

PAKISTAN STUDIES OUTGROWS
SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979 was the first of a chain of events that has steadily brought Pakistan and all that relates to it into the range of interests of a much larger area of scholarship and academia. The civil war in Afghanistan, the rise of the Taliban, the return of Osama bin Laden, 9/11, the American response—this accelerating escalation of crisis and threat has lifted Pakistan out of what many had seen as its exclusively South-Asian significance and transformed it into a major focus of interest throughout the social sciences and the humanities. Although this change is directly relevant only to scholars concerned with what is going on in the world today, it soon percolates through academia and the curriculum at large. Pakistan Studies is now a much larger subject and has a much larger readership and audience than when AIPS was founded and the field was established in Pakistan in 1973.

For this reason the second in the series of biennial international conferences that AIPS launched at Columbia in April 2003 is focused on PAKISTAN IN WORLD-HISTORICAL CONTEXT. It will be held at the University of Pennsylvania Museum April 29 - May 1, 2005. While the primary criterion for inclusion in the conference program will still be general scholarly excellence, we are particularly interested this time around to foreground contributions that address this change in the relationship between Pakistan and the rest of the curriculum. It is a change obviously that has begun to have an impact not only in book sales and the opportunities for publication, but also in recruitment to the field and in opportunities for funded training. It is particularly important that AIPS ride this wave of increased interest in our field and watch for opportunities to open up our field to the fullest extent possible, especially during this extended period of restrictions on travel to Pakistan. The

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THREE POSTERS: NEGOTIATING TIME/
HISTORY AND COMMUNITY IN PAKISTANI
SUFI-ORIENTED LITHOGRAPH PORTRAITS

By JAMES CARON, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

I. INTRODUCTION

The genre of mass-produced South Asian devotional portraiture has, in addition to its acquired status as the object of connoisseurship, been the subject of quite a few academic studies from a variety of theoretical perspectives. However, with a few exceptions, the focus of all this work has been exclusively Hindu god images, and to a lesser extent, political images (and here obviously the categories must be, and are, regularly noted as blurry) from within the context of the nation-state of India or the retrospective privileging of the nationalist activities which led up to that state's creation. There has as well been a small body of work related to Sikh portraiture. Much less well represented are Muslim-centric images, on which subject there are only a small number of journal articles, in addition to passing references in work on Hindu-centric posters. No monograph to date has been written on this particular genre which deals exclusively with Muslim South Asian mass-produced poster art from any perspective whatsoever, and likewise little has been written on Pakistani "mass" art (as opposed to crafts and functional objects, though it should be argued that calendar art is functional on many levels). This essay incorporates, in a discussion of three devotional posters ultimately from Lahore,¹ some of the insights of the work on Hindu devotional portraiture, but while there are undoubtedly parallels, ultimately the subject matter as well as the socio-political context and consumption of these posters is quite different and must be treated as such.

Frembgen (1998) is a starting point. In his short survey article on this genre, he states that in many cases, these pictures are "first and foremost souvenirs of pilgrimages to shrines,"² which may (or may not) be framed and hung on walls (and may perhaps subsequently be decorated with garlands, etc.) when brought home. Beyond this bare fact, however, he makes the related, very important, point, that this act of "bringing home" can represent for devotees a corollary, metaphorical, "bringing home" of the saint himself.³ In the following section, discussing a poster of Data Ganj Bakhsh and his dargah, I describe the way in which this rather incisive statement also applies on a far larger scale.

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PSN

AIPS

PAKISTAN STUDIES NEWS

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PLASP COMPLETES ITS FIRST SURVEY OF MORE THAN FORTY PRIVATE COLLECTIONS IN THE PUNJAB, FRONTIER, AND SINDH

Two different teams of the Private Library and Archival Survey Project (PLASP) in Pakistan have now visited some fifty collections in several cities and villages of the country's three major provinces. The first body of data concerning more than forty of these is already at hand. Libraries surveyed include those in Hyderabad, Tando Thoro, and Sann in Interior Sindh, and Attock, Peshawar, Bahawalpur, Muhammadabad, and Faisalabad in the Punjab and Frontier. The famous private collection in rural Vihari near Multan, the Jhandair Library, has also been surveyed now. Jhandair is considered to be the largest private library in the entire country.

In late September, Project Director Nomanul Haq personally led a survey team to the private collection of G. M. Syed—the well-known, highly vocal and controversial Sindhi nationalist leader of Pakistan. G. M. Syed died in 1995 at the age of 91. He was a seasoned political leader of Sindh and maintained a rich library of published volumes and periodicals including integral files of relatively little known newspapers. But more, he also organized his personal correspondence and archives fairly systematically, placed in folders held dust-free inside custom-designed bookcases. In his collection is to be found sensational archival material, including unpublished letters addressed to him by top South Asian leaders such as Gandhi, Nehru, and Jinnah.

Publication of collected material remains a central PLASP concern. The Project has set as one of its primary aims the availability in a published volume of the entire body of the initial bibliographic data that have been gathered. But there is also this important question of archives and manuscripts that have been discovered and identified in the survey process. Nomanul Haq, who has now been named AIPS's Scholar-in-Residence, is keen to have a selection of these discoveries published too, a corpus that he feels has the promise of altering dramatically and fundamentally some of the long-held impressions and views in Pakistan Studies. To this end, PLASP has been negotiating a publication program with Oxford University Press (OUP) Pakistan.

In September OUP's Managing Director Ameena Saiyid visited Haq at the Islamabad office of AIPS to discuss the PLASP publication proposals. Also present at this first of a series of meetings was Fath Muhammad Malik, Chairman of Pakistan's federal government agency, Muqtadira Qaumi Zuban (Urdu Language Authority), an agency with its own publication resources and activities. Following these meetings, OUP has in principle agreed to publish the basic PLASP data gathered throughout Pakistan. This would be a kind of a critically edited catalogue of country's private libraries, with an extensive

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LAUNCH OF NEW AIPS WEBSITE

In 2003 AIPS moved its website to a dedicated T-1 line in Philadelphia and launched a major upgrade project. The aim was to work systematically towards the construction of a comprehensive cyber-center of Pakistan Studies.

The territory and population of Pakistan carry the cultural heritage of millennia of interaction between the Central Asian Silk Route and the water-born trade of the Indian Ocean from East Africa to Indo-China and Indonesia. They have formed the crossroads not only between South and Central Asia, and West and East Asia, but also between Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. This online center was designed to become the first point of reference for any Pakistan related data search. The selection and organization of the data has been designed to represent Pakistan in its full world-historical context.

As the upgrade continues the central core will remain the programs and services of AIPS, with dedicated areas for official business, payment of dues, and members' discussions, along with full-text access to the Annual of Urdu Studies and Pakistan Studies News. However, both members and the general public will be drawn into direct interaction with a full range of data bases providing both raw data and syntheses of information on the internal history and culture of Pakistan, and on everything related to its larger regional context. There will be areas in Urdu and other Pakistani languages as well as English. The material will be organized to cater to the research interests of professional and specialized scholars in various disciplines, for the general public, and for outreach to K-12 and continuing education. Links to affiliated and other related organizations, such as American National Resource Centers, Overseas Resource Centers dealing with the surrounding region, and other institutions of research, education and public information in South and Central Asia, will be systematically monitored and updated. They will be supplemented by directories of scholars and their publications, in full-text where possible, course syllabi, slide collections, and bibliographies. We hope that by providing easy and well organized access to the range of material we will succeed in bringing Pakistan and related fields of interest into the general curriculum and satisfy the newly emerging demand for organized data that seems already to characterize the twenty first century. As international travel to the geographical focuses of our interest becomes fraught with restrictions and complications, we will show how interaction on all levels between people in the region and in the rest of the world can become easier and more detailed, without the impediments of distance and social and linguistic barriers.

An initial presentation of this work was given at the Madison South Asia Conference in 2003. A progress report
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PAKISTAN IN WORLD-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The Second Biennial International Pakistan Studies Conference
University of Pennsylvania Museum
April 29 to May 1, 2005

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies will hold the second conference in the series that was launched at Columbia University in April 2003 from noon Friday April 29 through noon Sunday May 1, 2005, in the University of Pennsylvania Museum for Archaeology and Anthropology, 3260 South Street, Philadelphia PA 19104.

Proposals are invited for panels and individual papers relating to new research and syntheses of material on Pakistan and related subjects.

Preference will be given to proposals that relate work on Pakistan and the cultural history of its people and territory to a larger regional, continental or global context, whether in the historical past or the globalizing present.

Proposals are being reviewed through December 30, 2004. They should be sent to:

American Institute of Pakistan Studies
Conference Coordinator
University of Pennsylvania Museum
3260 South Street,
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6398

Please note that proposals requiring participant travel from Pakistan should be submitted early in order to ensure timely issuance of U.S. visas.

Pre-registration will be available from January 1 to April 15, 2005 at
www.pakistanstudies-AIPS.org/conference/preregistration

INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP ON PAKISTAN'S SALT RANGE CULTURE ZONE

By RANDALL LAW

The Salt Range (Kohistani Namak) is a prominent feature on the geographic and cultural landscape of Pakistan. This remarkable landform has a geologic sequence spanning the Precambrian to the present-day and is the natural habitat of a wide range of unique plant and animal species. Because of its location along the routes connecting the Punjab Plain to the Hindu Kush and lands beyond, this mountain range has witnessed many of the most influential cultural events and processes that occurred over the course of South Asian prehistory and history. Important indigenous developments also took place there and today the various people residing in this region are part of a distinctive local tradition in what may be defined as the "Salt Range Cultural Zone."

The inspiration to hold a workshop focusing specifically on the Salt Range region grew out of conversations between AIPS scholar in residence Michael W. Meister and grantee Randall Law at the AIPS's offices in Islamabad during the summer of 2001. It was felt that such a workshop would help to draw scholarly attention to this unique region often overlooked in Pakistan Studies. The idea was to bring together experts and researchers working in the region today to share information and ideas relating to their various Salt Range-focused projects and specialties. Ultimately it was hoped that at such a meeting might help lay the groundwork for a large-scale conference to be held in Pakistan at some future date.

Thanks to generous support from the AIPS, five Pakistani scholars were able travel to the United States in April of 2004 for a multi-part workshop. The first session was held on April 24th at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, and co-sponsored by Penn's Department of South Asia Studies, the South Asia Center, and the AIPS. Workshop participants and attendees were welcomed by AIPS President Brian Spooner. Zulfikar Gilani, Rector, Foundation University, Islamabad, and Wilma Heston served as discussants. A second session was held on April 27th at the Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin – Madison and was co-sponsored by UW's Center for South Asia. A full range of topics relating to both the cultural and natural history of the Salt Range was covered by the workshops' Pakistani and American scholars at both sessions.

Professor Abdur Rehman, former chair of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar and now at the Department of History and Archaeology, Punjab University, Lahore, provided "A Walk Through the Salt Range" introducing temple complexes across the Salt Range at Bilot, Kafir Kot, Mari Indus, and Malot. Highlighted was the discovery of a new temple at the northern fortress of Kafir Kot in the western

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GANDHARA STONE CARVING: A LIVING ART OF PAKISTAN

By J. MARK KENOYER

Ghulam Mustafa and his son Mohammad Iftikhar Ahmed, of Taxila, Pakistan have been in the US since August 16, demonstrating the stone carving techniques of ancient Gandhara. They have given demonstrations for a course taught by Prof. J. Mark Kenoyer, on Ancient Technology and Invention at the University of Wisconsin, Madison as well as numerous public demonstrations in front of the Elehjem Museum of Art, UW Madison. They will be demonstrating their carving during the annual South Asia conference in Madison, and are traveling to San Francisco and U. C. Berkeley in November to give demonstrations on the west coast.

Stonemasons such as Ghulam Mustafa and Iftikhar Ahmad are devout Muslims, and would traditionally be involved in the carving of grinding stones and mortars, or in producing the decorative gravestones and mosque decorations common in northern Pakistan. However, the region of Taxila where they live is the center of the ancient Gandhara culture, famous for its carved stone sculptures dating from as early as the 1st to 3rd



century AD. Using the soft schist from the hills of Swat, ancient stone carvers produced many different styles of carvings for people of different religions and cultures. Most of the sculptures

were used in Buddhist monasteries and stupas, but we also see images made for use in Greek and Hindu temples. These same stone carvers were also involved in the manufacture of decorative architectural pieces as well as purely utilitarian objects used by people of all religions.

Today, as in the past, specialized craftsmen are involved in the production of commodities that help to provide them a livelihood. For over 100 years, archaeological excavations in northern Pakistan have uncovered broken sculptures and architecture that has been repaired and conserved by local stonemasons. Many of these individuals have gone on to produce exquisite replicas for sale to tourists and collectors. They also combine different images and scenes to create new works of art that were never present in the ancient repertoire. While this mixing and matching may be a nightmare for collectors and museum scholars, it very much reflects the types of syntheses that were happening along the ancient Silk Route as people from different cultures came together in major trade centers.

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UNDERGRADUATE ESSAY CONTEST

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies announces a college undergraduate essay contest for the year 2004. Prizes of \$100 each will be awarded for the two best essays on topics concerning Pakistan. A 500-word abstract of each winning essay will be published in Pakistan Studies News.

Essays may deal with any appropriate topic, e.g., history, culture, economy, government, archaeology, biography. Essays may be of any length, preferably 10-20 pages. They should be properly documented and should include the author's year in college and the name of his or her American undergraduate institution.

The contest will be judged by trustees of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies. Essays should be submitted before December 1, 2004 to:

Professor Russell Blackwood
Hamilton College
Clinton, NY 13323

Receipts of essays will be acknowledged. Essays will be returned only if accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

The South Asia Center, Department of South Asia Studies and AIPS
Co-sponsor

Penn South Asia Forum on

Contemporary Hindi and Urdu Women Poets

Featuring Poets: Gagan Gill (Hindi) and Shahida Hasan (Urdu)

On

Saturday, November 6, 2004

Venue: Logan Hall, Terrace Room

Time: 10am-4:00pm

The event is free and open to the public.
Pre-registration required

Please contact Haimanti Banerjee at haimanti@sas.upenn.edu to pre-register for the event by Monday, November 1st.

[Salt Range continued from p. 4]

Salt Range. Excavated in 1997 by Dr. Rehman, Michael Meister, and Farid Khan, evidence was recovered that showed two distinct building phases – a ninth-century AD Hindu-Shahi-dynasty extension added to an early seventh-century temple.

Dr. Adam Nayyar, Director, National Institute of Folk Heritage (Lok Virsa), Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, presented the “Sounds of the Salt Range: Music between the mountains and plains.” The distinctive musical traditions of the Salt Range Culture Zone developed in a core area that extended from Rawalpindi across the Potwar Plateau to Chakwal in the Salt Range proper. Dr. Nayyar discussed many of the traditional instruments of the region including the Potwari sitar and chimpta (fire tongs), while supplementing his presentation with videos of performances.

Shahbaz Khan, Director General of Archaeology, Government of Punjab, Lahore, provided workshop participants and attendees with an update regarding “New Archaeological discoveries in Salt Range Area.” Reconnaissance and survey projects over the last decade have resulted in the location of many new sites dating in time from the Paleolithic period to the Historic era. The discovery of several Early Harappan (Kot Dijian Period -2800 to 2600 BC) sites both within and just to the north of the Salt Range has greatly improved our understanding of settlement patterns between the Potwar Plateau and the Punjab Plain during that period of time.

Anis ur Rahman of the Himalayan Wild Life Foundation in Islamabad made two contributions to the workshop that reflected his wide ranging interests and commitments to the region. He first provided an overview of the “Ecology of the Salt Range” with a focus on the wildlife of the Mangla Lake area. Later, the topic shifted to “Cultural tourism in the Salt Range – the Rohtas Experience.” Conservation work at Sher Shah Suri’s enormous but long neglected fort has recently seen the restoration of Chandwali Gate, leading into the Under Kot portion of Rohtas. In an effort to make the ongoing conservation work financially sustainable various corporate sponsors have been secured and a program for tourists that includes live reenactments of Rohtas Fort’s historic past has begun.

Dr. Syed Rafiq ul Hassan Baqri, Director Earth Sciences Division, Pakistan Museum of Natural History, and Member, Pakistan Science Foundation, provided a summary of the “General Geology and Common economic minerals found in Salt Range.” Geologic strata exposed across this region cover a time period spanning approximately 650 million years. Featured among the extensive and varied economic mineral deposits of the greater Salt Range region are the famous salt mines of Khewra. Following the Madison portion of the

workshop, Dr. Baqi remained in the United States for several days in order to conduct new geologic studies of samples collected in the Salt Range during collaborative fieldwork with AIPS grantee (2000) Randall Law.

Dr. Michael W. Meister, W. Norman Brown Professor of South Asian Studies at the University of Pennsylvania spoke on “Fig Gardens of Amb-Sharif, Folklore and Archaeology,” introducing recently undertaken documentation of two important Salt-range temples and a fort at Amb, near Sakesar. The fort-walls show evidence of building from the time of the late Kushans; but the two surviving temples represent Hindu-Shahi-period construction in the ninth and tenth centuries. The large temple remarkably has two additional storeys within its towering *sikhara*. Folklore also was used to help frame the landscape and myth of Amb.

Randall Law, a PhD candidate in Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, provided an overview of “The Salt Range during the Prehistoric Period.” Finds of stone tools in Siwalik sediments and cave sites of the region indicate that it has been occupied since the Lower Paleolithic period. New research was presented that suggests the Salt Range region was an important source of raw materials for peoples of the Indus Civilization, especially those living at settlements on the Punjab Plain. Neutron activations analysis of chert artifacts and isotopic studies of alabaster artifacts found 250 kilometers to the south at Harappa indicate that many of these items derived from geologic deposits located in the Salt Range.

The organizers would like to thank all involved for making the first Salt Range workshops a success. We would especially like to recognize the support, encouragement, and assistance of Brain Spooner, Wilma Heston, Jody Chavez, and Haimanti Banerjee in Philadelphia, Mark Kenoyer, Vinay Dharwadker and Rachel Weiss in Madison, and Nadeem Akbar and the staff at the AIPS center in Islamabad. A publication featuring the contributions by all seven workshop presenters is currently being prepared. A full conference devoted to the cultural and natural history of the Salt Range is in the planning stages and is to take place in Islamabad at the earliest possible date. ■

**THE FUTURE OF PAKISTAN: THE POLITICS AND
ECONOMICS OF DEVELOPMENT IN PAKISTAN**

Monday November 8, 2004

**Kenney Auditorium
School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)
The Johns Hopkins University
1740 Massachusetts Avenue, NW,
Washington, D.C. 20036**

RSVP asharan@jhu.edu

[*President's Column continued from page 1*]

quality of scholarship can only benefit from the greater communication that it will facilitate.

The peak of attendance at the Columbia conference in April 2003 was slightly over 200. We assume that attendance will grow and are preparing accordingly. We will continue to accept proposals for papers and panels until the end of November. A draft program will be posted on the website early in the New Year, when pre-registration will also open. We expect a significant number of participants from Pakistan and from Europe and elsewhere.

In other activities we have also been concentrating attention on projects that will be attractive to scholars in other fields as they become aware of the larger significance of Pakistan Studies. The main AIPS activity over the past year has been the Private Library and Archival Survey Project (PLASP), which is being directed by Dr. S. Nomanul Haq. Dr. Haq's latest progress report appears on p. 2. Although our continuing efforts to obtain the necessary permission from the State Department and the U.S. Ambassador in Islamabad to resume the AIPS fellowship programs in Pakistan continue to meet with failure, we are allowed to maintain the AIPS Islamabad Center with Pakistani staff, and after long negotiation last spring and summer we were given permission to send Dr. Haq out to Pakistan as Scholar-in-Residence to work more intensively on PLASP. Dr. Haq will be working fulltime on this project for most of the current year with the objective of making significant progress towards the final goal of opening up many private Pakistani collections to international scholarship. PLASP was originally conceived as a way to help Pakistan become an active member of the Center for South Asia Libraries (CSAL—see below).

The other major activity over the past year has been directed towards the continued upgrading of the AIPS website. A report on this work appears elsewhere in this issue (p. 2). This work will also continue throughout the coming year, since we consider that, whatever the problems of coming and going between the U.S. and Pakistan, the website can become the most important asset not only of AIPS but for the field at large in coming years.

Otherwise, besides the continued publication of the Annual of Urdu Studies and this newsletter, we have been looking for ways to connect Pakistan Studies to other fields and other organizations with related interests. We continue to work closely not only with the Berkeley Urdu Language Program in Pakistan (BULPIP), which is still in operation in Lahore, the South Asia Language Resource Center (SALRC), and the Center for South Asia Libraries (CSAL), and we are still working towards the goal of collaborative projects with other American Overseas Research Centers in the region (Afghanistan, Bangladesh,

India, Iran, Sri Lanka), which may be of mutual interest and benefit. In other news, our members continue to visit Pakistan on non-U.S. funds, to carry out their research in various parts of the country, and to make use of the facilities of the Islamabad Center.

The Center Director has continued to organize lectures, seminars and receptions to facilitate interaction between visitors and local scholars. Pakistan's growing economy is generating cost increases both for individual research projects and for the AIPS Center. The cost of living and working in Pakistan is likely to increase significantly in relative terms in the coming years—an additional side effect of the other changes that concern us.

In the U.S. we are happy to welcome Dr. Tariq Rahman from Quaid-i-Azam University to a term in the new Pakistan Chair at U.C. Berkeley. Professor Rahman is already well known from his books, and his presence at Berkeley during the next three years will be significant for Pakistan Studies in the U.S. in general. Our Pakistan Lecture Series continues to bring scholars from Pakistan for shorter visits. Unfortunately, however, we have to report that because of visa problems the series of music events that had been scheduled for last March had to be cancelled. The visa situation has improved somewhat since then, but it is still advisable to apply for U.S. visas at least six months in advance.

Lastly, this issue of PSN coincides with a change in the most important office on the AIPS Board of Trustees: the Treasury. Dr. Wilma Heston, whose skill, industry and humor in this position over the past six years will be a model for future AIPS treasurers for years to come, is passing the responsibility on to Dr. Daisy Rockwell, who is AIPS Trustee for U.C. Berkeley. We thank Dr. Heston for her characteristic devotion to the task for so many years, and welcome Dr. Rockwell to a term in this crucial administrative position.

Otherwise, AIPS and the field it represents continue to grow in membership and visibility. Please send us your contributions for the next issue, which will appear in March, and will include full details of the Spring Conference.

BRIAN SPOONER
PRESIDENT

To submit news of interest relating to
Pakistan Studies please contact AIPS
at Info@PakistanStudies-AIPS.org

[PLASP continued from page 2]

introduction, description of holdings, annotations, and analytical indices.

In the most recent third meeting in Karachi, Ameena Saiyid enthusiastically received Nomanul Haq's proposal for a quick publication of PLASP identified rare and unique documents. The proposal is to begin an OUP series of elegantly produced volumes on Pakistan's archives, and this to be done under the advice of PLASP and with due credit to it. OUP has in principle accepted this proposal too.

Already, Nomanul Haq has prepared the groundwork for the acquisition of some exciting material from four sources. Most prominent among these are the literary archives of Mushfiq Khwaja, a rare document collection that happens to be unique in South Asia both in volume and value. Mushfiq Khwaja, the universally respected veteran scholar of Urdu literature, has now in principle consented to the public exposure of some of his jealously protected literary documents. Haq met him in late September along with Anwar Moazzam who is the director of the Urdu Documentation Center for the Center of South Asia Libraries in Hyderabad, India.

The collection of G. M. Syed remains yet another accessible archival source and Haq has negotiated the possibility of its publication with the holding's administrator. The private library of Pakistan's senior literary figure Jamil Jalibi, a library already surveyed by PLASP, has been found to contain a good deal of rare material. Jalibi, a former Chairman of the Muqtadira Qaumi Zuban, himself happens to be a member of the Advisory Committee of PLASP. His archives have in this way been opened for publication to PLASP. The fourth archival source that is now, in principle, PLASP accessible is the large collection of Sindh Archives. This public corpus contains one of the richest stores of rare material about Sindh in the Sindhi language. Its Director Kaleem Lashari too is a member of the PLASP Committee. ■

[Stone carvers continued from page 4]

Ghulam Mustafa and Iftikhar Ahmed first came to the US in 2002 as part of the Silk Road Festival sponsored by the Smithsonian Office of Folklife Programs. The stone sculptures they are working on here were brought over as part of that event, but were not completed. The American Institute of Pakistan Studies, the Center for South Asia, the Department of Anthropology and the Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin, Madison, have sponsored this current tour. Ghulam Mustafa and his son Iftikhar Ahmed recently completed a series of plaster and stone sculptures for the newly renovated Lok Virsa, Folk Heritage Museum in Islamabad.

For further information about the stone carvers and future demonstrations, please contact Professor J. Mark Kenoyer at 262-5696 (office), 238-8542 (home) or jkenoyer@wisc.edu. ■

[Webwork continued from page 2]

is being given at Madison 2004. We plan to give similar reports annually.

The work continues, and includes a wide range of fields: language and literature, history, library science, area studies and the various social sciences. The webteam for data gathering, checking, URL-monitoring, and graphic design has been centered in Madison and Philadelphia with contributions from elsewhere. Most of the work has been done by graduate students, especially James Caron, Jacqueline Fewkes, Abdul Nasir Khan, Tahir Naqvi, Rubab Qureshi, F. Z. Rizvi, Sakina Rizvi, with invaluable support from Derrick Cunningham of J-Lex Computers, which provides insures the site's maintenance and security. ■



You are cordially invited to attend a
reception celebrating the launch of
the new website of the
**American Institute of Pakistan
Studies**

Saturday, October 16, 2004

9:00-11:00 pm

**The Senate Room
Madison Concourse Hotel**

American Institute of Pakistan Studies

3260 South Street

Philadelphia, PA 19104

www.PakistanStudies-AIPS.org

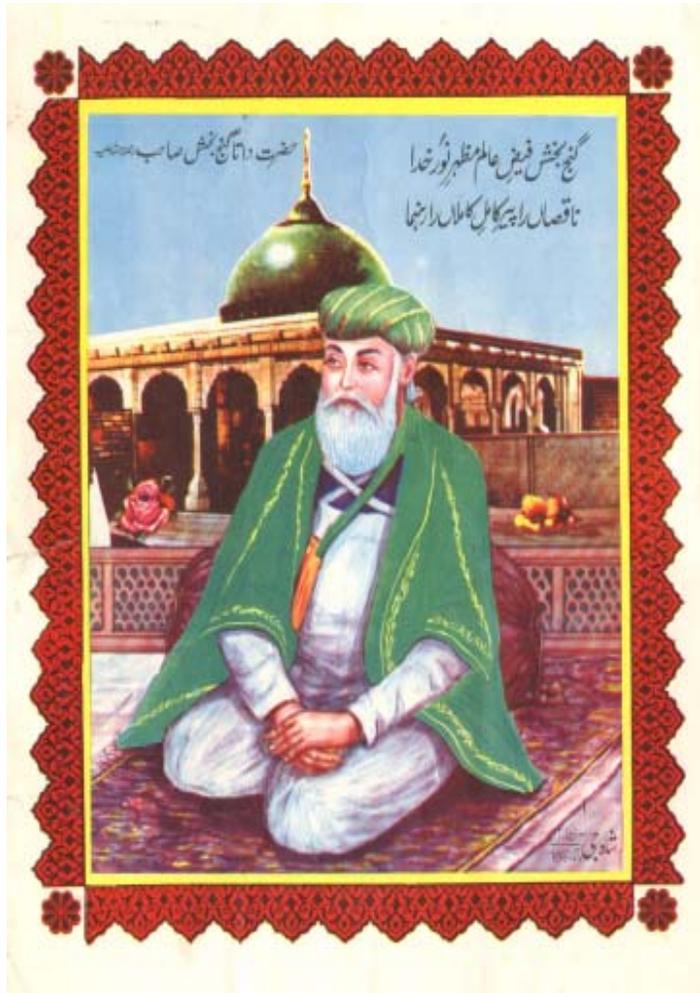


Fig. 1—*Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh Sahib*. Published early 1980s (?) by Shah Ji, Lahore

II. FROM ‘ALI IBN ‘UTHMAN HUIJWIRI TO HAZRAT DATA GANJ BAKHSH

‘Ali ibn ‘Uthman Hujwiri (d. 1071), to academics, represents one of the seminal figures in classical Sufism. According to Schimmel (1975), “Hujwiri’s important innovation is that he wrote his *Kashf al-Mahjub* in Persian and thus ushered in a new period in mystical literature.”²⁴ He was a scholar from Ghazni, who migrated to Lahore and eventually was buried there. As is generally the case with Sufi figures in South Asia, however, to his present-day supplicants (who cut across nearly all distinctions of age, gender, geography, and class, and who have made his shrine the most visited in all of Pakistan) he is known by a pseudonym, Data Ganj Bakhsh, the “blessed giver of treasure.”

I have begun the discussion of this poster with a small discussion of names for a purpose. The name Hazrat Data

Ganj Bakhsh, for many pilgrims, may in some sense allude to the *continuing presence* of the “Blessed Giver of Treasure,” who though physically dead is manifest and continues to provide intercession.⁵ The Persian couplet toward the top right comments on this: “Ganj Bakhsh, a blessing to the world, manifestation of God’s radiance/Guide to the deficient; leader to the most perfect of the perfect.” It could be argued that this functions like an epitaph, but I feel that it more actively represents an invocation, an identification with the present-day devotee as the person being guided. While it is probably the case that most people are familiar with the historical identity of Hujwiri as a famous scholar of Islam, the name “Data Ganj Bakhsh” is by far the more prevalent name in usage (and is the one on the poster) for the reason that it captures/invokes a *personality* in a way that the dry factualism of “‘Ali ibn ‘Uthman Hujwiri (d. 1071)” does not. And while the structure portrayed behind him on the poster is in one sense his mausoleum, the (by far) more common name for it is Data Darbar, the Data’s court or audience hall. While for some, a visit to this site may represent something like religious (or cultural heritage) tourism, much in the way one might visit the magnificent tomb of a king, this is not the case for the vast majority of visitors, who are pilgrims seeking intercession.⁶

The physical objects depicted in this poster replicate the experience of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh as manifest, alive in some sense while simultaneously not alive temporally. He is shown foregrounded and is the center, literally and semiotically, of the poster. He is in a posture of calm attention, plausibly though not necessarily receiving people. He is seated at his *gaddi*, the pillow-like cylindrical object behind him, which as a throne analog not only roots him in his darbar, but is also in South Asian Sufi tradition the locus of the continued spiritual authority. The *gaddi-nishin*, “he who sits at the gaddi,” is the living successor to the spiritual chain of the original *pir*⁷ of a shrine, as well as, more mundanely, its manager.

Behind the gaddi is a low lattice-work fence. Just as the gaddi places him as seated “in office,” this grill locates the scene of the foreground. It is the same grill to which visitors tie brightly colored strips of cloth or strings as part of a devotional act, the grill which encloses the space in the dargah where the tomb is located. It is ambiguous whether Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh is inside or outside the enclosed space; however, the simple fact of its inclusion is important. Beyond being linked to the “tomb” aspect of the dargah, which is also played up by the simile of the green robe with the commemorative *chador* laid upon the cenotaph by devotees, the lattice and the chador “mention” the devotional act as well as the physicality of the dargah, the place where the devotee can approach the *pir*.

This physicality is extended more outwardly by the inclusion of the monument in the background, the exterior of the dargah. It is a part of the physical as well as cultural landscape of

Lahore, a tangible edifice which *can be* visited. As Pinney (1997) notes, in relation to posters depicting Hindu deities, “the images become icons whose foundational rationale is an engagement with the viewer.”⁸ The visual mention of this structure aids in “localizing” the person of Hazrat Ganj Bakhsh and imbedding him into the immediacy of the devotee’s environment, whether this for the individual viewer be construed as Lahore, or Pakistan, or “South Asia.” This is so even though (or perhaps because) the *man* ‘Ali ‘Uthman Hujwiri was born many miles away and was intellectually a product of a court culture located across the Hindu Kush and no longer present. But there is not such an immediate engagement possible with a pir divorced from a devotee’s environment. It is this aspect I referred to in the introduction with Frembgen’s idea of “bringing home” the pir. In one sense Frembgen’s idea is echoed by Freitag (2001), writing about Hindu god images, when she quotes Berger: “The ‘highly tactile means [enable oil painting] to play upon the spectator’s sense of acquiring the *real* thing which the image shows’ (Berger 1972: 140-1).”⁹ But just as importantly, by placing the foreground of the poster into the physical landscape of Lahore, the mention of the dargah brings Data Ganj Bakhsh “home” to contemporary Lahore, and makes him accessible to all (South Asian) devotees as well as ‘possessible’ as part of a collective heritage.¹⁰

This last dimension, that of cultural heritage and the localization of a pir is accomplished in a slightly different fashion in the following poster, of the 12th century saint of Baghdad, ‘Abd al-Qadir Gilani. If the aspect of locality is necessarily a bit less powerful, the interpenetration of “real-time” and time’s transcendence, and the interpenetration of the past with the mutable present/future through devotional activity and the continued manifest presence of the pir, is very much more striking.

III. ‘ABD AL-QADIR GILANI: NARRATIVE AND TRANSCENDENCE

The image in Figs. 2 and 3, unlike the preceding one, represent a synoptic narrative. That is, they retell an event related to the personality of the *shaykh* of Baghdad, the founder of the earliest Sufi order, the Qadiriyya. Specifically, it represents a well-known miracle which was brought about through the intercession of ‘Abd al-Qadir Gilani.¹¹ The woman depicted to the left of the pir in both posters was a member of a certain family who had been celebrating a wedding. After the celebrations had ended, the males of the family were crossing the river depicted in the prints, when the boat in which they were traveling sunk. All were lost. The woman spent seven years as a widow in desolation, both spiritual and physical; she was left with no means of support. Eventually she sought the intercession of Shaykh Gilani; through his intercession the boat resurfaced with everyone safe and sound, and returned to shore.

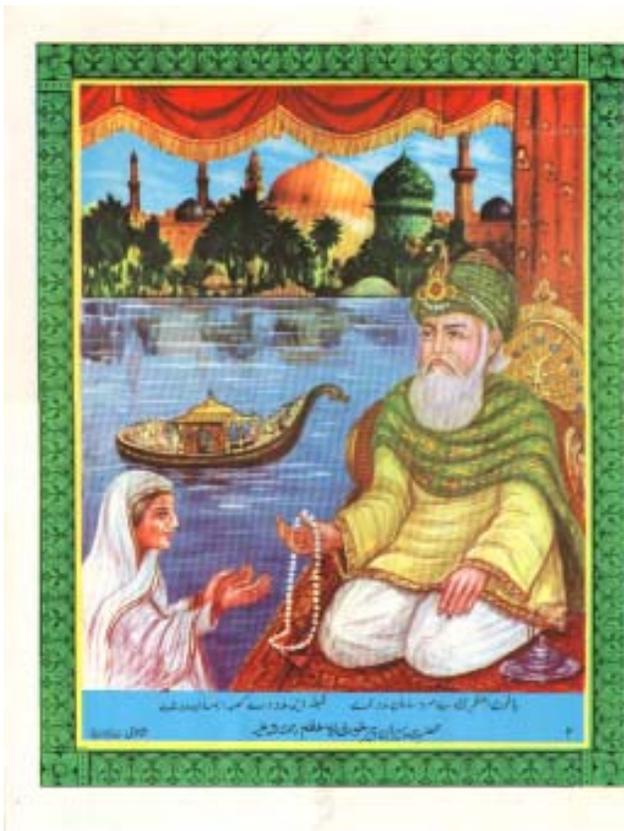


Fig. 2—*Hazrat-e Piran Pir Ghaus al-A'zam* (‘Abd al-Qadir Gilani). Published early 1980s (?) by Shah Ji, Lahore

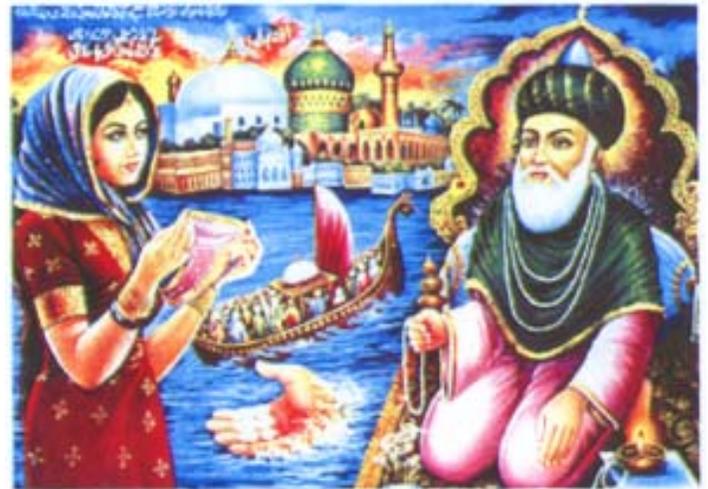


Fig. 3—*Hazrat-e Piran Pir Ghaus al-A'zam* (‘Abd al-Qadir Gilani). India. (reproduced from Centlivres & Centlivres-Demont (1997) p. 50)

The image, in both cases, depicts various stages in this drama simultaneously. Much like the image of Data Ganj Bakhsh, time is compressed in various ways. On the narrative level, the

moment of entreaty is depicted, with Shaykh Gilani seated at his gaddi. Simultaneously, in the mid-ground, the boat is depicted. In the first version (Fig. 2) it is unclear at which stage of the story this is taking place; in the second (Fig. 3), the saving force, represented in anthropomorphy by a mysterious hand, as well as, possibly, the slight upward angle of the boat, makes it clear that what is being depicted is the point in which the miracle is coming to its fulfillment.

As far as the consumer of this image is concerned, however, there are at least three simultaneous layers of time represented. The living, historical *pir* is present in his likeness, although it appears that the miracle took place through an act of devotion after the *pir*'s death. His mausoleum, in its present state, is also depicted, across the river, in the background of both images. However, there are two points which are important in the discussion of time. First is that, much in the same way as in the Data Ganj Bakhsh image, the layering of various points in time rather creates a unification, a simultaneity in the timelessness of the *pir* that is the whole point of logic in a devotional object such as this one. Second, and related to the first point, is that the devotee is also present here, which injects this timelessness into the present of *the devotee's experience*. The devotee was present in the Data Ganj Bakhsh image through the inclusion of the latticework fence and the chador. In this image, the devotee is included by proxy in the very nature of the depiction: it depicts an incidence of this happening to another devotee, with whom the viewer can identify. It ends at that extent in the poster in Fig. 3; however, in the upper image, Fig. 2, there is also the inclusion of an Urdu caption labeling the personality as Shaykh Gilani, above which there is the following small prayer: "Oh Ghaus-e A'zam, with this entreaty give help to those with nothing/ Qibla of the religion, give help; Ka'aba of faith, give help." This more or less unambiguously brings the devotional aspect of the poster into even sharper relief, in addition to extending the simultaneity of the narration, and the *pir*'s presence, into the devotee's present.

However, even beyond the devotee's experienced present, there is some commonality with this image and the Data Ganj Bakhsh image in that both express a geographic connection as well. In the image of Data Ganj Bakhsh, this is almost a given, in that the tangible monument to connected to him is located in Lahore, and is thus within reach; its mention in the image may reinforce the experience of this. This is not the case with Shaykh Gilani, however, whose tomb lies in Baghdad, and is far removed culturally, temporally, and geographically. Nonetheless this dislocation is really a non-point; while it is a point of discussion for us, it is probably not something that comes up in the mind of the viewer. He is *not* disconnected culturally from the South Asian devotee, precisely because he *is* part of the culture-scape. In this image, the basic vocabulary is South Asianized: the widow wearing white, in a more or less identifiably South Asian female outfit; the royal finery of Shaykh

Gilani; and other aspects mark its conceptual, if not physical location. But this is most likely not designed to pull Shaykh Gilani into South Asia, as it were, but is rather 'background' that flows from the pre-existing spiritual and cultural connection that has developed to Gilani within South Asia. That is to say, it is an aspect that should probably be viewed as re-iterative of this, not (only) iterative.

This is further reinforced by the prayer addressing Gilani as the *qibla* of religion (*dim*) and the *ka'aba* of faith (*iman*). This image's foundational logic of engagement of the viewer is consonant with the foundational logic of the *qibla*, the (marked or unmarked) direction of Mecca which orients the worshipper, in its relationship with the *Ka'aba*, the black square building in Mecca towards which Islamic ritual prayer is aligned. The presence of the *qibla*, even if determined internally, requires intention of focus, and in some way is the immediate experienced object which renders the unseen *Ka'aba* "semi-physical" in the environment of the worshipper. In a similar fashion, the image as an engaged object strengthens the "semi-physicality" of Shaykh Gilani as the focus of his devotee, transcending time and space rather more sharply than in the Data Ganj Bakhsh image, but, similar to that image, not overwhelming them completely.

But the *qibla* and the *Ka'aba* as spiritual centers, with their analog in Gilani, is an idea worth returning to. Shaykh Gilani is a spiritual center in another way as well, which leads into the third poster in this discussion. 'Abd al-Qadir Gilani is the more or less undisputed founder of *tariqah* (order) Sufism (as opposed to individualized asceticism which existed before him). He is the ultimate starting point (or point of destination, depending on the direction of narrative) in the collective genealogy of all Sufi orders, and his order, the Qadiriyya, remains among the most popular in South Asia.

IV. GENEALOGY COLLAGE: SYNTHESIS, NO CONTRADICTION?

The final poster in this discussion (Fig. 4) features 'Abd al-Qadir Gilani prominently, but in addition, it also includes around thirty or so other individuals from almost all the major orders in South Asia. One of the main points of interest here is that it is, formally speaking, a collage made up of images reproduced from a wide variety of sources, including the images from Figs. 1 and 2,¹² as well as from other similar posters (several attested from Frembgen's article), from retouched photos, and in one case, a depiction of the famous (or notorious, depending on one's opinion) Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, from a retouched picture of Jesus of European origin.

It seems likely that, much like the cases of both Hindu god images and Muslim-centric posters from Arab countries, recycling is very common, creating a somewhat unified vocabulary of representation, and even the imaginary face of

some of the older saints has thus become an ‘authoritative’ version to some extent.¹³ I asked Aslam Syed about the



Fig. 4—Early 1980s (?) no other details available.

iconography of the personalities here, in an early attempt at positive identification (see later discussion on the partial fallacy of this endeavor). He said that he was able to identify many of them only because he had seen the exact same images in other, solo representations. Some of these images are so common that the ones on this poster are to be found on such diverse media as product labels and postage stamps, and form a sort of commonly-agreed vocabulary: a picture is one of Barri Imam, for example, because that is what pictures of Barri Imam specifically look like.

Similar to the previous discussions, in this poster there is a simultaneity of historical actuality and its transcendence, which is even stronger here. It represents in a very important sense a historiography, incorporating the same sort of expressions of time and transcendence present in the other images, but in this one, rather than a single saint, the telos of a developing/developed and existing subcontinental sufism, especially that of the Indus Valley, is dominant (or maybe central would be a better word).

Is there justification for a reading of this as a historiography? It is not an object engaging devotion to any one pir, or indeed any one order, though it does place ‘Abd al- Qadir Gilani in a privileged position; this is more likely, to my thinking, due to his position as the founder of tariqa Sufism. It could be argued, *against* a historiographical reading, that it (as well as the other images) represents for many people more of an ‘auspicious’ object to have in their house than a functional icon. This is bolstered by the *ta’wiz* (numerological chart, usually to exert some sort of positive influence) present underneath the Qur’an at the top of the picture (as well as the Qur’an itself, and the photos of the Prophet’s mosque in Medina and the Ka’aba). Along this line of argument, just the fact of having one of these pictures, especially this one, is the key point, not the subject

matter, and certainly not the exegetical meanings engaged in this essay.

However, I would argue, as in the previous section, that the point is not that these pictures were specifically designed to articulate a statement about time and place, but that they reiterate a point (or points) already present in public discourse regarding the subject matter, as well as the implications that pir- and dargah-related religious practice have for perceptions of sacred time and place.¹⁴ Inasmuch as this can be said, I feel that these are ‘readable’ images, to at least some extent.

What is exemplary in this poster, at first glance, is the range of the personalities depicted. Their names are listed on the periphery of the poster, so that it is not in every case possible to ascertain which name fits which picture. Some of these would be readily identifiable to almost anyone, by virtue of the ‘vocabulary’ mentioned above. Many would not. From the names, as well as the costumery, however, the range of inclusion is available for any observer to note. Ascetics and *be-shbar*¹⁵ malangs, often portrayed as sharing much with extra-Islamic ascetic practice, are sandwiched between Punjabi and Seraiki poets positively valued as cultural foundations of Pakistan (or Punjab) as well as spiritual figures and Naqshabandi and Suhrawardi “sober” pirs¹⁶ from Central Asia. Added to this, to cite some specific examples, are revered personages with hugely popular shrines in Delhi; 20th century large landholding *sajjada nishins*¹⁷ of southwestern Punjab; anti-ruler rural pirs often recast in the contemporary scene as medieval proponents of land reform; and nationalist politicians/members of the pre-Independence Muslim League. All of these are included in this poster not in their dissimilarity but rather by virtue of their similarity: their contribution to Sufism and their sharing of a place of prominence in the intellectual and spiritual (and ritual) scene of Islam in South Asia. It renders many conceptual boundaries, often commented upon by western academics as well as many of the included personalities themselves, insignificant: the boundaries between ‘high vs low’, ‘establishment vs anti-’, ‘classical vs folk’, ‘outside (i.e. Delhi; Ajmer Sharif; other sites in India such as Nagpur and Gujarat; Central Asia) vs Indus valley.’ By including scholars from such orders as the Suhrawardiyyah and Naqshabandiyyah who represent that part of Islam often considered antithetical to the practices of “pir-ism,” the image engages the subject of pir-ism, and problematizes it. It seems to be, *in addition to* (not excluding, *per se*) the other readings tentatively approached above, to be about Sufism as a concept representative of how people choose to identify themselves *in relation to others*. Freitag, again in her discussion of Hindu god images, writes:

“Most central to our discussion here, however, is the emergence of acts of consumption of popular culture artefacts, based as they are on ‘the consumer’s attachment of inner feelings to objects, and

to his consequent ability to shape his own identity through the process of buying (consuming) those objects' (Gilmartin 1991: 130, n. 10)

"Consumption as an act of identity lies, then, at the heart of our study; it directs our attention to the nexus between consumption and nationalism. Overlapping circles of activity at the turn of the century in British India, consumption and nationalism each prompted individuals to make choices that allied them with others- others who could be defined equally through these creative identity choices as fellow members of an ambiguously delineated but nevertheless shared group."¹⁸

There is, indeed, some element of 'nation' in this poster. It does include 'elsewhere,' in the manifestations of 'elsewhere' listed above. But the *core* of this image, and the 'culmination point' of the genealogical narrative is centered more or less on that region figured in many dominant constructions as the cultural heartland of Pakistan, Punjab/Sindh. As before, the point must be made that there is little likelihood that in the early 1980s, this poster was specifically designed for this purpose. That is, it does not carry this sense by design, but carries it as a by-product of a cultural situation. Thus this need not immediately be a Punjab-centric print in *essence*, but if Punjabi-centrism as defining Pakistan's cultural heritage¹⁹ is simply obvious or taken as a given, due to other fields in public discourses, then this sense does not *need* to be manufactured.

That said, however, the group, 'ambiguously delineated but nevertheless shared,' is in this visual reiteration not as closely tied to images of the nation as is the subject matter of Freitag's discussion. I would put forward the idea that it might be more about identifying oneself with others who respect the tradition, and in many ways the specific relationship, informing (and being informed by) the poster, of tradition to 'the past'. The 'ambiguous delineation' is evidenced by not only the wide ideological splits of the personalities included in the print, but also by the fact that it can incorporate, or be accessed by, a very broad range of people outside the print. Even President Zia-ul-Haq, for many observers a puritanical latter-day Aurangzeb,²⁰ can interface with the 'shared group' when he pays his respects to Khwaja Mu'in al-Din Chishti in Ajmer when on diplomatic trips to India.

But why bother to make the point of the posters' simultaneity of historical specificity with transcendent immanence, which has been the focus of this essay prior to the discussion of community? Or more to the point, how do these two aspects mesh? This simultaneity is expressed in this poster somewhat differently than in the other two, but that does not mean it is absent. Here, while the figures are identified through captions

on the periphery, and while it is possible to positively identify some of their depictions, that is not the case with all of them. It seems, when this is incorporated into the other features of discussion, that the historical component of the poster is not fundamentally about positive identification at all. Rather, it articulates a view of 'continuity of purpose' in tradition, the past *as related to the formation of the present* (and vice-versa), and trying to read it as positive (or positivist) history, even one with genealogy as a center, in my view misses the point. It is this aspect, an outlook as to the importance/significance of specific aspects of the history of Islam as expressed in this poster, to which I refer in the previous paragraph when I mention that the most salient point might be one of respect to this tradition. It is not (just) the tradition *itself* which is in question, but an approach to historiography which invokes this simultaneity of time, place, and purpose as its center. But the fact that respect/valuation could be brought up here clearly invites discussion of the converse, i.e. disrespect/devaluation.

V. CONCLUSION

One implicit (though as yet undiscussed) point which doubtless weighs upon the entire discussion, for any reader familiar in a general way with Islam, is the orthodox prohibition against depiction of animate objects (people, or animals large enough to cast a shadow) in Islam. This shapes attitudes of at least some members of society toward the genre, and is related by association to other criticisms of those who hold an opposing viewpoint. The specific criticism or valuation of imagery (and specifically "popular" or "mass" forms) draws upon reference to a *larger* constellation of practices, ideas, and social conditions, and (differing in actual content from individual to individual) links some or all of these. This linkage draws a bounded category which I have broadly labeled for the time being as "devotionalism," or a devotional approach to religion. Criticism of imagery also takes weight from these categories of grouped phenomena, which are further referenced to people or groups of people. To the extent that this attitude toward devotional imagery, and by extension, devotion, is held by some members of society, it impacts upon all; one of the main points which this section will argue *against* is the idea of alternative or autonomous social spheres with their separate functioning ideologies.

That said, it is possible to read cosmological, and historiographical, as well as ideological, positions in these posters which are at odds with other positions enjoying more social status. Thus, I have attempted to trace a transcendental historiography of purpose in the posters here because I do believe there is one to be traced.

But while I have traced this historiography, which I think is an endeavor valid on one level, I have also organized the discussion, by a carefully chosen order of presentation of the posters, into an outward radiation of subjectivity and

intertextuality with other spheres of society. For although certain ideas in the posters can be traced, the posters themselves, especially the third, are not reducible to any one position or any one function/usage at any stage. Indeed, the images here articulate many different ideas simultaneously. Further, they do not exist in a vacuum just as the producer of the image did not, nor does the viewer. The producer and viewer to some extent share a social experience, which is the total accumulated product of a wide variety of perspectives, interests, and emotions. As far as negative valuations are concerned, two concern us here, and they are fairly complex. The first, as alluded to before, is “orthodoxy.” The second is upper-middle class cosmopolitanism and modernist historiography.

The relationship between “orthodoxy” and “heterodoxy” in Pakistan is (for non-Pakistanis) one of the most complex, and therefore least understood, aspects of social life there. Many of the personalities included in the collage are representative of a legalistic approach which has no less claim to the label of Sufism than does the ecstatic approach of the *malang* (in fact those representatives of the Naqshabandi order would likely argue that they have a much *better* claim, and that most *malangs* are degenerate in some way). Nor is the frequently encountered bifurcation of Sufi tolerance and legalist intolerance applicable here; some of the most ecstatic practitioners have been among the most zealous warriors against non-Muslims, while the converse is also true. But the real point is that attitudes toward Sufism are not unified, not even in individuals, since the group is, as evidenced in the collage, ambiguously delineated. Thus, there is little reason to be surprised at Zia-ul-Haq’s pilgrimage to Ajmer, or little reason to believe that he accessed the ‘tradition’ described here in an ‘instrumental’ fashion, as claimed by some. It is rather a matter of *which specific attributes* of “Sufism” does one accept or not. On the level of a constructed orthodoxy, figurative imagery is one of those. But it is not simply the imagery; it is also the matter of the immanent historiography, conflicting with one of positive Islamic history based on the *facts* of hadith and sunna as the only necessary (or welcome) guide to morality, an approach which overpowers metaphysics or immanence. This is an approach which developed at various points in Islamic history, but has been strengthened in the present scene not due to an escapist medievalism, as some commentators have hypothesized, but due to its close affinities to the positivism in modernism. Both are middle- and upper-class phenomena, and it is the conceptual alliance, though it often goes unnoticed, of these two which has cross-referenced the traits of metaphysics, ‘devotion,’ ‘Sufism,’ and ‘folk,’ and injected this understanding into the public debate. All of this informs *anyone* when they approach an image such as these; inasmuch as these images (and the idea of figurative representation itself, as well as the more constructed category of these as ‘folk art’) have something identifiable as ‘Sufism’ as their subject matter. I might tentatively suggest that

the collage poster in some way directly addresses this dichotomization as a problematic one.

But beyond the society as a whole, even individuals can simultaneously value these bundles of signifiers positively and negatively. This is why there can be such a range of attitudes toward the imagery itself, even beyond the subject matter. It was stated previously that there is very little limit to the range of ideas put forth in these images. Even for those who on some level consider figurative imagery to be ‘un-Islamic,’ strictly speaking (and that being ‘un-Islamic’ is a bad thing, which cannot be assumed), there can be many levels on which this genre is appreciated, very genuinely.

What is for some an expression of transcendent historiography expressed through acts of devotion is for others a depiction of the cultural heritage of Pakistan, or alternatively, what they perceive as the finest spirit of Islam’s history as represented in historically specific persons worthy of respect. In this last case, the transcendent historiographical element is a metaphorical one, one of ideas, not the very real presence of the *pir* as experienced by the devotee. Those individuals can read the element of simultaneity every bit as skillfully; it is just that it takes on a different meaning. For yet others, a positive valuation stems from connoisseurship. And finally, for some, positive valuations can stem from feelings of sympathy with those who *do* engage the images as part of devotional practice. For these latter, the images are positively valued not intrinsically but as the ‘genuine’ expression of the mass (these last perspectives being largely the domain of the cosmopolitanized portion of the upper and middle classes, of Pakistan as well as other countries, circles where these are viewed as ‘folk’).

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(Footnotes)

¹ I was lent these posters by Mr. Muhammad Sa‘id Qureshi, who obtained them in Thandlianwale (a town near Faisalabad) as a gift from a friend who had traveled to Lahore and bought them, along with others, near the Shahi Masjid in that city.

² Frembgen 1998, p. 186.

³ Ibid. 188.

⁴ Schimmel 1975, p. 88.

⁵ Indeed, the title “Hazrat” literally means something like “presence,” though in *significance* it is rather more of an honorific title for spiritual people, generally *not* having anything to do with “presence”.

⁶ Cf. Ewing (1997), especially chs. 3 and 4, for a varied discussion of devotionism surrounding Data Darbar.

⁷ That is, the personality buried there. The word “saint” is far too loaded, and too uneven a match, to be a suitable translation for “pir,” though it is the one most often given.

⁸ Pinney 1997, p. 860.

⁹ Freitag 2001, p. 54.

¹⁰ In fact, this seems to be a distinguishing factor in specifically South Asian Islamic-themed poster art. In Centlivres/Centlivres-Demont’s 1997 thematic collection of such art from many Arab countries as well as from South Asia (where many or most of the very major personalities in this sort of depiction are of Central Asian origin), it is striking that the posters of saints from Arab countries *do not* include the shrine, with one possible exception. Furthermore, a related genre, that which depicts only the dargah, is represented in the publication *exclusively* by Indian and Pakistani prints, excepting a poster of the Ka‘aba from Syria. Too much can certainly be read into this, and I may approach doing so in this essay, but it is interesting even as a point of stylistic divergence if nothing else, in which the South Asian Islam-centric images share more commonality with South Asian Hindu-centric images, due to a shared heritage of poster-art vocabulary, than they do with images from other areas of the Muslim world.

¹¹ This story was recounted to me by Bibi Gulzar Qureshi, the wife of the owner of the poster reproduced as Fig. 1.

¹² The image of Shaykh Gilani is apparently repainted, using the image in Fig. 2 as a source, while the one of Data Ganj Bakhsh is a matter of direct cut and paste.

¹³ I asked Aslam Syed about the iconography of the personalities here, in an early attempt at positive identification (see later discussion on the partial fallacy of this endeavor). He said that he was able to identify many of them only because he had seen the exact same images in other, solo representations. Some of these images are so common that the ones on this poster are to be found on such diverse media as product labels and postage stamps, and form a sort of commonly-agreed vocabulary: a picture is one of Barri Imam, for example, because that is what pictures of Barri Imam specifically look like.

¹⁴ The interactions of this expression of time and space with other expressions of sacred time and space, as well as with expressions which self-consciously exclude a relationship to anything sacred,

are very complex, and are briefly and tentatively addressed in section V.

¹⁵ Often translated as ‘antinomian’ these are ascetics who do not follow the positive (“Thou shalt...”) prescriptions and break the negative (“Thou shalt not...”) prescriptions of religion.

¹⁶ Often held to be the ‘antithesis’ in some way to the be-shar‘ mendicants in the preceding note. They were often jurists as well, and in their practice of Sufism they advocated less emphasis on external rituals such as music, or even the vocalized (as opposed to internal) recitation of God’s names. They were, and are, nonetheless, also practitioners of the ‘spiritual path’ no less than other Sufis, though they often viewed other orders or nonaffiliated asceticism as corrupt or corrupting.

¹⁷ A variant on, and synonym of, the gaddi nishin.

¹⁸ Freitag 2001, p. 36

¹⁹ Especially since the Bhutto era and the ‘5000 years of Pakistan’ thesis which came to prominence then.

²⁰ Which is itself a problematic drawing of categories, and one which I attempt to address in a preliminary fashion at least, in the following section.

FORTUNE-TELLING PARROTS OF PAKISTAN AND SINGAPORE

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My first encounter with a fortune-telling parrot took place in India in 1991. This was in Andhra Pradesh, in the city of Hyderabad. My attention was drawn to an elderly Hindu (his forehead marked with the paste-stripes of a Vishnu devotee) seated on the sidewalk in a busy commercial district. Beside him was a large shrouded cage. When I approached, he removed the shroud, revealing a handsome brilliant-green parrot. On a mat before the cage was arranged a long row of overlapping envelopes.

The parrot-master explained that for five rupees his bird would select an envelope the contents of which might offer me wise counsel or a glimpse of my future. For five rupees this sounded like a good deal, so I said all right. By way of sample the man opened several envelopes and showed me what was inside. Each envelope contained a devotional card picturing Shiva or Lakshmi or Krishna or one of the other Hindu gods. The master took my five rupees and asked me my name. He opened the cage door, showed his parrot the money, and repeated to it my name. The bird hopped out and paced three times back and forth over the line of envelopes. Then it paused and made its choice. With its beak it tugged free an envelope and fluttered to the shoulder of its master. The man opened the envelope.

It held two cards. One showed a copy of the Koran, surmounted by Arabic lettering that proclaimed “the glorious Book.” The second card depicted a familiar scene from Christian iconography: Christ on the cross, flanked by the sorrowing figures of Saint Joseph and the Blessed Virgin Mary. As a Catholic who happens to be a researcher in the

field of Islamic studies, I found the parrot's choice of cards to be a good summary of my religious identity and my professional life. I was impressed.

But it wasn't until March 2004, during a trip to Pakistan that included a stopover in Singapore, that I was able to give more attention to the world of fortune-telling parrots. This world is extensive, ranging (based on what I have seen) from the Pakistani Punjab to India and Southeast Asia. I have also come across references to fortune-telling parrots as far afield as Calcutta and Kuala Lumpur—basically, the realm of Indian culture and the Indian diaspora. For convenience I use the term 'parrot' to describe this creature, but the bird most typically used by fortune-tellers (to judge by what I have seen) is one of the smaller members of the parrot family, the rose-ringed parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*).

In Singapore the best place to go for fortune-telling parrots is the neighborhood known as Little India. I saw several hard at work on Serangoon Road, in the vicinity of the Sri Veerama Kaliamma Temple. All the parrot-masters I encountered there were Tamil Hindus, whose families originated in India's Tamil Nadu State. As in Hyderabad, the bird's technique was to select a fortune from a row of envelopes. But in Singapore each envelope contained not only a Hindu-deity devotional card but also a slip of paper bearing a fortune printed in Tamil on one side and in English on the other. This bi-lingualism seemed necessary, given the clientele, which included local Malays, Chinese, and Indians, as well as tourists from around the world. With regard to tourism, it is worth noting that various 'Visit Singapore' websites and tour groups in Singapore promote 'parrot astrologers' as one of the advertised attractions and must-see items in itineraries to the island.

My first parrot-fortune in Singapore read as follows: "The wheel of fortune turns to the phase of a yogi, abiding only in his prayer. Whatever will be your wish, it will be granted. Your enemies will vanish and you will be as powerful as an enchanted steed, because of the merit of the prayer." The next card selected for me announced, "You are currently worrying about a specific problem. In fact your life in the recent past has been full of hardships." It went on, however, to offer the reassurance that these problems were "mainly due to the unfavourable position of your star" and that "all your worries will soon become things of the past." A third card suggested that I "avoid quarreling and gambling." "In the long run," it promised, I would be "very happy."

Despite this warning against gambling, Little India's parrots can also be induced to help with the selection of "lucky numbers." The birds pick a card from specially marked decks to help individuals play their hunches in Singapore's lottery or in off-track racecourse betting.

The fortune-telling parrots of Pakistan's Punjab function similarly—up to a point. In Lahore they can most easily be found on the footpaths of Ravi Road near the Data Darbar (because of the volume of pilgrim traffic to this Sufi site). They also cluster in the vicinity of Minar-e Pakistan, opposite the entrance of the shrine of Hazrat Sher Shah Vali, on Circular Road. I interviewed eight parrot-masters at these sites in the course of a few days. In Rawalpindi I encountered members of this profession who had set up their business on the Ganjmandi Bridge, in the vicinity of Raja Bazaar.

Like their counterparts in India and Singapore, the parrot-masters I met in Pakistan have trained their birds to select a fortune from a row of envelopes arrayed before prospective clients on the footpath. In Lahore most such vendors advertise their presence via Urdu-language placards, each of which typically is illustrated with a brightly painted parrot that holds in its beak an envelope. One such placard I saw reads "Islami fal-nama ('Islamic book of oracles/omens'). Tota-fal panch rupae ('parrot oracle, five rupees'). Qur'ani fal das rupae ('Koranic oracle, ten rupees')."

The term fal-nama links the parrot-masters of Lahore with the centuries-long history of divination in popular Islamic culture. In the medieval era fal-nama ("book of omens") referred to a genre of texts that guided diviners in interpreting dreams, taking auguries from the behavior of animals, finding the mystical significance of numbers and letters, etc.



One placard-advertisement I saw in Lahore made the claim that this practice of "Islamic divination" was created by the "holy prophets and noble companions of the Prophet Muhammad." Another assured customers that the oracles on offer were "free of any taint of frivolous matters (jo fazool baton se pak hayn)." Such advertising hints at a certain anxiety and defensiveness concerning the orthodoxy of divination and parrot fortune-telling in contemporary Pakistan, a point to which I return below.

As the placard described above indicates, the more expensive service available in Lahore involves a Qur'ani fal. This entails an oral consultation, wherein the fortune-teller refers to a "Koranic oracle book" in guiding the client. The two texts I saw most in use are Iqbal Ahmad Nuri's Shama'-e Shabistan and the Fal-nama-ye Qur'ani of Maulana Arshad Sahib. Very inexpensive editions of both texts are currently sold in Lahore's Urdu Bazaar.

Another text I found in Lahore's Urdu Bazaar, an anonymous pamphlet entitled Qur'at al-Qur'an ("The Koranic Oracle"), offers thirty-two different "prophetic" oracles, each listed beneath the name of an Islamic prophet. Preceding these oracles is a chart tabulating the names of these same thirty-two prophets. The chart arranges these names one beneath another in a diagram comprising four columns, with eight names in each column. The fortune-teller, after performing the wudu' (ritual ablution), invoking God's name, and reciting the Fatihah (the Koran's first chapter) three times, closes his eyes and taps the chart of names with his index finger. The prophetic name thus chosen at random indicates which oracle is to be read out loud to the client. The Qur'at al-Qur'an's anonymous author assures readers that this form of divination was invented by the prophet Daniel.

If the client opts for the tota-fal, then the oracle is chosen by the parrot rather than by human agency. As mentioned above, the bird selects a fortune from a row of envelopes. Each envelope contains a slip of paper comprising a photocopy of a divinatory pronouncement from one or another Urdu oracle-book.

Following is an oracle selected for me by a parrot outside Lahore's Data Darbar shrine: "Number 31: Lord Moses, peace be upon him. An Islamic oracle: O holder of the oracle, you are afflicted with great grief and sorrow, but soon your cares will be over. Your poverty will change to wealth, your problems to joy. Although you consort with pure-hearted people, certain individuals harbor enmity for you. But they will not be able to harm you. Your star is about to shine with prosperity."

The pronouncement concludes with an invocation found on many Lahori printed oracles: Aur kaho in sha' Allah ta'ala ("And say: If God most exalted wills it").

Another oracle from a Data Darbar parrot states: "Your situation is certainly complicated, but God will make it easy. No harm will come to you from any enemy. But you, for your part, should not stir up any conflict or quarrel. If you comply with this and are patient, your heart's desire will be fulfilled."

A third Lahori oracle described my current status as "not good" but then advised me, "Endure these days with patience and gratitude and do not neglect your acts of worship."

Like the parrot-fortunes I encountered in Singapore, the oracles I was offered in Lahore and Rawalpindi follow a certain pattern. They refer in general terms to the client's current difficulties but are melioristic in tone: they offer an optimistic view of the future, coupled with common-sense advice as to behavior (be patient, don't pick fights, etc.). The Pakistani fal-

texts also remind clients to fulfill their religious obligations ("do not neglect your acts of worship") while reassuring them of Allah's ultimate protection. Overall, the language is formulaic, the tone one of orthodox Islamic piety.

The parrot-masters I encountered in Pakistan came from a variety of backgrounds. One man I met in Rawalpindi is a middle-aged Pathan from the North-West Frontier Province. He learned his trade, he told me, from his father. A sixty-year-old I spoke to near Lahore's Data Darbar lost his first job due to illness and was advised by friends to take up the oracle-



trade because, so he told me, it would allow him to earn money "without having to move around too much." An eighteen-year-old near Minar-e Pakistan told me that the parrot-work was his "second job." He also worked in an office, he said, and he had learned the oracle craft from other footpath practitioners.

What all the parrot-masters I met have in common is the ability to read. This, they agreed, is the most important skill needed for the job, as many of their clients are illiterate and unable to read the oracles offered to them.

But this is not the only skill possessed by the parrot fortune-tellers. Some read palms; others make amulets. Many fortune-tellers offer advice in choosing one's "lucky number," "lucky day," or a propitious gemstone to be set into a ring. One parrot-master I met in Rawalpindi sells small plasticized holy cards that depict various talismanic motifs: Dhul fiqar (the Imam Ali's sword), Ayat al-kursi (the Koranic "throne verse"), even Zuljenah (the Imam Husain's horse).

All the parrot-masters I met insisted on the antiquity of their trade. One of my Lahori informants claimed that parrot fortune-telling in the Punjab "dates back to the time of the English, to the Moghuls." He said that he himself had been doing this work for over forty years. The Pathan I met in Rawalpindi told me that he remembered his father using a parrot for oracle-giving in the 1940's, in the days before independence and the partition of the subcontinent.

But I have not been able to find specific textual evidence to document how far back the use of parrot oracles goes. For example, John Lockwood Kipling's Beast and Man in India (London, 1891) discusses the public entertainments offered by Delhi's "performing parrots" but says nothing of parrots as fortune-tellers. At most I have come across a number of literary works in which parrots play a role. Medieval storytellers are

fond of describing parrots as counselors and domestic spies (as in the *Arabian Nights* tale of “The Jealous Husband and the Parrot”). Rajab ‘Ali Beg’s nineteenth-century Urdu work, *Fasana-ye ‘aja’ib*, features a wise parrot that “knew how to converse with courtesy and good taste.” In this narrative the parrot gladdens the heart of a young prince named Jan-e ‘Alam with “fascinating tales and wondrous stories.” And when Jan-e ‘Alam preens himself on how handsome he is, the parrot is the only member of the prince’s court brave enough to speak the truth and reprove the young man for his vanity. Thereafter the bird acts as Jan-e ‘Alam’s guide in the prince’s quest to find the realm of the beautiful princess Anjuman-e Ara.

Pakistanis with whom I spoke varied in their reactions when they learned of my parrot-interests. Islamist-revivalist types generally disapproved, saying that parrot fortune-telling was justified by neither scripture nor prophetic *sunnah*. Self-styled Deobandis told me that Lahori Muslims borrowed this custom of parrot fortune-mongering from the Hindus. The linkage with Hinduism was not intended as an endorsement. Parrot-masters I interviewed in Lahore complained that their business has dropped off in recent years, due to what they described as criticisms by preachers and Muslim reformers.

The fortune-tellers I met in Lahore and Rawalpindi said that their customers tend to be one of two sorts. The first are “villagers,” impoverished individuals burdened by family and work problems. The second are individuals who are more educated and more sophisticated. “Such people,” as one informant told me, “take the *fal* and consult the parrot just for fun.”

This leads in turn to the question: how long will the custom of parrot fortune-telling survive in a region such as Pakistan’s Punjab? One possible answer is suggested by something I received as a present in Islamabad shortly before I concluded my visit in 2004. Nadeem Akbar, director of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies office in Islamabad, was kind enough to give me a calendar published by a Pakistani non-profit organization called the “Asian Study Group.” Among the calendar’s photos—which are intended to highlight the historical and cultural attractions of Pakistan—is a picture from Rawalpindi of a parrot-master and his fortune-telling parrots. Who knows? Perhaps in years to come Pakistani entrepreneurs will follow Singapore’s lead in marketing parrot-oracles for the tourist trade.

Acknowledgments. For their encouragement, help, and support I thank the following individuals: Mr. Mohammed Razzaq and Mr. Qamar Jalil of the Berkeley Urdu Language Program in Pakistan; Mr. Nadeem Akbar, director of the Islamabad office of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies; and Dr. Frances Pritchett, Professor of Modern Indic Languages at Columbia University. ■

AIPS ISLAMABAD CENTER NEWS

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies Islamabad Center hosted numerous scholars and students throughout the last six months. Although the Institute is unable to offer funding to scholars and students to conduct research in Pakistan, the center continues to offer support to academics through a variety of activities including seminars and talks by visiting American scholars. Attendance by local Pakistani scholars and students is undiminished.

The center also has a new Scholar in Residence, Dr. Nomanul Haq. On September 9th, after a presentation on the progress of the Private Library and Archival Survey Project (PLASP), the AIPS center held a reception in recognition of Dr. Haq’s appointment.

A reception was also hosted on August 24, 2004 in honor of visiting former fellows including Drs. Grace Clark, Julie Flowerday, John Mock, Lowel Lyberger and Yasmin Saikia.



Nadeem Akbar, Dr. Haq, Tariq Rahman, and Adam Nayyar at the PLASP presentation.

"33 - A Life Apart: Photographs from Bangladesh and Pakistan"

Cambridge Multicultural Arts Center

Exhibit opening:
Thursday, November 18th, 2004
7:00-9:00pm

The exhibition runs from November 11th, 2004 until January 6th, 2005. It includes black and white as well as color prints picturing life three decades after the two countries went their separate ways. Directions can be found at the Cambridge Multicultural Arts Center website (www.cmacusa.org).

REVIEWS

The following are reviews of recent publications:

Veena Kukreja, *Contemporary Pakistan: Political Processes, Conflicts and Crises*. New Delhi: Sage, 2003. pp. xviii + 348. PkRs 595.

Veena Kukreja has prepared an analysis of the political, economic and social conditions up to March 2002 (pp. 290-291 appear to indicate this is the last date). Of course, many events have occurred since then including the development of closer cooperation between Pakistan and the United States in combating terrorism. However, for the observer of Pakistan her commentary for the period since Pakistan's independence in 1947 to early 2002 will be important and at times controversial.

The context of her analysis is perhaps best summed up in her concluding chapter where she writes "Pakistan has to choose between a healthy democratic polity, economic growth and prosperity for its people on the one hand, an exaggerated self-perception of its strategic importance and power on the other." The record the author describes would show that the latter is the more likely future, although that is more likely to be imposed than being a popular choice, an opportunity Pakistanis have rarely had.

The book is largely based on what might be called secondary research, not surprising as an Indian scholar is not likely to receive a grant to study Pakistan on site. However, many of the sources are Pakistani and often these are the most critical of the performances of the several regimes and systems that have governed Pakistan or failed in that endeavor.

The work is organized topically, not chronologically. Among the topics are the military, economics, ethnic divisions, Islamic fundamentalism and narcotics. The last is particularly important as it is rarely covered as are the other topics appear frequently in studies.

Kukreja's study will be very valuable to those who study post-independence Pakistan, although little is said about the Bangladeshi breakaway. It is interesting to note that the book is available in Pakistan and it is indeed where the copy being reviewed was obtained: Mr. Books in Islamabad.

Craig Baxter
Juniata College

Badruddin, Umar. *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggles in East Pakistan (1947-1958)*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2004. pp. xi + 389. \$35.00 (Amazon price in U.S.)

The events in the period described by Badruddin were critical in the progressive alienation of East Bengal/East Pakistan from the western portion of the state of Pakistan and the domination of the West. Major events included the partition of the province

of Bengal in 1947 and the loss of Calcutta as the intellectual center for both Hindus and Muslims, the failure of the Pakistan leadership to give concurrent national language status to Bengali which culminated in the language riots of 1952, the trouncing of the Muslim League in the delayed election held in 1954, and the adoption of a constitution in 1956 that denied East Pakistan, which had a majority of the country's population, a majority of the seats in Parliament opting for parity, the equality of seats between the two wings.

Badruddin, a leftist who has written extensively (almost all in Bengali), is well placed to review the events. His father, Abul Hashim (1905-1974), was a prominent political figure both before and after the partition of India and served as the president of the organizing committee of the Language Movement in 1952. Badruddin therefore was close to the events that he describes. The book is thoroughly documented, often from Bengali sources, and also often from publications of the then miniscule and now nonexistent Communist Party and that party's offspring. The author well recounts the difficult positions of the farmers and the factory workers including the strike in 1954 at the Adamjee Jute Mill, of course, owned by West Pakistani capitalists.

Among the villains in addition to such West Pakistanis as Iskander Mirza (whose family was from Bengal) and Ghulam Muhammad are those East Pakistani Muslim Leaguers who allied with those in the west such as Khwaja Nazimuddin. He also faults such Bengali leaders as Husain Shahid Suhrawardy and Fazlul Haq who made bids for central power often, in Badruddin's view, detrimental to the people of East Pakistan. He is especially critical of the initial East Bengal cabinet led by Nurul Amin, but attributes as well corruption and mismanagement to the post-1954 governments of the United Front and the Awami League, reserving praise, however, for the Awami League chief minister, Ataur Rahman Khan despite his sharp criticism of several ministers in that cabinet, including Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

There is no book in English of which I am aware that brings the detailed picture of events and the actors as does this book. It may be a bit over critical of individuals and parties, but most of the criticism is well deserved. One does note that so far as I can determine all of the characters are now, and most long have been, dead. It is interesting that the book is published in Karachi rather than Dhaka.

Craig Baxter
Juniata College

For questions, to request more information, or to receive the Oxford University Press catalogue, email OUP Karachi at: ouppak@theoffice.net, or visit their website <http://www.oup.com.pk>

Women of Substance and Stature: the Lives and Memoirs of Women in Pakistan

Haeri, Shahla

2002 *No Shame for the Sun: Lives of Professional Pakistani Women.* Syracuse University Press; New York.

Sultaan, Abida

2004 *Memoirs of a Rebel Princess;* Oxford University Press; Karachi.

Stories told and stories written about the lives of women tend to be fraught with the anxiety of tacit assumptions of culture, hegemony and the frailty of stereotyping. Writing *well* about the women of and from South Asia inadvertently becomes a lens for activism. Pakistan, a country whose women have had a stake in (but not limited to) politics, civil society, and socio-cultural reform since the formation of the modern nation-state, have consistently been invisible to academic understanding. In a powerful unveiling of the Pakistani professional woman, Shahla Haeri has provided a substantial, thick description-*esque* ethnographic text of six women and their stories in *No Shame for the Sun*. Across the spectrum of invisibility is the self-proclaimed Rebel Princess – a woman whose strength and belief in her own ability and power continues posthumously in a published memoir. Princess Abida Sultaan has provided an insight to her life through a candor, explicit and incredibly vibrant account that allows one to clearly hear her voice. The manuscript reads like a record of a princely ruler in the tradition of rulers and *namahs* of the nineteenth century.

“Were all women like Rabi’a, Jami declares, they would be shining like the sun – brilliantly and publicly visible” (Haeri 2002: ix). Drawing inspiration from Jami (Persian Sufi poet, c.1492), Haeri’s ethnography of six professional Pakistani women in *No Shame for the Sun* is recorded in first person allowing the voice of each individual to be recognized and for each story to have bask in its own light. I would, however, argue that this text truly speaks of seven women and their experience; Haeri’s intertwined narrative provides an unmistakable texture to the manuscript that allows for a rich understanding of the story of “an unveiled, educated, [and] professional” (pp.xxiii) woman with an Iranian and American background.

Haeri relies heavily on Geertzian frameworks of culture and authorship within which she highlights self-reflective moments in ethnographic studies. The most powerful element of Haeri’s argument is within those self-reflective episodes; her (Haeri’s) ability to problematize the choice to conduct research among equals in terms of political motivations, social aspirations, economic standing; Pakistani women who do not fall into the classic categories of “other” or the “self” for an Iranian-American researcher. Rather than studying the subaltern, Shahla Haeri brings into being, the invisible urban professional women, the women who (arguably) have a voice but are not

heard, the women who are (arguably) accessible, yet accessed by few. Additionally, each ethnographic report of these women is rooted in theoretical considerations: issues dealing with identity, violence, legitimacy, marriage, kinship and religion.

In a larger context of scholarship on Islam, Haeri brings to light a different form of Islam, an urban Islam that is culturally defined, which she argues (and I agree with) provides insight beyond the classic extreme notions of Islam as a tribe or Islam as global megapolis.

These measures allow for analysis that focuses on the everyday urban phenomenon. In a necessary push to de-emphasize the specialness or the exotic nature of such a study, Haeri goes to great lengths to establish very specifically the parameters of the study. “I resisted the temptation to focus on the lives of public figures in order to avoid questions of exceptionality. Except for one of them, a well known poet, I chose my “informants” from among *ordinary* people...” (Haeri 2002: xii Preface to text – emphasis mine).

As opposed to the exception, the women of Haeri’s focus are one end of the spectrum, and the other is precisely that – the exception – the one women of high stature and extraordinary situations, who defies being defined; a woman like Princess Abida Sultaan. With a forward written by Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan and an introduction by the Canadian scholar Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, this memoir is a primarily a statement made to the world by Abida Sultaan, that is filled with recollections drawn from her personal diaries (that she had been writing since age 17). Abida Sultaan’s words ring with authority and clarity. Her dedication to her religion, her beliefs, and her self are testament to an independent spirit.

Abida Sultaan was born in 1913 in Bhopal to Nawab Hamidullah Khan, the ruler of Bhopal and by 1926 she was declared heir apparent. The eldest of three daughters, Abida was following in an extraordinary legacy of Begums who rule Bhopal successfully for over a century. One of these Begums, her grandmother, Sultan Jahan Begum, is crucial in the upbringing of Abida Sultaan. Sultan Jahan Begum (known as Sarkaar Amaan in the family) instilled Islamic values into the child, encouraging Abida to be independent and excel over her male cousins in everything from administration to sports. As heir apparent, Abida aided her father in administering the State, and witnessed the demise of princely states as the British Raj came to an end. Abida’s story of how she came to the difficult decision to leave her family and roots that stretched fourteen generations to migrate to Pakistan with her only son, Shaharyar Mohammed Khan (called Mian in the text) is the pivotal point of her memoirs. She remains the only ruler or heir of a major Indian princely state to have migrated from India to Pakistan – sacrificing (as she says) a life of comfort and security in pursuit of her ideals.

This memoir is a story of a woman of power, integrity and deep commitment to the ideals of humanity, democracy and the rights of women. She has been Pakistan's Ambassador to Brazil, and worked with Fatima Jinnah against the militarization of Pakistan's leadership – this is not a memoir of an ordinary sort. The stories of her trips to visit royalty in Europe, Chairman Mao in China, and other dignitaries from around the world, are told with a humorous and very down-to-earth endearing tone. From being the 3rd Muslim woman to be granted a license of fly (as a pilot), to her disappointment in Pakistan's inability to live up to Quaid-e-Azam's ideals, to candid discussions about sexuality, Abida Sultaan has provided the reader with an extensive, private view in an otherwise inaccessible and unknown strength of Pakistan: its women.

Both books reviewed here are part of an ongoing effort to diversify the scholarship about women from Pakistan and may prove to be useful for those putting together courses in gender studies and/or courses on Islam and women.

Uzma Z. Rizvi

University of Pennsylvania

People on the Move, Punjabi Colonial, and Post-Colonial Migration

Edited by Ian Talbot & Shinder Thandi

Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2004

Much more than simply an edited volume of "Punjab" history, this collection offers a series of sharp, original regional perspectives on important dynamics of modern (nineteenth and twentieth century) South Asian, Indian Ocean, and global population circulation and migration. The variety of economic, historical, cultural, and social studies in this volume reveals that unique and dramatic movements of movement and displacement, especially in the partition period around 1947, represent only the most obvious, intense manifestations of a history of generations of mobility. Over decades, this movement was enabled and shaped by the British colonial economy, the politics of decolonization, and the globalizing forces that continue to influence contemporary nation-states.

The editors, Ian Talbot and Shinder Thandi, have drawn upon regional expertise and different case studies to frame perspectives intended to transcend and expand scholarly temporal and spatial boundaries. Eleven chapters in three parts analyze Empire, Partition, and Post-Independence. Colonial canal colonies generated massive internal Punjab resettlement even as they were intended to structure uniquely British conceptions of agrarian space and village society (Gilmartin). Rural to urban migration was a constant process, though often ignored (Daechsel). Colonial "service" as labor and in the military, police, and administration carried Punjabis across British-India and to East Africa and Southeast Asia (Tatla). The practice and experience of mobility originating through state

employment soon led many across the Pacific to western Canada and America and, especially in the post-colonial period, to Britain itself.

Several useful essays tackle the tragic epic of South Asian migration, the fragmentation and violence of the partition of British India. Millions of involuntary migrants were forced across new international boundaries drawn through provinces and districts of complex demography and political economy (Waseem). The shattering twin partition stories of Lahore (Ahmed) and Amritsar (Talbot) illustrate violent political brinkmanship and ultimate ethnic cleansing justified by revenge, economic opportunism, and the ideologies of new competing states.

Gurpreet Maini details that Lahore lost its propertied elite but thrived as a post-colonial provincial capital. A short distance east, Amritsar lost its Muslim industrial skilled labor force, lost investments for being on an unstable border, was cut off from previous sources of raw materials, and never recovered as a competitive industrial center. The essay of Ishtiaq Ahmed on partition violence in Lahore includes non-elite narratives and interviews with survivors, victims, and agents of violence. Personal reflections reach no consensus on the possible explanations posed to understand the extreme brutality experienced in the Punjab. This chapter, with others, offers some sense of how the many millions of migrants somehow finally settled into a new context.

These essays illuminate a specific Punjabi history, but also broader migration dynamics studied in wider scholarship. In the post-colonial period even as more affluent, educated, and connected Punjabi migrants left particular clusters of districts and villages, other agricultural laborers from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, with fewer resources and expectations, moved into the Punjab to fill hard labor jobs (Gill). And individuals rarely ventured off as autonomous agents of simple economic choice. Migration and post-colonial change often went along with both strategies of development (Thandi) and continued class conflict and exploitation (Salim). Expanded and reintroduced cultural idioms and religious networks continued to provide frameworks of identity and support as lives and careers circulated in ever wider, unpredictable paths from the Punjab to the Gulf, to Britain and beyond (Werbner).

This is a collection of diverse, scholarly, original, and creative essays. The authors offer important comparative approaches and methods for those examining how regions have informed histories across interregional and global scales.

Contributors: Ishtiaq Ahmed, Markus Daeschel, David Gilmartin, Sucha Singh Gill, Gurpreet Maini, Ahmed Salim, Ian Talbot, Darshan Singh Tatla, Shinder Thandi, Mohammad Waseem, Pnina Werbner

Robert Nichols

Richard Stockton College

**LIST OF RECENT OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
PUBLICATIONS**

A Judge Speaks Out, Ajmal Mian, OUP Karachi 2004, Rs. 595.

*“Dear Mr. Jinnah”: Selected Correspondence and Speeches of
Liaquat Ali Khan, 1937-1947*, Edited by Roger D. Long,
Foreword by Stanley Wolpert, Rs. 495.

*Historical Dictionary of Bangladesh Third Edition; Asian/Oceanian
Historical Dictionaries*, No. 48, Edited by Craig Baxter and
Syedur Rahman, Scarecrow Press Inc, 2003

*Local Government Finance: Some Political Aspects: A Case Study of
Punjab*, Ayaz Muhammad, OUP Karachi 2004, Rs. 300.

Pakistan on the Brink: Politics, Economics and Society, Edited by
Craig Baxter, Lexington Books, 2004

*Poems from Iqbal: Renderings in English Verse with Comparative Urdu
Text*, Traslated by V.G. Kiernan, OUP Karachi, 2004, Rs. 495.

ANNUAL OF URDU STUDIES: INCLUSION IN LOCKSS

The Annual of Urdu Studies is currently one of the pioneering journals in a one-year study of preserving open access humanities journals via LOCKSS (Lots of Copies Keep Stuff Safe).

Over the course of the project (which runs through Spring 2005), the LOCKSS software is being configured to harvest the content of selected journals, and LOCKSS sites are harvesting copies and providing consistency backups and checks for their peers. The University of Pennsylvania is the LOCKSS site which has chosen the Annual of Urdu Studies. What this means is that libraries participating in the project (which can be any library in the world that cares to install the LOCKSS software) are now starting to harvest copies of the Annual in order to preserve the content and provide it to their users should the original publication become unavailable via its original website, whether because of server problems on one end or network problems on the receiving end. The usual method is to configure the library's proxy to serve content out of their LOCKSS cache when the "original" site is not available. For more information on the LOCKSS Alliance see <http://lockss.stanford.edu/alliance.htm>.

CONFERENCES

For your convenience, the Pakistan and Institute related panels are highlighted below.

33rd Annual South Asia Conference

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Madison Concourse Hotel

October 15-17, 2004

Friday October 15

Session 3: 1:45 PM - 3:30 PM

Ad-Hoc Panel South Asian Literature

Jill Didur, Concordia University

Location: Caucus Room

**Cross-Cultural Literary Hybridization: Agha Shahid
Ali's Ghazals in English**

Hena Ahmad, Truman State University

**Rescripting A National Hero: Vishwas Patil's Subhas
Chandra Bose**

Blair Orfall, University of Oregon

**“An Unremembered Time” : ‘Secular Criticism’ in
Pankaj Mishra's The Romantics**

Jill Didur, Concordia University

Ramayana Themes in Mohurram Songs

Mahboob (Afsar) Mohammad, University of Wisconsin-
Madison

**Roundtable: The Future of Indian Muslims in the Light
of 2004 Elections and India/Pakistan Rapprochement**

Theodore Wright, State University of New York at Albany

Location: Senate Room A

This roundtable is sponsored by the South Asian Muslim Studies
Association.

Michael Fisher, Oberlin College

Laura Jenkins, University of Cincinnati

Philip Oldenburg, Columbia University

Raju Thomas, Marquette University

Session 4: 3:45 PM - 5:30 PM

**Transversing the Public/Private: Haram Folk, Women
Undone, and Sahaba Jinns**

Chair: Barbara D. Metcalf, University of Michigan

Location: Capitol Ballroom A

Historicizing the Haram: a history of early Mughal domestic life

Ruby Lal, Johns Hopkins University

The Lady Vanishes: Islam and the Disappearance of Gender in South Asia

Faisal Devji, Yale University

Of Children and Jinns: Inquiries into an unexpected friendship during uncertain times in Lahore

Naveeda Khan, Johns Hopkins University

Discussant

Barbara D. Metcalf, University of Michigan

Early-Modern South Asia from the “Margin”

Chair: Munis D. Faruqi, University of Dayton

Location: Capitol Ballroom B

Rebels and Insurgents: Crisis of the Mughal Empire in 17th Century Sindh

Manan Ahmed, University of Chicago

Mirza Hakim and the Formation of the Mughal Empire

Munis D. Faruqi, University of Dayton

Hagiographies and Merchant Groups in the Mughal Empire

Brendan LaRocque, Xavier University

Community Formation and Reformation in Early Modern South India: Patterns from the Textile Industry

Ian Wendt, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Merely Conventional Signs? Map-Making on South Asian Borders

Chair: K. Sivaramakrishnan, University of Washington

Location: Conference Room I

‘Who Settled Its Dimensions’: Constructing and Contesting the North-West Frontier.

Jason Cons, Cornell University

Cartographic Control and the Right to Representation: A “Restricted Zone” in Western India

Farhana Ibrahim, Cornell University

“Frontier Undefined”: Mapping and Marginality in the Northern Areas of Pakistan

Nosheen Ali, Cornell University

Colonial maps and dissenting hands: British legislation and the regulation of Gujaratis in the western Indian Ocean during the nineteenth century

Edward Simpson, London School of Economics and Political Science

Performatively Speaking: Urdu Poetry and Popular Art Forms

Chair: Tayyab Mahmud, Cleveland State University

Location: Senate Room A

Lyrically Speaking: Hindi Film Songs and the Progressive Aesthetic

Ali Mir, William Paterson University

Qawwali as Pedagogy: Narrative Domains of South Asian Religious & Popular Cultures

Syed Akbar Hyder, University of Texas, Austin

Ghalib Ki Zameen Mein: Structure And Rhyme Scheme In Progressive Urdu Poetry

Raza Mir, William Paterson University

Discussant

Tayyab Mahmud, Cleveland State University

Saturday October 16

Session 5: 8:30 am - 10:15 am

Roundtable: Revisiting the History of Partition: A Conversation with Gyanendra Pandey

Chair: Faisal Devji, Yale University

Location: Assembly Room

David Gilmartin, North Carolina State University

Ghautam Ghosh, University of Pennsylvania

Anna Bigelow, North Carolina State University

Najeeb Jan, University of Michigan

Kamala Visweswaran, University of Texas-Austin

Gyanendra Pandey, Johns Hopkins University

Roundtable: Archaeological Practice: Poetics and Politics of Collaboration

Uzma Rizvi, University of Pennsylvania

Sponsored by American Institute of Pakistani Studies

Location: Capitol Ballroom B

Uzma Rizvi, University of Pennsylvania

Shinu Abraham, St. Lawrence University

Elizabeth Bridges, University of Michigan

Randall Law, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Brian Spooner, University of Pennsylvania

Arunima Kashyap, Michigan State University

Critical Texts: The Prose Tradition in Urdu

Chair: Griffith Chaussee, University of Virginia

Location: Conference Room III

“Natural Prose”: Muhammad Husain Azad and the Ancestry of Urdu

Fran Pritchett, Columbia University

Quranic Translations: Earliest Urdu Prose?

Mehr Afshan Farooqi, University of Virginia

Shibli Nu’mani and the Categories of Literary Critique

Griffith Chaussee, University of Virginia

Discussant

David Lelyveld, William Patterson University

Session 6:

Roundtable: Teaching Archaeology

Chair: Mark Kenoyer, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Location: Capitol Ballroom B

Diane Coccari, Blackhawk Middle School, Madison

Gautama Vajracharya, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Nyanjot Lahiri, Delhi University

Peter Thomas Heyn, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Session 7: 1:45 pm - 3:30 pm

Islam & Politics in South Asia

Chair: Mumtaz Ahmad, Hampton University

Location: Senate Room A

Locating Moderate Islamism in Afghanistan & Pakistan

Kamran Bokhari, Howard University

Islam & Democracy in South Asia

Muqtedar Khan, Adrian College/Brookings Institution

The problematic supremacy of conflated ideological variables in ‘Islam and democracy’ research

Anas Malik, Xavier University

Radical Islamic Political Forces in Pakistan

Mumtaz Ahmad, Hampton University .

Sunday October 17

Session 8: 10:45 am - 12:15 pm

Ad-Hoc Panel Religion and Conflict in South Asia

Chair: Brian J. Didier, Dartmouth College

Location: Conference Room II

Refashioning Community: The Role of Violence in Redefining Political Society in Pakistan

S. Mubbashir A. Rizvi, University of Texas at Austin

Writing Order, Visualizing Violence: The Media Script of A “Hindu/Muslim” Conflict in Kerala

Usha Zacharias, Westfield State College

Conditioning Conflict: Islam, Community and the State in South India

Brian J. Didier, Dartmouth College

Ethnographies of the State: Moving Towards a Critical Pakistan Studies

Chair: Saadia Toor, Cornell University

Location: Senate Room A

The Silent Residue of Politics: Iris-Scan Technology, Afghan Refugees and the State of Pakistan

Anila Daulatzai, Johns Hopkins University

The Pakistani State, the Punjab and its Identity 1947-1971

Sarah Khokhar, Johns Hopkins University

The Making of Class: Transnational Workers and the Pakistani State

Junaid Rana, University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign

Communists, Hindus, Bengalis and Others: State formation and the ‘problem’ of East Pakistan 1947 - 1952.

Saadia Toor, Cornell University



Middle East Studies Association 2004 Annual Meeting

November 20-23, 2004

Hyatt Regency San Francisco at Embarcadero

Sunni/Sufi/Shi’i (NP39)

Chair: Erik S. Ohlander, University of Michigan

David Pinault, Santa Clara University

Pluralism, Communal Identity and the Uses of Moghul History: Contemporary Pakistani Views of Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb

Shafique N. Virani, Harvard University

Uneasy Bedfellows: Sufism and Ismailism in the Wake of the Mongol Invasions

Paul E. Walker, University of Chicago

Imperial Rhetoric: The Public Voice of a Medieval Shiite Dynasty

Rachel T. Howes, Cal State Northridge

The Political Strategies of Shi'is in Eleventh Century Iranian Courts

“I Can't Move—I Must Already Be Moving”: Maps, Everyday Life, and the Drawings and Un-drawings of a “Muslim World” (P105)

Organized by **Richard Baxstrom**, **Naveeda Khan**, and **Sylvain Perdigon**

Chair: **Steven C. Caton**, Harvard University

Discussant: **Stefania Pandolfo**, University of California, Berkeley

Richard Baxstrom, Johns Hopkins University

A Web of Worlds to Get Lost In: Local Cartographies of the State and the Spiritual in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Naveeda Khan, Johns Hopkins University

Roads to Death: Braving Bustrips on the Motorway in Lahore, Pakistan

Sylvain Perdigon, Johns Hopkins University

Maps of Despair and Desire: Palestinian Refugees at Checkpoints in Beirut, Lebanon

Anila Daulatzai, Johns Hopkins University

Mapping Refugees: Technologies and Terminologies of Expulsion at the Border of Afghanistan and Pakistan

Sufism: Love and Sects (NP38)

Chair: **Qamar-ul Huda**, Boston College

Talia Gangoo, Washington University

Portraits of the Self: Rumi and Iqbal's Notions of Self-Hood

Cyrus Zargar, University of California, Berkeley

Volitional Death and an Existence More Real: Theoretical Suggestions in Kubra's "Aqrab al-Turuq ila Allah"

Joseph Lombard, American University in Cairo

The Development of Love in Early Sufism

Jawid Mojaddedi, Rutgers University

Muhammad or Abu Yazid? Rumi's Contribution to the Prophethood-Sainthood Debate

Islam and the State (NP14)

Chair: **Miriam Lowi**, The College of New Jersey

Julie E. Taylor, Princeton University

The Price of Islamicization: What Egypt Can Learn from Pakistan

Joseph Nevo, University of Haifa

Islam and Professional Associations in Jordan

Tamer Balci, Claremont Graduate University

Origins of the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis

Berna Turam, Hampshire College

Transitions in Turkey and Iran: Affinities and Dissent between Islam and State

AIPS may provide financial support for participation and presentations at the conferences listed. Topics of research must be related to Pakistan/Pakistan studies. Please contact us at info@PakistanStudies-AIPS.org with requests for conference support.

ASSOCIATION FOR ASIAN STUDIES ANNUAL MEETING 2005

The Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting will be held on March 31-April 3, 2005 at the Hyatt Regency Chicago, 151 East Wacker Drive. Registration details are available online at:

<https://www.aasianst.org/annmtg.htm>.

MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING 2005

MESA's 39th annual meeting will be held November 19-22, 2005 at the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel in Washington, DC. Proposals are invited for pre-organized panels, individual papers, roundtables and thematic conversations.

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies

The American Institute of Pakistan Studies is managed by elected officers, an executive committee, and a board of trustees. The incumbent officers are Brian Spooner (President), Daisy Rockwell (Treasurer), and David Gilmartin (Secretary). The Board of Trustees is composed of representatives from each of the Institutional members, plus one elected trustee to represent every 20 individual members. Individual membership is open to all Pakistanists—all students and scholars of Pakistan and related subjects in whatever discipline. Annual membership dues are \$25.00, payable before the beginning of the academic year. Members receive the Newsletter and participate in the Institute's programs, including panels at the annual meeting of the South Asia Conferences at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in October, Middle East Studies Association in November, Berkeley in February and the Association of Asian Studies in March.

Funding

In addition to the dues of Institutional members, AIPS currently receives substantial annual funding from the U.S. Department of Education, the Council of American Overseas Research Centers and the Ministry of Education (Government of Pakistan).

Pakistan Studies News

This newsletter is the thirteenth of a new series, and normally appears twice a year. It has two purposes: (a) to serve as the organ of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies, recording its activities and publicizing its programs, and (b) to improve communication in the field generally and enhance the sense of community among all Pakistanists in whatever discipline.

The details of how to achieve these objectives will no doubt evolve from year to year as we learn more about the work of colleagues and gain experience in the solicitation of materials. However, apart from a series of statements and reports on particular programs of the Institute, each issue will feature a particular current project, brief reports of current work, and news of recent publications, with reviews, at least one of which will be substantial. Each issue is likely to emphasize some disciplines and topics at the expense of others, if only for reasons of space. But care will be taken to even out the coverage of some fields over time. Overall, our editorial ability to cover the field will depend entirely on your willingness to keep us informed and to send in contributions.

AIPS On-line: www.PakistanStudies-AIPS.org

The AIPS website contains further information on membership and our current programs. Also maintained on-line is a directory of scholars and research that have been associated with AIPS over the past thirty years. We intend to build it further into a directory of all related to Pakistan in the social sciences and the humanities. Our goal is to develop this site as a major resource not only for Pakistan Studies but for related fields in which Pakistan, its component communities and geographical territories have been significant players. We would like it ultimately to function as a cyber-center for the study of Pakistan in the context of the eastern Islamic world. To help us with this endeavor, we would request you to visit the site and offer your comments and suggestions.

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American Institute of Pakistan Studies Welcomes New Members

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Members receive *The Pakistan Studies News* and participate in the Institute's programs, including panels and receptions at the annual meetings of the South Asia Conference at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in October, the Middle East Studies Association in November, and at the Association for Asian Studies Meetings in March. We welcome you and look forward to your membership in our organization.

Please send check for \$25 annual dues payable to

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Pakistan Studies News

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Questions and comments?

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