a wide range of audience classes.82 Visual consumption here does not necessarily have the intention to directly emulate or own these ‘signs’, rather it is an aspirational social mobility centred on intense viewing, engaging and being aware of modernity.83 However, the allure of images representing modernity - usually in an urban setting within South Asia or western metropolis,84 do not betray traditional values, rather the two cultural predicaments are negotiated as part of a ‘cubist’ society (McGill Murphy 1996), as Ayesha Ashfaq stated:

Recently I enjoyed watching Mehndi...It really attracted me because despite the look and women being very modern they dealt with issues that affect all our society...our culture and showed us that despite the

79 Interview with Saira and Birjees Sajid on 09.07.03.
80 I am choosing to concentrate on the soap opera here as they are the most popular form of programme consumed and so this should not be taken to represent the only type of visual consumption on the television. Other programmes that were said to be of interest to viewers were the news and documentaries – particularly those on National Geographic and Discovery channels.
81 This is but one example of the many Pakistani soap operas that portray the lifestyle habits of the affluent upper middle classes. Mehndi told the story of a businessman with four daughters and it followed the different scenarios of each daughter’s married life. Although the lifestyle shown was that of the well to do the moral of the story was based around traditional ideas of marriage and fate (kismet) to which all classes of audience could associate, culturally and emotionally.
82 Here I mean that the audience is not limited to the middle classes, the elite and lower classes both consume dramay.
83 See Rachel Dwyer (2000) who discusses the need for more research on consumer behaviour of the middle classes in India post liberalization of the 1990's.
84 Usually a western city, though in dramay Dubai is highly favoured, however, this space is essentially occupied by South Asians so that despite being unfamiliar it uncannily is also known. An example is the Pakistani soap opera Tum Hi Toh Ho (You are the one 2003), which was set in United States of America but also true of Hindi films such as Dil Chatha Hai (Heart’s Desire 2001) set in Sydney and Goa.
modern way of life we have similar issues of dowry, money...current
issues of our society were discussed.85

The arrival of satellite television has increased the spectrum of images available for immediate consumption and likewise broken the monopoly of state television in Pakistan by beaming in global images from around the world into Pakistani homes.86 Correctly though satellite has not enabled this proliferation into the average Pakistani home, as Ian Talbot notes the far-reaching effects of this technology have become widely available to the mass population through: ‘Globalisation of communications with satellite dishes [that] has revealed a panoply of imagery and not just a luxury for the rich. Whole areas are provided with the service from a single dish through cabling.’ (1998:49). In fact local cable networks have democratized satellite television by making it accessible to the majority of homes and further compromising the control of state television,87 resulting in an increase in the repertoire of images available to the Pakistani viewer; dominated by foreign channels;88 only recently have private Pakistani satellite channels been inaugurated such as GEO, Indus and ARY Digital. These channels compliment the predominant viewing of Indian media that have a strong cultural impact, despite paradoxically being ‘foreign’ they are recognized as constituting ‘our’ culture.89 For much of the public the allure of Indian channels like Zee TV and Star Plus also lies in visual preference in terms of quality and better entertainment, as Tanveer Akhtar remarked:

After commercialization [of television] the drama is no longer a drama, they are advertisements and there is harm in admitting this but the Indians have a hold on our media as they are very strong here...a person wants to watch television for relaxation so they will watch channels that provide that. But on Pakistani channels, all you get is Musharaf sahib

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85 Interview with Ayesha Ashfaq on 08.07.03.
86 Recently, licences for privately run channels have been granted in Pakistan to accompany PTV and its offshoots – PTV 2, PTV World and Channel 3.
87 Prior to satellite television, people could always bypass censorship in news coverage by listening to the BBC World Service and at least in the Lahore watch the Indian channel Doordarshan, whose signal was picked by homes within the range of the Amritsar transmitter.
88 The variety and type of channels varies from area to area, the cable operator in Karim Park had an array of Indian, American and European channels such as Discovery Channel, National Geographic, Zee TV, Star Plus, Star Sports, ESPN, Sony network, Channel V, HBO, Movie Magic, CNN, Fox News, BBC World, Canal +, Al Jazeera, Quranic Channel, MTV, as well as a Russian, German and Lebanese Channel. Although here, I am going to concentrate on the Indian channels as these are watched most frequently and by families.
89 During times of political tension with India cable operators have been forced by the Government to block certain Indian channels much to the discontent of many viewers who have become weaned on Indian television.
and Mir Zafarullah sahib all the time...so no one wants to watch PTV, they will watch Star Plus...we mostly watch Star Plus...90

The attraction of Indian channels is sometimes tinged with an anxiety around the ‘hold’ Indian images have on the Pakistani audience as alluded to by Tanveer Akhtar, however, this is momentary, and not perceived by the public as a wholesale cultural onslaught from across the border as purported by Akbar Ahmed (1997). The translation of political hostility into cultural aggression via media does not manifest itself as it is easily overridden by shared culture, traditions, values (North Indian)91 and language92 that inform consumption. Saima Taufail commented that since they got cable all they watched was Indian channels ‘...we don’t even want to watch the Pakistani channels, I am not sure what it is, whether the cable is pulling us towards it and we are attracted by it more...’.93 The projection of a pan Indian, middle class identity/lifestyle does not cause Pakistani viewers anxiety; instead, they delight in avidly watching ‘our’ culture; subverting the ideological separation of cultures between India and Pakistan and their burgeoning middle classes94 who share similar visual practices (see above) and metropolitan aspirations and possibilities (Pinney b2001).95

A popular Indian channel is Star Plus, which broadcasts dramay such as Kahani Ghar Ghar ki (Story of Every Household), Kabhi Sass bhi Kabhi Bahu thi (Once the mother-in-law was the daughter-in-law) and Desh mai Nikla hoga Chand (Appearance of the Moon in the Country). Repeatedly I was told how people could not miss an episode, with the longevity of such dramay (some lasting for years) making them compulsive daily viewing and forming a discursive space in which viewers discuss plots and character relationships with family members and friends in a subjective manner for self-construction.96 Adeeba Kramat, a housewife from Bilal Ganj whose favourite

90 Interview with Tanveer Akhtar on 14.08.03.
91 This is particularly so for Lahore and the surrounding areas in Punjab where the culture has much in common with the Punjabi or North Indian culture depicted in Indian programmes and films.
92 Although there was a drive towards the use of more Sanskritized Hindi in the media following the onset of Hinduvata politics, other than news channels/programmes which use a purer form of Hindi (shuddh), most entertainment programmes and films rely on the use of a mix of Hindi and Urdu known as Hindustani that is easily understood not only by Pakistanis but also many Indians who themselves may struggle with ‘higher’ Hindi.
93 Interview with Saima Taufail on 01.08.03.
95 The growth of the middle classes in Pakistan is associated by Talbot (1998) with the rise of Urdu, growth of department and western style stores (bakeries), the selling of global brands and increasing commercialization of television (2000).
96 In a similar manner to the viewers of television serials in Kamgar Nagar in Goa studied by Monteiro (1998).
channel was Star Plus, told me: 'You get to see a family situation and their relationships along with traditions and our own way of life...you also see the latest fashion and their houses are so well decorated it is all so modern. I like to look at all these things.'

In terms of visual consumption, alongside the social identification, there is a curious pleasure in viewing spectacular signs of wealth and modernity that set off traditional values. Most dramay scenarios, like those mentioned above, revolve around the melodrama of a joint family unit who live in ornately decorated luxurious homes that include a puja room, own several cars, travel abroad, the women dress lavishly in silks and gold or western attire, balancing a modern lifestyle without forgetting religious/cultural traditions, morals and sentiments. This personal association and curiosity for a middle class lifestyle identified with modernity that guides consumption of images popularized in the form of dramay—Pakistani and Indian, is interchangeable and viewed alongside the equally pervasive Hindi cinema.

Cable television has increased the ubiquity and ease with which Indian films can be viewed by a Pakistani audience making them accessible directly from various Indian channels, as well as on request to the local cable operator. Otherwise, Indian films are openly available as pirated DVD copies that can be hired or purchased in any bazaar, bypassing the blanket ban in place since 1965 on the viewing of Indian films within Pakistan. It is impossible to imagine the domestic and public space of Lahore without the presence of Indian films and related paraphernalia—music, posters, design names for jewellery and so on. Although there is a Pakistani film industry based in

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97 Interview with Adeeba Kramat on 30.07.03.
98 In many ways, the dramay are seen as small screen versions of films, in that they share the same narrative structure of the melodrama and increasingly have film stars acting in them—such as Karishma Kapoor and Amrita Singh.
99 Cable operators use channels not transmitting a channel to air the latest Indian films from DVDs (pirated versions), films that have just been released in Indian cinemas and abroad are simultaneously viewed in Pakistan through this illegal but popular method.
100 These shops are present even in small towns and villages, where shops can rent out DVD players. Sumera who lived in a rural suburb of Lahore and worked as domestic help in the Karim Park area, borrowed some money to buy a DVD player so they could watch the latest Hindi movies, hired form a shop near them; they had recently got electricity in their new pakka house, which consisted of two small rooms.
101 Before DVDs, in the 1980's videocassettes functioned in a similar way and could be hired from 'video shops', although this suited the upper middle class and initially the upper class. Even during Zia-ul-Haq's term in office, his virulent Islamic reforms could not keep Indian films from being viewed in his household or having Indian actors for friends, which was evidenced when Shatrugan Sinha (popular actor of the 1980's) attended Zia's daughter's wedding (see Gazdar 1997).
102 Images of new and old Indian film stars such as Kajol, Madhuri Dixit, Madhubala, Shah Rukh Khan and Dilip Kumar are found in all manner of places from posters on the back of wagons to the walls of beauty parlours and on advertising for local shops. Another form of paraphernalia are the film songs
Lahore (Lollywood), which produces Urdu and Punjabi films it does not compare in popularity to the Indian films. Pakistani cinema fails to interest the average citizen, as Tanveer Akhtar commented: ‘I like Indian films. Bollywood is only second to Hollywood and Pakistani films are just a headache. It is not our culture that is shown in Punjabi films.’ The partiality for Indian films is a reflection of the viewer’s discernment for visual quality, narrative structure as well as the anticipation of visual pleasure and ‘realism’, which for Saima Taufail made the choice simple: ‘In *Indian films* you actually feel there is a *reality*, they show it as if it is the truth…[Indian films] feel real…like Shah Rukh in *Devdas* you get lost in it and they touch you inside.’

This feeling of ‘realism’ was commented upon by many people, first of all literally as interpellation with the protagonists, giving a sense of emotional proximity whereby a mutual space us inhabited and the ‘reality’ of the filmic space becomes their own; similar to the consumption of *dramay* where Shahida Afzal described this feeling as a sense of ‘…*apnapun* [our own] the films don’t feel distant, you feel part of it…’

Secondly, ‘realism’ also refers to a type of visual resonance, which perhaps should be more appropriately understood as a type of ‘magical realism’ (Pinney 1998) with viewers taking delight in seeing images of idyllic landscapes, grand buildings, modern cityscapes and foreign locales – places that ignite the imagination.

If by ‘magical realism’, we mean representation that combines reality/imaginary and modern/traditional – visually and culturally, then this juxtaposition alerts us to one form of visual image that is desired in the consumption of film - the scenic, often portrayed in song sequences - usually a foreign or grand locations such as heritage sites like the Taj Mahal. Ilyas Anjum especially enjoyed this facet of Indian films as a source of ocular exploration, for him watching films was ‘…like actually travelling and visiting that place, we get to see the UK’s roads and buildings because it is beyond my means to

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103 For a comprehensive history of Pakistani Cinema, see Mushtaq Gazdar (1997). Urdu and Punjabi films are shown in cinema halls but they are not heavily patronized, usually referred to as films suited to the sensibilities and taste of the lower classes – stereotypically the male villager or illiterate type.

104 Interview with Tanveer Akhtar on 14.08.05. A recent exception to the non-success of Pakistani films with the domestic public on a large scale was Javed Sheikh’s *Yeh Dil Apka Huwa* (2002) (This heart is yours), which tried to use the Bollywood formula with much of the location shooting done overseas and some of the songs sung by Indian vocalists such as Kumar Sanu.

105 Interview with Saima Taufail on 01.08.03.

106 Interview with Shahida Afzal on 14.09.03.
go to UK and America so I fulfil my desire through films.’. This visual appropriation and imagining of the modern or ‘other’ space that can be ‘visited’ through film is very attractive as Shahida Afzal pointed out ‘The films teach us a lot about our culture and current changes...also the settings are great, these places they go to are so spectacular and beautiful...I have always wanted to see India, Gujarat and London and we get to see all these places. It is enjoyable.’. Watching Indian films is not just escapism for the viewer, they invite viewers to be part of what Ashis Nandy calls ‘a shared space of debate’ (1998), in which predicaments regarding culture, modernity and the nation can be discussed through the visual narrative that encompasses other spaces/times that are type of dreamscapes. Although space does not permit me to illustrate the various visual genres of Indian film and their relative appropriations, I shall exemplify with analysis of two films that were popular during my time in Lahore – Chalte Chalte (2003) and Devdas (2002).

Devdas is a story that has been retold by Hindi cinema several times with the most recent version by Sanjay Leela Bhansali (2002) living up to its epic status. The basic plot centres around the love story of Devdas Mukherjee (Shah Rukh Khan) and his childhood sweetheart Parvati/Paro (Aishwarya Rai), whose plans for marriage after Devdas’ return from a ‘city’ education, are thwarted by issues of status between the families; leaving in Paro’s fate marriage to a widowed Thakur. Devastated by the course of events Devdas turns to alcohol and encounters a courtesan – Chandramukhi (Madhuri Dixit), who devotes her life to looking after Devdas, until he eventually dies outside the gates of Paro’s mansion. The tragedy/romance of the narrative is known to most viewers of the film, however, for many viewers their emotional reaction and fascination is heightened by the spectacular locations, costumes and sets that enhanced the ‘feel’ of that era making it seem ‘real’. In contrast, Chalte Chalte (Along the way)
is a modern-day story based on the ‘opposites attract’ formula set in India and Greece, in which a chance accident between the truck of Raj Mathur (Shah Rukh Khan) and the car of Priya Chopra (Rani Mukherjee) leads to romance between the two. Priya, engaged to Sameer - the son of a close family friend in Greece, has to choose between someone of a similar background or her ‘soul mate’ - Raj who wagers all his assets to travel to Greece so he can express his feelings to her. Priya chooses to marry Raj and adjusts to take on the role of a normal middle class Indian housewife. However, difficulties ensue during a visit by Priya’s aunt at a time when Raj’s business problems are affecting their relationship and they separate; the rest of the story focuses on their reconciliation, which symbolically represent issues of class, values and lifestyles.

The popularity of both these films was noticeable during my stay from their constant airing on cable and although disparate in terms of one being historically situated and the other in contemporary India, viewers saw similarities in the romantic genre that upheld or resolved cultural values and traditions in two differing predicaments. For our purposes here, these films were appreciated visually for their spectacular ‘scenic’ content that attracted the viewer who became fascinated by the depiction of the past - early twentieth century in Devdas or the foreign location in Chalte Chalte (Greece). Devdas presented to the viewer an opulent past on an epic scale with lavish film sets showing large havelis, a colourful world of the courtesans, the affluent trappings and celebrations of upper class Bengali lifestyle and elaborate celebration of festivals and traditions. The latter connect the viewer with the past as their history by representing the repetitive/enduring cultural practices and performances that take place in their real life cultural practices such as marriage ceremonies and religious festivals. Coupled with this sense of familiarity is visual curiosity and fascination to see something ‘new’ that is not wholly decipherable and hence the viewer is made to wonder and think about it. Equally distant in the imagination for the viewer are the ‘foreign’ landscapes that are shown in films, as in Chalte Chalte where the landscape of Greece is consumed alongside parts of rural India and modern Mumbai. The scenic beauty of Greece and the modern cityscape of Mumbai compliment each other in representing for the viewer not only a beautiful land-/city-scapes but also signs of nature’s fecundity and

113 The use of ‘new’ here refers not only to something novel but also the element of innovation and hybrid whereby the traditional is reinvented or mixed in with a ‘modern’ style. In Hindi films this is evident in many aspects such as dance sequins in which classic Indian dancing can be mixed with disco or ballroom dancing moves.
city’s prosperity\textsuperscript{114} in which they can let their vision ‘roam’ not simply to know or see realism but explore it as an imagined space. This visual interaction is similar to the audience imaginings described by Arjun Appadurai (1996) where:

\begin{quote}
The lines between ‘realistic’ and the fictional landscapes are blurred, so that the farther away these audiences are from the direct experiences of metropolitan life, the more likely they are to construct ‘imagined worlds’ which are chimerical, aesthetic, even fantastic objects, particularly if assessed by the criteria of some other perspective, some other ‘imagined world’.\textsuperscript{115}
\end{quote}

The attraction in the consumption of film images lies precisely with this ‘chimerical’ and ‘fantastic’, which impress the viewer’s gaze in an affective way similar to the \textit{darshanic} visual practice by fixating it, returning the gaze by stimulating the imagination. This visual impulse that expects to be invited into a relationship with the image, whereby the viewer is fascinated and curious about what is presented also evinces a bodily pleasure commonly stated as the image being pleasing to the heart and eyes. However, this is not to say that consumption of films does not aid in learning, films can provide visual knowledge or points of reference in understanding other visual objects. Ejaz Ali one day demonstrated this when talking about the objects of great civilizations displayed in the Lahore Museum, expressing his deep fascination for all the wonders left behind by the Greeks and Egyptians he happened to mention Raja Inder’s Palace near Jaipur, which apparently had a chess board that used animals and humans as chess pieces. In describing this palace, Ejaz compared it to the scenes from Devdas ‘...it was like the \textit{mahals} [palaces] you see in \textit{Devdas}...films like that show how it really used to be, you can see it all and learn from it, just like in documentaries.’\textsuperscript{116} Indian films are then one source whereby viewers can gain information, debate culture and evolving modernity that is taking place around them, as

\textsuperscript{114} Representations of natural beauty and abundance are popular with many Pakistanis with people preferring to decorate their houses with sceneries of generic Alpine hills or waterfalls as well as fruit and flowers. Such images are also in evidence in photographs (see Pinney 1997) where borders and frames can be composed of flowers or landscape backgrounds and with wedding videos these images are used in mixing the basic video footage that ends up sending the couple on a journey through a dreamscape of gardens, lakes, celestial heavens or evolving from flowers. Tanveer Akhtar, who supplemented his work by doing part time photography and videoing told me that people do not want a ‘...simple video, they find that boring. The public demand that I add all this mixing it shows that they are modern and make the whole watching more pleasurable and the same goes for the photographs.’ (14.08.03). Equally prevalent is the representation of scenic landscapes and film stars painted on the back of \textit{rickshaw} panels that reflect the sentiments of the \textit{rickshawallah} but also display for the public to see, be grasped by the ‘painting’ and interpret not just the imagery but the emotions expressed.

\textsuperscript{115} Appadurai (1996:299).

\textsuperscript{116} Interview with Ejaz Ali on 30.10.02.
one visitor in an interocular manner claimed: he knew everything there was to know about the Gandhara Gallery as he had seen it all in the film *Asoka*.\footnote{Asoka (2001) was a historical epic based on the life of the ancient Indian King Asoka (c.299 –237 BC) who ruled the Magadha Kingdom and the Mauryan Empire.} The consumption of films enables visitors to the Lahore Museum to take the objects on display beyond their exhibitionary space and setting and experience them in relation to the filmic, however, this form of visual expansiveness is not limited to media; other arenas are equally potent.

**The Bazaar:** The interocularity (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992, 1995) of migrating images, textures, and genres now brings us to the visual arena of the bazaar that can be conveniently approached by remaining with *Devdas* for a little while longer. Indian films have an inescapable visual presence in the commercial space of Lahore’s bazaars where film stars gaze at shoppers from shop signs/packaging, t-shirts and posters; however, films are also appropriated in a more physical manner as material goods that adorn the body, indulging in the fantasy of *Devdas*. The release of *Devdas*\footnote{Devdas was the current trend at the time of my research and could be replaced by any popular film or drama for instance the drama already mentioned – *Mehndi* was appropriated as a design pattern for the application of henna on the hands.} was accompanied in Lahore by an array of commodities said to be ‘from’ *Devdas* – cloth-pattern, earrings, bangles and types of embroidery. Women and girls of all classes pampered themselves by viewing, purchasing and embodying the film materially; the goods transformed the film into a bazaar commodity and popular style. In a reversal of the historical genre, the film was converted into a display of ‘new’ and sensuous objects that arrested the vision with intentions of promulgating an emotive desire towards ownership of the *Devdas* feel/look.

The key element to be explored here is how fantasy and attraction are performed in the display and revelation of commodities to the consumers frequenting the bazaars of Lahore; thus highlighting another visual interface of exhibition and ‘museum spirit’ (Hendley 1914:39) that extends beyond the museum.\footnote{Street hawkers and vendors who bring displayed goods such as groceries, cloth, domestic utensils, on small wooden carts (*rayris*) to sell on the doorstep of customers is akin to a mobile display that supplements the bazaar. There is also a sphere of exchange of goods, where old paper/textbooks, metal containers and old cloth are bartered for new goods, usually new cloth or plastic/metal utensils. For an insight into this sphere of exchange between the middle class households in a suburb of New Delhi and the *bartanwallay* see Lucy Norris (2003).} The connection between commercial and museum exhibitionism is not new, Neil Harris (1990) identifies the coterminous evolution and contestation of display techniques between museums, fairs
and department stores in mid-nineteenth century United States of America. The pivotal link between these arenas is of ‘merchandizing’ or forms of display, which influenced and guided public taste; simultaneously presenting ‘fantasies of luxury’ through ‘sensuous materiality’ (Harris 1990:64-66) that stirred the customer/viewer’s imagination. This centrality of imagination and the body in the experience of displays is also forcefully emphasized in Rosalind Williams’ evocation of modern France’s *Dream Worlds* (1989) with the onset of mass consumption. Both Harris (1990) and Williams (1989) pay attention to the visual seduction of exhibition/fair/exposition displays in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which paralleled the department store through the sheer novelty and variety of exotic objects on display. Consumers were invited, if not to purchase or learn, then at least to view and share in the pleasure of commodity fantasy, as Williams comments: ‘Sensual pleasures of consumption triumphed over the abstract intellectual enjoyment of contemplating the progress of knowledge.’ (ibid:59-60). The contemporary bazaars of Lahore remain an excellent place where displays of commoditized goods offer visual pleasure reminiscent of Williams’ observations for French department stores in which: ‘...consumers are an audience to be entertained by commodities, where selling is mingled with amusement, where arousal of free-floating desire is as important as immediate purchase of particular items’ (1989:67). How do consumers interact and partake in the performance on display in the commercial ‘institutions’ of Lahore that entice and attract them?

When one thinks of a bazaar the image conjured up is usually characterized by a maze of narrow alleyways densely packed with small shops, whose wares spill out onto the path and vendors perched on the threshold guard their goods, eyeing up potential customers or idly watching the flow of commodities and people that pass them by. This generic bazaar, like those recreated in the exhibitions of Europe from the nineteenth century onwards, is premised on an orientalist aesthetic, however, it also portrays the feeling one has when walking through the ubiquitous bazaars in the walled city of Lahore to which I want to firstly attend. The older parts of Lahore and its overspill contain many bazaars each with its own identity and specialist commodity on

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120 See Chapter 2 for a discussion on the use of museums and exhibitions in India to guide public taste.

121 There is lack of distinction when using the word bazaar in the vernacular where it can refer both to the traditional commercial areas of Lahore that are found in the old city of Lahore – such as Rang Mahal, as well as the new markets that have sprung up in the affluent and modern areas of Lahore – primarily Liberty Market in Gulberg, famed for having the first department store of Lahore - Pace.

offer, which can be neatly classified into bazaars types with which the public are well acquainted, for example Suha Bazaar is associated with gold, Akbari Mandi sells all manner of spices, Kasera Bazaar is known for steel cooking utensils and Ghoomti Bazaar vends all manner of textiles. The bazaar that is frequented by museum visitors in conjunction with their visit to the Lahore Museum is Anarkali, partly due to proximity but also its reputation for selling a variety of goods and services at a reasonable price from women’s, men’s, children’s fashion and accessories to luggage, kitchen utensils, cloth dyeing and refreshments. Part of Anarkali bazaar is modern with small arcades of shops that give way to older parts, resembling the traditional bazaar set up of small shops in narrow gallian (alleyways). Most of these shops are densely packed with displays of goods that cover the entire wall space and under intense lighting bedazzle the passing customer’s vision: for whom the narrow entrances’ are lined with small wooden benches in front of which goods are revealed by vendors to their audience.

The performative spectacle of the bazaar is essential in satisfying the audience’s visual/bodily desire and imagination in the visual consumption of commodities; allowing the subject to interact, feel and be entertained by the display. In comparing the difference between a department store and the bazaar Ilyas Anjum opined:

I love the old bazaars because the difference is that if we go to Pace the things there are expensive, you know what it is but you cannot bargain and obviously your heart wants to buy the things and have a Visa Card to pay for it...But in the old bazaars you can bargain and you can touch things in the shops, in Pace you want to but fear touching them...although I do enjoy looking at things [in Pace] as they are clearly displayed.

The visual interface of the bazaar is such that it requires the customer to be enticed initially by the sales’ pitches that specifically target the customer’s gaze proclaiming ‘Dekhnay kay toh kohi paisay nahi!’ (There is no charge for looking!) or ‘Aap bas ah kar aik nazar dekhh leejiyay, lahynay zaroori nay hai’ (Please come and have at least one look, there is not need to buy.). Equally, the customer has expectations to be enchanted and overwhelmed by the performance that evolves in front of them: entering the

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123 In the questionnaire carried out amongst the museum visitors in response to question asking which places were visited regularly, the bazaar was the second most visited with 90% of visitors regularly going to the bazaar.
124 Just across the Mall Road Anarkali bazaar starts with second hand book/magazine stalls and men’s clothing.
125 Interview with Ilyas Anjum on 13.07.04.
claustrophobic space of the bazaar shop, the feeling of visual excess and hyperactivity borders on disorder, leaving the gaze unable to settle upon any single item. The distracted gaze of the audience\textsuperscript{126} has to be focused and so the high voltage lights are flicked on and the whole shop, no matter how small, comes alive with the objects doused in bright illumination. Once an interest point has been established, the static display of objects is activated into a flurry of revelation in the process of exhibiting goods to the consumers. Any object, be it cloth or utensil, is slowly exposed in succession to display its various forms and styles, a process anticipated by the patient viewer who hopes to see all and eventually the best, latest and unique ‘piece’; which the shopkeepers hold back on purpose. The ongoing displaying/draping of goods is a strategy that attracts and involves the viewers by inviting them to handle and feel the objects in order to assess whether the sales banter is trustworthy, as Shahida Afzal stated ‘I have to touch the things, until then I can’t be sure if it is worth the price the shopkeeper claims or even if it is real.’\textsuperscript{127} To a certain extent this represents the corpothermal (Pinney a2002) spectacle for a South Asian audience who demand not just visual displays or material exchange but an affectivity, of ‘touch’ and delight in viewing objects that can be imagined as an illusion or contact with modernity memorized as an image, experience and perhaps owned as a purchase.

The viewing of displayed goods revealed from behind glass cases and shelves in the bazaar provokes imaginings and interpretations around ideas of luxury and uniqueness that are distinguished by classification of ‘imported’ versus ‘local’;\textsuperscript{128} driven by the curiosity to see the wondrous and new. Shopkeepers, acutely aware of this highlight qualities that emphasize the former, often exclaiming: ‘...meray pass aik nayi cheese hai, abbi aiyi hai, yuneek hai, dekhlay aap.’ (I have something very new, it has just arrived, is unique have a look.). This dichotomy of objects implicitly links prestige, superiority and modernity to the ‘imported’ (unknown) in opposition to the ‘local’ (known), however, interspersed between these is a whole sphere of jailee (illegal)

\textsuperscript{126} Usually this will be a group - women or family but overall women do not shop alone unless it is for grocery, even when it comes to men the activity of shopping is a social event that usually involves family members or friend; and this is so across the classes.
\textsuperscript{127} Interview with Shahida Afzal on 14.09.03.
\textsuperscript{128} Such classifications of objects into these two types are not new, as Zekiye Eglar (1960) records for the Mohla village in Gujrat District, the villagers classified goods into desi (local) and vilaeyti (foreign) that were based on increased communication with cities like Lahore and knowledge of foreign products, for example Germany providing the best machines and Japan being synonymous with reliability.
copies that attempt to disguise Pakistani goods as foreign brands by innocuously placing labels that read ‘Made in Japan’ or ‘China’.\textsuperscript{129} This ‘craze’, as Tanveer Akhtar called it,\textsuperscript{130} for imported objects can be thought of as an adjunct to the pleasure taken in seeing foreign images in Indian films\textsuperscript{131} since both attract through new visions and modern experiences, as Takreem Fatima suggested ‘We are impressed by foreign things...if there is a Pakistani product with a hundred percent guarantee to work and then one with a doubtful looking label saying ‘UK’, we will blindly choose that as we are impressed by it...confused by it...’.\textsuperscript{132} This affect of ‘imported’ goods on the body is an indulgence, an imagining of a modern self and lifestyle, visualized in the opportunity for conspicuous consumption that enables the accretion of material signs representing modernity and progress, as Saima Taufail related ‘...people do tell you that they are wearing imported things and think themselves as modern...’.\textsuperscript{133} The bazaars and their ‘exhibition-cum-sale’ (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992) displays are successful precisely because they evince in the consumer emotions that follow the hold of the spectator’s attention, Williams articulates this well when she writes: ‘The purpose of the materials is not to express their own character but to convey a sense of the lavish and foreign...not to express internal consistency but to bring together anything that expresses distance from the ordinary.’ (1989:71).

Unlike the situations described by Harris (1990) and Williams (1989), in Lahore the seductive objectified visions are not confined to the department store, rather a juxtaposition confers a duality of old style bazaar display intermingled with revelation to the consumer of the novel and modern. This is not to say that department stores do not exist in Lahore, increasingly new shopping plazas are being constructed, yet as

\textsuperscript{129} The fascination of foreign goods is evident in the calls of street vendors and shopkeepers who can be heard bellowing ‘China! China! China!’ or ‘Imported hai, Korean! Saab log is ko pasand karayhee hain’ (It is imported, from Korea! Everyone likes this one!). The import of goods from India have recently been sparse due to tight border control and trade between the two countries, however, in the bazaar dedicated to Indian imports – \textit{Pan Mandi}, some Indian goods can be found though many women noted that the quality of goods was not comparable to what used to be available. Indian goods do make their way into Pakistan through Afghanistan and Dubai with an estimated Rs 1 billion worth of Indian goods coming into Pakistan during 2003.

\textsuperscript{130} Interview with Tanveer Akhtar on 14.08.03.

\textsuperscript{131} In a similar way to the early twentieth century, other media prepare the consumer for the novelties on show in the bazaar. For fairs of 1930’s Harris writes that they: ‘...reflected a world in which the new was worshipped and the emphasis on sensation and novel perceptions rather than the absorption of data. Prepared for novel experience by motion pictures and national advertising, the public moved through these fairs in a less reverent and more aggressive fashion than had their nineteenth century ancestors.’ (1990:68).

\textsuperscript{132} Interview with Takreem Fatima on 30.07.03.

\textsuperscript{133} Interview with Saima Taufail on 01.08.03.
Ilyas Anjum pointed out the setting incites fear rather than attraction, for the simple reason that the visual consumption does not lead to an enjoyable sensory appropriation. Instead department stores like Pace are a curiosity in themselves and for many people a recreational activity that enables them to visit and transitionally inhabit an icon of modernity, where experience of the escalator as much as the variety of goods are intriguing. These novel perceptions and pleasures of the commercial world are not distinct from or replace other enduring visual arenas that are pervasive in the fabric of Lahore society and rely on ‘archaic’ visual perceptions and emotions – saint’s shrines and melas.

The Festive – Saint’s Shrines: Melas (fairs) are an annual feature of saint’s shrines (mazar) that mark the celebration of the saint’s urs - death anniversary, and draw large numbers of disciples (murid) and faithful (akidatmand) to pay homage to the saint, enjoy the festivities as well as other recreational sites such as the Lahore Museum. In fact, during the colonial period, the Lahore Museum benefited from melas as they increased the number of visitors as recorded in the annual reports; one such mela was Chiragon ka mela that took place in the Shalimar area of Lahore (see Chapter 4). This mela still takes place and is one of many throughout the year, with the largest accompanying the urs of Data Ganj Baksh (Data Sahib). However, mela and

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134 Pace was the first department store to open in Lahore - a self styled venture of the Pakistani cricketer Imran Khan, with a set up similar to stores in the west. Other stores that have the department store set up in Lahore are the chain Hang-ten and Al-Fatah, the former has several chains in Lahore and the latter is found in Liberty market and both cater for the upper classes mainly.

135 This was made apparent to me when in the visitor questionnaire 87% of the visitors answered that they visited shopping plazas regularly. However, the intention behind the visit for many was for recreation and to see something modern.

136 The urs is also sometimes referred to as a ‘wedding’ or union between the saint (known as wali or friend of God), and God.

137 There are numerous saint’s shrines in Lahore and across Pakistan with new ones being created - if someone who was considered to be a ‘holy’ man or woman dies their grave takes on the status of being a shrine where devotees continue to visit and pay their respects. The shrine in a sense takes the place of the saint and eulogizes their history, teachings and beliefs. Some of the well known saint’s shrines in Lahore include Data Sahib, Mian Mir, Shah Jamal, Bibi Pak Daman, Ghore Shah, Sher Shah Wali, Turk Murad, with those of the Punjab include Imam Bari in Rawalpindi, Baba Farid in Pakpattan, Waris Shah in Sheikhapura and Bulleh Shah in Kasur.

138 Sufi mystic or pirs played an important part in disseminating the doctrine of Islam in South Asia from the 8th century onwards and one of the two most revered Sufi shrines in Pakistan is that of Data Sahib in Lahore (dating to 11th century); the other being the 12th century shrine of Shabaz Qalander in Sehwan, Sindh Province. Syed Abul Hassan Bin Usman Bin Ali Al-Hajweri was also known as Shaikh Ali Hajweri, Data Ganj Baksh or as the saint is popularly called Data Sahib - a prominent scholar of Islam who wrote the first Persian language treatise on Sufism, which is also his most famous work Kashf-al-Mahjub (Revelation of the Veiled). Data Sahib settled in Lahore on 1039 and died in 1072 when he was buried close to a mosque that he built himself. Data Sahib is used by locals to refer to the name of the saint but also the shrine and complex (darbar) and so I shall use it to refer to the complex.

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In Lahore, Data Sahib is officially recognized as the patron saint with a public holiday granted on the urs, however, for Lahoris this respect for the saint is associated with stories that prevail around miracles that take place in the shrine or the saint’s benevolence on the city, as Takreem Fatima recounted:

People go to Data Sahib as it is said that floods have come and earthquakes but they have never affected Lahore...it has always been safeguarded against these and this is because of Data Sahib. There is also the spirituality and people have faith that when they say a prayer there it will definitely be answered.

The reverence for Data Sahib is demonstrated by the constant flow of people leaving and entering the shrine complex day and night that lies at the busy junction of Ravi Road and Kutchery Road. Those who do not have enough time to go in, pay their respects from afar by bowing their head, fixing their gaze onto the shrine and praying as they walk or drive past. Apart from urs days, the rush around Data Sahib is most palpable, on Thursdays when Lahoris and those who travel in on buses that line the Ravi Road, create a concoction of people going into the shrine, mingling outside shops/stalls, questioning the ever pervasive fakirs and fortune tellers and jostling traffic. A standstill is inevitable, but expected by all, as Thursday is piron ka din (saint’s day),

Data Sahib is one of the most visited shrines in Lahore with daily attendance of around 28-32,000 visitors, which can rise to 55-58,000 on Thursdays and Fridays (Figures from Auqaf Department, Government of Punjab).

This was officially announced by the Government of Punjab in 2003.

One recent story that was told to me by many people tells of a woman, desperate for money to wed her daughter and so she came to Data Sahib and openly ‘challenged’ the saint – that if he really is as great as all proclaim then why did he not give her what she wanted. After that the woman feel asleep in the shrine’s courtyard and when she woke up there was a pile of rupees near her and she looked around and asked if this belonged to anyone and someone came forward and claimed it as theirs. Then the woman fell asleep again and the same thing happened, she woke up, found some money and someone else took it. Then the woman started to walk away and was approached by an old man, he asked her what the problem was, and she told him she needed money and the man replied well you have been given money twice and given it away each time! After that the elderly man left and the woman realized it was Data Sahib himself who had visited her. The moral being that pirs and fakirs should not be challenged they are much greater beings than ordinary humans can imagine and know more than we think they do about us. The validity of this story is enhanced by the fact that it was witnessed by other people and so is irrefutable for believers.

Interview with Takreem Fatima on 30.07.03.
considered *the* auspicious day of the week on which to visit any saint’s shrine.\textsuperscript{143} The desire to benefit propitiously from Data Sahib is not limited to a specific class or sector of society its popularity extends even to political spheres (*sayasat*); regularly visited by Members of the National Assembly and even by the Prime Minister soon after coming into office.\textsuperscript{144} The faith in the saint as a bountiful force/vision is what attracts the public who envision the saint as a ‘middle man’ between them and Allah, as Saima Taufail explained ‘...people go there as they see the saints as mediators between them and Allah, people say that [saints] make sure that their prayers get to Allah since they are his *wali*. If they get what they want, then they will go again and so on...’.\textsuperscript{145} The efficacy of the shrine, and hence the saint, resides in the anticipation, and actual, fulfilment of wishes/prayers and gaining blessings through the act of visiting; perhaps this is why many newly married couples are brought to the shrine to be blessed. Central to this act is the viewing and better still ‘touching’ of the shrine;\textsuperscript{146} so what kinds of activities are involved in the appropriation of shrines by the public.

Having passed Data Sahib on numerous occasions on my way to the Lahore Museum, one afternoon I decided to pay my own homage to the patron saint of Lahore, as usual it was busy with people buying bags of rose petals and bags of *makhanay*,\textsuperscript{147} then making their way over to the shoe stands. Barefoot, other visitors and I made our way across the large marble courtyard, passing the homeless and mendicants, picnicking families and the itinerant *fakirs*, towards the original shrine that is overshadowed by the grand *Jamia Hajveri* (Hajveri Mosque). Approaching the shrine men and women are separated, allocated different areas from which to view the shrine and say their *salaam* to the saint. On the women’s side, openings in windows of marble lattice work offer the only viewing point of the shrine, which had a line of women eagerly pushing forward so that they get closer quicker. Ushered by female guards a few women at a time were allowed to go forward, they handed over the rose petals or flower garlands to a guard on the other side or attempted to throw them onto the tomb already showered in

\begin{footnotes}
\item[143] Thursdays are also the most efficacious day on which to give *sadkas* (see above).
\item[144] This political symbolism of the shrine is evident in the fact that it forms the starting point for many political rallies and protests. For an insight into the political importance and ramifications of shrines and *pirs* in the Punjab during the colonial period see David Gilmartin (1988).
\item[145] Interview with Saima Taufail on 01.08.03.
\item[146] More often than not the shrine itself is more accessible to men who can physically touch the tomb, women are usually only allowed to view from a partition area; although this is not the case for all shrines it is the case at Data Sahib.
\item[147] *Makhanay* are small white balls made of sugar that are packaged in small plastic bags; sometimes mixed with dried dates.
\end{footnotes}
flowers and chaddaraen;\textsuperscript{148} intensely gazing at the tomb they raise their hands and say fatheyya.\textsuperscript{149} It is only during this moment of reciprocal glancing between the faithful and the shrine that desires or wishes (manat/murad) can be made and barkat asked from the saint; pledging to return should their manat be granted.\textsuperscript{150} Reluctant to leave, as if gripped by what they see, some women kissed the lattice; others touched it and rubbed their hands over their eyes. Gradually, they were persuaded to move on; placing a donation in the box and receiving a few rose petals that had been in contact with the tomb they left. Some women then sat in the area near the tomb and read from the Quran, saying a short namaz, or distributed the makhana\textit{y} they had brought with them as tabarak to the other women;\textsuperscript{151} keeping some to take home. Just before leaving, the potency of the shrine was demonstrated further when a lady came round with a jug of water and asked all the ladies who were reading from the Quran to blow onto it, so transforming it into ‘holy water’, which she could administer to her sick relative back home.

Having visited the shrine, some people left directly, others lingered giving alms to the beggars and fakirs who in return proffer their blessings or advice on how to alleviate problems; some looked around the stalls buying rings, bangles, laminated business card printed images of the shrine and saints for themselves or family members and a few sat crouched on the dusty road by palmists anticipating insights into their future. These ‘souvenirs’ are considered sacred since they are purchased at the saint’s shrine,\textsuperscript{152} and carry the blessings of the saint, as Ayesha Ashfaq remarked ‘...those who come from

\textsuperscript{148} Chaddaraen (sheets) specifically for the graves or tombs of saints are purchased outside the shrine and usually placed on the tomb when a wish or prayer has been fulfilled. These chaddaraen are normally green in colour with tinsel gold edging and are covered in Quranic verses that shimmer in the light due to the glitter screen-printing used. The chaddaraen not only beautify the tomb but also serve to symbolize to the viewer of the potency and successful granting of wishes and blessings by the saint.

\textsuperscript{149} Recitation of the fatheyya (the creed of Islam) is done when visiting any grave.

\textsuperscript{150} Not only is a chaddar (sheet) offered to the saint’s tomb if a prayer is answered but more often them not food is distributed among the poor who are at the shrines and anyone else who would like some. The offering of food is known by several names - in Punjabi, it is called pandara and in Urdu referred to as nazrana or nazar niaz. Some people bring food cooked from home others will pay for degs (cauldrons) to be made and distributed by caterers who have shops outside the shrine specifically for this reason. The continual feeding of the poor at Data Sahib for many is evidence of the saint’s proximity to good and efficacious quality.

\textsuperscript{151} Similar to prasad in Hinduism, in that it is a food item that is distributed after having contact with the shrine or holy site.

\textsuperscript{152} The taking of tabarak in the form of food or as rings or bangles is identified as an indirect endowment of blessings from the saint through that material form that was purchased or received from the site itself. In this way the tabarak links the shrine with those unable to visit and in some cases has attained international scale, for example the Chisti shrine in Ajmer, India who post such items. In themselves, these objects have little value but their contact with the shrine and the saint’s blessings make them powerful and sacred items.
afar will buy something to take back home and it is often said that it is from Data himself. Women wear rings and bangles that they feel are sacred as they are bought at the mazar and so they wear them all the time.'\textsuperscript{153} The effect of viewing the shrine emanates from the visual act and emotional involvement, as one man who was leaving at the same time told me ‘...yahan say sab laykar hi jatay hain, bohut kuch laykar!’ (Everyone takes something from here, they take a lot!). This one line stuck with me and pointed out that in fact it is the experience of visiting and attaining visual intercourse with the saint’s shrine that emotes feelings of ‘gaining a lot’ on which the faithful base their belief mixed with a curiosity and wonder at the saint’s unwitting munificence.

The visuality around the shrines cannot aridly be understood as consumption of religious symbolism alone, something else is at play here and is best described as a pleasure taken in seeing things that are said to have roshiani (brightness) a visual glow radiating from a place/object that is felt inside the body - pleasurable to the heart and mind. Holy relics are especially said to have this roshiani beauty that flows from them when viewed, with shrines also being referred to in these terms, as Ejaz Ali informed me ‘In Urdu we say that these mazars are our ‘shining minarets’ where there is light twenty-four hours a day and that these are Allah’s blessings flowing, as the saint’s have direct contact with Allah...’\textsuperscript{154} The visual exchange that takes place between the shrine and viewer is not easily converted into a linguistic account and for many the only way to explain it, is as feelings that result from visual ‘contact’.\textsuperscript{155} Enquiring further into the shrine experience the one thing that informants repeatedly reiterated were feelings similar to the sentiments expressed by the man passing me that late afternoon at the shrine, where the shrine was consumed as a vision of living ‘wealth’, as Tanveer Akhtar related:

\begin{quote}
I feel rest, I feel rest myself, in very much peace [sic], it is such a place where a person feels they are in a place out of this world, in a new place. Like if you go to the darbar [Data Sahib] or Bibi Pak Daman and concentrate and have good intentions...then you will get tranquillity and I have felt this myself...I don’t think we can give [the saints] anything but we can come away with a lot, we get a lot...Just look at Data Sahib, people are eating from there everyday, even now, and so wishes come
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{153} Interview with Ayesha Ashfaq on 08.07.03.
\textsuperscript{154} Interview with Ejaz Ali on 15.09.03.
\textsuperscript{155} This explanation is very close to the performance of darshan in the Hindu religious context. In the case of chromolithographs see Chris Pinney (a2002, 2004).
true, there must be something. No, I believe there is a lot, we cannot but get...good people who are so close to Allah they are not dead but alive, these places are alive...

Saint’s shrines at a literal level are relics from the past and so can be interpreted as inactive, however, it would seem that for much of the public this would be an inaccurate assumption, who view shrines as active and living sacred places (mugaduss). This spiritual vibrancy lends itself to a sense of celestial attraction and curiosity in the power of the saint. Although most people in Lahore agree with the intentions behind shrine visiting, what unsettles some is the ‘corporethetic’ (Pinney a2002) reaction instigated by the strong visual attraction of the shrine, since it flirts with the visual practice of darshan as associated with Hinduism; Shahida Afzal stated:

It is a bit like the Indian situation, like they pray to idols and these people here worship the saints in the same way, despite the fact that the saints have said that people should not come and pray to them or ask them for anything...but I do have respect for the saints as they are our ancestors, just like the way our grandparents guided us, so they have given us insights...

In making this comparison, the allusion is to the bodily praxis of the faithful/disciples in front of the shrine, whose ‘exhibition’ set up almost mimics that of a temple idol or domestic chromolithograph offering itself for darshan; the ‘display’ of shrines is such that this judgement is not too far fetched. At the conceptual centre of the mazar lies the saint’s tomb - usually of marble with black inlay Quranic inscriptions, with many other accretions layering what is otherwise a simple mausoleum. The main part of the tomb is often covered by a green chaddar - either embroidered or printed with gold text, next a profuse scattering of deep red rose petals, aromatic jasmine and garlands of saffron coloured marigolds that delicately suffuse their fragrance into the surroundings.

Some shrines deliberately create a roshiani atmosphere with decorative electrical lights and small mirrors in the interior walls to multiple the sense of illumination, others have a place to light candles and incense sticks or on Thursdays be lit by the flicker of deevay (oil lamps) once a prayer or murad has been said. This embellished ‘display’ of the shrine serves to establish and heighten a total sensory experience of the faithful.

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156 Interview with Tanveer Akhtar on 14.08.03.
157 Interview with Shahida Afzal on 14.09.03.
158 In some instances, an item belonging to the saint is directly placed on the tomb, such as at Bulleh Shah’s shrine in Kasur where a green pagri is displayed near the tombstone to also symbolize the presence of the saint.
159 At the Bulleh Shah shrine there is the practice of tying threads to the lattice framework once a murad has been made, which is untied once it has been granted.
that attracts the gaze and invites the tactile gaze to interact. It is this ‘hold’ and consumption of the shrine as an ‘image’ that causes the body’s senses to be captivated and disturbs some who see it as un-Islamic. However, this darshan-esque visual practice is also a reminder of the importance of visuality in the culture of South Asia, as Ayesha Ashfaq diplomatically assessed the situation:

...this is against Islam, it is not allowed but then we have elements of Hinduism in our past and they have become part of our beliefs, like Hindus have their idol worship and they bring gifts and flowers to offer so at mazar people do similar things...people genuflect to the tomb, kiss it, touch it and stare at it. I once saw this man at Turk Murad who did not stop staring at the tomb until he was out of the mazar he would not turn around...this is not part of our religion but is part of our culture that has been long affected by Hinduism.160

During a saint’s urs there is an intensification of the above activities following the main event - the ghussal (washing) of the saint’s tomb,161 with large numbers of people flocking to the shrine to pay their respects and then enjoy the festivities of the mela.162 At Data Sahib’s urs the areas that surround the shrine are alerted to the festival by the noise of toleeyan, which are groups of males parading a chaddar to collect donations and dance (tamal) to the sound of the dhol as they make their way to the mazar.163 The shrine complex is also decorated covered entirely with lights and outside the mela is set up with a variety of stalls selling jewellery, clothes, shoes, toys, pottery, steel utensils, musical cassettes, religious images, rosettes with the image of the shrine, food (a speciality called qatlamay are made during urs festivals), as well as palmists and information stalls of Islamic groups and medical organizations. In the evening, the courtyard of the shrine hosts mehfil-i-naat and qawali performance164 that are attended mainly by men, whilst families have the opportunity to be entertained by the Lucky Irani Circus in nearby Minar-i-Pakistan boasting thirteen lions, a miniature horse and a

160 Interview with Ayesha Ashfaq on 08.07.03
161 Ayesha Ashfaq told me that she has known of people to queue at Data Sahib to receive the water from the ghussal so they can take it away and keep it as sacred water. The Governor of Punjab along with other dignitaries inaugurates the ghussal of Data Sahib and other political figures then go on to lay wreathes at the shrine.
162 Some people call the urs a poor man’s Hajj pilgrimage as for them this is the main locus and strength of belief and so this is why so many villagers (or entire villages) will make their way especially to the shrine at the time of the urs.
163 The enthusiasm of the young men was made clear to me when I saw one such toli making its way towards Data Sahib on the Ravi Road, unaware of the traffic, the participants of the toli were busy collecting money whilst having a camera man in front of them so they could record the whole event as they slowly made their way to the long line of toleyan waiting to go into the shrine and present their chaddar and donations.
164 Many famous qawal perform at Data Sahib during the urs, the most famous of which has been Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan.
thirteen foot long snake. The mela and the urs together present an eclectic mixture of spirituality and recreation - shopping, eating, consultation and entertainment. Neither clash or oppose each other but all are anticipated, as Ejaz Ali a ‘veteran’ attendee of different saint’s urs,\textsuperscript{165} suggested:

At the urs which is celebrated by the faithful, twenty-five percent read the Quran or hold qawwali, women go to keep manatay...about thirty-five percent come for the tamasha, they gamble, drink, drugs, pick pockets but they never come near the mazar they stay on the outsides but they do add to the festival’s spirits!...you get sports like kabbadi and some have horse-racing too. Then there is the langar, poetry like you get to listen to Heer at Waris Shah and it is the Punjabi folk culture that appears at the melas in the dances, songs, dress and it is all traditional...these are important as the person whose urs we celebrate are those people who converted so many people to Islam...and it is their generations that are now in the thousands and so these are our ancestors really. It is this belief that draws us to these babaji and why day and night people keep on visiting.\textsuperscript{166}

Ejaz Ali in presenting the many facets of the urs and its accompanying mela importantly refers to the historical importance and reverence for what he called ‘ancestors’, knowledge of whom is experienced and performed annually at the urs, with recurrent visits in-between. Once again culture, history and knowledge are presented and maintained through enduring living events that are participated in primarily through visuality but also the corporeal with the experience being renewed every year.

It was at such times of historical, cultural and spiritual renewal through the saint’s shrine, with a mix of celebration and recreation that the Lahore Museum during the colonial era was also visited by those going to the urs of Madho Lal Hussain and Chiragon ka mela. The highlight of this urs that still takes place in the Baghbanpura area of Lahore near Shalimar Gardens, other than visiting the shrine in a similar manner to that described above, is the lighting of small chirag/deevay or candles and throwing them into a large pit that bellows out heat and smoke. Once this ritual is complete the mela is enjoyed to the fullest extent with amusement rides, arbi qatlamay (sweet dough balls with sesame) consumed, potions and herbal cures bought from a hakeem (homeopath) to cure all manner of ailments and general delight in the variety of sights and experiences that occur. For many, especially those who travel to Lahore, other

\textsuperscript{165} Over the years Ejaz Ali regularly attended urs of Pir Waris Shah, Baba Bulleh Shah, Shabaz Qalanadar, Data Sahib, Pir Maki, Babur Haider Sain, Bibi Pak Daman, Mian Mir, Baba Shah Jamal, Baba Shah Kamal and so on.

\textsuperscript{166} Interview with Ejaz Ali on 15.09.03
recreational sites including the Lahore Museum are also consumed with the intentions to enjoy and be impressed by new visions whose indecipherability is precisely what attracts. The vision here is 'polyscopic' (Taylor 2002:287) desiring history, culture, curiosity, novelty and wonder not as fixed and separate genres but fluid and repetitive dealing with tradition and modernity. Embroiled in this is the Lahore Museum, meaning that consumption is less about viewing an object/image as evidence, historical chronology or cultural authenticity, rather it seeks emotional engagement based on other experiences and idioms to recontextualize it through an interocular (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1992, 1995) interpretation. When examined from a viewpoint of being a socialized museum as part of local visual practices and sites, the perception and understanding of the Lahore Museum by its audience as ajaib, cannot be said to be improper. Spectatorship in South Asia based on indigenous ways of seeing (darshan/dekhna/nazar) show that the audience demands objects that invite them and for interpretation to expand and extend beyond the objective, incorporating aspects of history, culture, wonder, novelty and fantasy. The unresolved problematic for South Asian museums remains with respect to its audience, the authoritative discourse on museums since their colonial introduction has been reluctant to accommodate this subject position, perhaps if Hendley's (1914) musings had been heeded to a little more, South Asian museums would have negotiated this 'other' subjectivity and use of the museum; which is their own.

HAVE MUSEUMS EVER BEEN MODERN?

Bruno Latour's (1993) treatise on the modern episteme is useful here in thinking about the extent to which the dominance of the museum, based on the western model, stipulating objective knowledge, scientific representation and by default the modern gaze, has been successfully realized. If the modern museum is approached as cultural space in which classification and systematic visualization of the self or other was possible then in colonial India it was employed in representing colonial ideas on India's social evolution and chronology of history – the people, culture, and commodities (see Chapter 1); an institution to modernize the colony. However, what if instead of representation we consider the audience, and for that matter the non-western museum public and their cultural agency, then can this belief in the modern museum still be
sustained? The case as presented here and in the previous chapter alerts us to the constructedness of the modern gaze that masks visceral responses as well as negotiations that are mediated through culturally informed ways of seeing; that reveal the polysemous meanings and biographies of objects/collections (Hoskins 1998). In the past communication with the indigenous audience was thought to suffer from similar hurdles as those facing European museums (Bennett 1995) where the mass audience retained a ‘medieval’ gaze and sensibilities that craved the strange, new and wondrous. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries museum administrators in Europe and India could dismiss this in terms of illiteracy and lack of education, however, was this supposition just an ideal, a hope that a modern museum public would eventually emerge with increased education and social progress in the east and west? The desire for a modern museum public was definitely felt in colonial India by those with ‘second sight’ (Prakash 1999:34) yet it was unable to displace indigenous visual practices that consumed representation of culture, history and knowledge not as objective displays but lived culture and performed rituals, narratives, practices and festivities. The museum in South Asia entered this living cultural space and ended up occupying a precarious dualistic position - for the elite and curators it was an educational institution to be employed in creating visions of Indian society, but for the mass public the attraction was connected to the inverse image - the ajaib.

Understanding the ajaib interpretation of visitors to the Lahore Museum (see Chapter 4) through an elucidation of other visualscape/exhibitionism of contemporary Lahore – television/films, bazaar and shrines, which socialize the museum and provide habitual knowledge and experience to visitors, reveals its local appropriateness and hence desirability. Consumption in the three arenas is united by the fact that South Asian visual regimes anticipate a sensory and emotive experience of the object rather than seeing the objective and understanding it for conventional knowledge. It is apparent that the modern gaze has failed to replace indigenous visuality since it negates the instinctual need to see the marvellous and fascinating. By socializing the museum within this larger visual field that satisfies the desire for the imaginary, tactile and emotive it becomes apparent that Hendley’s (1914) prescription that to be successful, museums needed to look to these other arenas was accurate. In taking recourse to their visual gaze, as informed by the other visual spaces, the visitors of the Lahore Museum
make it a success by preventing the existence of a singular determinacy of the museum; opening it up to fluid and multiple ways of seeing and interpreting.

The museum in South Asia has to move away from its strict focus on learning, knowledge acquisition and linguistic understanding and become aware of other visceral and phenomenological appropriations that are taking place in the museum – of feelings, imaginings and pleasures that are roohani (touching the soul) as Ejaz Ali put it.167 By looking beyond its four walls the museum needs to re-synchronize its activities with the visualscape of the society in which it is present where enduring and timely images co-exist, practises and ideas operate alongside, modernity mingles with the ‘mythic imagination’ (Eck 1981) to create a space that invites the imagination to flourish. In addition to the key concepts and metaphors for which the modern museum stands, namely history, culture and civilization, the museum in South Asia has to accept the ‘ontological indeterminacy’ that enthrals the visitors and presents them with a situation, close to that described by Pinney for Indian photography but applicable to viewing, where the: ‘…ability to conjure multiple ways of seeing the world that escape a single determinate spatiality is a source of delight…” (b2002:271). In this capacity, the museum in South Asia still has to adhere to the advice given by Hendley (1914) that success lies in being attentive to attractions as found in other spaces of museum spirit; and paying attention to the local visitors’ needs. It would then be inappropriate to end with anything but a few words from a visitor who tells of his experience of the Lahore Museum:

When I am looking and going around I don’t feel like I am in a museum, I feel like I am in a dream and get so caught up in it. I think about who made these things and how they came here, I lose myself, and time as well. My feet do not stay on the ground, they leap into history itself and many times I am in the museum and the guards say it is time to go and I realize I am the only one left! 168

167 Interview with Ejaz Ali on 30.10.02.
168 Ghulam Sarwar – a 42 year old, steel engineer from Karachi. Interviewed on 03.05.03.
CONCLUSION

Reminiscent of its earlier history one problem facing the Lahore Museum today is that of insufficient space and the paradoxical desire to exhibit more of its unseen collections. In attempts to remedy this, the museum has been in negotiations with various Punjab Government authorities and departments and finally plans are underway for expansion of the Lahore Museum. The significance of this cannot be taken lightly; this is the first time after 1894 that, there will be large-scale expansion of the museum beyond the current site. In an interesting turn of events, the locations of the new sections of the museum confer another type of colonial revision. The first of the new locations is the original museum - Wazir Khan’s Baradari (1855-1864), which has been obtained by the museum and will house some of the 80% of antiquities that have never been put on display – some 40,000 objects.1 The second location is adjoining land (that has been purchased with a grant) behind Tollinton Market, where the museum was housed during 1864-1894 and on which a new building will be constructed and linked to the current museum by a bridge or underpass. In a rather neat way the museum has been reunited with former versions of itself, which physically will add to the heterogeneity of the phenomenological experience in each section of the museum. Although the Tollinton Market (1864 Exhibition Building) has also been renovated by the Parks and Horticultural Association in Lahore and there were plans to use part of it to display objects from the Lahore Museum it has not yet been decided how this space will be used. So since my fieldwork much change at the Lahore Museum is apparent: a new Director has also been appointed, some of the older officers have retired or left and for the first time the museum is getting the kind of investment and attraction is has always needed.

Currently it is unclear what objects or collections will be shifted to the new locations or even when, and so it will be interesting to see what form this new segment of the museum takes. Part of the colonial archive that has remained hidden will now be revealed and reinterpreted enabling the museum to further enhance its material prestige. This may get the museum thinking about how it could transform, re-invent or present a new image of itself and some of this is happening with a new Sikh Gallery planned specifically to attract Sikh tourists who increasingly visit Lahore as part of religious

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1 Sarfraz (14.05.04).
of modern display techniques will shift the popular, and I would say rightful image, of the museum for a South Asian audience – that of an *Ajaib Ghar*. Perhaps the real change needs to come from the museum, in acknowledging the visitor’s appropriation as a legitimate one of this cultural technology in South Asia.

On reflection, despite the inadequacies of the Lahore Museum, it occupies an enviable position; it has some of the best collections in the world, is now being invested into and has a large number of visitors, so what of the future? Of course, the old galleries could be refurbished to preserve the collections, better lighting and more labels added, but if this were to lead to a total re-haul and streamlining of exhibits then the museum would loose the attractive quality that distinguishes it from other museums and makes it popular with its public. The element of undecipherabilty, amazement, attraction, the gaze being drawn into a visual contract with the object is in keeping with the South Asian visitor’s desire, expectation and satisfaction. Awareness of this among the museum officers would help them to be alert as to how the museum is being used and perhaps not feel that their work is lacking simply because it is not perceived by the museum visitors as educational or as a form of conventional learning. The museum in South Asia cannot rely on being a derivative of the western institution, it has its own historical development – a counterhistory, in which the local visitor’s demand not just to view objects but have their gaze fixated, enabling visual exploration and imagination to operate. Museums in order to offer a better experience for their visitor have firstly to be aware of their communities and then to think about change and development. Maybe it is best to let one of the many visitors to the Lahore Museum state his hopes for the museum:

I recently visited a park in the Khewra salt range where they had made buildings out of salt brick and illuminated them, they were so *impressive*. One thing that really interested me was this mosque and when it was lit the different salt gave different colours and that really attracted me, as well as the waterfall there, as when the water reached the bottom it formed like bunches of grapes...it was so *dilchasp* [interesting]...If there were things like these here in the museum that would be really wonderful and would make it even more worthwhile.²

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² Naeem – a 40 year old, unemployed man from Behra in Sargodha District of Punjab. Interviewed on 26.04.03.
Museum Archons\textsuperscript{1}: The Habitual Discourse of the Lahore Museum

In an archive, there should not be any absolute dissociation, any heterogeneity or secret which could separate (secernere), or partition, in an absolute manner. The archontic principle of the archive is also a principle of consignation, that is, of gathering together.

Jacques Derrida (1995:3)

[The Lahore Museum’s] benefits are that it imparts education to students and visitors. They educate themselves in seeing the artefacts and seeing the way of life of the past peoples. So I also feel it is an international heritage, you know people and visitors visit it and come to know of our civilization. It is educational and the Lahore Museum is fulfilling this, but there is scope like more people should visit it and delegates should come also.

Liaquat Ali Khan Niazi (Director- Lahore Museum)\textsuperscript{2}

THE MATERIAL ARCHIVE

The collections of the Lahore Museum are not only material assets that are displayed and collected for the visitors but also form a material archive around which the attentions of the curators and staff who work there are permanently fixed. Preservation, security and maintenance overtly focus on caring for the objects, however, what is overwhelmingly explicit is the desire of curators for the objects themselves, not only as cultural property but also as an archive, which they must sustain and give order to as a whole within the parameters of their institutional duties. Objects in a museum are subject to ideological narratives – colonial or postcolonial, however, they are also the mainstay of the habitual discourse on museum practice. The Lahore Museum’s curators reserve the right to use and reveal the collections as they see fit in response to institutional constraints, training, funding or simply personal preferences. In an effort

\textsuperscript{1} Refers to 'archons' as guardians of official archives as used by Jacques Derrida (1995:2).

\textsuperscript{2} Interview with Liaquat Ali Khan Niazi, who at the time was Director of the Lahore Museum, on 07.01.03.
to move away from a wholly static undertaking of museum practice where it ends up being a set of display strategies, I want to address it is as a working institution, a living social and cultural technology. This angle should not be taken as an indication or judgment on the success of its working practices rather as evocation the museum’s existence/presence in a non-western museum culture.

The processual actuality of museums is often absent in discussions about these institutions, as Handler and Gable (1997) suggest, an investigation into museum praxis reveals a forgotten feature in which the museum action/inaction operates within its own habitual discourse and politics. One way to approach this is to think of it as a museopolitik sphere of the Lahore Museum where rhetoric from beyond the museum - local, national, and global level interacts with practical issues and problems faced by museum workers. However, ultimately the responsibility lies with the museum authority to decide whether to adopt certain ideas or deem them impractical, even if ideologically attractive. Museological studies have so far eclipsed this backstage of the museum, but it is precisely here that an ethnographical viewpoint (see Butler 2001, Merrimen 1996 and Handler & Gable 1997) is most enabling in recovering the real hub of the museum’s nerve-centre. My attempt here to investigate the different concerns that surround the contemporary Lahore Museum are also importantly tied up with a need to investigate the meaning and understandings of Eurocentric museology and museum models in non-western societies.

The ‘new museology’ (Vergo 1989), whose intentions were to revitalize and critically engage with the Museum, unleashing it from its modern past towards progress becomes unhinged in South Asia. This academic engagement which prompted a reassessment of museums both conceptually and practically, was translated into a mode of curatorship that held the western museum model at its core; presenting limitations when applied uncritically onto the rest of the world and verging on becoming a ‘grand narrative’ itself. Durrans (1988) obliquely raised this issue when he questioned the cultural specificity of museum change around the world, probing the relevance the ‘basic model’3 of the museum had for the ‘Third World’. Likewise, Stephen Inglis’ short

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1 By ‘basic model’ Durrans (1988) means the modern museum as it developed in Europe from its ‘classical antecedents’ and continues with ‘...basic functions ....to collect, preserve, research and exhibit’. (ibid:152)
article entitled *Post-Colonial Museums: Dead or Alive?* (1989), reported his experience of attending a ‘Workshop on Museums’ held in Madras, where the common connotation of the word museum was thought to have itself become an obstacle to museum growth and development outside the west. Later in a similar manner, Prösler (1996) makes an invective for a widening of the discourse on ‘global museums’ whilst readdressing the lacunae in research of non-western museums by focusing his attention on the National Museum of Colombo. However, it is frustrating to see that these queries remain unanswered as museums, especially those of South Asia, remain on the ‘periphery’. Almost an alterity that are assessed in terms of western museum theory and practice, unaware of the actuality on the ground; a remedy is certainly in order.

The problem is situated within postcolonial museology’s parameters, which so far has taken a self-reflexive critique of museum displays in western museums, attempting to expose colonial meta-narratives of control, power, and knowledge. However, the museums of the non-west inhabit and operate within a postcolonial society and are not always interested in this critical perspective, and even at the level of representation/display, the concept is not complex or flexible enough. The main flaw is in the assumption that ‘progress’ or ‘development’ is linear and singular: from colonial to postcolonial when in fact it is more ambiguous with all kinds of fetters persisting in the transitional zone that is the reality of postcolonial museums.¹

What I am interested in exploring is the pragmatic situation as it prevails on the ground, where ‘progress’ is not so clear-cut but hindered by the colonial archive and attempts at re-invention suffice as disjunction or mere replication (under new signs) between the colonial and postcolonial.² This problematic is not so evident within museums of the west³ from which most theoretical and practical museological studies emerge, but is

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¹ See Kratz (2002) for a recent example of this when she deals with institutional rules and sponsorship demands in setting up a photographic exhibition.
² The difficulty of applying an analysis that is based on simple transformation from colonial to postcolonial representation first presented itself when I tried to trace the change from one to the other, in relation to museum in India for my Masters thesis (Bhatti 1999).
³ There have been incidents where postcolonial reflexivity has led to problems within museums, such as Jean Cannizzo and the *Into the Heart of Darkness* Exhibition (1989-90); also see Riegel (1996). However, this has more to do with a conscious attempt to debate colonial activity using irony that is not easily accessible to the public and so led to controversy. What I am pointing to is the situation of colonial museums within postcolonial nations such as Pakistan or India who have constructed new museums but also ‘try’ and transform the older museums to make them subscribe to the postcolonial image and this throws up its own set of concerns and controversies.
glaringly obvious when analysis is set within postcolonial society such as Pakistan. It is here that the privilege to disguise colonial traces or turn them into postmodern irony is not always a possibility or even desired by the museum. This can be read as a sign of failure to convert the colonial into a self-fashioned identity, but as in the case of the Lahore Museum this outcome is a combination of history as well as global imbalance of resources and knowledge. I am not suggesting that the Lahore Museum is a ‘derivative’ of its colonial form, just that aspects of its past prevail despite alterations and the will for total change. Instead, one has to attend to the discourses of those who work in these that illuminate this dense existence of the Lahore Museum as part of the non-western museum nexus that mediates local/global, which engender its existence.

A significant turning point for the Lahore Museum after the turmoil of Partition was the appointment of its first Director who was also a trained museologist and introduced a sense of professionalism and museological awareness in the museum.

In August 1974, the Lahore Museum got its first museologist Director in the shape of Dr Saifur Rahman Dar. Before joining the Lahore Museum Dr Dar, a trained archaeologist, was at the Federal Archaeological Department for seventeen years in the museum branch, and his directorship was to last the longest since Partition, spanning almost 24 years and in the minds of museum officers, who joined during this time it nostalgically recalls a golden era. Even Dr Dar is aware of the gravitas of his contribution, stating:

What I have been able to do for the Lahore Museum is a long history, I don’t want to take credit for what was done in an earlier period or since I left but the fact is that when I took charge of this museum in 1974 this museum was in an awful position and condition...But [this was] simply for one reason as neither the then Director [nor] staff were trained enough. The Director was a non-professional, his services were borrowed from the educational department, he was a schools inspector, a very nice and honest gentleman but he was not a professional. Most of the officers working then...were just young graduates from the universities and they had no experience of museum administration and the Director did not have the vision how to give them training in different fields. So, the reason I was called was that the poor man became sick and dies all of a sudden and the post became vacant. And the things were in such a bad condition...There was unionism and thefts, security and management problems, visitors had no facilities...the

7 During these 17 years Dr Dar said he worked at ‘...some of the best museums [in Pakistan] like National Museum, Karachi, Moenjodaro Museum, Harrapa Museum and Taxila and finally...the Lahore Museum.’. (Interview with Dr Dar on 10.01.03).
difficulty when I took over was there was no vision... for the future of the museum and then particularly how to train the staff.  

One of the first steps Dr Dar took after his appointment was to train and motivate an envisioned support team of officers around him. Out of the seventeen officers at his disposal, not a single-one had even visited any other museum in Pakistan, so scope for improvement was vast. Dr Dar wanted to train as well as instil awareness and a sense of pride in his staff and make them ‘leaders’ in the museum movement of Pakistan. Such ideals had been ruminating in museum circles of Pakistan since the 1950’s, especially in the journal published by the Museums Association of Pakistan, where the association aimed to ‘...advance the cause and improve the work of existing Museums all over the country and to establish close contacts between these Museums and the general public on the one hand and the International Council of Museums organised by UNESCO on the other.’. Many of the articles in the journal chase after the ‘ideal’ model that was invariably based on western museums. By now it should be obvious that these ideas had had little impact on the Lahore Museum as in the mid 1970’s it was still grappling with basics of museum management, reorganization and development of new galleries without a trained staff force.

Dr Dar, unlike his recent predecessors, was not interested in tidying up the material collections of the museum but attentive to what he saw as the primary need of the Lahore Museum at that time, namely museum-minded staff. With the support of the Chairman and the Punjab Government Dr Dar was able to get financial assistance from foreign agencies such as the Ford Foundation and the Asian Cultural Council for training purposes; more than this he was on the look out for suitable staff. Dr Dar managed to entice former colleagues from the Department of Archaeology and graduates from Peshawar University such as the current Keeper of Pre-Historic and Gandhara Collections - Miss Humera Alam, recalling that:

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8 Interview with Dr Dar on 10.01.03.
9 The Museums Association of Pakistan was set up in 1950 and was an unofficial body to discuss issues related to museums. The Association’s first president was Dr Mortimer Wheeler who was also the Archaeological Adviser to the Government of Pakistan at the time. It also started publishing The Museums Journal: The Organ of the Museums Association of Pakistan from April 1951. Dr Dar was also the General Secretary for the Association.
...with [this] I got a very good team of officers in the museum and I am fortunate that I managed to send almost all of them to get their training and get their vision broadened by visiting different museums. It is not that all of them were trained for a long time abroad but most of them were sent to visit museums and see the services rendered by modern museums in different countries. Most of them were sent to UK and Germany and America...They returned fully prepared of their new responsibilities so within the given resources we had, resources are always a major problem in this country, they had done maximum what they could do and with their assistance and help I was able to build up or rather re-build the images of the museum. Through their activities and contribution and efforts, we could even re-organize several galleries and even opened some new galleries and we updated our documentation system.  

In September 1979, this concern for the absence of training facilities was directly confronted when for the first time a ‘Training Course in Museology’ was held in Pakistan at the Lahore Museum. Issues of museum management, administration, conservation and preservation, education, exhibition, documentation, and research were addressed in the lectures delivered in the course that was conducted by Dr Grace Morley, attended by thirty-eight participants from twenty different Pakistani institutions and lasting for nineteen days. Dr Dar himself set the syllabus and complementing the lectures were ‘technical lessons’; practical implementation of which was evidenced in three temporary exhibitions that were curated by the participants: The Raga and Ragini Themes in Pahari Paintings, Lithic Tools of the Soan Valley, and Punch-marked Coins. This course was attended by four of the current members of staff at the Lahore Museum, one being Mrs Ali who remembered the course as ‘fruitful’ and useful due to Dr Morley’s awareness of South Asian museum’s situation and thus highlighted relevant measures.

The Lahore Museum was finally immersing itself in addressing its museological needs and training amongst staff through Dr Dar’s awareness and desire to activate the museum into a vibrant cultural body. This investment in the museum was applied

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11 Interview with Dr Dar on 10.01.03.
12 The majority of papers presented on the various topics covered at the Course are reprinted in Museology and Museum Problems in Pakistan, (ed) S.R. Dar (1981).
13 Dr Grace Morley was the first Director of the National Museum, New Delhi (1960-66). In 1967 she became the head of The International Council of Museum’s Regional Agency for South and South-East Asia. It was through the Ford Foundation that the Lahore Museum was able to get Dr Morley to attend the course and actively participate by giving lectures on most of the topics.
14 I am referring here to Gallery In-charges who today number eight.
15 Interview with Mrs Ali on 03.03.03.
practically in another area that had been significantly overlooked in the running of the museum – a united system of modern documentation of the museum’s objects; simultaneously introducing elements of accountability and responsibility on the staff for the collections. Dr Dar was trying to consign order to the Lahore Museum from below as it were, rather than previous attempts that saw non-professionals with little regard for museological principles of display blindly directing proceedings. In a similar way to Ejaz Ali (see Chapter 3), Dr Dar described the disorder that surrounded restructuring in the past:

...[previous staff] had pull[ed] down everything from the showcases which had been the display for 80 years...It was good to have a new scheme or approach of displaying but what they did was to dump everything in the centre and then they tried to put the head of the Buddha there and the Bodhisattva there...Then all of a sudden all the things were just piled on top of each other so that the new registers and the old accession numbers were lost...and this is still a problem.16

The confusion deepened when accession numbers from old registers dating back to 1864 were discontinued after 1964 and new numbers allocated ad-hoc, provisioning further disorder. To alleviate such inconsistencies in the museum record Dr Dar set up a centralized documentation system. Although this was a step in the right direction in terms of monitoring object movement in and out of the museum, the extent of the problem can be appreciated from the fact that during Dr Dar’s tenure he was only able to re-document the entire Gandhara Collection17 and 60% of the Coins collection. Dr Dar’s determination to give the Lahore Museum a modern outlook is exemplified in another development, a first for any Pakistani museum, the launching of the Lahore Museum Bulletin. Dr Dar was instrumental in this and even made it compulsory for each issue to contain at least 2-3 contributions by museum staff; with the first issue published in 1988. By taking these small measures, Dr Dar introduced elements of museology and professionalism into the management and ‘habitual discourse’ of the Lahore Museum. A new work standard was set, although this is not to say that Dr Dar was able to resolve the many problems faced by the museum during his time, which persist even today (I shall come onto this later).

16 Interview with Dr Dar on 10.01.03.
17 This was carried out with the help of Miss Humera Alam and a catalogue was published on this collection, as at that time the only other collection to have a catalogue was the Miniature Collection.
When Dr Dar retired from the Lahore Museum’s directorship in April 1998 he was replaced by the then Deputy Director Dr Anjum Rehmani, a fitting successor who had joined the Lahore Museum in 1973 having been trained at several foreign museums. Dr Rehmani remained director from 1998 to 2001 when his position was abruptly cut short due to theft at the Lahore Museum. Although Dr Rehmani was Director for a relatively short space of time, the museum benefited greatly from his presence as he maintained the work ethic inculcated by Dr Dar, whilst being aware of the persisting problems in Pakistani museums. Gradually development and change in the Lahore Museum tried to incorporate museological practice within gallery display and collection reorganization. Dr Dar’s years at the museum had ensured this was the new path for the Lahore Museum, many aspects of which were continued by Dr Rehmani such as the physical verification and correlation of collections with their documentation and records. He also made proposals for improved security and wished to establish a study centre at the Lahore Museum where graduate students could embark on researching the museum’s collections. Funding, and increasingly space, were major problems for the Lahore Museum and so expansion in terms of new galleries was not possible, instead, some collections were ‘upgraded’- the Islamic Gallery, Pakistan Movement, Pakistan Stamps, and Ghazanavid Period coins were added to the collection. One of Dr Rehmani’s major contributions is a project financed by UNESCO that resulted in the publication Masterpieces of the Lahore Museum (1999); this was seen as a crucial venture by the museum as it promoted its ‘showpieces’ in alliance with a prestigious cultural body. More of a coffee-table book than a museum

18 Dr Anjum Rehmani has an academic background in History, Persian, and Urdu, gained museological training from the Smithsonian Institute and in Islamic Arts from the Freer Gallery of Arts, Washington, the British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum and the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin.

19 The theft was of five manuscripts from the Manuscripts and Calligraphy Gallery - included two folios scribed on deerskin belonging to Hazrat Imam Husain’s period, three Hamayal Sharifs and one Mathnavi Shireen Khusrau dating to 1881AD in Persian, that took place on 29.06.01. Dr Rehmani along with Mr Shoaib Ahmed the Gallery In-charge, were implicated in the thefts and the former removed as Director of the museum. During my fieldwork year, this was the reason behind the gallery closure as inquiries into the theft were active, which at times was a source of immense tension breeding an atmosphere of suspicion. However, in June 2003, the matter was resolved with no action being taken against either museum officer and Dr Rehmani was reinstated as Deputy Director.

20 As Dr Rehami informed me this was to be a collaborative project with an Italian University. The Lahore Museum has active links with Italian academic and cultural institutions through their Embassy in Pakistan, and in the past IT equipment has been donated to the museum as part of this venture; during my fieldwork a team of Italians visited the museum to help initiate a website for the museum.

21 The book is a glossy publication with close up photographs of select objects from only eight collections with a description of each form rather than the collection. The emphasis is more on the art/antiquities value of the objects, which in turn is extended to ideas of Pakistani heritage and history.
guide, it should nevertheless be taken as a positive step in the exposure of the Lahore Museum.

Dr Rehmani with this publication was clearly interested in raising the profile of the Lahore Museum on a global scale and this desire was further progressed in ideas around re-establishing the 'Friends of the Lahore Museum' programme. However, it was not a select audience he was interested in targeting but the wider 'public'. In discussing his time as Director, Dr Rehmani stressed that his orientation attempted to create links with the community and raise interest in the museum to the mutual benefit and future of the Lahore Museum and society:

[I wanted] people to be more interested in this museum, tell the wealthy and the educated through our Friends of the Lahore Museum programme, as well as the general public that this museum is yours. Inform them that I am not its owner, nor the people [in Lahore], but the owners of this museum are all of us together with the rest of the world, and wisdom comes from this and so does future inspiration. If weavers want to make a carpet to develop it in new ways they will need to examine its past and only by investigating what has already been done can he [sic] move forward...this is human growth, civilization's growth, technological growth, industrial growth...If all people are involved in this way then the museum can provide a good service for which it was developed instead of people just working, getting paid and going home, there will be contribution to society and knowledge...a community link which now is non-existent. If a person visits he [sic] does so because of his own choice and just says this is a large pot or a big shoe, until production, technique and aesthetic values are not told to him [sic] what else can he know?22

This ideal, of creating an accessible image of the museum, was new in itself for being attentive to the museum as a social institution that required popularization amongst the community and potential audience; a move that looked at the museum's role beyond its four walls. Despite positive overtones, Dr Rehmani's final comments convey a sense of how this connection between the museum and its audience was 'non-existent' with the onus for this being placed squarely on those who work at the museum. The lack of interaction between these two vital pieces of the museum - staff and audience (see Chapter 4), suffice to say for now that Dr Rehmani's consciousness of the community marked another subtle change and potential point of development in the museum along

The simple fact that the book costs Rs. 1000 means it was not directed at the majority of the Pakistani public.

22 Interview with Dr Rehmani on 07.06.03.
more museologically informed lines. However, with the theft of manuscripts (as noted above) Dr Rehmani's influence was cut short and led to an uncertain period at the Lahore Museum as it came under the guidance not of professionals but the bureaucrats.

The bureaucratic 'takeover' of the museum was firmly in place with Dr Niazi who became Director of the Lahore Museum in mid 2001. His training in general public administration made sure he veered towards aspects of museum management, though when he spoke about his role with me Dr Niazi was swift to confirm he also had a general interest in culture:

First of all the Director is an administrator, then since I am an author of books on Islamic history and culture I do not feel any difficulty in dealing with the artefacts and art history. [Museum] training is useful and if I had training abroad that would be useful...some short training...I was sent here by the Government, but having come here I feel that this is a very good job, there is a lot of variety and you learn about art and culture plus about the museum and cultural heritage...unfortunately in Pakistan they do not look at [whether] you have the right expertise or not. but nevertheless because I am an author of books I know the background, I have a definite grounding in culture and civilizations and so that is why I have no difficulty in my job.24

Paucity in his museum knowledge did not hinder Dr Niazi from taking interest beyond administration of the Lahore Museum; he introduced many measures that improved the museum's security and the quality of the visitor experience. These included brighter lighting in the galleries, better labels, a canteen, increased advertising of the museum's activities in the media and among educational institutions, and a nascent educational programme (more on this later). However, one of Dr Niazi's key operations was the tightening of security25 in and around the museum and this was a personal issue as he stated, 'I am responsible for the safety of the artefacts'.26 Many of his other ideas on ways to improve the museum can actually be traced to suggestions that were bounded

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23 Dr Niazi was not the first government official to hold the post he was preceded by Mr Mansoor Sohail. Dr Niazi's background was in Islamic Law and previously he was a Member of the Judicial Punjab Election Authority and a Chief Instructor for the General Director of Civil Services Academy.
24 Interview with Dr Niazi on 07.01.03.
25 The prioritization of issues pertaining to security was signalled in the Lahore Museum Bulletin 2001 Vol.XIV No.1 and manifest themselves in a number of different methods that ranged from the recruitment and presence of extra security staff in the galleries who were monitored by new gallery clerks, bag checks at the museum entrance to the extensive CCTV installation which was funded by the Finance Department of the Government of Punjab (Rs. 16,31,000) through a Supplement Grant for security equipment as approved by the Governor of Punjab.
26 Interview with Dr Niazi on 07.01.03.
about by previous directors, such as the desire to resuscitate the Friends of Lahore Museum programme and develop a museology course taught at the museum to better the museum profession. Although the Lahore Museum was being efficiently managed by administrators-cum-museologists, the presence of such figures that were directly related to the political sphere was not always taken as progressive by all quarters of the museum; they were seen to be meddling in areas where they lacked relevant expertise as well as undermining the autonomous character of the Lahore Museum. Dr Dar, though hesitant at first, was more vocal in expressing his disgruntled views and was adamant that one main problem in the development of museums in Pakistan was the dichotomy of ‘Professionals versus Non-Professionals’, he said:

...its okay I have no attachments and can say this...The problem I have noticed over the years, and it is still happening, is that bureaucrats instead of keeping to what they can do they also try and become museum professionals of which they have no understanding or comprehension. This trying to be professionals creates a lot of trouble for the museum and their workings. Thus [bureaucrats] are a source of disruption and actually prevent progress, instead of helping as they might think they are doing. And this is one problem that needs to be addresses urgently.27

So far, I have confined analysis to the main authority figure in the Lahore Museum – the Director; however, other voices need to interject that form the habitual discourse within and beyond the museum. It is also necessary to comprehend whether the museum is an ‘island’ institution cut off from other cultural bodies and ideas by investigating how other institutions impact the thoughts and work of the curators. Examination of the wider context of the museum in contemporary Lahore and Pakistan will further reveal the postcolonial predicament of the museum and the links - both existent and non-existent, between organizations which work on similar lines at global and local levels informing the museum work of the staff and their discourse.

THE (UN)SOCIALIZED MUSEUM: ITS ‘HABITUAL DISCOURSE’ AND REALPOLITIK

The institution of a museum is not only manipulated and moulded into new forms internally by negotiating political, economic or social stances but is also part of

27 Interview with Dr Dar on 16.01.03.
networks with other cultural and museum bodies that extend beyond it. These usually take the form of museum associations (global and national) that act as umbrella organizations and platforms that bring museums into contact with each other enabling dissemination of policies and information within the museum community. At one level, this network operates to develop and enhance a 'museal consciousness' (Crane 2000), whereby the museum sensibility and ability to collect, order and preserve/memorialize/objectify information is spread both globally and locally. I want to briefly pick out the degree to which the Lahore Museum is socialized in relation to this wider museum community, or whether it is more a case of 'museum dysfunction'. The interaction of the Lahore Museum with other organizations equally concerns issues of development, projection of a museum ‘image’ and the general status of museums and museology within Pakistan; Dr Rehmani questioned the Pakistani situation by saying:

*Awareness*, now this is an important issue for *museums* today, I mean you have the objects but they are scattered all over the place, some are being destroyed, others smuggled out so people need to be made aware that this is our *heritage* a generation’s heritage and it is our duty not only to *preserve* it, transmit it for the future but also take pride in it. It is our asset and our children’s also and if we don’t have this then what will the future be, we need this foundation...and build on this...28

**Global Consciousness**- Two organizations that are seen to epitomize attempts at unifying museum activity at this level are UNESCO and ICOM,29 with the former attempting to apply a global ethos30 to the local context. In discussing the role of UNESCO in relation to museums in Pakistan, I was informed by Mr Shahid Rajpoot Ahmad (National Programme Officer- Culture)31 that this exists in a limited capacity in Pakistan as part of UNESCO’s main objective: to promote a positive image of Pakistan abroad; perhaps this was the reason behind the collaborative publication with the Lahore Museum (mentioned above). He suggested that museums of Pakistan were

28 Interview with Dr Rehmani on 07.06.03.
29 ICOM (International Council of Museum) was created in 1946 as a non-governmental organization to carry out part of UNESCO's programme for museums. Today it is an international organization for museums and museum professionals For further information see http://icom.museums/
30 I was told these include Peace and Tolerance, Education, Poverty Alleviation, Preservation and Gender Issues by Mr Shahid Rajpoot Ahmad (National Programme Officer-Culture) at UNESCO - Islamabad - Interview on 30.06.03. UNESCO’s work is more visible in the form of World Heritage sites, with there being 6 in Pakistan- Lahore has one site consisting of the Fort and the Mughal Shalimar Gardens.
31 Interview with Mr Shahid Rajpoot Ahmad on 30.06.03.
incorporated in a project being planned during my research, entitled *Culture, Cultural Heritage and Tourism in Pakistan*. This involved the Peshawar and Punjab Departments of Archaeology and hence museums were implicated to cultivate a positive image for potential domestic tourism within Pakistan with the general goal of exposing the heritage of Pakistan. The museums of Pakistan in relation to UNESCO’s work then comes under this rubric of cultural tourism, where cultural heritage is preserved to be simultaneously commodified on the global stage. The Lahore Museum is only specifically mentioned as part of the Punjab Tourism programme, and currently UNESCO makes no other commitment to ‘investment’ towards the museum’s exhibits or their preservation. This insufficient connection becomes more apparent when the majority of staff at the Lahore Museum are either not aware of UNESCO’s activities or do not consider them to have any affect on their work. Miss Naushaba Anjum (Keeper of Coins) adamantly stated: ‘On my work nothing…not sure about the others in the museum but for me none…yes it should have an influence…we do feel isolated, we have a lack of communication and contact with other museums in Pakistan and abroad…’. This seclusion is not overcome by the impractical nature of UNESCO’s work, as it was felt to be unhelpful to the museum, which is not in need of ideas but sustained resources, as Mrs Nusrat Ali noted:

> We do have an awareness of [UNESCO’s] regulations but they have no right to tell us our problems, we know our problems well and what will work…because say we got funding for air conditioning for the museum then okay you may get the installation but what about the maintenance and bills afterward, who will pay those?

UNESCO is not alone in being rebuked ICOM suffers a similar fate more for its lack of activity than irrelevance, the one input that was recalled by Mrs Nusrat Ali between ICOM and the Lahore Museum was the course on museology held back in 1979 (see

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32 This project was started in October 2002 and collaborated with both the Federal and Provincial Government in Pakistan and the United Nations Development Project, resulting in a conference planned for November 2003.
33 Out of the nine Gallery In-charge officers only one stated that UNESCO did have an impact on the work of the museum but was unable to elaborate. No one mentioned the fact that the museum was being used to promote cultural tourism of Pakistan.
34 Interview with Miss Naushaba Anjum on 20.11.02.
35 However, UNESCO do not provide direct funding to any project or institution, instead they urge organizations to get involved with UNESCO in fund raising activities- Interview with Mr Shahid Rajpoot Ahmad on 30.06.03.
36 Interview with Mrs Nusrat Ali on 04.03.03.
37 Interview with Mrs Nusrat Ali on 04.03.03.
above). However, ICOM has a slight edge in that I was told that its policies are kept in mind by the management of the museum particularly when formulating rules and regulations. Converely, what becomes apparent in examining the significance of these global heritage players in Pakistan is the incongruous nature of policies and the infrastructure of the museum community in Pakistan, which is critically underdeveloped to profit from engagement with such organizations and so remains contrived at best. Dr Dar, who was the General Secretary for the National Committee for ICOM in Pakistan for 9-10 years, opined that this was a useful establishment as it provided funds for training but professional jealousy, a self-centred approach by some and bitterness soon crept in to breakdown the committee. It would seem that domestic museum politics and mistrust prevent interaction with global museum/cultural bodies but then again the concepts and ideas promulgated by such organizations do not accommodate for this: the various nuances of existence for museums in different socio-political settings. The Director General (Department of Archaeology - Punjab Government) Mr Shahbaz Khan held virulent views about the ground effects of international organizations, stating that UNESCO had offered to provide help in relation to museums but this was to come in the form of consultants and committees from anywhere in the world and as he explained: 'We know what our problems are, we don't need someone to come and point this out. UNESCO was willing to spend $6 million on advisors but not on built heritage. What we need is not advice but actual funds to carry out the groundwork.' If global museum organizations offer little and are mismatched in their agenda, then what about national and provincial museum network for the Lahore Museum?

**Pakistani Museums/Museology:** At the time of Partition Pakistan was left with sixteen museums in total with only eight being public museums (Dar 1989), over the decades a new array of museums were established including science and technology, natural history, army, navy, fine arts and crafts. The range and number of museums grew which helped as Dar (ibid) notices firstly in dispelling the image that Pakistan only has archaeological museums and secondly making in-roads in increasing museum-

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38 Interview with Miss Humera Alam on 12.11.02.
39 Interview with Dr Dr on 10.01.03
40 Interview with Mr Shahbaz Khan on 08.01.03.
building projects in Pakistan.\textsuperscript{41} However, in cataloguing museums of Pakistan Dar (ibid) simultaneously reveals the lack of communication and consciousness between the institutions by referring to the incomplete nature of the list he had formulated in 1989. In an indirect way, this presents the picture for the actual state of museums and museology in Pakistan even today, one reason for this is the way museums are administered and the priority given to them by those with power and funds; museums and museology in Pakistan are very much in their infancy.

At the level of government Pakistani museums are administered by the Department of Archaeology at the Federal Level, unless they are private, university museums or autonomous.\textsuperscript{42} Although these four categories represent different modes of administration, they do overlap as in the case of the Lahore Museum. Museums are funded and managed differently according to their level, though division is skewed since the majority of museums come under the federal wing as until 1987 the Department of Archaeology existed only at the federal level. With the provincial offshoot formed, decentralization of responsibilities followed but this remains incomplete, as provincial branches exist only in two provinces – Punjab Province\textsuperscript{43} and the North West Frontier Province; I am concerned with the former here.

The department in the Punjab covers three areas - archaeology, museums, and conservation, however, surprisingly only two museums are under its control, those of Kasur and Bahawalpur, both of which to some extent are based on the Lahore Museum model.\textsuperscript{44} Although Mr Shahbaz Khan was keen for each district in the Punjab to have

\textsuperscript{41} In the pamphlet \textit{Museums and Art Galleries in Pakistan} (1989), the list of museums/galleries (includes university museums) lists 56 museums in Pakistan with nine either under construction or proposed.

\textsuperscript{42} Although some private museums do receive maintenance grants from the government, a prime example here is the Fakir Khana Museum in Lahore, which in 1985 was in receipt of such funding that was managed by a Supervisory Committee, appointed by the Government of Punjab. Dr Dar was the Chairman of this Supervisory Committee, though later the Fakir Family was unhappy with the state of affairs and was able to obtain independent status whilst still receiving the grant.

\textsuperscript{43} Dr Dar was involved in setting up the Punjab Department of Archaeology and became its first Director General in 1987 for two years, whilst on deputation from the Lahore Museum.

\textsuperscript{44} The Bahawalpur Museum was opened in 1977 and its development was overseen by Dr Dar with many of the Lahore Museum staff advising on issues of display and gallery types. The Kasur Museum was built during 1994-1999 in a building taken over by the Department of Archaeology - part of which comprises the Shrine of Baba Dai Sahib. Cost Rs 4.5 million to complete with five galleries - Archaeological, Coins, Islamic, Pakistan Movement, and Crafts and was inaugurated on 20th September 1999. I would like to thank Mr M. Sarwar and Mr M. Shehzad, who look after the land around the building at the Kasur Museum and acted as ad-hoc guides when I visited the museum. Paucity of funds
its own museum, an aim of the department, he was aware of acute funds shortage and this is palpable, with only one museum currently planned for construction in the tourist spot of Kalakahar in Northern Punjab. Mr Khan soberly stated ‘...plans and designs for improvements and developments can be made but they are of no use if they cannot be implemented and carried out due to a lack of funding.’ Development and expansion of museums in the Punjab is desired but not easily executable so the Lahore Museum remains very much the premier museum of the province.

Mr Khan felt that it would be beneficial for the Lahore Museum to be under the clasp his department, this may well be the case, but the museum is still an autonomous museum with a Board of Governors and the Chief Secretary of Punjab as its Chairman. Despite the autonomous status, the Lahore Museum could not function without the Government of Punjab’s help that comes in the form of a substantial annual grant-in-aid through the Information, Culture, and Youth Affairs Department. This financial help makes it possible for the museum to run, as it is incapable of supporting its total costs independently. In 2002, the museum generated Rs. 18,47,521 from sales proceeds but received Rs. 94,81,500 in aid to make up the deficit in actual costs; the dependence of the museum on the government is lucid and shows that there is no room for formulating a development budget. This large-scale financial input by the government brings into question the autonomous status of the museum’s decisions, Dr Niazi being unambiguous about this influence stated that the Government, just as much as the committee, was a major player in the running of the museum. Fakir Syed Aijazzudin, a member of the museum’s Board of Governors was equally clear about the role of the government:

has meant that the museum has been constructed but there is not enough money to employ permanent staff.

45 In the 2001 Annual Report for the Archaeology Department five reasons are given as to why museums need to be established- 1) The preservation of movable cultural property, 2) The promotion of educational and cultural activities of the area, 3) The promotion of arts and crafts of the area, 4) The promotion of tourism in the area and 5) For National integration.

46 Interview with Mr Shahbaz Khan on 08.01.03.

47 The Board of Governors is approved by the Governor of Punjab holding tenure for three years and consists of both official and non-official members. The former include the Secretary of the Information, Culture and Youth Affairs Department, Secretary of the Finance Department, Director General, Department of Archaeology and Museums - all Government of Punjab, the Director Lahore Museum, with the latter comprising of academics and experts.

48 Interview with Dr Niazi on 07.01.03.

49 Fakir Syed Aijazuddin OBE, is a member of the prominent Fakir family of Lahore, a chartered accountant by profession he is more renowned for his interest and collecting in art, culture and history. He has published extensively and is renowned for his work on the Pahari Paintings of the Lahore
Okay the museum is a provincial department of the Government. It will always be dependent upon the intelligence of the bureaucrats okay... The interest that they have varies... some secretaries are very avant-garde, progressive, some are not. They have constituted a board alright, which ostensibly is supposed to act independently, but the chairman is the Chief Secretary okay, and a number of people there are bureaucrats from the department of finance, culture, archaeology etcetera. 

This organization of the museum maybe unique to the Lahore Museum but it indicates the inadequate structure and support within which the museum is suspended. A socialization in which there is scarcity of communication between museums at a national, provincial, or local level and an identity that pertains autonomy; so perhaps it is better to say so far the museum is (un)socialized.

Museums in Pakistan operate in relative isolation from each other, limiting the scope for meaningful museum culture and raising problems for the development of a ‘museum consciousness’ as well as the development and recognition of museums at the level of policy. Although this is not a new problem, it was present in the late 1970’s when Dr Dar (1977, 1981) wrote about the problematics encountered by museology and museums in Pakistan, with so little progress having been made the situation is comparable, as Dr Dar accepts:

I don’t think any of the problems have been solved except some new museums are coming up but it is rather we can call it a departmental approach, the national approach or the national policy on museums that should be there but is still not forthcoming. For example there is still not a single historical museum in the country at present... no true ethnological museum in the country. So there are still no original museums or local museums about local history where the city Government should be responsible. The planning that comes with policy making is still absent. If a chief officer thinks ‘Oh there should be an Air Force museum’ then there it is. If some folklorist thinks there should be a museum then there it is or if an art person or council wants something in Islamabad as a showpiece then they make an art gallery there, but not as a result of a very well laid out policy. We are still lacking this... basically speaking because there is no cultural policy in the eyes of the Government culture is at [a] very low level of their priorities right...

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Museum - Pahari Paintings and Sikh Portraits in the Lahore Museum (1977) a work done spurred on by Prof. Shakir Ali at the NCA and in light of W.G. Archer’s work on Punjab Hill paintings; his most recent publication being Lahore Recollected: An Album (2003). It was in 1980 that he was invited to join the Lahore Museum Board of Governors.

50 Interview with F.S. Aijazuddin on 03.06.03.
51 Interview with Dr Dar on 02.08.03,
The sporadic nature of museum and policy development along with little investment\textsuperscript{52} into what is considered a low priority sector, are foremost causes in museum underdevelopment in Pakistan. This presents itself in another manner to which Dr Dar refers and that is the lack of a coherent cultural policy at a national, provincial, and even the museum level. Nobody at the Lahore Museum ever referred to a museum policy that was adhered to or used as a framework, even when I questioned the Director he vaguely mentioned it was about cultural heritage of the nation. All this is symptomatic of political mismanagement and disinterest among the bureaucrats placed in-charge of museums and the projection of cultural identity, history, and national integration through this institution.\textsuperscript{53} Among the policy makers and administrators, as museologists, there is little professionalism in dealing with and understanding the needs of museums and so the institution occupies a precarious existence.\textsuperscript{54} The only area where museums have a stable identity is in relation to Archaeology, a popular niche association for the two institutions, as evinced by the reaction I got from most people when I told them about my research: ‘so you’re interested in ancient cultures and archaeology’. This is no surprise as many of the people who work in museums have a background in archaeology further perpetuating this image of the museum as representing only the past.\textsuperscript{55} Such a position of the ‘museum’ in Pakistan prevents greater expansion and diversification in the role museums can play in society as well as

\textsuperscript{52} Pakistan’s budgetary spending has always been lopsided, biased towards large amounts being spent on defence; Jalal (1995) notes that already in the first year of Independence, this trait was evident and subsequent budgets are essentially defence budgets so little is left over for development in other areas such as culture and even education.

\textsuperscript{53} When I was at the office of the Minister for Culture, Youth Affairs, Punjab, I enquired after the current cultural policy and I was kindly handed a photocopy of one. Only later I realized that it was The Cultural Policy of Pakistan from 1995 which was the first National Cultural Policy to be adopted in Pakistan, as constituted under Benazir Bhutto’s Government, and its seemed this was still being referred with no update on its agendas. The document on the policy outlines the origins of Pakistan’s heritage in the land going back to the Indus Valley Civilization but also the Muslim culture and society and the need to preserve all facets of previous cultures for dialogue and integration between the various pasts and present identities of Pakistan. However surprisingly it no where mentions the role that can played by museums, or even is being played and hence existence of museums in Pakistan as places of cultural preservation and promotion. The setting up of ‘Cultural Centres’ is advocated with the only gallery being named is the commission for a National Gallery of Paintings in Islamabad.

\textsuperscript{54} Mr Shahid Rajpoot Ahmad, now at UNESCO, previously worked in the Ministry of Culture, Islamabad in 1994 and there in attempts to raise the profile of museums he initiated the National Fund for Cultural Heritage (NFCH) which he envisaged would work along the lines of the National Trust in UK. Part of this project was creating a positive image and role of Pakistan’s images and this can be seen on the website www.heritage.gov.pk However, he was not sure whether this project was actually functioning or had stagnated, as he was no longer involved with it.

\textsuperscript{55} At the Lahore Museum, three out of the seven senior posts (Keeper and Research Officers) were trained in Archaeology from Peshawar University, which seems to be the breeding ground for many of Pakistan’s eminent archaeologists.
alerting administration to develop progressive, coherent, and funded ideas that engage museums.

Weak government backing leaves little room for any sort of pan-Pakistan museum organization or movement. Where there have been attempts to set up such forums for communication between museums they have largely failed; less so through a lack of participation more so rife non-professionalism. I often enquired among museum staff at the Lahore Museum whether a network of museums in Pakistan to which the museum belonged was active, the answer was always negative and that maybe once there was an association but no one was sure of its existence now. This reaction does not mean that there was no desire for collaboration between the Lahore Museum and other museums; most staff members were of the opinion that such an organization should exist, though past records make it highly improbable. One of the first organizations to be set up was the aforementioned Museum Association of Pakistan in the 1950’s, which published the only journal dedicated to museology and museums of Pakistan, however, like other associations, this now exists only in name and not in character. Dr Dar who at one time was General Secretary of the association stated that the reasons behind its demise were ‘parochial feelings’ that emanated among some participants who claimed there was a bias towards the Punjab and so stopped contributing and instead focused attention on power politics. Increasingly the association became unprofessional in attitude, members left and so the sense of permanency eroded. This situation is similar to that suffered by the committee for ICOM and once again is based on the non-existence of the ‘museum professional’, with the same going for The Pakistan Society of Archaeology and Museums that was set up in 1989; today it has little presence.

This unfortunate situation is the outcome of little commitment from ‘professionals’ - more interested in rivalry in the midst of an unstable socio-political environment; all such factors have negated progress and advancement of a unified or positive front for museums in Pakistan. Knowledge of this background gives a better understanding to the predicaments faced by museums like the Lahore Museum in postcolonial South

56 Interview with Dr Dar on 02.08.04.
57 This effect could be in part of the realization of the ‘Punjabization’ of society in Pakistan within the museum context (see Talbot 1998).
Asia, which can easily be labelled as ‘dysfunctional’ containers of dust. The circumstances that I have alluded to, at both global and local level, determine the context within which the Lahore Museum performs, where the museum is not singularly utopian but is inflicted by the changing face of society which it inhabits. However, it cannot be left at this as the only ‘professionals’ that we have so far encountered are the Directors of the Lahore Museum whilst the real habitual discourse is to be found with those who deal in museum realpolitik - the keepers and research officers.

**Habitual Discourse:** What needs to be elucidated are the thoughts of the people who work at the Lahore Museum and their unique relationship and understanding of the museum; it is to them that I turn here - the museum producers. The organizational structure of the museum is headed by the Board of Governors, then Director, next Deputy Director, and then the Administration, Technical, and Collections and Research sections. Curators or Gallery In-charges as they are known at the Lahore Museum, are in the latter section and currently consist of four Keepers and three Research Officers. There is no specific area- vocational or academic, from which officers are recruited, the only real criteria being a Masters education; this flexible approach is reflected in the sometimes mismatch of educational background and the actual post held. However, certain subjects are favoured such as archaeology, history or fine arts, all of which are represented by the current officers at the museum with one exception, that being Persian. The distinction between Keeper and a Research Officer is based more on years of service at the museum than any real differentiation in job description or ‘duties’, though this does manifest itself as deference by the latter towards the former in terms of status and expertise regarding the museum.

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58 The Keeper is of a higher rank than the Research Officer and is based on seniority and years of service. Currently there are four Keepers of the Coins, Ethnography, Pre-Islamic and Fine Art Collections, and the Research Officers of the Hindu, Jaina, and Buddhist Gallery, General and Armoury, Islamic and Manuscripts collections; with the Research Officer for the General and Armoury Gallery - Mr Mujeeb Khan also acting as the Registrar. Others personnel included at this rank is the Librarian, Deputy Librarian and Computer Programmer. The public relations officers (APRO’s) are included in the Administration section. In 2002 the museum employed a total of 127 in staff.

59 Mrs Nusrat Ali (Keeper Fine Arts Collections) is the longest serving having been at the museum for 31 years, then it is Mrs Zarina Khurshid (Keeper Ethnological Collections)- 28 years, Miss Humera Alam (Keeper Pre-Islamic Collections) - 24 years and Miss Naushaba Anjum (Keeper Coins) -14 years. As for the Research Officers Mr Shoaib Ahmed (Islamic and Calligraphy/Manuscripts) - 8 years, and both Mr Mujeeb Khan (Registrar and General and Armoury) and Mr Ishfaq Cheema (Hindu, Jaina, Buddhist and Contemporary Crafts) have been at the museum for 4 years.
What is quite revealing are the reasons offered by the officers for choosing the museum as a profession, this largely falls into three main categories, the first being a natural progression from their academic background as is true for those with Masters degrees in Archaeology. Mr Mujeeb Khan (General and Armoury Gallery) is representative of this and stated that the attraction of working in the museum was 'Just because my educational background is in archaeology, MA Archaeology so the most relevant place for me was the museum.' The assumed linkage between museums and archaeology was also referred to by Miss Humera Alam (Keeper Pre-Islamic Collections) who trained in Archaeology. However, others seemed to have joined the museum by 'just applying' for a job, and in this second category, the officers had no clear intentions behind their choice though once recruited they gained interest. Miss Naushaba Anjum (Keeper Coins) said that just as she had finished her MA History a post was advertised for someone in History so she applied, she had no real preference for it 'just applied'; subsequently developing a great interest in her work. Mrs Nusrat Ali (Keeper Fine Arts) had a similar entry into the Lahore Museum, with a MA in Fine Arts she told me:

At first no such attraction and frankly to tell you the truth I had never wanted to visit the museum even though I studied just across the road...I just gave an interview as [the job advertisement] asked for a MA in Fine Arts. I did not know what it involved at all...I was chosen and employed as a Display Officer...then once I started I worked whole heartedly and that is why I have been here thirty-one years...

For Mrs Ali her Fine Art background coincided with the work and galleries she was put in charge of and so there was some overlap, but for others this conjunction is still too weak a reason for their employment. One senior Officer was brutally honest about his 'incorrect' employment, he remarked:

...in our society there is one problem, that we need a job, and this is the reason why our institutions don't progress as we are simply searching for a job and this is not in terms of our subject area. So there is the reality that seventy percent of people who are working should be in another institutional profession, for example a person who is working in a bank should be in a school, the person who should be at a school is at the museum and the person who should be in the museum is elsewhere...[laughs] basically I am not right for this post, this is not

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60 Interview with Mr Mujeeb Khan on 14.11.02.
61 Interview with Miss Naushaba Anjum on 20.11.02.
62 Interview with Mrs Nusrat Ali on 03.04.03.
where I should be I should be in some college...I am here for earning a living (roti rozi).63

This necessity for a job with a basic wage is an attractive feature of a museum job and a major pull factor, as it offers stability and a regular income in a country where nepotism and red-tape rather than merit secure even meagre jobs. It is not all doom for the museum as in the third category are those who desire to work at the museum as a chosen profession, among them Mr Ishfaq Cheema (Hindu, Jaina, Buddhist and Contemporary Crafts Galleries) whose interest in researching history and archaeology led him to choose the museum.64 Mrs Zarina Khurshid (Keeper Ethnological Collections) joined the museum in 1975 as a Public Relations Officer after her MA in Fine Art, also held a positive outlook on her post and said: ‘Actually I had a great interest in joining the museum because of history and art, also as I was interested in teaching, and so when I came here the job offered me a lot of variety...and contact with the public.’.65 Although selection and allocation of jobs and galleries seems to be based on subject area expertise, the variety of responses reveal the museum to be a site that is naturally linked to archaeology otherwise it is entered into relatively blindly. Perhaps the non-existence of a definition pertaining to the role of a museum professional allows for this, as the Senior Officer above stated - the wrong people being in the wrong job. This can also lead to disparity between expectations of individuals and their work; some officers alluded to this by stating that the right gallery for them was not the one they were in-charge of. However, this exclusive focus on the academic qualification of an officer bypasses a crucial area of expertise and that is museological training.

The issue of training in museum methods is a grey area as far as in-house training is concerned at the Lahore Museum, with there being no formal training programme or even assessment. Once again, the only officers who have had exposure to ideas of museological techniques are those trained in archaeology, Miss Humera Alam informed:

In our archaeology masters there were many subjects...and one section was on museology...Once I came to the museum, I got a basic introduction, but since I had come from that background it was no big problems for me. If it is a totally new person then there is a problem, but

63 Informant given anonymous identity.
64 Interview with Mr Ishfaq Cheema on 11.11.02.
65 Interview with Mrs Zarina Khursid on 07.01.03.
since I had a background in fine arts...and publicity designing so along with archaeology the museum was not a new thing for me.66

Miss Humera Alam during her time at the Lahore Museum was able to benefit from training abroad by attending a course in Museum Management at the V&A in 1998; but what is the plight of those who were/are ‘new’ to this area? Most of the officers at the museum claimed they did not receive any kind of formal training when they joined, it was more a case of learn on the job and this remains so. Mrs Nusrat Ali recalled her experience 31 years ago:

No I had no specific training when I came here for a job.....but through self training you do learn a bit but it is time consuming, if you are initially given training in the start then you can build on this further so you can say this is a lack in our ways. But at least now the new recruits have senior officers like me...and so they have the opportunity to learn from us and we can teach them....it is my utmost wish to tell others about my section and work, as I have noticed not everyone is willing to share all that they know....if I had had training it would have been much better. I do not repent it though as I have learnt a lot by myself...67

One of the key modes of introducing the museum and providing ‘training’ at the museum is through a type of shadowing, whereby the new recruit spends a certain amount of time with each senior officer learning about their section and gaining a general idea of how the museum operates. However, after this initial contact the person is left on their own to get on with it, as Mr Shoaib Ahmed commented:

To do with the museum...here we have no training as such, and I had none. No courses or anything like that, instead there is the desi (local) method of teaching that is popular where you go to the gallery and spend three hours as day and look around and examine the objects and if you have any questions then you either go to the library or ask a senior, that’s all.68

This unsatisfactory and unstructured training does not bode well for creating museologically aware professionals added to by the fact that there is little collaboration and exchange between officers epitomized by Miss Naushaba Anjum when she commented: ‘I just know about my field not about the museum...’.69 The museum management seems to be happy with this state of affairs despite many admissions that better training was required as no real initiatives or changes were forthcoming within or

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66 Interview with Miss Humera Alam on 12.11.02.
67 Interview with Mrs Nusrat Ali on 03.03.03.
68 Interview with Mr Shoaib Ahmed on 07.11.03.
69 Interview with Miss Naushaba Anjum on 20.11.02,
beyond the museum at other institutions. 70 To some extent, this disinterest in improving training methods and facilities is understood if one takes a look at the actual work that officers are sanctioned to do.

All officers no matter what rank are entrusted with a similar set of basic ‘duties’ that they must perform, though each may emphasize or prefer one aspect to another. The overall responsibilities encompass research, maintaining a record of collections, guiding VIPs, twice-daily visits to the museum to assess observance of order in the gallery by the guards and annual contributions to the *Lahore Museum Bulletin*. An officer’s daily routine distinctly separates gallery work from that of the office and most place greater importance on their research work than on spending time in the gallery, as they envisage their role primarily in terms of being ‘researchers’. On average officers told me that they would spend about an hour in the gallery everyday, though this was dependent upon whether they had a specific task71 to undertake in which case they could spend half to whole day. Little alters in the gallery displays, during my research year not once did I encounter a change of display as all exhibits are permanent with minimal rotation of objects with those in reserves; temporary exhibitions do occur and an ‘Object of the Month’ cabinet are the only main source of change in display. Reasons given for this disengagement with the galleries include a shortage of space for expansion as well as funds to revitalize displays, although another factor involved relates to security and responsibility of objects. Mr Shoaib Ahmed pointed out this facet to me whilst stating that officers should be made to spend more time in their respective galleries to expose themselves to the collections and the public’s needs. Then he countered this by admitting that currently this was avoided, as there was a sense of fear amongst the officers in making a change or be seen to be too involved with the objects. All this came midst the backdrop to the thefts at the museum and he considered that this responsibility needed to be removed from the officer’s list of ‘duties’ to make things better:

70 Museology is usually taught as part of MA Archaeology in Pakistan and the most renowned is the Peshawar University. However, in the Archaeology Department at Punjab University in Lahore there is a recent course in Museology for MA students which is a mixture of museum history (western) and museum studies - a large part dealing with practical issues of museum display though little application through placements takes place. I would like to thank Mr Walliach in the Archaeology Department at Punjab University for sharing his thoughts in relation to this course.

71 Such tasks usually involved cleaning cases, though the first Monday of each month was reserved as ‘cleaning day’ when then museum was shut to the public. Otherwise, it could be fixing a problem with a display, opening cases for photography and sometimes the setting up of a temporary exhibition.
I would want to end our guard type role because this is the one thing that prevents us officers from working. I am not sure if anyone else will tell you or not but if you ask the officers, especially the seasoned ones, they will tell you the amount of tension this causes... When we leave to go home in the museum there are armed policemen and security present during the night and despite this if at night a robbery takes place, the gallery in-charge is still held responsible... If officers have to make ten rounds or as now have to count in the morning and afternoon the number of items in a gallery then what research will they do? 

It seems the differentiation is really between research and gallery work, the two are not deemed equal importance in an officer's work, every time research is championed as their 'proper' duty; giving preference to the authority of office over the reality of the gallery. Maybe gallery work is also avoided since this directly confronts the officers with their inability to make changes and improve displays to the standard they envisage and witness in trips to museums abroad and visual material on other museums. Yet, research enables them to feel pride in being owners of prized collection pieces as Miss Humera Alam pointed out:

Our museum, collection wise, maybe we do not have many funds so that we can update the museum, and its displays are not the best but collection wise it is a very good museum, especially for Gandhara, coins, miniature paintings... we have many unique pieces.

This poignantly reminds of the centrality and essentialization of the objects and collections, where the 'archon' (Derrida 1995:2) gains authority through maintaining an ordered archive and hence prestige. However, we are also returned to the dilemma faced by museums such as the Lahore Museum and its officers, bounded by the incapacity to make real changes not through an ignorance of appropriate measures rather resources and inadequate training to meet their needs. Therefore, at times when this inactivity is taken to be a sign of indolence, a wider stance can illuminate a myriad of reasons behind it; further exemplified in the role officers' desire or perceive the museum to be playing or should be playing.

One of the most significant arenas to have caught the attention of museums and museology is to provision a justification for their existence and increasingly to direct

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72 Interview with Mr Shoaib Ahmed on 07.11.03.
73 Interview with Miss Humera Alam on 12.11.02.
attention towards working among and for their respective communities. In assessing the contemporary situation I want to go on to look briefly at what museum officers envisage as the museum’s role within the community it serves - that of Lahorites, Pakistanis and Foreigners; and specifically that of students who they deem to be vital to the museum’s success as an educational institution. The impression cultivated around the museum in the guided tours, leaflets, introductions to groups of students and VIPs and at the ‘educational’ events is that it is a heritage site in which are exhibited the distinctive antiquities of Pakistan. Objects are largely classified as ‘antiquities’ provisioning a specific gloss onto the museum - placing it in the league of any other ‘great’ museum of the world, preserving the wonders of the past for the future of the nation and that nation’s place in the global community. Mrs Nusrat Ali captured this ‘image’ of the museum when stating the museum’s purpose for her was:

...to try and show the public our heritage in a chronological order starting from Moenjodaro and if we take paintings the earliest miniature is here from 1510 AD then we have a chronological order to it showing the different steps of art, and at the end we have twentieth century miniatures on ivory that were introduced by the Europeans. Then there is the contemporary art section of the pioneers of art here, of abstract artists...also like in Gandhara there is the world’s unique piece the Fasting Buddha, Miracle of Saraswati and so we have things like this that people come to see from all over the world. So this fits the definition of a museum as it has antiquities, has the antique touch of old things in terms of art, craft, manuscripts, coins...Our cultural heritage is shown here through art and history represented in the objects...just like in other museums of the world...

Mrs Nusrat Ali’s notion of the museum is one that places it squarely within a global definition of cultural heritage and history, and this is one possible character the Lahore Museum occupies, but it does not fully expose the main perception the museum holds of itself in serving its immediate community - as an educator.

The Lahore Museum envisions itself as an educational institution, with the will that it should be ‘educating’ those that visit in some capacity, as Miss Humera Alam pointed out: ‘In my mind I think it is a place of education and this should be highlighted as

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74 See Museums and Communities: the politics of public culture (ed) Karp, Lavine and Kreamer (1992), though more often it is dealt with in terms of reconciliation or acknowledging the ‘other’ for example First Nations: as is dealt with by Moira Simpson (1996) in Making Representations: Museums in the Post-Colonial Era or James Clifford (1997) Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century.

75 Interview with Mrs Nusrat Ali on 03.03.03.
basically it is an **educational institution**.\textsuperscript{76} Although no one was clear in specifying his or her own part in trying to educate, almost as if the museum should do this automatically, a desire towards this goal was foregrounded when Mrs Zarina Khurshid suggested:

> We should invite children and tell them properly what is kept here so that in the future they can pass this on...this will be progress...we can also make some more artefacts mobile, so they are taken to villages, if those people cannot come here then we can take this to them, but only if we have proper security.\textsuperscript{77}

Even though officers acknowledgment that the educational element is crucial in developing a role for the museum in society, it is always riddled by the admission that for them this is a difficult task. For the officers this problematic is often referred to as a major obstacle to their work and is actualized as the so-called *unpar* (illiterate) visitor. This sentiment is ubiquitous amongst most of the staff and considered beyond their control, being a result of other social problems such as illiteracy\textsuperscript{78} that prevent the museum from serving the community in the ‘right’ way. Mr Mujeeb Khan referenced these contributing factors:

> The role the museum should play it is not doing so. But the museum can only play a part where there is education and interest among the public. They have curiosity and want to learn and understand because we cannot force people to come and understand what the objects are that are kept here...I am stressing *education* and a *low literacy rate* as reasons why we cannot work properly. To make the museum more active we will have to raise the literacy rate and create interest in Pakistan.\textsuperscript{79}

What is surprising in all of this is the way the officers are unwilling to actually see themselves as part of the problem, by not being aware of its own public. Instead when thinking about the museum’s public role despite being alert to their own conditions as a postcolonial society, the officers crave for a museum that functions along the ideal museum - essentially the western museum model as a bastion of culture and true educator of all who visit; with no one leaving empty minded. The Lahore Museum was operating but there was awareness that many changes could be made such as increased space, funds, training, expertise, publications security and internal exchange between

\textsuperscript{76} Interview with Miss Humera Alam on 12.11.02.
\textsuperscript{77} Interview with Mrs Zarina Khurshid on 07.01.03.
\textsuperscript{78} Illiteracy rate in 1990 for males 15 years old and over was 51% and female 80% figures from: http: www.unfpa.org/profile/pakistan.cfm
\textsuperscript{79} Interview with Mr Mujeeb Khan on 14.11.02.
officers, all of which would create a better educational institution. However, the one thing that is consistently missed is awareness of their public, the need to know who they are and what they want from the museum. Only Mr Shoaib Ahmed referred to this on a defiant note giving what I think is the most accurate 'image' of the Lahore Museum today, problems and all:

The thing is what is the benefit and what should be the benefit, and there is a great difference between the two. Here what we do is concentrate on what should be and not on what actually is. And one of my strongest beliefs is that for an uneducated society like ours there is no benefit of a museum...of course there should be, it should be that our students learn a lot from the museum, school children, college students, and our society, our religious people should learn what happened to other nations and cultures, our artisans should come and see what sort of work was done before machinery and learn from this. This is a totally educational affair which in other words should have a role in any living society, a museum should have a role which we do not have here...The reason is that we have other problems, we do not have enough food, we do not get the opportunity to cross the road, our honour is not secure, I am here and I don't know what is happening at home, we do not have respect for each other, honour is money, no safety, so what will you do with education?80

However, the picture is not so bleak, the museum's public appropriate and consume it avidly and with intense visual engagement (see Chapters 4 and 5), but one sector of the community that the Lahore Museum actively encourages to visit and learn is students. Perhaps, this is because students are envisaged by the museum to have the right educational capital to utilize the museum 'correctly', so lets turn to the students.

EDUCATION AND THE PICNIK LEARNERS

The Lahore museum is trying to engage in educating learners - local visitors, national citizens, global tourists and especially students of schools and colleges in Lahore, the Punjab and beyond by implementing educational activities and events that offer a better museum experience. I wish to examine these actions, rather than look at the quality of educational programmes and displays to reveal in a lucid manner how the museum is approached as a space for learning and whether this is combined with other non-pedagogical interpretations in particular by educational institutions.

80 Interview with Mr Shoaib Ahmed on 07.11.02.
It may then be surprising to hear that no ‘education department’ or ‘officer’ dealing exclusively with the Lahore Museum’s educational programmes exists, instead the two Assistant Public Relations officers (APRO) - Mr Asim Rizwan and Mrs Fouzia Kanvil are responsible for the majority of educational activities. The absence of a single unit means that it is difficult to evaluate a specific educational policy as such and this is accentuated by the fact many educational initiatives originate randomly from the Director’s office. Those involving the public are handled by the APRO’s who on occasion are aided by Gallery In-charges for instance during visits by a ‘delegation’ or elite school. Generally, Gallery In-charges are reluctant to help, seeing this as beyond ‘their job’ description preferring ‘their displays’ to speak for them. This is all the more apparent for guided tours, which form the core of educational activities that take place, and shall investigate them first.

Guided Tours: Painted on a wooden board outside the main entrance to the museum are a number of rules for the visitor and one of these informs that guided tour takes place daily at 10:30 am for visitors wishing to avail this service. However, anyone waiting for this tour would be highly disappointed as no such guided tour take place, instead they take place upon requests. On busy days Mr Rizwan and Mrs Kanvil could be seen guiding classes of students or foreign delegations several times a day, highlighting the best collections and ‘masterpieces’ as Mr Rizwan told me: ‘...we cannot talk about all the objects so I try and transfer the maximum amount of knowledge I have...’. Just as the guides select which objects they verbally embellish, they equally discern who gets guided. I was astonished never to see a group of ordinary visitors being given a guided tour and when I enquired after a reason, Mrs Kanvil iterated a widely held view among museum staff that:

The general public can see for themselves, they do not come to study, they just come for enjoyment but if a person comes for study...they will be assisted...There is no guide for the general public and they do not feel

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81 Usually this is a team of three headed by a Public Relations Officer however, during my fieldwork the PRO was a non-operative position.
82 ‘Delegations’ are usually foreign dignitaries, government officials or those considered of VIP/VVIP status.
83 For some Gallery In-charges it is an issue of status for others one of the uncertain boundary that exist between their role as curator, security and researcher of the objects in the gallery as I outlined above. Some recognized that they should spend more time in contact with the visitors but due to the museum work culture this was limited to answering questions asked by visitors during their work in respective galleries.
84 Interview with Mr Rizwan on 19.11.02.
The need either...they just look around and move on...because they are not on a study-tour...

The perception of 'enjoyment' as referred to here by Mrs Kanvil is tinged with a sense of being 'vulgar' (Bourdieu 1996), however, this was negated many times by visitor inquisitiveness - listening, trying to snatch information being relayed as a guided tour passed by or asking gallery attendants questions. Despite an interest being sparked unfortunately the public is not a priority for the museum, ironically the museum's strongly held belief that the general public does not possess the 'right education' to learn and view the museum in a 'proper' way mitigates this. Only students, foreign tourists and delegations are regarded as having the 'cultural capital' (ibid) to 'study' the objects correctly by appreciating their cultural, historical and artistic value. From the outset, a hierarchy becomes apparent in the museum's estimation of who is worthy to receive even the most basic of their educational services. This was made compellingly apparent to me one afternoon whilst in the General Gallery where I saw a gallery attendant hurriedly ask some local visitors to move away from a display case, as they were taking too much time and would be obstructing a guided tour being conducted to a European couple. Duly the three men sat down on the bench, waiting patiently, watching and letting the 'real' learners pass before resuming their own tour. Foreign tourists, whose numbers have been in decline post 9/11, in the mind of the Lahore Museum are representative of possessing 'museum literacy' (Greenhill 1994) and thus ranked at the top end of ideal learners followed closely by the 'educated', as Mrs Kanvil told me:

The educated public are very good, the uneducated when they come they complain about a lot of things, like this is not right or that is not right, they do not know the importance of the objects...when they look at the painted doors from Shalimar they say “Where did they get these old

85 Interview with Mrs Kanvil on 16.11.02.
86 In the questionnaire/interviews I carried out with visitors to the Lahore Museum (see Chapter 4 for more details) only 20% of visitors knew that a guide was available and some said they had read it on the board outside. However, when asked if they would prefer to be guided or left to see the museum on their own, once again 20% replied that they would like to be guided, the majority – 76% preferred to see the museum themselves despite wanting to be told more. The main drawback for most was that with a guide, they would have to follow the guide's pace of the visit and the guide would disrupt the group discussion and pleasure.
87 I was told that Koreans and Japanese tourists continue to visit in large numbers but the decline is in the number of Americans and Europeans.
88 It was always uncertain at what level of education one was considered 'educated' but usually it was someone who had been through formal education to at least Higher education and preferably had a general interest in history and the arts.
falling apart doors from and they are charging us to look at them!". But an educated person can read where it is from and when it was made...the [uneducated]...just cause disturbances...these people do not want to be guided they just want to look themselves.\(^8\)

Perhaps this hierarchy can be better understood as a crude dichotomy between the educated/uneducated that defines who is engaged with and hence guided, although clearly the museum attaches little value in guiding the mass public;\(^9\) so are other activities more appropriate?

**Texts:** Concerted attempts at providing information and knowledge about the museum and exhibits to supplement the glass box have recently made new inroads at the Lahore Museum. One such measure, in early 2003, was the introduction of coloured pamphlets for each gallery, available in English or Urdu giving a brief outline of the collection and general information about the museum. These pamphlets filled a gap in textual exegesis on the museum, as no guidebook\(^9\) is available and these leaflets doubled as portable mementos for the public to purchase during their visit.\(^9\) However, any positive benefits from this endeavour for the public were hampered by the simple oversight of pricing - each pamphlet costing Rs.10, the same price as an entrance ticket for an adult;\(^9\) rarely did visitors purchase these pamphlets or even show an interest in doing so - educated or uneducated.

**Video:** Technology has recently been employed to enhance the visual education offered in some galleries with the appearance of television and video units; the first of which was installed in the Miniature Gallery near attendant’s desks. A documentary on the museum, filmed by the museum’s photographer repeatedly plays on these units with no commentary just background music and intermittent subtitles of gallery names in

\(^8\) Interview with Mrs Kanvil on 16.11.02. 
\(^9\) There are no private guides, as found at other heritage sites around Lahore, operate at the museum except those accompanying city tour groups run by organizations such as the Punjab Tourism Development Corporation; or an old man who has been guiding foreign tourists on occasions and is allowed as he is said to need the money for a child’s upbringing. 
\(^9\) The last guidebook produced by the museum was in 1984 by the then Director Dr Saifur Rahman Dar and is no longer in print. 
\(^9\) Pamphlets of this nature were available previously at the museum through an initiative of Mr F.S. Aijazuddin (BOG Lahore Museum) who arranged for local banks to sponsor these pamphlets; sold for Rs.1 (Urdu) and Rs. 2 (English). This time round the Director initiated this version in January 2003. 
\(^9\) The Pakistani Rupee currently fluctuates at around Rs. 120 to one-pound sterling. The Rs. 10 may seem a reasonable price however, if one considers that there are 18 galleries the cost increases along with ticket prices for say a family (range from anything between 4 to 15) it is economically unviable as monthly income for a lower middle class worker ranges between Rs. 3000 to 5000 at the upper end.
The content of the film in effect gives a visual tour of the galleries with close ups highlighting ‘masterpieces’. The value of this for the public is once again ambiguous as most visitors just glanced and walked on; others were bemused by the footage. One day whilst watching the video I overheard a father of a family group, ask the gallery attendant: ‘Kya yeh recording hai yah live transmission?’ (‘Is this a recording or live transmission?’). Told it was a recording, he enquired further whether the objects were those not on display to which the attendant responded they were objects actually exhibited, from this he deduced ‘Accha phir close-ups dekharay hain.’ (‘Right so they are showing close-ups.’), satisfied at having solved what was being shown the family moved onto the Jain Mandir Gallery. The only time I saw any real interest towards this was when the television was switched off by the attendants, to get some aural relief from the tedious background music that echoed in the galleries, a group of young men anxious to see the ‘film’ pleaded with the attendant to switch it on, more than anything to alleviate their curiosity. This educational investment could have been put to successful use if something more than a promotional video of the museum was shown to those already in the museum. From an educational viewpoint, showing films that historically or culturally contextualize the objects in a gallery, instead of a video offering a visual catalogue of objects that can be seen for real would contribute more to the public experience. The Lahore Museum’s intention for education are again slightly misjudged as these initiatives are not visitor-interest driven but rash applications of what is perceived to be ways to advance education - the Director had recently returned from a museum visit to Japan. These efforts by the Lahore Museum to offer educational resources remain weak as they manifest little regard and knowledge about visitor’s needs. However, one area where some relative progress has been made is that of lectures and quizzes organized by the museum.

**Lectures:** Upcoming lectures at the museum are advertised in Urdu on colourful yellow banners hung on the fencing that lines the Mall Road clearly stating that these are ‘public’ events open to all. The relative novelty of these events and unawareness among the public\(^\text{95}\) has meant that this open invitation has so far failed to entice the public, although they have become popular with educational institutions in Lahore.

\(^{94}\) This appeared in the Miniature Gallery on 03.04.03, with another later placed in the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina Gallery.

\(^{95}\) In the questionnaire/interviews of visitors 93% of visitors were unaware that lectures or quiz programs were actually held at the museum, only 1% claimed to attend regularly.
This is a significant step for the Lahore Museum as it offers one avenue whereby students (future visitors) can be introduced to the museum as an educational institution. In this respect, the work of the APRO's as educationalists contacting colleges and universities in Lahore has paid off with many institutions attending regularly, especially the quizzes.

During the winter and spring months, the lectures series, in similar vein to the colonial period, have become a regular feature in the museum’s educational timetable. Held in the auditorium hall below the library so far all the lectures have been delivered by the Director of the Lahore Museum on topics of his own choice - sometimes based on a theme that spanned several weeks such as Islamic Civilization or on a single topical subject like Ramadan. The regimental atmosphere of such occasions created a sense of authority for the museum, and on lecture days around 3:30pm Gallery In-charges, reminded by a circular of their compulsory attendance, made their way, sometimes begrudgingly, to join other attendees - mainly a regular core group of academics, students, invited guests and some journalists. The guests are usually treated to a slide show of the Lahore Museum’s masterpieces antiquities backed by music whilst waiting the arrival of the Director and special guests on stage. A brief welcome address with recitation of a short prayer precedes the actual lectures, after which the only interruption is the video recording and still photography capturing the presence of speaker and guests; frequently concluding on a lighter note with the distribution of prizes among ‘employee of the month’ and honorary guests followed by much needed refreshments of tea, soft drinks and snacks. These lectures largely fail to cultivate a wholesome correlation that furnishes a deeper understanding of the museum’s collections, in other words by not concentrating on a collection or artefact in the museum’s possession specifically, with only oblique references the link between the lecture and museum is tenuous at times. In some ways, this presents itself as another lost opportunity to instigate activities whereby the museum’s materiality is transferred as knowledge to open up the museum as an educational interface.

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One of the over-arching themes that emerged in the lectures given by Dr Niazi was the emphasis on the glories of Islamic history and culture as a civilization, its basis for Pakistan and representation in the museum. This cannot be taken as an aim or objective of the museum rather it indicates the Director’s own research interest.
Museum Quiz: The procedure for quizzes is much the same as for lectures except that the auditorium is filled to capacity with students eager to back their team from the different colleges and universities that attend, providing for a much more livelier affair as the spirit of competition mixes with that of recollection. Quiz themes vary based mainly on historical or national personalities such as Allama Iqbal, with one of the more useful from the museum’s perspective was that entitled History and Collections of the Lahore Museum. For once, the museum seemed to have latched onto what can ideally be achieved through museum education, as participation required students to actually visit the museum and its library prior to the quiz and study the collections and history. Connecting event with the museum proper, in more than name, made a vital difference to the way the students approached and subsequently used the museum. Undoubtedly this was one of the most successful events held at the museum as part of its educational programmes with even the APRO’s enjoying the contact they had in directing the learning of the students. One contributing reason for the beneficial results of this quiz in comparison to the lectures or even guided tours is that an informal ‘contact zone’ (Clifford 1997) was achieved in which learning became participatory, motivating the ‘visitor’ to learn rather than museum thrusting its pedagogy. If education at the Lahore Museum was to follow this example for all segments of its visiting public, the museum could be the learning institute it desires to be. However, one group of visitors with whom the Lahore Museum does actively try to engage in providing an educational experience is students - even if the latter have other ideas.

Schools visits: These dominate the Lahore Museum’s landscape physically and preoccupy the APRO’s work in November and December as schools take advantage of the mild weather to make their ‘study tours’. Large colourful buses hired by schools with banners on the front stating the schools name, place of origin and ‘Study Tour’ arrive packed full of uniformed children all through the day during these months. Schools visit from Lahore as well as various towns in the Punjab Province - Gojra,

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97 Higher education institutes that regularly participated in the quizzes included teams from Islamia College, Government College University, Princeton Institute of Management Sciences, Geography/Persian/Law Departments from Punjab University, University of Engineering, Science and Technology and Government College for Women.

98 A few of the students returned on subsequent visits and were planning on carrying out projects on the museums collections and cataloguing its collections using IT programmes. One of the prizes given to the winners was one-year free subscription to the museum’s library and this could only encourage such usage.
Rawlapindi, Bahawalpur and beyond - one school came all the way from Bhimber in Azad Kashmir. Before they even enter the museum, the excitement of the students can be heard as they are organized into neat lines in the foyer. If the school has informed the museum of their visit prior to arrival then an APRO is present to welcome them otherwise this can be arranged on the spot as the provision for schools is more responsive than for other guided tours; though some schools prefer to visit with the teachers guiding. Once inside the students turn the museum into a place of frenzied movement, accompanied by a battle of teacher’s attempts at control and student’s noise; especially if the APRO’s are not available due to demand. At any one time there can be up to five schools visiting with some schools bringing more than 100 students. This presents a non-conducive situation for effective guidance and the APRO’s do their best to ensure that as many students as possible get to see the entire museum and learn something about what is displayed, but as Mr Rizwan lamented:

...the large numbers of students that visited the last two months was remarkable, but they did not do any good, I think [the visits] are useless, nothing, they are wasting their time. Because see if you have a line of students who just rush around like donkeys and horses, you can’t get anything from the organization...when I conduct schools the first thing I tell them is that this is not the zoo or Sozo Park, it is not Joyland, this is an educational institution and you have come here so learn something. Just visit one gallery thoroughly and then come next time. This is my goal to make people aware of the educational role of museums.

The frustration at not being able to impart knowledge thus and the correct image of the museum among students is tied up with issues of management, as Mrs Kanvil stated: ‘...when there are say hundred or two hundred then it is difficult to cover them all, but those [schools] who come for study bring manageable groups of fifteen to twenty students, others just come for enjoyment...they come to see Lahore not for study.’

These comments by the APRO’s reveal the inability to instruct students through a pedagogical guide, compounded by the motivating factors behind school visits that force distinction between those who come for ‘educational’ purposes and those on the ‘study tour’.

The declaration that a school is on a ‘study tour’ is totally misguiding here in terms of learning, and perhaps the other popular name for these visits is more helpful in

99 Interview with Mr Rizwan on 19.11.02.
100 Interview with Mrs Kanvil on 16.11.02.
elucidating the frame of mind that students and teachers arrive with - that of picnic. A ‘picnic’ is literally a day trip taken near the end of a school term, and when it happens to be in Lahore, this takes on a north-south trajectory stopping at as many of the city’s historical and entertainment sights as possible; the museum being but one. Saira, a 7th class student from a school in Gujranwala, was visiting the museum as part of their ‘study tour’ and told me that she liked the museum and all the objects were ‘very nice’ and when asked what other places they were visiting she replied: ‘...we have been to Yaad Ghar, the Fort and Badshahi Mosque\(^{101}\) and after this we are going to have lunch in a park and then go to the zoo...’;\(^{102}\) her teacher added that later after sunset they would visit Gulshan Iqbal (amusement park) as then the children can see the lights and enjoy themselves more. Other schools, from within Lahore City and beyond, are on a similar itinerary with some visiting Data Durbar\(^{103}\) or a different amusement park. These students and teachers, who are not necessarily interested in using the museum experience in a beneficial way, present the APRO’s with a difficulty in being non-responsive to the message that the museum is a place of learning. This divergence in appropriating the Lahore Museum usually means that after the guided tour the students are not engaged in any project or worksheet but left by teachers to wander about trying to decipher what the objects are with the guards continuously repeating for them not to touch the glass. This situation is contrasted by the APRO’s to the minority of schools that actually come for ‘education’ and on the whole are said to be from the private sector English-medium schools compared to the Government run Urdu-medium schools.\(^{104}\) However, the most popular use by many of the schools remains the ‘study

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\(^{101}\) *Yaad Ghar* (memory house) is the popular name for Minar-i-Pakistan - a marble structure that marks the passing of the Pakistan Resolution on 23\(^{rd}\) March 1940 by the AIML thus calling for the separate nation of Pakistan by Jinnah. The resolution embodies the monument on marble panels in Bengali, English and Urdu. The Badshahi Mosque was constructed in 1673 by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and forms part of the Fort Complex (*Qila*), which was begun by Akbar in the 1560’s and subsequently added to by other Mughal Emperors and Ranjit Singh during Sikh rule. Later additions to the Fort include the mausoleum of Allama Iqbal.

\(^{102}\) Interview with Saira on 26.10.02.

\(^{103}\) This is the shrine of the 11\(^{th}\) century saint Data Gunj Baksh whose popularity as the patron saint of the city is marked by devotees visiting the shrine day and night.

\(^{104}\) There are a variety of school types that exist alongside each other in urban Pakistan—i) Government Schools - they are under-funded, over-crowded and have a reputation for poor teaching and results, ii) Private Sector: both English and Urdu medium - this is a rapidly expanding sector with schools having their own teacher training, textbooks and can choose which curriculum to follow including those affiliated to foreign universities or boards such as Oxford, Cambridge syllabus - for example in Lahore private sector schools include the Aitchinson College, Beaconhouse School System, Essena Foundation, Jesus and Mary Convent School, Pakistan Foundation and The Trust School. It is impossible to give an exact number as this sector that is leading to the increased privatisation and
tour’, yet this should not be taken as subversive behaviour, rather it is due to inadequate integration of the museum as part of the Government’s educational system and policy at a provincial or federal level.

The educational system in Pakistan can be divided into two types - formal (schools/colleges) and non-formal (apprenticeships), however since museums are usually classed as provisioning informal learning, it is unclear what position it holds within the system. Dr Saeed Akhtar, a teacher trainer at the Institute of Education and Research (Punjab University), pointed out that informal education or extra-curricular activities do not form part of the Government’s school system and are not catered for. The uncertain position of the museum is further evidenced by the fact that any museum, not just the Lahore Museum, does not compliment the syllabus of subjects such as Social Science; one senior official at the Punjab Textbook Board commented:

...the museum is a place that exhibits sculptures of bhuts and so in one sense this can be interpreted as promoting idol worship and since in our religion this is not allowed so there is a conflict here and the museum is not given the status (makaam) that it should have. The curriculum here gets stuck as one of its priorities is not to promote anything anti-Islamic, and put simply the museum becomes a place of idols and so anti-Islamic.

For educationalists, the Lahore Museum is a problematic icon, despite the museum promoting itself as a national institution (see Chapter 3), in relation to representing the national ideology that inculcates future citizens with the ‘right’ moral and cultural identity. The absence of the museum from any educational curriculum is hinged on crude conflations by educational authorities of certain collections with anti-nationalist sentiment whether it is religious, cultural or political; countering the ideology of the nation conceived as inseparable from the concept of an Islamic state. Dilemmas seem to arise due to the presence of some collections in the museum, most obvious being the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina connoting ‘other’ historical and cultural meanings that disrupt official discourse on history and ideology of the nation as ascribed by the

fragmentation of the school system in Pakistan continues to grow as individuals set up schools in their local neighbourhoods, advertising themselves on cable television with no real monitoring of the situation by the Government. This sector also includes denominational schools such as Catholic Mission, Methodist, Ismaili. Lastly there is iii) Madrassah based education. See also A.I. Khan (1994) Education Concept and Process: A Critical Analysis of the Education System in Pakistan.

105 Interview with Dr Saeed Akhtar on 05.06.03.
106 Interview with a senior official at the Punjab Textbook Board.
Government. Collections which allow both India and Pakistan to present their own versions of a heritage and civilization discourse materially (see Chapter 3) also allude to the proximity that forces small differences to be cast as the 'other', and hence pose a threat to official politico-identity narrative on history and culture of the nation and its citizens. The educational curriculum and subsequent textbooks, censored by Government educationalists are narrated in a similar manner, overlooking historical proximity and hence the museum’s visual knowledge is partially applied and compromised to maintain ideological truth.\textsuperscript{107}

The Lahore Museum’s collections can potentially be employed in supplementing informal learning of history, politics, art, and geography in schools, however, it simply does not feature, and so what causes this incongruity? Pakistani schools teach an amalgamation of geography, history, economics, civics, Islamic studies and international relations called \textit{Mu‘ashratii Ulum} (Social Studies).\textsuperscript{108} The curriculum for Social Studies, like that of other subjects, is formulated around overarching guidelines set by the National Educational Policy (NEP). The latest NEP 1998-2010 promotes education as a force for national integrity and socio-economic development in the creation of an ‘enlightened Muslim society’.\textsuperscript{109} At its most basic the NEP sets out a number of objectives for educating the nation with the principal aim of inculcating the ideological roots for an integrated society based on the dissemination of Quranic rules and Islamic practices. This emphasis on Islam by the NEP situates education as one medium for the edification and preservation of official national ideology in which the foundation of Pakistan is overtly narrated on religious grounds. In line with this the NEP explicitly states, reflecting the above sentiments on proscription of anti-Islamic content, that all curricula are to ‘...exclude and expunge material repugnant to Islamic values...’.\textsuperscript{110} In comparison to the materiality of the Lahore Museum, the Government directly controls curricula input and its textualization in the textbooks they publish.

\textsuperscript{107} See K.K. Aziz (1998) \textit{The Murder of History: A Critique of History Textbooks used in Pakistan} for an interesting look at the way history is taught in textbooks and the fabrications, omissions and mistakes that pervade the Government published textbooks in Pakistan.

\textsuperscript{108} History and geography were taught as separate subjects before 1972 when the Federal Government under Zulifkar Ali Bhutto’s nationalized the education system and made this change. Due to the variety of schools and curricula followed those schools that teach ‘O’ and ‘A’ Levels do offer history as an option.

\textsuperscript{109} This is stated to be one of two obligations on the Government towards the provision of education as laid out in the Ideology of Pakistan, the other being education for all citizens. This policy is intended to be equally applicable to the private sector and \textit{Madrassah} schools.

actively eliminating aspects of history and culture that are judged incompatible with a vision of a purely Islamic nation; a brief look at Social Studies’ textbooks can lend clarification here.

Social Studies are taught to classes 1-8 in the Pakistani government school system and in classes 9-10 replaced by Pakistan Studies and Islamiyat (Islamic Studies), both of which are compulsory. At the elementary level (classes 1-5) the Social Studies textbooks deal with aspects of basic geography and civics with a gradual introduction of national symbols such as ‘Our Flag’, anthem, language, currency, national days and personalities - Jinnah and Allama Iqbal; also including religio-national elements in the figure of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), Quranic verses and festivals. In class 5 various historical eras appear that are said to constitute Pakistan’s past - the Aryans (3500 BC), arrival of Islam with Muhammad bin Qasim in the Sindh (712 AD), the British ‘invasion’, two nation-theory, Muslim League, Partition and wars with India. Although none of these are elaborated in detail at this grade this prefacing sets the foundation for what is taught in class 6 upwards. The culture and history of Pakistan delineated in classes 6-8 is variously narrativized, for example as antiquity rooted in the Indus Valley Civilizations or as part of the Islamization of the Sub-continent from the eighth century onwards, which misleadingly is hinted at as an early precursor to the later emergence of the two-nation theory and Pakistan Movement. In this manner, the curriculum for Social Studies purifies history and culture as related

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1. The procedure for the production of Government textbooks enables monitoring and control of content with regards to adherence of espoused values in this version of national integrity. Post 1976 a co-ordination between the National Board of Curriculum and Textbooks and the four provincial boards ensures implementation with drafts of curricula being drawn up at the provincial level and revised at the federal level. The reviewed curricula are returned to the provincial boards to guide writers of chapters of books (rarely is one book written by a single author). These chapters are sent to the National Review Committee who reviews them and once checked are returned to be turned into textbooks. This process is repeated for each subject/class and in Urdu and English as textbooks are published in both languages. (I would like to thank Mr C.D. Arif- Director at the Curriculum Research Development Centre, Punjab (now merged with the Punjab Textbook Board) for informing me in detail about this process. Interview on 09.06.03).

2. The formal government school system in Pakistan consists of two stages - 1) the first is Primary - including grades 1-5 that enrol the age group of 5+ - 9+ and 2) Secondary (middle) - including grades 6-8 corresponding to age group 10+ - 12+. Grades 9 - 10 lead to the Board Examinations of Matriculation, which can be followed by college and higher studies.

3. Although I concentrate mainly on the Government school system as the majority of schools that visit the Lahore Museum are from this category, the set up for the private sector in terms of grades and Social Studies teaching is not incomparable.

4. Pakistan Studies and Islamiyat were introduced as compulsory subjects for classes 9-10 and tertiary education in the 1980’s by the Government of Zia-ul-Haq to strengthen national integration, raise interest in national affairs and create responsible citizens of Pakistan.
mainly to the emergence of Pakistan and a society - its economy, politics, religion/spiritual sides all informed strictly by Islamic dogma. The narratives produce a distorted historicism creating an overly simplified and falsified Muslim supremacy, goodwill and ideological order of history that entwines Islamic and nationalist histories that counter external enemies primarily India and the British Raj. Actual events in history become subordinated with the ‘other’/’outsider’ considered as a threat (historically and contemporary) to the triumph and unification of Pakistan, and it is this paradigm that is given further potency in the teaching of Pakistan Studies and Islamiyat to classes 9-10. The former incorporates economics, international relations and culture and together with the grounding in Social Studies fulfils one of the primary goals of the national curriculum: which is to ‘…inculcate unflinching love for Islam and Pakistan...’.

The neglect of museums like the Lahore Museum is likely then due to the fact that it is not unflinchingly about Pakistan, instead it contains the ability to visualize other pasts and histories that are uncomfortable for and challenge the ideological narrative espoused in the educational curriculum; the museum exposes what the curriculum wishes to hide or keep ‘outside’. Though other societies, cultures and religions are referred to they are very much positioned as an ‘other’, especially in the case of the India which signifies anti-Islamic culture and values. This blinkered view of history that has been hijacked by political ideology prevents the Lahore Museum from attaining a useful and recognized role within education in Pakistan. Sidestepping of the museum here means that schools have no real obligation to treat the museum in the way that the APRO’s and museum officers would like. The teaching of history within Social Studies abides to both political ideology and the guidelines of the NEP, which essentially reflect each other, however I want to suggest that in relation to topics on the culture of Pakistan and its people - past and present, the museum can be useful without being anti-nationalist; this is being realised by a few schools. The Lahore Museum can visualize a discourse on civilization and national past that incorporates the different historical and cultural periods of Pakistan: such as in the display of ethnography - the Ethnographic Galleries represent the culture of provinces in Pakistan, the Gandhara

115 In addition to K.K. Aziz (1998) also see Ian Talbot (2000) who raises similar points in relation to the inclusion of Partition within nationalist history of Pakistan.
Gallery is ideal for the teaching of Buddhism, the Pre-Historic and Indus Valley Galleries can bring students closer to seeing the objects of the civilizations at Harrapa and Moenjodaro, the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina Gallery informs of pre-Partition religious diversity and obviously the Independence Gallery is well suited for the purposes of nationalist history. In fact the only time a museum does get mentioned is within class 3 textbooks where it is described as a place that displays objects of the past, but the unbalanced rendition of the past does not do even do this role any justice. In order to bring together these aspects of education, Social Studies and the museum, and elucidate the actual usage of the Lahore Museum by different schools I want to turn next to the thoughts and comments of students and teachers on museum visits.

**Initial Steps:** Very few schools visit the museum with primary classes (Classes 1-5) and one reason for this is that the children are considered by teachers too young to really appreciate the museum and so any school visits that do take place prefer a recreational attraction. Mr Shahid Aziz (Principal of Summy Public School)\(^\text{117}\) was expressive of this opinion for children at his school, suggesting it was enough just to familiarize students with the concept of museum as a place where the past is objectified. This was shared by Mrs Christina Gauhar (Nursery teacher at Wesleyan Primary)\(^\text{118}\) who added that meagre school funds could not be expended on visits to the museum stating: ‘They have never been to the museum due to this funding problem, but I also think that the children are too young and there will not be anything of interest to them’.\(^\text{119}\) However, some private English-medium schools do organize trips based on their own syllabi, helped by having their own transport, these students are given an early exposure to the museum. One such school that encourages primary school trips is the Lahore Grammar School (L.G.S.).\(^\text{120}\) Trips to the Lahore Museum are planned for

\(^{117}\) Summy Public School is a small private co-educational primary school set up by Mr Aziz is located in the Chunamandi area of the Walled City in Lahore the school has about 100 students from the local mohalla and 7 teachers.

\(^{118}\) Wesleyan Primary is a mission Urdu medium school set up in the grounds of Christ Church in Cantt area of Lahore. The school is part of the Raiwind Diocese Church of Pakistan with students paying Rs. 75 per term up to Class 3 and then Rs. 85 for Classes 4 and 5. Many of the students are children of domestic servants and household staff who work in the residential area of Cantt. They use the Oxford syllabus but for Social Studies they follow the Punjab Text Book Board’s publications.

\(^{119}\) Interview with Mrs Christina Gauhar on 21.05.03.

\(^{120}\) For more background on the establishment of the Lahore Grammar School system see www.lgs.edu.pk The school is for girls only and in the senior sections it does not follow the Matriculation Board Examinations but Cambridge Board ‘O’ Levels. The branches of the school that I visited (junior and senior sections) were both in the upmarket area of Gulberg in Lahore- midst its residential areas and in the fees for the junior school were around Rs. 10-12,000 per month.
Class 5 to illustrate topics studied in Social Studies such as the ancient past, Indus Civilizations and Buddhism and unlike the ‘study tour’ trips these are not whole day affairs; the museum is visited for a couple of hours. The stress placed on educational relevance determines the galleries visited and their utilization as part of school work, as Taiba Jahanzeb (Teacher Class 5) who accompanied the annual visit, told me: ‘Before the trip we tell [students] about what is anthropology, archaeology and the history of the Lahore Museum as well as its different galleries...give a brief introduction. The children are given a worksheet to do and there is also a discussion.’. The museum visit by the L.G.S is used as object lessons to supplement the formal learning given in the classroom and thus fits in with the ideal of museum education, however, this application is contrastable to that of other schools.

Secondary lessons: The majority of schools visiting the Lahore Museum bring students, particularly for the first time, during class 6 or 7, and whilst for most schools the visit is just another ‘picnic-spot’ for a minority it is tied to seeing objects related to Social Studies’ topics - Indus Valley Civilization and the Independence Movement. To assess the significance of a visit to the Lahore Museum for various schools I examine three different school’s relationship with the museum starting with Government High School for Girls in Chunamandi. The teachers at this institution were clear that they saw visits simply as ‘picnics’ since there was no government requirement to visit any museum. Zaida Riazi (Social Studies/Urdu - Class 7) responded: ‘We take just the tenth year, it is a recreational trip (sahar kay liya) as it is the last year of studies so we just take them there or any other historical place...Teachers are always ready to go but it depends on the organizer... even then it comes down to money...’; to which another Class 7 teacher Sofia Nasreen (Social Studies/Urdu/English) added:

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121 The concept of the museum is also introduced at L.G.S. in Class 3 as Sufia Amir (Academic Coordinator at Junior Section 55 Main Gulberg- Interview on 28.05.03) told me ‘In class 3 children actually make their own museum and learn the words associated with it such as what are collections, curators and how to display, so that they are familiar with them.’.

122 Interview with Taiba Jahanzeb on 22.05.03.

123 The school is located near Kashmiri Gate of the Walled City of Lahore with around 900 girls attending the school from the surrounding area from what the teachers said were ‘lower class families’. In 2003 the government announced that education up until matriculation was to be free but the girls still paid Rs 7 towards the school fund, whereas before they paid Rs 11 (Classes 6-8) and Rs 22 (Classes 9-10) per term.

124 Interview with Zaida Riazi on 16.5.03.
[The museum] is very important, it is our *virsa* (heritage) and the children can learn about our culture yet they do not know about this but they need to know...we don’t go to the museum because there are no funds despite the museum being so close...This area as you can see is so congested that the children want, and need, to be taken out to see other places. Many of them live in one or two rooms for the whole family and are the children of vegetable sellers or labourers, so to go out will increase their knowledge and expand their minds. There is no place for children’s entertainment they just watch *cable* and that is all. If we could take them out it will be good for them.\(^{125}\)

Sofia Nasreen, whilst recognizing fiscal constraints, interestingly notes social benefits behind what so far has been taken as misunderstanding of the museum’s use by schools for recreation; issues that are just as important as attaining informal education. When I questioned\(^ {126}\) some of the girls from Class 7C out of ten only one had been to the museum with an uncle, though they had visited other places like Minar-i-Pakistan, zoo, Fort, Data Darbar, Shalimar Gardens and Sozo Park. Since the majority had not visited the museum I focused on gaining their perception of the institution and what emerged was a generic image akin to the description of museum in the textbooks, as Fatima Shafaqat wrote ‘...lots of old things are kept in there’ of past rulers and emperors such as Tipu Sultan, old ornaments, coins, shoes along with bewildering objects (*hayraan karanay wali*). Most of the girls were keen to visit the museum with their school and hoped to see things belonging to *fakirs*, beautiful paintings, new objects, things made in Pakistan, amusing objects and generally things that would make them feel good. A willing attitude prevailed amongst the students towards a visit to the museum, which was based more on curiosity than any need for educational gain.

The situation at St Anthony’s High School\(^ {127}\) was slightly different as it could fit into both modes of museum-schools interaction, in that it mixes elements of the ‘study tour’ with educational objectives. I meet Miss Ambreen Austin (teacher of Class 6B) in the Freedom Movement Gallery whilst her students were actively engaged in ‘study’ with worksheets in hand, during their ‘educational trip’ that also included a visit to Minar-i-

\(^{125}\) Interview with Sofia Nasreen on 16.05.03.

\(^{126}\) With students I did not carry out interviews instead found it easier to get them write down answers to questions I posed in relation to perception of the museum to an actual visit, if one had occurred. At the High School for Girls - Chunamandi I questioned 10 girls.

\(^{127}\) St Anthony’s School that I visited was in Faisal Town, Lahore and it is a branch of the larger Sacred Heart Cathedral School. It is a private fee-paying (Rs 4500 for three terms) Catholic English medium school that is co-educational with around 750 pupils and follows both the Matriculation and Cambridge Board exams except for *Islamiyat* and Urdu where they use the Punjab Textbook Board.
Pakistan. It emerged that the decision to bring the class to the museum was Miss Ambreen Austin’s:

…it is compulsory to take a class on an educational excursion, this can be anywhere not necessarily to the museum. In the past classes have been to Mitchells, Shezan, Coco-Cola factories, Science Museum, Planetarium, as it was part of Social Studies...[which also] has a lot of history such as the Indus Valley Civilization etcetera and so we take them to the museum for this...I took them to the museum and they had questions that were already given to them...Before leaving I told them where they could find the answers and to read the text...I took them to the Indus Valley Gallery...the Pakistan Gallery and went to Islamic Gallery...I also wanted them to see the pictures of the personalities who participated in the Pakistan Movement...We read [history] books and this is just for convenience and answering questions but when we see it, then it makes sense.128

The benefit of visiting the Lahore Museum for Miss Austin was that it acted as a visual textbook to enrich the textual history digested by her students, especially the images of historical figures. This appreciation extended to student’s experience in that they overwhelmingly remembered representations of past which complimented their learning of Pakistani history and Indus Valley at school. Like students of Government High School, Chunamandi above, the commonly held view of the museum prior to the first visit was that it would be a place of old and historical things used by great leaders and kings, others imagined there would be dinosaur bones, history of other countries like England; with one girl thinking the museum was a type of restaurant with entertaining performances; another viewing it as a place of spirits. For most students the museum presented evidence of their history and stimulated in them a sense of national pride, Muhammad Umer Hassan wrote ‘I remember the aircraft used in 1965 war. I learned we should give our lives for our country.’ whilst Dawood Akhtar Murad recalled:

Being in the museum, I felt nice. I was watching all the statues and taking information. I liked all the things present...except the statues because they were naked...the objects were there to represent and teach also because all the teaching in our books they should have proof, so all the things present there were proof...129

128 Interview with Miss Austin 26.05.03.
129 I asked the same questions to all schools visited except here I was able to include those for the actual visit that was not possible at the Government High School for Girls. I questioned students at St Anthony’s on 26.05.03.
This linkage with history as evidence associates the museum explicitly with the past in the minds of the students in part a result of the emphasis teachers, in line with the curriculum, place on viewing the historical aspects of collections. For students the museum excels, not so much by teaching but by sparking their imagination as Sana Saleem stated: 'It was just like I [had] gone into the history. Well I felt amazed and a part of history itself.' The exclusive focus on the museum as visualizing history does limit the opportunity for other subjects (art or geography) to exploit collections of the museum; however, little is done by the museum to illuminate these possibilities. Ingraining of the museum as a place of history also guides students' preference to see more historical artefacts added to the museum - related to ancient past, pottery, stories, personalities and warriors of the past; making it a *tehreek markaz* (Centre of History).

Classes (6 upwards) that visit from the L.G.S (senior section) are not new to the museum as they build on previous exposure in junior classes. Like the other schools examined here the L.G.S. also flags up lessons in history to be found in the museum, although this time transgressing the confines of national ideology that inspires the national curriculum, Mrs Shah (Principal L.G.S.- Main Gulberg Branch) pointed out:

> Well the importance of the [Lahore] Museum as I think everyone appreciates is that you get a glimpse into your past and that its not as limited or short as many of our ideologues try and convey and that we have a very long history that stretches a long way back in this land and that people of this land, and I think the museum does in some degree give [the students] an understanding of that. You know whether it is the Indus Valley Civilization or it is the Buddhist Civilization, its very much part of our own culture, which very often one tends to overlook or ignore.

This stance towards highlighting a more inclusive history presented in the museum separates the L.G.S.'s educational approach towards the Lahore Museum from the other schools and signifies the latent potential within the museum collections to interrogate prescribed dogma. In a very proactive way the L.G.S. tries to incorporate activity - based aspects to their teaching methods moving beyond the textbook and the museum plays a role in visualizing the past and thus make it interesting, as Mrs Seema Shahid (teacher Class 6B) emphasized:

130 Ibid.
131 Interview with Mrs Shah on 28.05.03.
If they don’t see things they won’t learn as much about ancient civilizations, as much as when they have things in front of them you see... visiting the museum is part of that, okay so when they are doing the Indus Valley we mainly focus on the exhibit with Harrapa and Moenjodaro so that they can see and relate to what they have already done... to learn about, see the evidence there in front of us...  

By Class 6, the museum now a familiar institution for students of L.G.S. and is strictly educational, ‘It’s not sightseeing they have to learn...’ Mrs Shahid stressed, similar to junior class trips, that students are given worksheets with related questions to be completed in the museum. L.G.S. visits to the Lahore Museum are short thus preventing the construction of overt associations by students envisaging the museum as a site for recreation. Instead stress on observation and study in the museum - the desired model of education by the museum too, resonates with students who refer to their visit as either an ‘educational trip’ or ‘field trip’, one student Azal Zahir found the museum ‘...fruitful for education of our past history... I felt rather inquisitive and curious there to find out more. I loved everything.’ Asked to think about expectations they had prior to their first visit most of the girls imagined the museum to be a ‘huge’ place with guides and hoped to see, not unlike the students of the other schools, things from the past, fossils, statues of famous people, paintings, weapons, models, objects from the Mughal Empire, preserved bodies, Buddha and even bats. However, what comes across more than learning in their experience of the museum is a palpable sense of excitement and awe, Unzila Hussain recalled: ‘I was very excited to see all the historical things of famous people. I felt like I was really standing in the real place where the things belonged...’. The museum evokes such feelings in the students without any real effort as they are largely reliant on architectural and atmospheric sense of place and as Sana Shakeel pointed out it can induce mixed sentiments: ‘The thing I disliked the most was there were huge gods which made me scared and the thing I liked was that I couldn’t believe Lahore could collect these kind of things.’ Although the L.G.S. seeks to evidence the history taught in the classroom through visual edification in the museum what becomes obvious is that this is amalgamated with a host of other experiences and in particular the imagination. What is interesting is that the school’s  

132 Interview with Mrs Seema Shahid on 28.05.03.  
133 Ibid.  
134 In the senior section of the L.G.S. (Main Gulberg Branch) I was able to question the pupils of Class 6B on their trip to the museum on 28.05.03.
own introduction of museum practice as an opportunity to represent personal history informs what students wished to see in the museum which included a greater proclivity for displays comparing the past and present and exhibiting personal items or as Mishaal Faisal stated she wanted to recreate her own room for exhibit.

Despite varying motivations towards the museum, all the schools demonstrate the importance of the students’ imagination in appropriating the museum more than curricula informed historical narrativization. Educational school visits then become less reliant on the pedagogy (museum or textual) and rely on interaction between the interests of students channelled by learning yet sustained by an emotive response. This reaction to the museum helps smooth out differences between schools which actively engage with the museum for both educational purposes and recreational. At one level the failure of the museum to have a comprehensive educational programme for schools is actually allowing the fascination for the museum among students to grow, which may not exist if the setting was just an extension of the classroom.

It is not the case that these are naïve understandings of the museum by young students as they persist beyond school. A class of Fine Arts students from the Punjab University related their encounters of a recent trip, Rabina Qasim described her captivation: ‘I felt that all the stories relating to these objects just started to revolve around me and as if I were inside each and every subject.’. Although critical of the museum’s display techniques, poor lighting and insufficient ‘logic’ and description in representation the museum left an imprint, Zafar Ali Sheikh admitted:

I didn’t feel like being in a high class, tip-top, overseas high-tech museum. But one thing quite touching was the moment you passed the doors and entered the museum – I felt like being in a different world. A world having boundaries but as if the deeper you went then further back the boundaries kept going...I admit the layout, the arrangement...were not satisfactory but still it was cool to be wandering about in between history in your Levis and Hang-Ten clothing.

Among students exploration and construction of personal understandings around the objects outweighs acquiring conventional knowledge and if the Lahore Museum was to

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135 This was a class of BA Fine Arts students from the Punjab University Old Campus opposite the museum and their teacher Julia Ahmad was using the museum to illustrate art in different civilizations and the role of cultural property/heritage. I questioned the students on 13.05.03.
assist in developing a new strategy for schools perhaps, a more successful museum education could ensue. However, insufficient manpower, facilities and money constrains and the unwillingness of ‘educators’ to abandon the didactic approach do present themselves as hurdles in addition to the non-recognition of the museum institution in the national curricula. Formally the Lahore Museum may not be part of the educational system but it cannot be denied that students are interacting with more creative strategies of interpretation and learning and this is one avenue that can bring fruition to any educational programme at the museum - not just that connected to schools.

ARCHIVAL ALLURE

The need to educate or at least be seen to be transferring knowledge contained in the collections exhibited at the Lahore Museum is most evident in the efforts towards accommodating school visits. However, what is striking about the educational activities of the Lahore Museum is its need to retain a sense of control through limited educational activities, its dogmatic interpretation of the objects on the museum’s own terms that is not officially informed by educational policy. This is most explicit in the alienation of the ordinary visitor whose needs are spectacularly overlooked as discrediting the authoritative voice of the museum; improper visitor behaviour conflicts with this control, as it does not base interpretation on the museum narrative. However, the fundamental issue here is why this form of museum culture exists and is performed by the museum staff. Despite the increasing influence of museological practices and training in the Lahore Museum since the 1970’s, a warp remains between the expectation and aspiration of the museum and its community. For the museum, this is tantamount to a habitual discourse fixated with the western museum model and to which officers are exposed in their limited training, foreign visits and policy (local/global); preventing the development of alternative museum cultures in the non-west.

However, it cannot be said that the museum officers are ignorant of the reality of their situation in which the Lahore Museum operates, they are, but this tends to emerge as a sense of implicit frustration and feelings of isolation, of being cut off from the global
museum culture. The non-existence of established and functional Pakistani museum networks and the inappropriateness of global cultural discourses and aid, mean that uncertainty and ambiguity about displays, visitor behaviour and interpretation suffuse habitual practice and discourse. In such a situation, order, control and authority for the museum and its staff are projected onto its main asset – the material archive. The curators embrace their respective collections wholly, being guardians who protect, maintain, order and expand the archive, which in return offers authority and prestige. The collections when taken to symbolize knowledge, culture and history in a pedagogic way then conform to a modern museum model and proffer a sense of legitimacy linked to ownership. The fixation on the museum collection becomes the way to mediate and make sense of the otherwise complex reality of the Lahore Museum, where the visitors are a major source of anxiety (see Chapter 4). Perpetuation of an educational façade is only possible with students and is still nascent - only the APROs being involved on a regular basis, and even this has elements of disruption through the ‘study tour’ mentality of schools. Possibly, it is now time for South Asian museums to get to grips with their local appropriation and confront the western museum model head-on and awaken to the non-western museum culture as it exists and form their own postcolonial museology.
In the thesis a mixture of Punjabi and Urdu words have been used and although many overlap for speakers of both languages as spoken in Lahore, some are specific, and so to give some linguistic differentiation I place word-source in brackets (Pun) – Punjabi, (Urd) – Urdu; if none is given this indicates dual applicability in both languages. Some Hindi (Hin) words are also included; though once again many of the Urdu/Punjabi words are also found in Hindi/Hindustani so my intention is not to give strict separation between the languages.

aaj: today (Urd)
aakidatmand: faithful religiosity (Urd)
acchi: good
adhara: institution
adhat: habit
ajaiib: strange/curiosity (Urd)
baba(ji): elderly/ancestor
baradari: Mughal architecture of a summer house with twelve doorways (Urd)
barkat: plenitude gained from piety/prayer
bartan: kitchen utensils (Urd)
baymazbhii: unreligious
bhut: statues, idols
biraderi: family clan – usually after the extended familial relations
charka: spinning wheel
charpai: traditional woven bed with wooden frame and legs (Urd)
cheesaain: things/objects
chidia ghar – zoo (Urd)
chimta: tongs used for cooking but also as a musical instrument
chirag(on): lamp(s) – oil, wax or gas (plural – Urd)
chulha: cooking stove
chownk: junction
dahi-balay: snack made with fried lentil cakes, fried gram-flour savouries, potatoes, onions and yoghurt
darshan: viewing/seeing, having sight of a deity or holy object/person (Hin)
deevay: oil lamps
dekhna: to watch/look/view
desi: local
devi: goddess
dhol: a large drum
dholki: smaller version of dhol played with hands rather than batons
dhoti: male garment of cloth wrapped around lower part of the body (Urd)
dilchasp: interesting (Urd)
dilkhush: happiness of the heart, something affecting the heart
dramay: televised soap operas
duppatta: long scarf worn by women and girls either draped on the body or covering their head with a shalwar-kameez
durries: large woven floor mats
fakir: ascetic mendicant
galli(yan): inhabited alleyway(s)
gaon: village (Urd)
ghar: house/home (Urd)
ghum: sadness/sorrow
ghussal: bathing/washing or person, monument or tomb (Urd)
hakeem: homeopath
hartal: strike
hayraan: stunned/amazed
hookah/hookay: smoking pipe/smoking pipes
hosh: aware/conscious
inquilab: revolution (Urd)
jailee: illegal
jharoka(y): balcony(s): usually embellished with decorative carvings in wood or stone.
jinn: spirit. In Islam jinn live in the world also but are not visible having been made from smokeless fire by the creator; although not all the general connotation is towards an evil spirit with extraordinary power and strength.
kacchi: in reference to housing or roads meaning built of mud or basic construction materials
kamra(y): room(s)
kajal: antimony, black lamp
karkhana: workshop
khandan: extended family/joint family system
khainchtay: to pull (Urd)
khas: special
khushi: happiness
kilhona(y): toy(s)
kimkhab: brocade silk
lagana: to cast (Urd)
lagjani: to get attached (Pun)
langar: sharing of free food at shrines
mahal: palace (Urd)
mahaul: atomosphere
mahfil: social gathering (Urd)
mali: gardener
manat(ay): wish(es) made at saint’s shrines
mandir: temple (Urd)
markaz: centre (Urd)
mata: mother (Hin)
mazar: shrine
mehfozh: to keep safe (Urd)
mela: fair
milana: to meet (Urd)
millat: solidarity (Urd)
milthay-jhulthay: similar (Urd)
mirch(an): chilli(es)
mistry: mason
mohalla: residential neighbourhood
muquaduss: sacred (Urd)
murda(y): corpse(s)
mujjahidin: patriots (Urd)
murad: see manat
murid: disciple of a saint or pir
murti: devotional idol used during worship
mutalakat: connections (Urd)
namaz: Muslim prayer
navadrat: a collection (Urd)
nazar: vision
nazar-wattu: evil-eye destroyers/detractors
nishaaniyan: mementoes/souvenirs
nokta: a point
pagri: turban (Urd)
panch: five (Urd)
payal: anklets (Urd)
pehchaan: identity
pinjra: latticework
pir: sufi guide
pirri: low-footed stool
puja: worship of a deity (Hindu)
purdah: social separation of men and women as well as the act of veiling by Muslim women
purani: old (plural – puranay)
qatlamay: a large deep fried spiced pancake
qaum: nation (Urd)
qaumi: national (Urd)
raehain-saehain: way of living
reeti-rivaj: traditional cultural practices
rooh: bodily spirit, soul
roshiani: brightness (Urd)
roti-rozi: earning a living
saehor-o-taffri: recreation (Urd)
sakafat: cultural heritage
sakafati: cultural
sanakhth: identity
sayasat: politics
shaheed: matyr
shari’at: personal Islamic laws (Urd)
shauk: interest/hobby
sheesh: mirrored
surat: in an Islamic context refers to a Quranic verse
suni-sunai: word of mouth
talwar: sword
tamal: dance by a group of men to a dhol (Pun)
tamasha: amusement/spectacle
thakur: feudal title
tehreek: history
tehreek: historical
toli: group of men carrying a sheet to collect alms on their way to a saint’s shrine, especially around urs time (Pun)
toph: canon
topi: hat/cap
ulama: Muslim learned scholars (Urd)
ummah: universal Muslim brotherhood (Urd)
un-par: uneducated/illiterate
urs: a saint’s death anniversary
utharna: to remove (Urd)
vilaeti: foreign
virsa: heritage
wali: friend of God
warna: to circle around a person’s body or head an object intended usually to remove evil-eye
yaadash: memory
zat: social/caste group
zenana: par of a house or institution reserved for women (Urd)
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