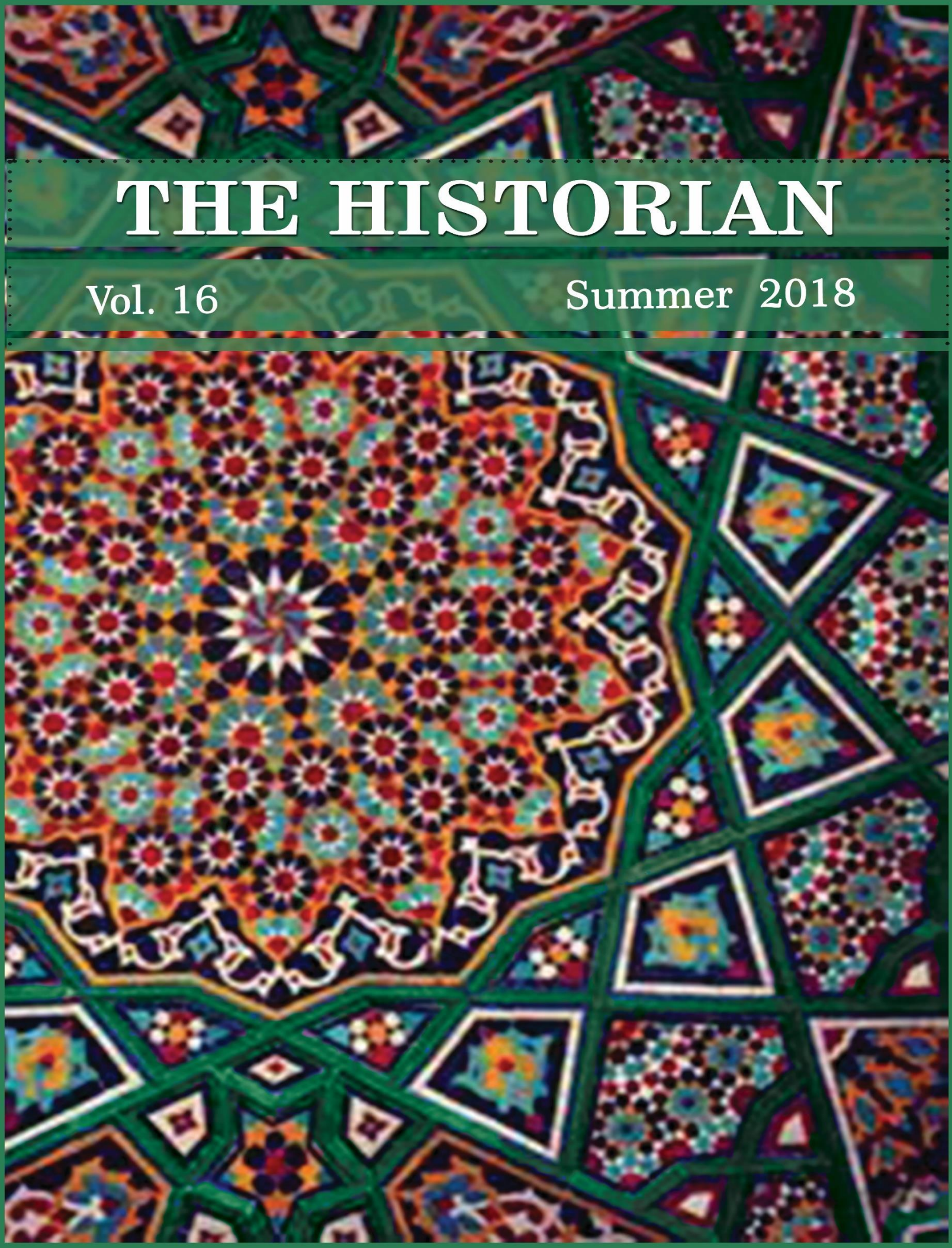

THE HISTORIAN

Vol. 16 Summer 2018

The Historian
Volume 16 Summer 2018

ISSN 2074-5672

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PRICE: 250 PKR

THE HISTORIAN

VOL. 16 SUMMER 2018

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
GOVERNMENT COLLEGE UNIVERSITY, LAHORE

THE HISTORIAN

VOL. 16 SUMMER 2018

'AND NEVER THE TWAIN SHALL MEET': PRE-COLONIAL EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS AND THE 'REALITY' OF INDIA•

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ABSTRACT

The article explores the accounts of European travellers of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the context of images and representations of India. During these two centuries, about hundred travellers came to India from Europe and wrote accounts of their experiences. As travel writing had developed into a very popular genre in the early modern Europe, some of these accounts were published many times, translated into important European languages and read extensively. Some of them were also included in the popular anthologies and collections of travel writings. These travel accounts, therefore, became the first means to represent the 'reality' of India. This study is, therefore, directly concerned with these early European representations and narrative constructions and problematizes them in relation to the 'reality' of India.

KEY WORDS

Travel Writing, Colonial India, European Imperialism, Early Modern Period, Orientalism

When the English traveller, William Finch, reached Agra in 1610, he was amazed to find there two other Englishmen, three French soldiers, a Dutch engineer and a Venetian merchant along with his son and a servant. Although the presence of Europeans in India can be traced back to the ancient period, it was from the late sixteenth century that the European presence in the major cities of India, particularly in Agra, Delhi, and Lahore, became a rule rather than an exception. In the seventeenth century alone, travellers from the West, who arrived in India and left some kind of written account, number about a hundred. Many of them wrote voluminous accounts, some numbering more than a thousand printed pages, while others just wrote letters to their friends and relatives in Europe. These travellers came from diverse geographical and socioeconomic backgrounds. One can find Portuguese, English, Dutch, French, Italian, German, Spanish, Danes, Polish and even one traveller from Iceland. Some were educated while others could hardly read and write. Some belonged to the nobility while some were from the lower strata of society. Their objectives of visiting India were also varied. A number of them were priests and missionaries who came to proselytise Indians. Many of them were employees of the trading companies who came for promoting the trade and commerce. Some of them were purely adventurers whose only objective was to travel, observe and enjoy.

The article explores the question of how this vast source material relates to the empirical reality of India. How European travellers' accounts created contemporary India and in what ways it can be related to the later colonial experience. The inquiry is crucial not only for understanding the cultural encounter between Europe and India in the early modern period but also for the historiography of India, as these accounts created some of the stereotypes which were reinforced by later colonialism.

• The article is part of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, entitled: "Mughal India in the Seventeenth Century: An Historical Study based on the Accounts of European Travellers," submitted to the Department of History, University of the Punjab, in 2010.

The seventeenth century was a time when travel writing was emerging as one of the most popular genres in Western Europe and the travellers' accounts were constantly in demand on account of having developed a large readership. Many editions of one account were published in one country and in one language, and later were translated into many other languages and published from other countries within a short period. Some of these accounts were repeatedly published, translated into all the important languages of northern Europe and widely circulated. They also became parts of influential anthologies and collections of travel writings. It has been calculated that out of a total of 5,562 European printed works on travel during the period between 1500 and 1800, 456 were produced in the sixteenth century, 1,566 in the seventeenth century and about 3,540 in the eighteenth century.[1]

These travel accounts, therefore, became the first means to represent the 'reality' of India. These travelogues thus succeeded in arousing keen interest and curiosity about the East in general and India in particular and led to further travels and explorations. Such writings, in the forms of letters, travelogues and official or private correspondence and reports, were instrumental in shaping perceptions of the west about India and its people. They became the principal sources of information about India, so much so that from the seventeenth century, the same images began to be mirrored not just in history but also in literature.[2]

These travellers came from diverse geographical and socio-economic backgrounds. Some were educated while the others could hardly read and write. Some belonged to nobility while the others were from rather poorer sections of society. Their objectives of visiting India were also varied. A number of them were priests and missionaries who came for proselytising the Indians. Others were employees of the trading companies who came for promoting the trade and commerce. A few of them were purely adventurers whose only objective was to travel, observe and enjoy and quench their thirst for adventure in foreign alien places. It is, therefore, quite difficult, if not impossible, to set a yardstick for determining the historical value of such accounts. However, if one realises that a traveller's authority rests on being on the spot and reporting as an eyewitness, then one logical criterion would be the time and space principle: how much time the traveller spent in the area and how many places did he visit? This is not to suggest that the travellers' capability of observing an event, collecting related information and reporting it in a precise manner are unimportant. However, their presence and duration of stay is crucial because without it, the traveller's report would always be suspected as based on hearsay or bazaar gossip and hence not very reliable. Before we proceed further, it would be appropriate to introduce some important travellers to India of the pre-colonial period.

MAJOR TRAVELLERS TO MUGHAL INDIA

Antony Monserrate (1536-1600) was born at Vic de Ozone in Catalonia (Portugal) in 1536 and was admitted to the Society of Jesus in 1558. He became Prefect of Studies at Lisbon. In 1574, he embarked for India and reached Goa. Four years later, he was selected to accompany Father Aquaviva to Agra where Mughal Emperor Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar (r.1556-1605) had invited some Christian scholars. He soon earned the esteem and affection of the Emperor and was appointed as a tutor to the Emperor's son Prince Murad. Later, when Akbar's brother, Mirza Hakim, rebelled, he accompanied the army as far as Jalalabad and returned with it. When, in 1582, Akbar decided to send an embassy to the King of Spain and Portugal, he accompanied the ambassador up to Goa. The departure of the embassy was, however, postponed and ultimately abandoned. However, Monserrate remained in Goa. In February 1589, he received orders to go to Abyssinia for missionary work. On the way, he was captured by the Turks and he spent some years in captivity. Later he was released, and in 1596, he reached Goa and was posted at Salsette where he died in 1600.[3] His account is in the form of letters. It is important on two counts. First, it informs us how the Mughal

Emperor interacted with Christian missionaries. Second, it has recorded the Emperor's religious interests and predilections.

Thomas Roe (1580-1644) was born at Leyton (England) in 1580 to an aristocratic family. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford and was later made an Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth. He was subsequently knighted by King James. He developed a close friendship with Prince Henry and his sister Elizabeth. In 1610, he set out on a voyage to Guyana and penetrated some three hundred miles up the river Amazons. On his return, he entered public life and became a Member of Parliament. In 1614, to neutralize the Portuguese position, it was decided on the recommendations of the East India Company to send a King's Ambassador to India. Thomas Roe was considered to be the most suitable for the job of procuring royal orders to open trading factories and to gain other concessions. He accordingly set sail in February 1615 with an official letter from the King of England to the Mughal emperor. On completing a voyage of six months, he landed at Surat. After a brief dispute with the local governor over the searching of his goods, he proceeded to Ajmer where the Mughal emperor Nur-ud-Din Muhammad Jahangir (r. 1605-1627) was staying at the time. On January 10, 1616, he presented himself at the Jahangir's court. He immediately entered into negotiations with Mughal officials to get royal orders for the English trade. However, his lack of knowledge of Mughal etiquettes, diplomatic niceties and rival competing factional differences at the court, coupled with the Portuguese opposition, made his task quite difficult. In November 1616, when the Emperor moved from Ajmer to Mandu in Malwa, and then to Ahmedabad, the capital of Gujarat, the Ambassador was forced to follow him and remained with him till October 1617. In August 1618, finding that his mission had yielded no positive results, he resolved to return to England. He therefore took formal leave of the Mughal emperor, who gave him a letter for King James, some valuable presents for the same, and a general order granting the English safe conduct and free trade in the Mughal dominions. In February 1619, he embarked on his return voyage to England. In 1621, he was sent to Constantinople as an ambassador. In 1629, he negotiated a truce between Sweden and Poland. In 1640, he became a member of both the Privy Council and the Parliament. After an illustrious political and diplomatic career, he died in 1644.[4]

Thomas Roe wrote daily notes of his stay in India. These rough notes, along with his letters written to different persons in England, were later made into a fair copy of his journal comprising two volumes. The journal was published for the first time in 1625, in the great collection of voyages, *Puchas His Pilgrims*. Later, it was printed many times in different forms in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It became a part of nearly every collection of voyages published since the seventeenth century. A Dutch translation also appeared in 1656. Although Thomas Roe remained in India for a little more than five years and visited only some of the important towns, his *Journal* gives a vivid and detailed portrait of Emperor Jahangir's court, his character and his manner of administration. It provides information about Mughal court ceremonies and etiquettes, the nobility and their factional feuds, as well as contemporary political events. Roe's portrayals of Prince Khurram, Empress Nurjahan and her brother Asaf Khan are also illuminating. As Roe himself belonged to the nobility, he was unable to peep beyond the court and its surroundings and consequently, common people are almost totally absent from his narrative. A significant characteristic of his travel account was his obsession to maintain English prestige and honour on all counts. This seems to have created a bar between him and Indians. Consequently, he was handicapped in appreciating or even comprehending the Indian viewpoint.[5]

Francisco Pelsaert (c.1595-1630) of Antwerp (Holland) was employed by the Dutch East India Company as assistant and he sailed to the East in 1618. In 1620, he was made junior factor and was posted to India. He reached Surat in December 1620 by an overland journey and was immediately despatched to Agra. He remained in Agra till 1627, rising to the position of senior factor. In 1627, he returned to Holland but after a short time, he was sent to the East Indies where he remained until his death in 1630.[6] Pelsaert's

Remonstrantie (Report or Relation) was written in 1626 when his engagement in India was drawing to an end. It was submitted to the Dutch East India Company as mainly a commercial report and as it contained important trade secrets of the East, it was not published at the time. John de Laet was, however, permitted to use some portions, which were closely summarized in his *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, published in 1631. Nearly two-thirds of the report was later translated and published by M. Thevenot in 1663. It was also included in one or two later collections of voyages. Pelsaert's *Remonstrantie* has summed up his seven years' experience in Agra and though it was a commercial report, the author included a detailed account of social and administrative environments in which trade was being conducted. It therefore included such subjects as the administrative system, the standard of life, and the social and religious customs of the people in India. He also focused on describing various places such as Agra, Burhanpur, Gujarat and Kashmir.

Pietro Della Valle (1586-1652) was born in 1586 at Rome in an illustrious ecclesiastical family. He received a good education and for sometimes served in the military service and joined a Spanish fleet in an expedition to Barbary in 1611. In June 1614, he decided to travel to the East and embarked on a ship bound for Constantinople. From there, he travelled to Asia Minor and Egypt and then visited Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo and Baghdad. In 1616, while in Baghdad, he married a young Assyrian Christian girl. Della Valle and his wife then proceeded to Persia. He met with Shah Abbas and fought against the Turks alongside the Persians. His wife could not put up with the hardships of travel and died in 1622. He then travelled to India. He arrived in Surat in February 1623. He visited Cambay, Ahmadabad, Chawal, Goa, Ikkeri, Barcelor, Mangalur, and Calicut. In November 1624, he left India for Muscat. After visiting Aleppo, Cyprus, Malta and Sicily, he ultimately reached Rome in 1626. He was received by the Pope who made him his honorary Chamberlain. He died in April 1652.[7] Valle is regarded as one of the few travellers who belonged to the European nobility and was highly educated. He was well-versed in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, and was genuinely interested in Oriental philosophy and religion, about which he also wrote a number of letters on his return to Rome. He was likewise an acute observer of social and religious customs.[8] His acquaintance with the Mughal Empire rested on his travels in Gujarat and he has, thus, given only some glimpses of the nature of Mughal administration and political rule. In fact, the extent of his travels in India was extremely limited and the period of his stay was also too short to enable him to either comprehend the complex nature of Mughal state and its institutions or to understand the true nature of the socio-cultural norms of the Indian people.

Peter Mundy (1596-1667) was born at Penryn (England) in 1596. Before he set out on his first voyage to India, at the age of about thirty, he had covered, according to his own reckoning, 25,312 miles. He made three voyages to India between 1628 and 1656. He came to Surat in 1628 as a cabin boy on a merchant ship of the East India Company and joined the Agra factory in 1630. He visited many areas important for trade activities. He journeyed to Agra, Patna, Malwa, Bihar, Benares, Sasaram, Rohtasgarh, Ajmer, Fatehpur Sikri, Ahmedabad and Broach. He resigned from the service of the East India Company and after a five-year stay, left India in 1633. After returning to England, he made two more visits to India later in his life.[9]

Peter Mundy began writing an account of his many travels in Europe and Asia as early as 1620, and continued his narrative at intervals up to 1667, compiling a huge manuscript, full of valuable material of all kinds. He revised his manuscript in 1650 and 1655 and at that time, probably inserted quotations from other popular writers of his age. Mundy's manuscript lay in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, until it was published by the Hakluyt Society, in three volumes, in the early 20th century. The second volume, published in 1914, is related to his five years in India. Mundy has written on the socio-religious customs and economic conditions of the people. He has also provided extensive information on the Mughal system of government and events of political importance. His picturesque description of Agra, with its markets and houses, is illuminating. His vivid but brief observations of Fatehpur Sikri, Patna and Surat are important. His

description of severe famine of 1630, with concomitant sufferings of the people, is both informative and poignant. Mundy was an acute observer and nothing of importance escaped his attentions. He was also conscious about describing only those things to which he was an eyewitness. And if he described what he gathered from others, he was circumspect enough to qualify his statements by such observations: 'This by relation,' 'This as I am informed,' or 'This as neere as I can remember as it was told me by our Indico Merchants.' However, his account also contains a number of factual mistakes. He considered Nurjahan to be the real mother of Shahjahan. He claimed that Jahangir nominated Bulaqi as his successor, which was only popular gossip. His knowledge of geography of India was also deficient. He excluded the area of Deccan from India.

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1688) was one of the most renowned French travellers of the seventeenth century. His Protestant father Gabriel fled from Antwerp to Paris in 1575 to escape religious persecution from the hands of Catholics. From his early years, Tavernier had a strong desire to see foreign countries and by the age of twenty-two, he had seen the best parts of France, England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, Hungary and Italy, and had acquired a fair and useful knowledge of most of the European languages. Tavernier made six voyages to the East and during his seventh journey, he died in Russia - probably in the year 1688. He journeyed to India five times between 1663 and 1667. He visited many parts of India which included important cities such as Agra, Burhanpur, Surat, Golconda, Ahmadabad, Daulatabad, Goa, Madras, Delhi, Allahabad, Benaras, Patna and Dacca. He visited some of these cities more than once. During these visits, he met eminent Indian personalities such as the renowned Mughal noble, Mir Jumla, the governor of Gujarat, Shaista Khan, and the Emperor Aurangzeb himself. While travelling to Bengal, the famous French traveller Berneir gave him company. He also met another French traveller, M. Thevenot, in Surat.

Travels brought Tavernier enormous wealth, great fame and official recognition and rewards. Even during his lifetime, he became famous for his travels. When he returned to Paris in 1668, he was especially rewarded with an interview with Louis XIV who was eager to meet with the famed traveller. In February 1669, he was conferred a title of nobility for his eminent services to France. In April 1670, he purchased the barony of Aubonne, near Geneva and the nobility of Berne received him as 'Seigneur Baron d'Aubonne'. In 1684, Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, invited Tavernier to advise him on his projects of colonization and commercial enterprise in the East, and to undertake negotiations on his behalf with the Great Mughal. At the age of seventy-nine, he went to Berlin and had many meetings with the Elector and discussed the setting up of an Embassy and the formation of a trading company. Tavernier was ultimately nominated as Ambassador and was also appointed to the honorary office of Chamberlain to the Elector. To complete this project, he sold his land and barony of Aubonne and in 1687, he set out on his seventh voyage. However, he met with his death in Russia.[10]

Tavernier's *magnum opus*, the *Six Voyages*, came out in the following year. Translations of this work were soon published in English, German, and Italian. His travel account was one of the most popular travelogues in the last quarter of the seventeenth and the whole of the eighteenth century. From 1675 to 1882, during the course of nearly two centuries, Tavernier's work was reprinted 38 times; 23 times in French, 9 times in English, 4 times in German, and one time each in Dutch and Italian. When Tavernier had returned to Paris after his last voyage, his notes, prepared during the voyages, were in a chaotic state and he requested Samuel Chappuzeau, who had acquired considerable reputation as a writer of theatrical plays, to edit them. Chappuzeau edited Tavernier's work but the finished work contained many omissions and contradictions. A close reading of his account leaves no doubt in the readers' mind that Tavernier was not the author of a large part of his memoirs, and Chappuzeau on his part used his theatrical skill to add many anecdotes and stories.

Tavernier had little or no acquaintance with any of the languages of India, and he was always constrained to conduct his business through an interpreter. He also observed India from the point of view of a merchant, and nothing engaged his attention so much as a successful bargain. This devotion to trade interests enabled him to collect much valuable information on the conditions of commerce, and the methods and tricks of the native bankers and money-changers. He has given precise accounts of the production and sale of the standard commodities—spices, snake-stones, bezoar, musk, indigo, ivory, and the like—which were an important contribution to the history of oriental commerce. Even more useful are his lucid descriptions of the varieties of precious stones and pearls, as they were based on the knowledge of an expert. He provided sketches of some of the leading personages of the time—of Shaista Khan and his dealings in precious stones; of Mir Jumla at the siege of Gandikota and his remarkable method of administering justice and conducting business; of Jafar Khan, the Wazir, and his clever wife. From his pages, we can also draw a picture of Mughal India: of its court and army; of its *qazi*s and the administration of justice; of its police and custom-house officials and their corrupt methods. He displays no desire to make a case for or against the administration as he studied it, and in this respect his narrative is a document of great importance.

Niccolao Manucci (1639- 1717) is one of the most interesting and controversial travellers of the seventeenth century. He was born in Venice in 1639 and was just fourteen years old when he fled from his home. He hid himself in a vessel bound for Smyrna and during the voyage, found a protector in an Englishman, Viscount Bellmont, who was on his way to Persia and India. In this way, Manucci travelled to Persia and with his protector, ultimately landed in 1656 in India. The sudden death of Viscount Bellmont in 1656 left the young boy totally stranded in a strange foreign land. At that time, India was in the throes of wars of succession. Manucci found employment as an artilleryman in the service of Prince Dara Shukoh, eldest son of the Emperor Shahjahan. He fought against Aurangzeb in the famous battle of Samugarh alongside Prince Dara's forces and remained attached to the Prince till his death in 1659. It was because of his attachment to Dara Shukoh that he never agreed to work directly under Aurangzeb. Gradually, he adopted the profession of medicine and became a physician. After a few years, he again turned to his military career and became a captain of artillery in the army of Jai Singh, Rajah of Amber. However, within a few years, he resigned from this post and after a brief visit to Bassain (near Bombay) and later to Goa, he came to Agra and Delhi where he took service under Kirat Singh, son of Jai Singh. It was the end of 1670 or early 1671 when he moved to Lahore and resumed his practice as a physician. After making some money, in 1677, he moved to Bandora on Salsette Island, nine miles north of Bombay fort, with the intention to permanently settle in European territory. However, he soon lost his money and had to again move to Mughal territory. In Delhi, he cured the wife of Prince Shah Alam and in return was appointed his court physician. In 1682, he got two months leave of absence from the Prince and moved to Goa where Marathas had just defeated the Portuguese and Manucci was sent to Sambha Ji, the Maratha chief, to negotiate peace. Although nothing positive came out of the negotiations, the Portuguese governor acknowledged his services and conferred on him a patent of knighthood in the Portuguese Order of St. Iago. On his return to Shah Alam, Manucci was detained as an absconder from the Prince's service. After many attempts, he managed to escape to the English settlements in 1686. On his arrival at Madras, his services were requisitioned by the English governor for managing correspondence with the court of Mughal Emperor. However, with the change of governor, he lost this assignment. In 1702, when the Mughal forces besieged Madras, Manucci and a Brahmin were sent as joint envoys of the English governor to the Mughal commander to negotiate peace. His services were later rewarded when the governor and the Council granted him permanent leasehold rights of his house and garden at Madras. In 1712, Manucci decided to visit Mughal court at Lahore in order to meet Shah Alam, who had now become Emperor. English East India Company also wanted to make use of him for procuring new privileges from the Mughal Emperor. However, this plan did not materialise due to Shah Alam's death. Manucci also died in 1717 at the age of eighty-four.[11]

Manucci started writing his account at the instigation of some French officials of the East India Company. He wrote parts I, II, and III in 1699 and 1700, part IV between 1701 and 1705, and part V between 1706 and 1709. These were written in three languages, Italian, Portuguese, and French. A copy of the first three parts was lent to a certain Pere Catrou, a Jesuit priest, who published a book based on the manuscript in 1705. Manucci's complete original work could not be published till 1907. But it survived and became popular due to Catrou's '*Histoire*'. Most of the writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have used his account as a reliable source of Indian history of that period. Manucci spent a lifetime in India and played many diverse roles: captain of artillery to a Mogul prince, physician to a provincial governor, plenipotentiary of a Portuguese viceroy, retired country gentleman at Salsette, and foreign correspondent to a British Governor at Madras. The length of his career was also extraordinary, since he fought in the battle which made Aurangzeb the Emperor of India, and despite the latter's long reign of fifty years, Manucci also survived four of Aurangzeb's successors. This long career, coupled with diversity of his assignments, makes his account exceptionally informative and interesting.

Manucci was mainly a self-educated man who learnt through his experiences. He was also not a cultivated observer. Although he provides enormous wealth of material on every aspect of Mughal society,[12] it is difficult to distinguish between fact and fiction. He is a story-teller par excellence and often indulges in narrating anecdotes and fables, thus creating serious problems for professional historians. As a historical source, Manucci's account has mixed value. He provides a vivid eyewitness account of Mughal India during the last six years of Shahjahan's and the first thirty years of Aurangzeb' reign. For the period preceding Shahjahan, his work is "no more than a tissue of popular stories of no historical value whatever."[13] During the war of succession, he sided with Dara Shukoh, whose love made him strongly dislike Aurangzeb. At times, it appears that Aurangzeb was the villain of Manucci's story and he took pains to prove by various anecdotes and incidents Aurangzeb's hypocritical and venomous nature. According to Manucci, the cause of almost every death in the court was poison, and in a large number of cases, was administered under the direct supervision of Aurangzeb. As to other political events, his information could be verified from other sources and accepted cautiously. However, the social facts that occupy a large part of his account pose a serious problem of another kind. He took a very low view of the Indian character of both Hindus and Muslims. He has given detailed information on *harem* life and his narrative is full of scandals of royalty as well as nobility though the fact of the matter was that "he does not seem to have got farther than peeping into the closed litter of a dancing-girl."[14] He was also a devout Catholic and in his old age, when he wrote his account, he was very preoccupied with ecclesiastical disputes, which was perhaps the reason that he sometimes indulged in derogatory and bitter remarks about Hinduism and Islam.

Francois Bernier (1620-1688) was one of the most learned of European travellers who visited India in the seventeenth century. He was born in 1620 in France. He attended the prestigious Clermont College in Paris, where he became the disciple and secretary of the famous priest-philosopher-astronomer-mathematician Gassendi. On the latter's death, Bernier for some time oversaw the publication of the philosopher's works. He also became a doctor at the Montpellier Faculty where a medical degree could be obtained at the end of a three-month's short course. Bernier was 39 years old when he landed in India in 1659. He came to India to fulfil his curiosity, satisfy his passion for adventure and to seek knowledge. He arrived at a time when the war of succession amongst the sons of Emperor Shahjahan was about to begin. In the Mughal court, Bernier was appointed personal physician to the Emperor's eldest son, Dara Shukoh. He was also employed by the important Persian nobleman of the court, Danishmand Khan, with whom he conversed about astronomy, physics, anatomy, chemistry, physiology and logic. He stayed for about ten-years in India and returned to France in 1669. For the remaining nineteen years of his life, till his death in 1688, Bernier remained engaged in writing about his travels and experiences. He corresponded with the French Minister Colbert and also prepared a *minute* for him about the prospects of trade with India as the

Minister was eager to establish a French trading company.[15] In a way, through his travelogue and his numerous letters,[16] he became an "international authority" on Mughal India.[17]

Bernier's travel account has been considered as "among the fullest, the most vivid and the most philosophical descriptions of seventeenth century India under western eyes."[18] He became one of the most outspoken critics of 'oriental despotism' which he saw as a blight on the Ottoman and Persian empires and Mughal India. According to him, although India was fertile country with a favourable balance of trade, Mughal government produced poverty and lands remained uncultivated. Especially well-known were his observations on Indian property rights which influenced many theoreticians, from Montesquieu to Marx. His influence on contemporary thoughts about India was also enormous. The English poet, John Dryden's *Aureng-Zebe* was about contemporary India, and was based on the English translation (1671) of Francois Bernier's *History.*[19]

Although Bernier had studied philosophy under Gassendi and was himself considered something of a philosopher in his days, he frankly admitted that he never learnt Sanskrit nor read any work of Hindu philosophy. Bernier was the first European traveller to visit Kashmir and wrote of the splendours and woes of his journey.[20] Bernier, enamoured of French institutions, when confronted with an alien system of government in India, dubbed it as despotic and oppressive, the qualities which, according to Y. Krishan, pale before the despotism of Louis XIV and the persecution by the French nobility in France.[21]

After studying the biographical sketches of major European travellers who visited India, it is possible to make a few general observations: First, the majority of the travellers did not venture into the interior of Mughal India. They remained confined to coastal areas or at the most a few big cities. Their first-hand knowledge of Mughal Empire was therefore quite restricted. Second, except for Bernier, Tavernier and Manucci, most of them spent an average period of 3 to 4 years in Mughal India which was a relatively short period to cover the vast continent of India, particularly when means of transport were extremely slow. Third, amongst the non-clergymen, only Roe, Bernier and Valle were adequately educated. Others were just common semi-literate folk, who learnt through their own experiences. Fourth, a vast majority of them were employees of different trading Companies and wrote their travel accounts as reports to their employers. Their focus was not on understanding India or Indians and their socio-economic and religio-political conditions, but on furthering the commercial interests of their employers. Fifth, most of those who were not company employees, intended to publish their accounts in Europe from the very beginning. Thus they wrote their travel accounts with an eye on their readership. The assertion that "none of their [European travellers] accounts was designedly written for publication"[22] is obviously not true. Lastly, barring a few, they were ignorant of the vernacular languages spoken in India and this resulted in a significant socio-cultural barrier between them and the Indians.

EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS, COLONIALISM AND EMPIRICAL 'REALITY' OF INDIA

It was during the colonial period when these European accounts about India were given a special status. Colonial writers, while reconstructing the Indian past, considered them to be impartial and objective, having no political agenda, in contrast to the indigenous Persian chroniclers who were short-sighted and represented one political group or the other. Henry Elliot wrote about these accounts in his preface to the influential *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*: "The historians of the Delhi Emperors have been noticed down to a period when new actors appear on the stage; when a more stirring and eventful era of India's History commences; and when the full light of European truth and discernment begins to shed its beams upon the obscurity of the past, and to relieve us from the necessity of appealing to the Native Chronicles of the time, who are, for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant, and superficial."[23] Thus

colonialism invested them with an authority which oftentimes even the nationalist historians failed to break.[24] Rather some voiced the same sentiments. A respected medievalist K. S. Lal wrote that "their [European] accounts are indeed very valuable in so far as they are not deliberate history. They do not try to make their records spectacular by meaningless rhetoric. . . . These Europeans did not write to please or pamper the vanity of any sovereign, nor were they afraid of any ruler or *Mansabdar*. Hence, they wrote freely and fearlessly."[25] It should be mentioned that K.S. Lal was writing as late as 1988 when the postcolonial project had challenged the myth of colonial superiority and impartiality, and that Lal was writing about Mughal *harem*, the area where the European travellers' testimony was most susceptible.

This dominant position of the European travel accounts was seriously called into question in the 1980s with the beginning of the postcolonial studies. Postcolonial studies' as an academic field can be dated to the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism* in 1978.[26] The greatest contribution of this work was that it conceptualized the colonial project, not just as the physical violence of military conquest and economic exploitation, but rather entailing epistemic violence enacted by particular forms of knowledge related to imperial power. Inspired by Edward Said's work, in the 1990s a number of works appeared which claimed these accounts as part of colonial/ Orientalist discourse. Stuart B. Schwartz's edited work, *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* [27] argues that the "observers of another culture, the traveller to foreign lands, the historian, and the ethnographer all share the common problem of observing, understanding, and representing." The author thinks that "the study of these cultural encounters has generated a variety of approaches" and for some "the practice of representation" has become "the essential act." In this way, these portrayals give us more insights about the observer rather than the observed.[28] Kate Teltscher's *India Inscribed*[29] discussed the textual representations of India contained in the traveller's accounts. She is particularly concerned with "issues of colonial authority" which "provides a discursive framework that is particularly amenable to later colonial use." Jyotsna G. Singh's *Colonial Narrative/ Cultural Dialogues: 'Discoveries' of India in the Language of Colonialism* [30] uses the 'discovery' of India as "a framing trope" for her book. It starts with Thomas Coryate's description of the Mogul court in the seventeenth century and ends with Jawaharlal Nehru's *The Discovery of India*. She concludes that during the early modern period, the "discovery motif has frequently emerged in the language of colonization, enabling European travellers/writers to represent the newly 'discovered' lands as an empty space" where they were able to "inscribe their linguistic, cultural, and later, territorial claims".[31] She believes that these travellers, most of whom were the employees of East India Company, claimed their accounts as authentic but "often revealing the role of fiction in the making of their 'facts'" and "these narratives point to the power of a *colonizing imagination* which 'discovers' new lands via demarcation of identity and difference, often based upon ideological and mythical distinctions between civilization and barbarism and tradition and modernity."[32] Likewise, Shankar Raman's *Framing "India": The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture*[33] contends that "the history of European colonialism is a history of silences." The writer intends "to discover India anew" by focussing on "European discursive formations through whose framing "India" and the 'East' emerged as objects of colonial knowledge and practice." The subtitle 'colonial imaginary' discloses "enmeshed habits of thought and modes of behaviour that have asymmetrically shaped (and continue to shape) the lives and histories of people and places on different sides of the globe" and has then raised the question "how such a colonial imaginary became real, organizing the perception of the 'real' India (whatever that was) and influencing the ways in which diverse geographical regions were actually encountered or addressed."[34] Pramod K. Nayar also regards 'Discovery' as a "key discourse that constructed India in particular ways." According to him, the European encounter with India often occurred as a three-part process. First, the incumbent traveller read through most of the already available material which is in the form of fables and adventure stories, full of eroticism and exoticism, also of wealth and profit. Thus, India was imagined "through the cultural imaginary" of existing literature. Second stage would come when he travelled through

India and recorded his experiences. This is the process of the actual 'discovery' of the East and it is compiled into a readable personal account. In the third stage, the traveller would "proceed to *inquire* about, explain and document what he observed." In this way, Nayar explains that "the 'proto-colonial' discourse of discovery moves from *imagining* of what could be discovered in the East to the *ordering* of what was discovered. These writings therefore mark a narrative possession—we could think of it as 'colonization'—of India."[35]

However, there were other scholars who challenged the idea that these accounts were directly or indirectly related to later-day project of imperialism. Joan Pau Rubies' important study, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance*,[36] Donald F. Lach's voluminous work, *Asia in the Making of Europe*,[37] and Peter Burke, in his article, "The Philosopher as Traveller: Berneir's Orient,"[38] try to locate these travel accounts to distant lands in the development of European intellectual history. They prove that these accounts played a key role in bringing about European Enlightenment. They contend that it will be erroneous to claim these accounts as distorted images of India and motivated by European imperial notions of power. It will lead, according to them, to teleological approach and anachronism. They believe that the travellers were sympathetic towards the Indian customs and traditions and they "use[d] the Other to criticize their own cultures." Thus, Bernier's emphasis on 'Oriental Despotism' in India was motivated by his concerns for growing despotism in France. According to Peter Burke, "in his sympathy for Indian culture and his use of India to criticise France, he [Bernier] offers an important counter-example to the instances of ethnocentrism and prejudice described so vividly by Edward Said."[39] Joan-Pau Rubies also contends that "The blatantly imperialistic assumptions of many nineteenth-century travel writers stand in contrast with the nuanced portrayal of native courts often displayed by early-modern ambassadors. For writers like Thomas Roe in India, there could have been a sense in which Christianity was assumed as the only true religion, oriental kings were somewhat despotic, and European navigation and firearms offered some qualitative advantages, but there was no overall sense of an overwhelming European cultural, let alone ethnic, superiority dominating their narratives. Rather, the Muslim and Gentile civilizations of the East represented highly sophisticated and often admirable systems of power with which the British Crown, on behalf of its subjects, sought peaceful trade agreements from a position of relative vulnerability."

However, this line of argument seems too naïve as it fails to realize that even if a few of the more educated and politically conscious European travellers might have been influenced by European political settings, for centuries these accounts were compiled, read, quoted and analysed for their 'true' and 'authentic' representations of India.

Thus, by analysing these three approaches, it is clear that the process of cultural contact and reporting in the early modern period between Europe and India was quite complex and discursive. The description of peoples, their nature, customs, religion, forms of government and language, is so embedded in the massive amounts of travel literature produced in Europe after the sixteenth century that one is led to assume that ethnography is, almost inevitably, an essential part of the genre. Various writers with varying degrees focus on such topics like political order, including kingship, aristocracies, warfare, and the administration of justice; national, or racial, temperaments; economic activities, including (when applicable) cities and trade; religion, in particular the more exoteric aspects (rituals, festivals, idols and temples, religious elites); marriage, women, and sexuality; dress, or nudity, and ornamentation; habits of eating and hygiene; language and oral rhetoric; literature and science; technology, navigation, and other arts. What is significant after 1500 is the multiplication of travel narratives and their role as basis for a new, historically informed, scientifically constructed anthropological vision. This amounted to the convergence of primarily economic, religious, political and bureaucratic impulses into a wide-ranging and widely-disseminated

ethnographic project. The cultural process that made this possible thus obeyed impulse more complex than just curiosity, self-reflection, or a taste for the exotic.

One has to accept that travel writing is also inextricably linked with the issue of identity formation. According to Indira Ghose, travel "serves as an ideal paradigm to study the intersection of different axes that construct identity."[40] "Implicit within most cultural comparisons lurks a judgmental hierarchy: 'We do it this way, they do it that way' may sound neutral but may also contain a subtext of superiority and inferiority. Noting differences may be benign, but seeking to eradicate those differences, especially on a selective basis, has led to some of the worst atrocities of modern civilization."[41] Therefore, one fundamental question in any travel account is how the traveller has constituted the other. Ghose has indicated two contradictory forms of constructing the identity of the other: "the construction of the other as negation of the self, as completely other" which was mainly the case in the travel accounts pertaining to the Americas; and "the assimilation of the other as same (but lacking)" which was the case in the travel writing concerning the East, including India. However, the common element in both these constructions is that "they are moulded in the image of the self and serve the function of self-definition."[42]

However, one of the significant elements in this encounter was the creation of the binaries of self and other. These accounts, though not yet directly implicated in colonial imperatives, established a base of knowledge in which Europe performed the normative function. Thomas Metcalf has written that "throughout the Raj and especially during the years of uncontested British supremacy from 1859 to 1918, the ideas that most powerfully informed British conceptions of India and its people were those of India's 'difference'.[43] As pointed out by Bernard S. Cohn, these accounts "established an enduring structural relationship between India and the West" which considered Europe as "progressive and changing", while India as "static." For Europeans, India was "a kind of living fossil bed of the European past, a museum which was to provide Europeans for the next two hundred years a vast field on which to impose their own visions of history." It was a "land of oriental despotism, with its cycles of strong but lawless rules," which created political order only by "unbridled power" and "led inevitably to its own destruction in a war of all against all, leading to anarchy and chaos."[44]

This analysis does not mean to suggest that these European accounts in any direct way brought about British imperialism. However, this encounter between India and Europe did establish some of the Oriental stereotypes and clichés which became important during the colonial period. That is the reason why colonial writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resonate some of the same images which were in the beginning provided by the pre-colonial European travellers. William Dalrymple calls them "unwitting contributors to later colonialism." [45] It is, no doubt, conceded that these accounts are far more complex and resist a straightforward label of Orientalist writings. The textual representations are "not monolithic or univocal" and these "create a network of intersecting and contending discourses about India." However, it cannot be denied that these "competing discourses" lead to a "discursive framework that is particularly amenable to later colonial use."[46]

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'THE MYSTERY OF THE HUMAN HEART' IN FORD MADOX FORD'S *THE GOOD SOLDIER*

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ABSTRACT

This research paper, through a close textual reading, investigates 'the mystery of the human heart' in Ford Madox Ford's *The Good Soldier: A Tale of Passion*. Dowell, the narrator and central character, attempts to understand 'the mystery of the human heart' through an act of narration. It is argued that the 'good people' – Edward, Leonora, Dowell, and Florence – suffer from a limited perception not only of themselves but also of the world at large. The missing link in their universe is a failure to understand the human heart. The depths of the human heart remain a mystery to them because they appear to lack the apparatus to examine its inherently complex nature. They invent a fiction of self-wholeness by means of various illusions they have set for themselves in order to avoid moments of self-realisation. The pivotal point of Dowell's tale is the discovery of Edward's love for Nancy. It is argued that Edward's love for Nancy holds the key to understand 'the mystery of the human heart'. In the end, Dowell, through an act of narration, journeys through Edward's heart to decode 'the mystery of the human heart' and 'in knowing that heart, he knows his own.'

KEY WORDS

Narration, Heart, Love, Marriage, Relationship

We are told in the novel *The Good Soldier: A Tale of Passion* (1915) that the tale is removed from its point of inception some nine years and six weeks. It begins on 4th August 1904 when they – Edward, Leonora, Dowell, and Florence – meet in Nauheim, Germany. Edward Ashburnham is thirty-three years old; Leonora Powys Ashburnham is thirty-one; John Dowell is thirty-six; Florence Hurlbird is thirty. The Ashburnhams are descended from royalty. Florence comes of an old-fashioned family. Leonora is the daughter of an impoverished Irish Catholic military officer. Dowell is an American real estate businessman. Earlier on in his tale, Dowell introduces them as "good people" and he tends to exaggerate their relationship.[1] He continues to assert the quality of their friendship in exaggerated metaphors: "we were an extraordinarily a safe castle."[2] He equates the fall of the Roman Empire with the breaking up of their relationship: "I swear to you that the breaking up of our little four-square coterie was such another unthinkable event."[3] Meixner argues that "the meaning and significance of the book spring not from the story of only one individual but from the interrelationship of all its characters and events, from its total pattern."[4] For any discussion of Ford's novel, it is necessary to examine Dowell's position with regard to the content of his tale. He is the narrator and an important character in the novel: in other words, he is the outsider-participator of this tale. It is likely that the necessity to construct a written structure of his tale is born out of his desire to understand this "picture without a meaning".[5] He recalls the material of his tale from memory. He writes down the events of the tale when everything has already happened. It is this later act of writing his tale in a secluded place that promises to restore sanity to him. In other words, he attempts to understand the predicament of his tale through a literary imagination. Writing also serves him a kind of self-therapy. Hynes comments on Dowell's position with regard to the tale he narrates: "It is an interior action, taking its order from the processes of a puzzled mind rather than from the external forms of chronology and causation."[6] Dowell records his impressions in accordance with the sequence of their happening in his memory. He moves back and forth in his narrative which gives the impression of a non-sequential, non-linear quality to it: "I have, I am aware, told this story in

a very rambling way so that it may be difficult for anyone to find their path through what may be a sort of maze."[7] In a statement like this in the novel, Dowell seems to be in dialogue with the reader of his tale.

Dowell is a naïve character who attempts to understand through his narrative that he is deceived by his own mysterious heart: "romantic love in the twentieth century could only lead to disaster and ruin."[8] He undergoes a great deal of suffering in order to transform his narrative into a work of art. McDougal argues that Dowell's "state of mind is made possible by the completion of his book."[9] Dahab says that Dowell could be compared with the "ferocious warrior" who is motivated by the capacities of his rival: "Dowell does so well in his selfless excursions into Edward's heart and mind, that he becomes one with him."[10] In the end, he substitutes Edward by becoming Nancy's caretaker and the owner of Edward's estate. Dowell manages to make sense of 'the saddest story' by identifying himself with Edward. He feels a sense of wholeness by identifying himself with Edward. Gose, Jr. argues that Edward has two sides to his character – the internal Edward and the external Edward – and "they provide a basis for the main conflict in the novel."[11] The internal Edward is mad with passion and aims to find a perfect woman who could satisfy him. The external Edward is the soldier, landlord and magistrate.

It is passion that governs the human heart and makes it complicated and mysterious. Gose, Jr. argues that "the clue to change in Dowell's character lies in the phrase "repression of instincts." [12] Dowell's 'repression' of his 'instincts' renders him passionless, but Florence's death "brought up from the depths of Dowell's mind a passion his conscious self-had never suspected."[13] After her death he realizes that he loves Nancy. According to Gose, Jr., Dowell desires fulfillment but he lacks the passion to do so. The difference between Dowell and Edward is that Dowell lacks passion, and Edward is full of it. Gose, Jr. sympathizes with Florence, saying that it is difficult for her to live with a passionless man like Dowell. Therefore, she seeks a passionate man like Edward. Bassoff says that Dowell is a 'passive-aggressive Oedipus': "By presenting Dowell, moreover, as a kind of passive-aggressive Oedipus, Ford is able to evoke the arrested development that he sees pervading his culture."[14] Bassoff adds that the story contains incest: Lenora looks at Dowell like a son or a brother. Edward and Lenora are like parents to both Nancy and Maisie. Edward feels fatherly affection for the nursemaid he kisses. Ford presents a pattern of arrested development in the form of family romance. Levenson argues that Dowell is a fundamentally innocent man, who continually re-experiences the world and expresses it in his "startled speech."[15] Bort says, "*The Good Solider* is not a tragedy but a savage comedy of manners (its material is suicide, madness, and unrealized happiness) in which people are unable to cope with the world because they have never learned to understand it." [16] Hessler states that "*The Good Soldier* suggests, with clairvoyant genius, the fate of the post-Romantic sensibility, hemmed in by solipsism, nihilism, and suicide."[17] He describes the novel as a record of a disturbed mind [Dowell's mind]: "He can no longer endure the shattering contradictions of social reality."[18] Hood sympathizes with the narrator Dowell, saying that he goes through a great deal of pain and suffering but in the end he is able to confront 'reality'; he writes in order to make peace with his own bitter experience, and in the end he succeeds. He achieves a higher level of consciousness after experiencing 'the saddest story' step by step: "And there is something deeply moving in the sheer humanity of Dowell's attempt to come to terms with his own experience. And there is a profound sense of victory in the ability to continue searching, and feeling, in a world in which 'all is chaos.'"[19]

This study has been conducted on the basis of close textual analysis. In order to substantiate the central arguments of this study, specific words or phrases have been selected from the text of the novel. These specific words or phrases are analyzed and interpreted by means of secondary sources. The present study is an attempt to retrieve the humanist reading of the novel. T. S. Eliot claimed that Matthew Arnold was the founding figure of humanism. Ford seems to have written the novel in the Arnoldean tradition of humanism.

Is Dowell a trustworthy narrator? Can we trust the words of a perfectly normal, perfectly healthy, and conventional narrator? Dowell says of himself: "I never was a patient anywhere."[20] He ridicules himself for being naïve; he could not perceive treachery in their relationships. He reveals an important clue about himself: "It is as if one had a dual personality, the one I being entirely unconscious of the other."[21] It reveals the difference between Dowell as a character who is only dimly aware of his unconscious self, and Dowell as a narrator who is on the point of accepting it (unconscious self) as a deeper reality of the human psyche. Baernstein argues that "Dowell's ambivalence and his division of Edward's personality is, at once, the conscious and unconscious rendering of his narrative function."[22] Freud discovers: "The Unconscious is the true reality of the psyche."[23] He lays bare the relative ineffectuality of the overvalued "conscious character" in the realm of creativity.[24] The conscious part, instead of revealing the true reality of things, rather hides it. Therefore, Dowell as a character in his tale suffers from "a personal failure of perception" not only of himself but also of human nature in general.[25] He sincerely regrets lack of self-knowledge and knowledge of others: "After forty-five years of mixing up with one's kind, one ought to have acquired the habit of being able to know something about one's fellow beings. But one doesn't."[26] He frankly confesses that "I know nothing – nothing in the world – of the hearts of men. I only know that I am alone – horribly alone."[27] He acknowledges that the mystery of personal human relationships remains elusive simply because of its complex nature. We are told in the text that the superstitious cast of his mind is prone to depend on the first impressions of others as a basis of sound judgment. He takes things upon their face value. Apart from his shifting judgments, he furnishes with enough material for the reader to explore the possible meanings of his tale and "we must accept his contradictions and uncertainties as stages in our progress toward knowledge."[28] His remark about his tale as "the saddest story I have ever heard" only evokes an appeal to sentimentality and emotional sympathy for him.[29] It is argued that it is not 'the saddest story' because of the tragic content of the tale but because of his pathetic knowledge and understanding of human nature; his failure to adjust himself to adult life, and also because of the Apollonian repression of his Dionysian Self.

Right from the beginning of the tale, Dowell emphasizes: "Blessed are the undefiled."[30] He lays bare, by degrees, the traumatic unrest lying beneath the apparently decent texture of their lives as "broken, tumultuous, agonized, and unromantic lives, periods punctuated by screams, by imbecilities, by deaths, by agonies."[31] The missing link in their universe is failure to understand what love is in fact: they are sick at heart. Consequently, they suffer from their respective limited editions of their idea of love they offer to one another. They invent a fiction of self-wholeness through various illusions they have set for themselves in order to avoid moments of self-realisation. Dowell deludes himself living comfortably in a world of aristocratic norms; Edward seeks it through his love-affairs before he finally embraces the idea of pure love –'buttered honey'; Leonora in her religious sect; Florence in promiscuity. All these characters suffer from limited perception not only of themselves but also of the world at large.

Dowell pretends to be naïve about the essential matters of the heart. It remains a mystery to plumb the depths of the human heart because of its inherently complex nature: "Who in this world knows anything of any other heart – or of his own?"[32] He states on another occasion that "the human heart is a very mysterious thing."[33] He continues to believe that "it is impossible to believe in the permanence of man's or woman's love."[34] He acknowledges that love for a man is "something in the nature of a widening of the experience."[35] His idea of love incorporates self-sacrifice as a basis of true love: "I think that love will be truer and more permanent in which self-sacrifice has been exacted."[36]

The pivotal point of Dowell's tale is the discovery of Edward's love for Nancy. The other strands of the tale overlap on this point. It partly or wholly drives Florence out of her senses to commit suicide. It acts as the final nail in the coffin of Edward and Leonora's relationship. Edward commits suicide on discovering that

Nancy no longer loves him. Nancy, in turn, goes mad upon hearing the news of Edward's death. From here on, Dowell, too, gradually learns the reality of his relationship with his wife, Florence. Forty-two-year-old Edward finally seeks anchorage in the love of a twenty-two years old girl who is old enough to be his daughter. Dowell affirms that Nancy truly loves Edward. Edward confesses to Dowell at the point of his life when he has gone through many crises of his life that "I am so desperately in love with Nancy Rufford that I am dying of it."[37] He was looking for a 'female Saviour' to redeem the balance of his life: "He wanted only moral support at the hands of some female, because he found men difficult to talk to about ideals."[38] Could Edward's love for Nancy be taken seriously? He has been passionately and violently in love with La Dolciquita, Mrs. Basil, and Maisie Maidan at various points of his life. On certain occasions in the tale, he confesses that he truly loves Leonora. He would hardly fail to love a woman without the depth and might of his passion, "with his intense, optimistic belief that the woman he was making love to at the moment was the one he was destined, at last, to be eternally constant to."[39] He appears to be vulnerable to a woman's love: "Perhaps he could not bear to see a woman and not give her the comfort of his physical attractions."[40] Dowell's insists on saying that Edward was a sentimentalist: "the sentimental view of the cosmos that was his."[41] This discovery about Edward's character spotlights a very important feature of Edward's life, and that contributes significantly towards Dowell's understanding of Edward's heart. There seems to be "something sentimental of that sort" in all these love-affairs he had.[42] It signifies Edward as a character who gets carried away by his impulses, but this is not all about him. His love-affairs reveal that he seriously engaged his deepest passions in loving those women because he cannot do without love; it is the mainspring of his being. Dowell sums up his assessment with regard to Edward's love affairs:

> With each new woman that a man is attracted to there appears to come a broadening of the outlook, or, if you like, an acquiring of new territory. A turn of the eyebrow, a tone of the voice, a queer characteristic gesture – all these things, and it is these things that cause to arise the passion of love – all these things are like so many objects on the horizon of the landscape that tempt a man to walk beyond the horizon, to explore.[43]

From the moment of his discovery of love for Nancy, a change comes over Edward. He recedes to his private self; he becomes prone to self-reflection. His falling in love with Nancy occurs at his most serious period of life; so, it cannot, by all means, be dismissed as infatuation. He has seen enough of the adult world to leave room for investing his passions along the old lines any longer. It is more to do with 'acquiring of new territory' through self-exploration which is 'beyond the horizon'. He is a character of the heart who could easily be made to feel emotional sympathy for the sufferer. He believes love to be a simple, straightforward road to the innermost depths of his being: "And in his books, as a rule, the course of true love ran as smooth as buttered honey."[44] He believes in the traditional idea of love as self-consuming: "love was a flame, a thirst, a withering up of the vitals."[45] Dowell also supplies the evidence of Edward's innocence and that Edward did not have any love affair during the first three years of his married life with Leonora: he was sexually naïve and did not know how to produce children in the first two years of his marriage because "he was really a simple soul – very simple."[46]

Edward is a well-bred English gentleman. Dowell keeps on appreciating Edward till the end: "Edward Ashburnham was the cleanest looking sort of chap; - an excellent magistrate, a first rate soldier, one of the best landlords, so they said, in Hampshire, England."[47] Dowell acknowledges him as "a man of solid and serious virtues."[48] Dowell could never suspect a trace of deceit in Edward's intentions towards his wife, Florence because he had a very high conception of him: "It is impossible of me to think of Edward Ashburnham as anything but straight, upright and honourable."[49] After Edward's death, he says to Leonora if he had known

Edward and Florence as lovers, he would have made it possible for them to be united. What Edward always wants to be engaged at is to invest his sympathetic emotion in the service and well-being of others. He is known to be charitable and generous towards his tenants. He has a tragic vision of life; the reason why he cannot bear to see anyone in pain: "what really made him feel good in life was to comfort somebody who would be darkly and mysteriously mournful."[50] Kilsyte case with a servant girl reveals his compassionate concern for any agonized being. He could easily forget his position in life if someone genuinely needs to be relieved of pain. Gose Jr. affirms this point that "Edward's motives are, in other words, based on considerations outside himself."[51]

Nancy is an innocent girl. In her limited world, she has very little experience to understand what it means to be in love except what she has been taught to believe. Leonora drills into her mind the idea of love as self-consuming, "punctuated with heavy sighs."[52] Later, Nancy finds its expression in Edward's sick state: "He appeared as a man who was burning with inward flame, drying up in the soul with thirst; withering up in the vitals."[53] To her, it means that Edward is in love with her. By Leonora's incessant manipulation, Nancy interprets her own feelings along the same lines: "She felt like a person who is burning up with an inward flame; desiccating at the soul with thirst; withering up in the vitals."[54] She allows herself to daydream about physical intimacy with Edward.[55] Edward feels his 'best self' represented in his love for Nancy; otherwise, his 'best self' was withering up in the tormenting coils of Leonora's plots for revenge. Dowell sumps up his observation about the Edward-Nancy relationship:

> But the real fierceness of desire, the real heat of a passion long continued and withering up the soul of a man is the craving for identity with the woman that he loves. He desires to see with the same eyes, to touch with the same sense of touch, to hear with the same ears, to lose his identity, to be enveloped, to be supported. For, whatever may be said of the relation of the sexes, there is no man who loves a woman that does not desire to come to her for the renewal of his courage, for the cutting asunder of his difficulties. And that will be the mainspring of his desire for her.[56]

Edward's love for Nancy gives assurance to his inner world. He feels affinity with her in many senses of the word. Nancy becomes for Edward the incarnation of his essentially good nature; his love for Nancy becomes sufficient in itself "To have all that and to be all that!"[57] He cannot continue to derive the strength of his being from his generous acts as a landlord; he is "a man of honour whose vestigial sentiments and lapsed values have no place in the modern world."[58] It is his final refuge in the lap of an idea which could bridge up the gap between his being and non-being, between his public persona and the private self. To Nancy, he appears like a medieval knight who would protect her virtue against the evil world. There is a subtle touch of child-like delicacy in their relationship. However, Leonora works relentlessly and artfully to shatter this very grand image of Edward in the young girl's mind. Leonora gradually poisons her mind in such a way as to splinter apart her idyllic view of life. She creeps silently into the psychological certainties of Nancy's mind Nancy to smash her innocent ideals of gentlemanliness of Edward. Her parents could not create any good impression upon her nascent mind. The only hope she has of seeing her world united rests on Edward being a model of excellence. On learning about Edward's amours from Leonora, she, too, applies hard and puritanical measures – a sad product of her religious training. Her callous response to Edward, which results in his death, is devoid of any regard for feeling or emotion. Her love for Edward turns into channels of negativity which invert her instinctual energies: the highest mode of sublimation – love – turns into damnation. Her madness is an expression of this inversion of instinctual energies in her. Meixner points out that "for Edward and Nancy, it is the resolution of the withdrawal, by suicide and insanity, from a world which is too horrible."[59] Meixner perceives in their destruction a suggestion of the undeserved punishment of Lear

and Cordelia; Leonora, whom he thinks, bears striking resemblance with the evil sisters; she "triumphs without final punishment."[60]

Dowell's confession about the failure of their relationships alludes to an important factor: "Not one of us has got what he really wanted…Why people can't have what they want? The things were all there to content anybody; yet everybody has the wrong thing."[61] Things are not at their right places because the idea of marriage as a moral and legal guarantee for the perpetuation of relationship between man and woman leads them to an unhappy conclusion as it has led millions in the past: "When people were married there was an end of loving."[62] It is crucial to understand that the unhappy conclusion is the failure to come to terms with one another without realizing the differences as unique individuals. The narrator formulates the basis of an ethic which subsumes the idea of an individual as unique, but there is a price to be paid for uniqueness: "Conventions and traditions, I suppose, work blindly but surely for the preservation of the normal type; for the extinction of proud, resolute and unusual individuals."[63] The outward assurances of love and physical intimacy are not enough to gain knowledge of the other in one's essence. Edward and Leonora fail to live up to themselves because they are thrown into an intimate relationship where it is expected of them to carry on as husband and wife. Marriage of this sort surpasses the individual. Edward is simply not her type: "The dissimilarity of Edward and Leonora was too profound."[64] He is "the idealist whose virtues and values are not of the time or place into which he is born" (Huntley 184). There is this essential link missing in their relationship: "she had not for him a touch of magnetism."[65] Nevertheless, Dowell gets the impression of them as "the model couple."[66] He insists that Edward loved his wife dearly: "I believe that he simply loved her…she was the only woman he ever really loved."[67] He says of Edward on another occasion, "He had the greatest admiration for Leonora" because she managed his estate brilliantly.[68] (Ford 115). Leonora's pretentious cover to paper over the cracks of their relationship betokens a sense of self-composure as if nothing seriously wrong had happened; she "was a good actress."[69] She proves skilful at keeping up appearances, false or otherwise.

Leonora cannot be wholly held responsible for the break-up of their relationship because "she seemed too good to be true."[70] She comes straight from the narrow and sheltered world of her parents to marital life. She was ill-prepared for marriage, ill-trained for love as she has been drilled into believing what she has been taught: "Leonora had a vague sort of idea that, to a man, all women are the same after three weeks of close intercourse."[71] She is trained to pay more attention to the external sources than the internal ones. Her world is determined by the Catholic faith of iron discipline and large-scale repression. She has seen very little of the outside world. She learns to mould herself on a model of womanhood given to her by the Catholic faith. She follows the lure of a false ideal of womanhood. Her sense of the self is informed by the Catholic principles of order, discipline and restraint. In this sense, her desire is not her own for it passes through the channels of religious consciousness. She seeks whatever guidance from her Church and spiritual advisors which for her serve the purpose of 'being on the right path'. A belief in something that is absolutely 'given' makes her hard: "Leonora was a woman of strong, cold conscience, like all English Catholics."[72] She fails to perceive what Edward needs from her. Edward does admire Leonora: "By Jove, you're the finest woman in the world."[73] Her love and hatred for Edward arises from the same breast with the same intensity of passion: "Leonora adored him with a passion that was like an agony, and hated him with an agony that was as bitter as the sea."[74] Her ambivalence exposes the nature of her inauthentic self. She, instead of appreciating Edward for what he is, tries in vain to re-instate his family assets to their original position: "Leonora can understand nothing of Edward's mad attachment to the land of his ancestors nor the principle of feudal interdependency he adheres to."[75] Edward believes that he would not be able to carry out his life's work without the complete co-operation of his wife. On the contrary, her efforts are directed at improving upon the material side of affairs. She keeps materialistic concerns ahead of other considerations. She allows Edward to continue with his love-affairs. He is side-tracked from the main path because of her. Gose Jr. blames Leonora's materialism for

pushing Edward into the muck of promiscuity: "If it had not been for this quality in Leonora, Edward might never have wandered afield."[76] It is her financial concerns that put him into those situations which made him promiscuous. For example, during the court proceedings of the Kilsyte case, he is suddenly overtaken by "the recollection of the softness of the girl's body as he had pressed her to him. And, from that moment, that girl appeared desirable to him – and Leonora completely unattractive."[77] Leonora also fails to give emotional and sexual satisfaction to Edward because of her frigidity. She encourages Mrs Basil and Edward in a relationship which she thinks could provide Edward with an emotional support because she believes that "such excesses in men are natural, excusable – as if they had been children."[78] He realizes that "Leonora must be intending to manage his loves as she managed his money affairs and it made her more hateful to him – and more worthy of respect."[79] She fondly adheres to the idea that it is natural for husbands to be unfaithful and it is the duty of the wives to win them back: indeed "the main passion of her life was to get Edward back."[80]

Leonora pertinaciously clings to the idea of marriage as 'the finality of experience' which she inherited from her religious faith. It is her pride to continue her marital relationship no matter what may happen. Hers is an escape from her womanhood into a false pride which can only pave way for the fattening of her ego. She is at home with her religious belief of redemption through suffering. Her consequent revenge upon Edward reveals the hardness of an essentially repressed womanhood. She works towards a climax with the spirit of an executioner who does her duty in perfect accord with the will of God. She constricts her victim like a boa-constrictor. In their marital relationship, one's meat becomes poison for the other in the end. Ultimately, it is the failure of her sources of sublimation which disregard sympathy and empathy in a human being. Her nun-like piety turns into fiendish wrath of a wounded womanhood. Later she finds herself in smooth waters with her lover. Her domesticated self meets its reward in the end. And that gives a happy turn to her life. Her "flame-like personality" burns inwardly on the altar of her inauthentic self as long as she is constricted in an uneven relationship with Edward.[81] Her idea of love is limited to the domestic management and household responsibilities. She finally recovers a sense of her stable self and learns to perceive the difference between "the law of the Church" and "the law of the land."[82] She gradually learns to accept that "The religious framework of the world, with its vision of harmony between God, man, and nature, has been shattered."[83]

Hynes argues that "Dowell, in the end, does know another human heart – Ashburnham's, and in knowing that heart, he knows his own."[84] He develops heartfelt sympathy with Edward's heart. His love for him grows so strong in him that he identifies himself with Edward. Dowell's love for Nancy is a heart to heart tribute to the dead.

Dowell has achieved this very identity with Edward; enveloping himself in an unconscious and unthreatening version of Edward, through his possession of the very object of Edward's desire – Nancy –, and an almost hereditary ownership of his property.[85] Dowell, the guileless fool, turns out to be a genius in the process of narrating his tale. Marlowe in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899) journeys spiritually to the heart of mystery through an act of narration; Dowell, too, journeys through Edward's heart to decode 'the mystery of the human heart'; by doing so, he investigates the heart of mystery itself – the by-product of his inquiry into the meaning of his tale.

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HEARTS TO SEEK GOD:[1]
SAMA AND HAPPINESS AT CHISHTI SUFI'S SHRINES IN COLONIAL PUNJAB

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ABSTRACT

The study of religion and emotion has opened new opportunities to analyse ideas about devotional practices and gestures. This approach tries to disclose religious emotions and explore various linkages between devotional rituals and religious institutions. By avoiding the doctrinal disputes, doctrinaire taxonomies, and sectarian exclusion that sometimes characterize the study of South Asian Islam, this research paper proposes that mystical performance like sama (lit. 'hearing', or 'Sufi music') invoked happiness, ecstatic union between human lover and Divine beloved and constructed Muslim identity through Chishti Sufi's shrines (which are treated as the places of happiness) such as Taunsa Sharif, Sial Sharif and Golra Sharif.

KEY WORDS

Emotions, Happiness, Ecstasy, Chishti Sufis, Mystical Practices, *Sama,* Identity, Colonial Punjab

Among Sufis *silsilas* (orders) such as the Suharwardiya, Qadriya, Naqshbandiya, and Chishtiya, the meeting between human lover (Sufi) and Divine beloved (God) has remained one of the fundamental sources of happiness. To achieve ecstatic union in devotional assemblies, Sufis used mystical performances like *zikr, azkar, sama,* and *dhmal* as a means of evoking happiness. In colonial Punjab, through *sama* during *urs* (spiritual marriage) Chishti Sufis used happiness for ecstatic union with God and as an identity marker of Muslim community. Devotional festivals such as *urs* played an important role in the construction and preservation of Muslim identity.

In order to explore the role of *sama* and happiness among Chishti Sufis, this study draws on primary and secondary sources in English, Urdu, Punjabi, and Sariki. Primary sources such as *malfuzat* (Sufi leaders' dialogues with their followers), *maktobat* (Sufi leaders' letters), and gazetteers, are used. Secondary sources like biographies of Sufis and *adab* literature, is also used. Moreover, the social and cultural history of *urs* at Sufi's shrine and other *mela* (annual fairs) in colonial Punjab is also rooted in ethnographies by British administrators, who hoped to control Indian society both through knowledge and state apparatus.[2]

This study is divided into four sections. By taking leads from various theologians, philosophers, and historian first section theorizes the interplay between religion and emotions. Through the study of devotional rituals and symbols, the second section highlights the meaning of happiness in shrine-based communities. The third section explains happiness and *sama* at Chishti Sufis shrines in India. The last section specifically deals with the happiness and *sama* at Chishti shrines in colonial Punjab.

The study of religion and emotion provides cues to explore mystical emotions such as happiness. Theologians such as Blaise Pascal and Rudolf Otto claim that the heart has its reasons which are hidden from cognition and religious happiness is ultimately mysterious.[3] The performance of happiness in religious life contributes in a significant way to the construction of separate identity and also suggests 'alternative taxonomies of values'.[4] Religious experiences are saturated with happiness. Yet, scholars have neglected an ample analysis of the role of happiness in South Asian religious life because emotions have been viewed as mainly physiological or entirely subjective, and therefore not within the field of history or the social sciences.

That earlier approach, however has been misguided. As David D. Franks observes: "the source of emotions, its governing laws, and its consequences are an inseparable part of social process."[5]

Through the observation of devotional ritual performances like *sama,* it is possible to establish a data-driven linkage between religion and happiness. Happiness as a mystical performance highlights various feeling, emotional styles, certain cultural guidelines, and a society's most deeply held values. Emotions are imbedded in implicit local ontologies.[6] The subjects arising from a focus on performance of emotion in religion include: rituals involving devotional processions, religious symbols, and group prayers. All typically involve the expression of emotion across a wide range of experiential states such as happiness.

HAPPINESS: SHRINE-BASED COMMUNITY, DEVOTIONAL RITUALS AND SYMBOLS

In a 'shrine-based community' gaining God's happiness is one of the fundamental objectives of devotional rituals. Shrine-based community means a community of like-minded Muslims who trace and associate their identity with Sufi shines. They perform and attend various devotional rituals in Sufi shrines to evoke happiness. In this study, I am specifically dealing with the Chishti Sufi shrine-based community at the places of happiness in colonial Punjab such as Taunsa Sharif, Sial Sharif and Golra Sharif. Interestingly, *Ahl-e Sunnat* community associates itself with the Chishti Sufis shrines and also views the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) as miracle worker and intercessor. For attaining happiness, there are great similarities between the shrine-based community and the *Ahl-e Sunnat* community: for both, Chishti Sufi's shrines are central stage of devotional rituals and symbols, both show keen love to the personality of Holy Prophet (PBUH) and the Chishti Sufi leader, and both ascribe a fundamental significance to *sama* and *dhamal* at Sufi shrines.

For evoking happiness, devotional rituals such as *sama* were an integral part of Chishti shrine in colonial Punjab. Sama strengthened devotees' emotional engagement and bond with God, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and other symbolic religious personalities such as Sulman Tunsvi (1770-1850), Muhammad Din Sialvi (1837-1909) and Mher Ali Shah (1859-1937) and disseminated community (Muslim) sensibilities. Happiness did not work at the same time and it could not be displayed simply anywhere. In order to pay attention to a specific deity, person, or relationship, ritual occurring in a particular space acted as a "focusing lens".[7] Jonathan Z. Smith defines ritual as " a means of performing the way things ought to be in conscious tension to the way things are in such a way that this ritualized perfection is recollected in the ordinary, uncontrolled, course of things".[8] While writing about ritual, some other scholars such as Emile Durkheim, Clifford Geertz, and Gray L. Ebersole considered emotions as one of the important aspects of inquiry into religion and emotion. Durkheim opines that ritual provides a platform through which a sense of community cohesion is encouraged.[9] Geertz is of the view that "moods and motivations" are an important aspect of religion, especially in terms of the ways in which ritual contributes to religion's influential force in culture.[10]

To evoke spiritual happiness no festive activity could be complete in colonial Punjab, particularly among Chishti Sufis, without the mystical concert or devotional song (*sama*). *Sama* was performed by *qawwals* (singers) who were associated with shrines. *Sama* was held by Sufis at *dargahs* and attended by *murids* (initiated disciples of Sufis) and other uninitiated devotees. There is a divergence in opinion about the place of music in Muslim society. There has been an unending controversy amongst Muslim thinkers about the legitimacy of music.

In Lahore, an early Sufi, Ali al-Hajwiri (1009-1077) regarded listening to *sama* as permissible for mystics, but under some very rigid conditions: it was not to be listened to without a deep spiritual urge, only after long intervals, and only in the presence of one's spiritual preceptor. Four Sufi orders, Chishti, Suhrawardi, Naqshbandi, and Qadri, have different stances about the place of music in the Muslim community. As

compared to other Sufi *Silsalas*, the *Chishti* alone sought ecstatic inspiration in music. The Suhrawardis were generally indifferent to it and recommended instead the chanting of the Quran; the Qadris were opposed to music generally, and to *sama bil-mazamir* (instrumental music) in particular. The Naqshbandi attitude to music was even more hostile. Despite the religious attitude towards music ranging from wholehearted acceptance to complete rejection, the devotional assembly of Islamic mysticism called *qawwali* remained a popular source of happiness in colonial Punjab. The occasion of the *qawwali* performance was also called *sama*, aptly defined by Bruce Lawrence as "hearing chanted verse (with or without accompanying instruments) in the company of others also seeking to participate in the dynamic dialogue between a human lover and the Divine Beloved."[11] *Qawwals* presented mystical poetry in Persian, Hindi, and Urdu (in that order of prestige) in a fluid style of alternating solo and group passages, characterized by repetition and improvisation.

Among Chishti Sufis, to evoke happiness there were four types of songs which were identified as known to the *qawwals*: songs associated with Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya (1238-1325), including ritual songs and Amir Khusru's (1253-1325) compositions; Sufi classics known to the Sufis and *qawwals* all over India; songs that formed part of the performer's personal repertoire; and songs with wide popularity. The function of *qawwali* music was the presentation of mystical poetry in order to arouse mystical emotion such as happiness in an assembly of listeners with spiritual needs that were both diverse and changing. The structure of the *qawwali* event such as the occasions, setting, seating arrangement of Sufi devotees, and performers as well as the procedure, listing process and responses of the assembled devotees at the time of *sama*, was also very important to evoke happiness. Apart from *sama*, *dhamal* (dance) was also indicative of a mystical state of happiness. Ernst argues, "every limb has a portion and pleasure in *sama*. The portion of the eye is weeping, the portion of the tongue is crying out, the portion of the hand is striking the garment, and the portion of the foot is dancing."[12]

HAPPINESS AT CHISHTI SUFI SHRINES

In colonial Punjab, Sufi *khanqah*s (royal court) which served as one of the places of happiness, were central to the evocation of happiness in shrine-based communities. At the *khanqah, sama* and *dhamal* were arranged. Apart from *tawiz* (amulet) and *zikr* (remembering God through particular exercise of the breath),[13] shrine-based communities followed the famous Sufi tradition of *sama* as "a method of worship" and "a means of spiritual advancement" and emotional release.[14] Annemarie Schimmel is of the view that "those who longed for an emotional kind of worship that ritual prayer could not really provide might find it by listening to music (*sama*) or by participating in the dance movement."[15] The term *sama* is especially applied to a form of mystical concert which is organized with the purpose to induce a state of happiness with glad tidings and ecstasy in Sufis and his followers. In Sufism, generally the term *'wajd'* is translated as ecstasy (lit. finding) which means becoming quite to find God. In the devastating happiness of having found God, one may be enthralled in ecstatic bliss.[16] Moreover, ecstasy is the going of oneself into "the ocean of the soul."[17] It is a flame which springs up secretly in heart of its members without visitation with either joy or grief.[18]According to Fariduddin Attar, "What is *wajd*? To become happy thanks to the true morning, to become fire without the presence of sun".[19]

Two aspects of *sama*, 'the nourishment of soul'[21] helped shrine-based communities to construct their identity through happiness, first, through *dhamal* (mystical dance)[22] or in Arabic *'raqs'* and second, the content of poetry, which shrine based communities listened to in these parties for invoking love for the Sufi master. True *sama* was a "a dance in blood".[23] Like *sama, dhamal* was also a means of inducing happiness, and ecstasy in the shrine-based communities.[24] *Dhamal* was performed during *sama.* Sufis either individually or collectively with their pupils performed *dhamal* on *urs*. In relation to such performances, Nizam ud din

Awliya said "when a *darvish* (Sufi) claps his hand in the stage of ecstasy, all the sins of the hands are removed, and when he shouts, all the evil desires are destroyed".[25]

The language of poetry was another source of evoking happiness in shrine-based communities. The poetry for *sama* was recited in Persian, Arabic or in Indian languages such as Siraiki and Punjabi. *Qawwals* (musicians) used to explain the meanings of the verses, which must have developed the understanding of shrine-based communities about Sufi ideas of happiness. Shrine-based communities used to perform Sufi dance (called *dhamal* in the Punjabi and whirling in the Persian Sufi traditions) in pre-colonial Punjab on the occasion of *urs* which led to the experience of *haal* or ecstasy. According to Chishti Sufi philosophy, the entire universe is in *haal* due to the divine presence in it.[26] However, *sama* remained a central feature of Chishti Sufis order and a separate place within the shrine was accorded to *sama*.[27] As compared to Chishti Sufis, in pre-colonial Multan, the Suharwardi Sufis did not allow common people to share discussion halls, which were mostly reserved for state dignitaries, traders.[28] Moreover, they also did not like *sama* assemblies, and the distribution of *tawiz* (amulets).[29]

As compared to Hindu devotional music, Muslims did not have a strong tradition of music in their worships.[30] But Chishti Sufis such as Hazrat Moin-ud-Din Chishti (1141-1236), Qutbud Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (1173-1235), Nizam-ud-Din Aulya (1238-1325) Amir Khusro (1253-1325) and Nasir-ud-Din Chargh Dahlvi (1274-1356), played an important role in the development and promotions of happiness and ecstasy through *sama* as a Muslim devotional ritual at Sufi shrines. Hazrat Moin-ud-Din Chishti, the founder of the Chishti Sufi order in India was very fond of happiness achieved through *sama*. In his *sama* assembly, many *ulama* used to participate. Abdul Majeed quotes Nasir-ud-Din Chargh Dahlvi's book 'Miftah-ul-Ashqeen' that Nasir-ud-Din Chargh Dahlvi said, "*sama* is a way to explore the unexplored".[31]Hazrat Bakhtiyar Kaki also used *sama* to evoke happiness. Faiz Ahmad Faiz quotes from 'Iqtibas Alanwar' that Hazrat Bakhtiayr Kaki took permission of *sama* from Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in dream.[32] It can be proved by the fact that he was the only Sufi who died in ecstasy while listening to *sama*. He remained unconscious for four days, and died in 1235.[33] For evoking happiness, Nizam-ud-Din Aulya listened to *sama*. Once Amir Hassan Alla Sijizi, the author of Nizam-ud-Din Aulya's *malfuzat* (hagiography) 'Fawad-ul-Fawaid', questioned Nizam-ud-Din Aulya about some of Sufis orders who did not believe in *sama*. Nizam-ud-Din Aulya replied "they (other Sufis) lacks taste of *sama*, therefore, they do not listen."[34] Another occasion he reiterated that among Sufis only deep lovers listened to *sama*, because they were capable of it.[35] Moreover, in the court of Ghias-ud-din Balban (r. 1266–1287) and in front of two hundred fifty three *ulamas,* he successfully defended the case of the validity of *sama* in Islam.[36] His shrine is called the hagiographical birthplace of *sama*.[37]

Amir Khusro, "the parrot of India" or "God's Turk",[38] played a more significant role not only by producing poetry, but he also invented various musical instruments and introduced many *raags* (musical notes) in *sama* with tendered emotion*,* treatise on epistolography, composed historical poetical novels.[39] He was the disciple of Hazrat Nizam-ud-Din Aulya and the main exponent of the terms like *Qowl, Qalbana* or *Qawwali*.[40] These terms are also known as *sama* in the Indian sub-continent. Khusro added a new chapter in the tradition of *sama*-based happiness. He composed some *rags* based on the Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) sayings such as "*Main Jis Ka Mula, Ali bhi Us ka Mula*" (I have the original Ali that the original).[41]He synthesised the *raags sanam* and *ghanum*, so that they could be sung at any time (day or night).[42] Nasir-ud-Din Chargh Dahlvi, Khalipha of Nizam-ud-Din Aulya, used to avoid *sama* with musical instruments which included the *murli* (a side blown flute), *shenai* (oboe), and *bansari* (flute). If musical instruments were being used, he preferred to leave the *sama* assembly. He liked Persian *raag* (lit. "colouring, tingeing, dyeing") over Hindi

raag. Sometimes, he honoured the singer by putting his turban on the singer's head.[43] But, his *khalipha* (successor), Hazrat Syed Gaiso Daraz (1321-1422) could not live without *sama*.[44]

Apart from Chishti Sufis, other Sufis orders such as Suharwardi, Qadri and Naqshbandi had divergent opinions about *sama*, but almost all Sufis orders, one way or another, listened to *sama* to invoke happiness. It is wrong to assume that Sufis other than Chishtis, did not like *sama*. Suharwardi Sufis arranged and listen to *sama*. Sheikh Shahab-ud-Din Umar Suharwardi (1145-1234) and his Khalipha, Bahawu-ud-Din Zakriya Multani (1171-1267) listened to *sama* occasionally.[45] In Qadiri order, although they did not arrange *sama*, they listen to *sama*.[46] Generally, Naqshbandi disassociated themselves from *sama*. But, Mazhar Jane-e-Jana (1699-1781) and Khawaja Mir Dard (1721-1785) liked *sama*. Even Shah Wali Ullah (1703-1762) and his son Shah Abdul Aziz (1745-1823), the famous religious scholars of Naqshbandi order, displayed an acquainted with music. According to Muhammad Aslam, a Pakistani historian, is of the view that by listening the voice of singer, Shah Wali Ullah could identify the *raag*, and his son Shah Abdul Aziz wrote a *risala* (pamphlet) on the art of music entitled '*Sangeet Shashtar*'. Moreover, in case of any dispute over *raag*, singers used to consult Shah Abul Aziz. [47]Haji Amdadullah Makki (1274-1356), the teacher of the founders of Dar-ul-Aloom Deoband, listened *sama*. But, his khalipha such as Mulana Rasheed Ahmad Gangohi (1826-1905) and Mulana Shraf Ali Thanvi (1863-1943) avoided *sama*.[48] So, it seems that *sama* and *dhmal* were not features peculiar to the Chishti order, yet occupied a central place within Chishti practices.[49]

HAPPINESS AND *SAMA* AT CHISHTI SUFIS SHINES IN COLONIAL PUNJAB

In colonial Punjab, the *Ahl-e Sunnat* community, by attracting devotional people from other religious communities, celebrated the death anniversaries of Sufi at Sufi shrines through expressions of happiness. This happiness became one of the sources of its identity. The events of happiness were called *mela* (festive activity), or *urs*. In the Sufi belief, the death of a Sufi was a festive activity full of happiness, because the lover (Sufi) met with the beloved (God). During *mela* shrine used to become a source happiness, and entertainment for devotional community. Ahmad Raza Khan (1856-1921) defended the practices of popular Islam such as the festivals, celebrations, customs, and rituals of devotional communities. Ahmad Raza Khan strongly believed in homage to saints, meditative powers of saints and defended the celebration of their *urs*, and pilgrimage to their shrines.[50]

In colonial Punjab, Sufis associated the idea of Muslim identity with shrine-based emotions such as happiness. *Chishti* Sufis shaped individual and communal identities along with a social organization. One of the chief causes of *Chishti* Sufis' success was the charismatic powers of Sufi masters which gave them the ability to work miracles. Their *Khanqah* (shrine) became a symbol of happiness, ecstasy, veneration and pilgrimage in the colonial Punjab. *Chishti Khanqah*s held frequent communal gatherings at their shrine's lodges. They developed various special religious rituals which fanned the remembrance of Allah in *sama* (music) and *dhamal* (dance). These shrines-based devotional celebrations offered a platform to access the mystical experiences of emotions for the larger Muslim community. *Chishti* Sufi's shrine not only bound the Punjabi Muslim community into a new network of social interaction, but devotional practices also became a part of the grass-roots organization. They tried to ensure Muslim cultural continuity in term of *sama* and *dhamal* in periods of political decay, decline, and even invasion.[51]

There are number of strategies deployed in the theological framing of *sama*.[52] The great *Chishti* masters and later upholders of *Chishti* tradition shared a love of poetry and music and viewed them as central to their mystical activities.[53] There could be no mysticism without some degree of happiness, ecstatic, and jubilant expression of devotion to God and desire to dance. As compared to other Sufi orders, the 'emotionalism of the saints of *Chishti* Order' was more prominent in India, including the Punjab.[54] Generally,

there are three main dimensions of Prophetic tradition: *Islam*, *Iman*, and *Ahsan*. Islam is interpreted through jurists; *Iman* is disseminated through theologian and *Ahsan* by Sufis. The main objective of Sufis is to seek nearness or union with a merciful and loving God, through prayers, remembrance, meditation and mystical exercises. The third dimension, *Ahsan*, constituted the heart of religion, marked by sincerity, love, virtue, and perfection, to which the Sufis aspired.[55]

In order to evoke happiness and ecstasy *adab i-sama* (manners of *sama*) were very important. I If a fellow participant stood up in *wajdy* (ecstatic), moved in an ecstasy of love for God, then others in the *majlis* should follow him by standing up by his side. Further, while dancing in ecstasy (*raqs*), he should maintain a certain degree of grace so that others are not put off by his vulgar movements and intention.[56] The dance companion's role should be to help him reach out for Allah. Nizam-ud-Din is also quoted as saying that the body movement generated in remembering God in ecstasy was *mustahab* , (recommended or allowed practice), and if the intention was for some carnal pleasure (*fasad*) then it was haram.[57]However, if a person became extremely ecstatic (*raqs* and *harkat*) in *sama,* even to the point of tearing his clothes, he may be treated as one overpowered by ecstasy and so he may not be questioned. But those who pretended to be lost in ecstasy just to show off their mystical bent of mind would be accused of indulging in *haram* practices.[58]

Through *sama,* Chishti Sufi Shrines such as shrines of Farid ud Din (d.1265) at Pakpattan and Shah Shams Tuansvi (d.1851) at Taunsa, Muhammad Din at Sial Sharif and Mher Ali at Golra Sharif played a significant role to evoke happiness in shrine-based community. Chishti Sufis primarily focused on Sufis musical activity and constructed and preserved Muslim identity. Farid ud Din (1180-1265) through his *kararmat* (God's gifted spiritual power) popularized Chishti's teachings as an organised mystical movement in Punjab. Pakpatan, Chishti *silsila* (order) epicentre worked as a magnet to which people from all corners of India were drawn to seek blessing and happiness.[59] Like other Chishti Sufis, Farid-ud-Din was also fond of music. In response to criticisms of music he said, "Only God is great. Some people had buried themselves in the God's fire of love, and there are some, who are confused in finding justification and non-justification".[60] Despite criticism, his support for music continued. According to Qazi Javaid, Ali Hajwari and Farid-ud-Din had different opinions on music. Ali Hajwari gave more importance to the practical aspects of music and on the other hand Farid-ud-Din put more emphasis on the religious logic.[61] Moreover, Farid-ud-Din used to teach his disciples that God's blessing is always there on the *sama* (music) by angels.[62] He considered *sama* a pure source of happiness for heart, motivation for lovers' heart and derived them towards ecstasy.[63] While listening to *sama*, he used to perform *dhamal* (dance) as well.[64] At his death bed he asked his disciples to arrange *sama* assembly for three days near his dead body, but it could not be done.[65]

In addition to poetry sung by an accomplished singer, an excellent work of prose could also sound like music to the discerning. Nizam-ud Din reported that once his preceptor, Shaikh Farid-ud-Din was overwhelmed by the desire for *sama*, but singer was not available. The Shaikh asked a disciple, Badr-ud-Din Ishaq, who was in his service, to bring the bag containing the letters he had preserved, and to take out and read aloud one letter he had received from the Suhrawardi Sufi, Qazi Hamid-ud Din Nagauri. Badr-ud-Din stood up and began to read the first lines, "Faqir zaqír, za'nahif Muhammad Ata ke banda-i darweshan ast wa az sar o dida khak qadm-i ishan.[66]

Following the tradition of Chishti music, Shah Sulman Tuansvi (1769-1851) was also very fond of *sama*. There were three famous singers who were also disciples of Shah Sulman which include: Mian Ahmad, Ibrahim Khan Afghan, and Mian Ahmad Jam. Mian Ahmad was his main *qawwal* (singer) who usually used to sing for Shah Sulman. He did not follow a specific routine for singing, but mostly he sang on Thursday nights when his *murshid* (Shah Sulman) had finished offering *tahajjad* prayer (late-night prayer). Sometimes he played sitar

alone and sometimes with his students. He sang Persian, Hindi and Punjabi poetry. Ibrahim Khan Afghan was famous for his singing. He sang at different times such as in afternoon, evening, and after the *tahajjad* prayer. Mian Ahmad Jam sung occasionally. Sometimes, Shah Sulman himself sung Persian and Hindi *rag*s of spiritual love and also loved to listen these *rag*s.[67]

Despite his strong inclination towards music, Shah Sulman Tuansvi discouraged the arrangement of *sama* assembly for general public. However, whenever he went to attend the *urs* of his *murshid*, Khawaja Muhammad Muharvi, loved to attend *sama* and sat amongst the common people. In the last days of his life, he did not go to attend his *murshid*'s *urs* in Taj Sarwar[68] and arranged the *urs* assembly at Sangh Shareef. At this *urs*, *sama* was not held, but, it was arranged separately at Sahib Zada Gul Muhammad home. Shah Sulman claimed that he did not like to arrange *sama* concert because there was a possibility that after his death people would do it routinely and they would cross all the limits of *sama* purification.[69]

Sham-ud-Din Silavi(d.1883) [70] established his shrine at Sial Sharif and set a strong tradition of discipline.[71] He observed *sharia* in a strict sense and used to avoid *sama*.[72]But, there are some signs which indicate that he liked the poetry of Hafiz and Jami, because the concept of God's oneness was very prominent in their works.[73] The first *sajjada nasheen* of Shams-ud-Din, Muhammad Din Silavi (b.1837) continued his father's mission in colonial Shahpur for twenty seven years.[74] His father on his death bed advised Muhammad Din that he should not forget the place of *pir khana* (the place where *pir* usually sat for his followers) and should not stop visiting Taunsa Sharif, and that he would be happy to see him doing this from the grav.[75] Muhammad Din Silavi used to go to share grief and happiness with his followers. He supervised the construction of his father's shrine, *majlis khana* (assembly place), *wozo khana* (place of ablution), *mehman khana* (guest house), *langer khana* (free kitchen), and enlarged the madrasa which was established by his father in 1844.[76]

Dance, happiness, and ecstasy among Sufi were not only confined to the occasion of the *urs*. Sometime, Sufis danced and went into ecstasy while welcoming their *murshid*. Muhammad Murid Ahmad quoted the example of Muhammad Din Sialvi and his followers that like Bullah Shah, they showed happiness and danced, while welcoming their *murshid*, Khawaja Hamid Taunsvi on the bank of the river Ravi.[77] Many horses were also present at the welcome, arranged by the Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana, who was the *murid* (follower) of Sial Sharif.

Muhammad Din Silavi had a unique interest in happiness through *sama*. He liked both *maza mir* and *bila maza mir* (*sama* with without musical instruments). He did not give more importance to the voice of *qawwal*: he liked both good and bad voices. For him, there was no specific time for listening to *sama*: whenever any *qawwal* was available, he liked to listen to *sama*. Mostly the singer would be Mir, a famous *qawwal* who used to sing for his *murshid*.[78] He strictly showed respect to *sama* by sitting silent in specific positions, moving his head by looking up and down for some time and then lowering his neck to shed tears. During his presence, without differentiating between real and artificial ecstasy, if any of his followers felt into ecstasy, he himself stood up and danced and advised his followers to do the same.[79] Sometime, he and all his followers enjoyed ecstasy and no one was left to care about each other.[80]

Similarly, Muhammad Din Silavi also had a unique interest in happiness through poetry. If he liked a few lines, he used to keep repeating them with happiness for a period of at least six months. For example, he liked the emotive lines of his servant who was in love with a woman, Gohar Jan, visited the shrine at Sial sharif and kept on revolving around the tomb throughout the whole night. When Muhammad Din went for the early morning prayer in the tomb, he heard his servant was singing a Punjabi *dohra* (a kind of Punjabi poetry), "mari vay ranjhia teray ghaman di" (O my beloved I am the prisoner of your love). Muhammad Din liked this line a lot, but he did not like the second line, so he asked his *munshi* (clerk) that this line should be replaced, who

replied, "kadi aa mil vay teray vaikhan di sadhar ai" (O my beloved! I am begging to meet you). Muhammad Din like this line. Interestingly, for evoking happiness for the next six month he kept on listening this *dohra*.[81]

Muhammad Din's happiness for poetry such as *dohra* was not only confined to Muslim *dohra*. He also used to be happy by listening to Hindu Punjabi *dohra*. For example, during his stay at Lahore in the Badshahi Mosque for the treatment of his eyes,[82] early in the morning he heard a Hindu *jogi* (preacher) going to the river Ravi and singing a Punjabi *dohra* related to Hinduism*, "Tha kar pathar tay Gang ga Jal pani, Ander Ram na rachiya ayvin umar wahani"*, Muhammad Din became very happy, to the extent that he called on a *qawwal* Shamsher and asked him to sing this *dohra*.[83]Apart from poetry, he was also fond of prose and enjoyed to listen some stories again and again.[84] On 25 April 1907, on the occasion of the *urs* of Muhammad Shams ud Din Sialvi, for three consecutive days, Muhammad Din arranged *sama* without music in the *sama khana* (sama house). In the first *sama* assembly, Pir Mher Ali Shah was also present. In these *sama* assemblies, *khatm sharif* (recitation of few verses from the Quran) was recited before and after the *sama*. During the *sama* assembly, Muhammad Din kept his head bent and sometime used to look up at the tomb of Muhammad Shams-ud Din.[85]

By emphasising the *pir-murid* bond, devotional rituals, and deep concern for adherence to the obligation of sharia, Mehr Ali[86] stressed for Muslim identity in colonial Punjab.[87] For evoking happiness, he listened to *sama* without music at Golra.[88] At Golra Sharif, a very famous qawwali *Sade nehre vas ve dholan* (dear beloved live near me) and *Sik chaj koi yaar* were known due to the shrine rather than the musical contribution.[89] Moreover, the *urs* at the shrines of some notable Chishti shrines such as Pakpatan Sharif, Taunsa Sharif, Sial Sharif and Golra Sharif served as occasions to perform *sama* and *dhamal* and thus to attain happiness in colonial Punjab.[90]

CONCLUSION

The study of religion and emotions is passing through its renaissance period. Emotions historians are introducing fresh dimensions to explore religious emotions in South Asian Islam. By taking cues from the field of the history of emotions and mystical practices at Chishti shrines this research paper shows that shrine-based community used *sama* to evoke happiness at Chishti Sufi shrines in colonial Punjab. Happiness remained an integral part of Chishti Sufis' mystical practices. *Sama*-based happiness became a source of ecstatic union or meeting between Sufis and God. By following the tradition of Chishti Sufi music, Chishti Sufis like Sulman Tunsvi, Muhammad Din Sialvi and Mher Ali used happiness achieved through *sama* to reach an ecstatic union with God and to construct and preserve Muslim identity in colonial Punjab.

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[1] This term us borrowed from a great Indian Sufi, Ali bin Uthman al-Hajweri (1009-1077). For Hajweri, *sama* is a "divine message which stirs the heart to seek God." For more details see, Ali B. Uthman Al-Hujwiri, *The Kashf al-Mahjub*, trans. Reynold A Nicholson, *The Kashf al-Mahjub: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism*, (Dehli: Taj Company, 1999)

[2] In order to explore the cultural aspects, local British administrators produced and arranged a variety of descriptive materials in form of Gazetteer, Gazette, and District Notebooks. These works contributed to the administrative knowledge and as well highlighted particular set of assumptions regarding the role of festivals in Muslims. It is often called the "sociology of knowledge" which has been evaluated and represented best, perhaps, by the work of Bernard Cohn. For details see, Bernard P. Cohen, *Developing Sociological Knowledge: Theory and Method* (Nelson Hall, 1989).

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[7] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 63.

[88] Ibid., 63.

[9] See, Pamela E. Klassen, "Ritual" in John Corrigan, (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook or Religion and Emotion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 143-161, here, 150.

[10] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books 1973), 90.

[11] Bruce Lawrance, "The Early Chishti Approach to *Sama*", in, *Islamic Society and Culture: Essay in the Honour of Professor Aziz Ahamd*, (ed.). M. Israel and N.K Wagle (Delhi: Manohar, 1983), 72.

[12] Forwarded by Annemarie Schimmel in C. W. Ernst, 2nd (ed.). (New York: SUNY, 2004), 380.

[13] Historically, *zikr* was one of several forms of internal remembrance. In the eleventh century, with the spread of Sufism, its *(zikr)* recitation styles in different Sufi *silsila* (orders) developed as forms of discipline. Various techniques such as coordinating the utterances, or parts of them, with controlled breathing and a focus on different parts of body; the move from vocalization and embodiment of the *zikr* to the use of *zikers* in music and dance in orders such as the Mevlevis was a natural, if controversial one. In Punjab, *zikrs* have considered prominently in musical forms associated with devotional rituals or Sufi rituals, the most well-known genre of which is *qawwali*. See, Richard K. Wolf, *The Voice in the Drum: Music, Language, and Emotion in Islamicate South Asia* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 17, and Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 201-14.

14 Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Sound, Context and Meaning in Qawwali* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007), xvii. For Hajweri, *sama* is a "divine message which stirs the heart to seek God" but this message in musical tunes had to be carefully communicated in assemblies under the guidance of a Sufi master. The *qawaal* ('the one who says' or 'the singer of a verbal message') who had the understanding and experience of singing in several mystical gatherings was considered ideal for such performance. Hajweri, khashful Ma'jub, 522-39, 547-8.

Muhammad al-Tusi and Hammad al-Gazzali put forward three conditions for *sama*, right time, place and company. For such *adab*, see Leonard Lewisohn, "The Sacred Music of Islam: *Sama* in the Persian Sufi Tradition", *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 6 (1997), 8-15.

[15] Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 178.

[16] Ibid., 178.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Annemarie Schimmel quotes Fariduddin Attar, *Musibatneme*, Ed, N. Fisal (Tehran, 1338sh./1959) in her book *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*(CHAPEL HILL: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 179.

[21] For Jalauddin Rumi *sama* is the nourishment of soul. See, Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*(CHAPEL HILL: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 183.

[22] In fact, dancing and whirling belong to the oldest religious acts of all. Dance is the "absolute play" and was considered, in ancient Greece, the movement of the gods—both Apollo and Dionysius have dancing movements that suit their particular characters. In primitive societies, dance had a magical character—rituals to produce rain or ensure victory were usually connected with dance. The encircling of a sacred object—or a person, as sometimes in the *sama*— means to partake of its magical power or to endow it with power. The rapture caused by dance was well known to the Christian church fathers, who strictly prohibited it. "Where there is dance, there is Satan," said St. Chrysostom, and this could as well have been the verdict of an orthodox Muslim theologian. See, Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*(CHAPEL HILL: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 179-180; 4.

[23] Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*(CHAPEL HILL: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 184.

[24] The mystical dance was noted by the first European visitors to the convents of the Mevlevis, the Whirling Dervishes. For the Mevlevi *tariqa* is the only order in which this whirling movement has been institutionalized, though it has been practiced throughout the world of Islam from early times. For more details see, MacDonald, Duncan B. "Emotional Religion in Islām as Affected by Music and Singing." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1901, 195–252. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/25208293.

[25]Muhammad bin Mubarik, Siru-l-Awliya trans. Ghulam Ahmad, (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, 2012), 463.

26 Annemarie Schimmel, "Mystical Poetry in Islam: The Case of Maulana Jalaladdin Rumi", *Religion & Literature*, Vol. 20, No. 1, *The Literature of Islam* (Spring, 1988), 79.

[27] Ghafir Shezad, *Punjab Min Sufi Darghahin: Kamal se Zawal Tak* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2014), 11-12.

28 Qazi Javed, *Punjab key Sufi Danishwer* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010), 66-79.

29 For the practices of zikr among Suharwardi Sufis, see a medieval text, Shiakh Bahauddin Zikkeriyya, *Al-Auraad*, trans. Muhammad Mian Siddiqi (Lahore: Tasawwaf Foundation, 1999). Also see, Qamar-ul-Huda, *Striving for Divine Union: Spiritual Exercises for Suhrawardi Sufis* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2003).

[30] Happiness was an integral part of Hindu's religious rituals on temple. Happiness and worship were the main objectives of tradition in Hindu music. Most of the themes of music were related to the praise of Hindu God, Goddesses and the depictions of their life events. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *Bar-i-azeem Pak-o-Hind ki millat-i-Islamia (Karachi: Karachi University Press, 1967), 116-117.*

[31] Maman Abdul Majeed Sindhi, *Pakistan Min Sufiana Tehrikhin* (Lahore: Sange-e-Mil Publisher, 2000), 227.

[32] Faiz Ahamd Faiz, *Mahir-e-Munir* (Lahore: International Printers, 1976), 157-158.

[33] Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhadis Dehlivi, *Akhbar-ul-Akhyar* (Delhi:1332H), 26.

[34] Amir Hassan Alla Sijizi, *Fawad-ul-Fawaid* (Lahore: Adara-e-Saqafat-e-Islamiya, 1966), 386.

[35] Ibid., 386.

[36] For the details of this event see, Sheikh Muhammad Akram, *Abb-e Kosar* (Lahore: Idara-e-Siqafat-e-Islamiya, 1992), 165,338-339.

[37] Virinder S. Kalra, *Sacred and Popular Musics: A Post Colonial Approach* (London: BLOOMSBURY, 2015), 108; Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Context and Meaning in Qawwali* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 45.

[38] See, Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*(CHAPEL HILL: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 350.

[39] *Epistolography* means "the art or practice of writing epistles **:** letter writing *the study of Renaissance epistolography*."; Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*(Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 185.

[40] Muhammad Jahangir Tamimi, "Pako-Hind Min Din,Fuqar, and *Sama*" in, *Maarf-e-Aulya* Volum 1, No:4, September, 2003 (Lahore: Markaze-e-Maarif-e Aulya), 89; Virinder S. Kalra, *Sacred and Popular Musics: A Post Colonial Approach* (London: BLOOMSBURY, 2015), 97.

[41] It is a first clue to the musical historiography that qualifies to cite a seven hundreds year lineage. See, Virinder S. Kalra, *Sacred and Popular Musics: A Post Colonial Approach* (London: BLOOMSBURY, 2015), 97.

[42] Muhammad Jahangir Tamimi, "Pako-Hind Min Din, Fuqar, and *Sama*" in, *Maarf-e-Aulya,* Volum 1, No:4, September, 2003 (Lahore: Markaze-e-Maarif-e Aulya), 93 and Ustad Chad Khan, Musiqi Hazrat Amir Khusro (Delhi, 1978), 261.

[43] Muhammad Akbar Al-Hussaini, *Jama-ul-Kalam: Malfuzat Hazrat Khawaja Gaisodaraz* (Kanpur, 1356H), 207-224

[44] Muhammad Jahangir Tamimi, "Pako-Hind Min Din, Fuqar, and *Sama*" in, *Maarf-e-Aulya*, Volum 1, No:4, September, 2003 (Lahore: Markaze-e-Maarif-e Aulya), 95.

[45] In Sindi disciples of Bahawu-ud-Din Zakriya Multani still listen to *sama*, but without the musical instruments. They called *sama* as *sameen*. In *sammes* some *faqirs* by making a circle they sing *hamad* (poetry in praise of God), *naat* (poetry in praise of the Holy Prophet PBUH), and prayers in Sindhi language along with *zikars*. For more details see, Maman Abdul Majeed Sindhi, *Pakistan Min Sufiana Tehrikhin* (Lahore: Sange-e-Mil Publisher, 2000), 169.

[46] Sa`d Shamsud Din, the immediate successor of Abdul Qadir Gilani introduced sama in Qadiri Order in 1170. See, John P Brown and H.A Rose, *The Darvishes or Oriental Spiritualism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 286; in the sixteenth century, a group of mystics migrated from Sind t o Burhanpur in central India, where they founded a new branch of the Qadiriyya; they are reported to have used Sindhi verses during their *sama* sessions. (Rashid Burhanpuri, Burhanpur ke Sindhi auliya (Karachi , 1957), See, Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*(CHAPEL HILL: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 384.

[47] For more details see, Muhammad Aslam, *Slatin-e-Delhi Wa Shahanin Mughlia Ka Zooq-e Musiqi* (Lahore: Punjab University Press, 1992)

[48] There were some shrines where at the time of *urs*, instead of *sama*, the Quran and some devotional prayers recited throughout the night. Occasionally, sermons were also delivered for the benefit of the crowds. When *urs* was celebrated in this way, it was called Shar`I *urs*, for the reason that *sama* was not allowed. See, John A. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrine: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India and Pakistan* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publication,1999), 116.

[49] Ibid., 336.

[50] S.M Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan* (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 2014), 121.

[51] For details see, Martin Lings, *A Sufi Saint of the Twentieth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), Margaret Smith, *Rabi'a the Mystic and Her Fellow Saints in Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928) Trimingham, J.Spencer. *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

[52] Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, "Qawwali: Making the Music Happen in the Sufi Assembly", *Asian Music*, 18 (Spring-Summer 1987), 125; Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, *Sufi Music of India and Pakistan: Context and Meaning in Qawwali* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 1995); Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, "Musical Sound and Contextual Input: A Performance Model for Musical Analysis," *Ethonomusicology*, 31 (1987), 56-86; Regula Burckhardt Qureshi, "ExploringTime Cross-Culturality: Ideology and Performance of Time in the Sufi Qawwali", *Journal of Musicology*, 12 (1994), 491-528. For more details see, In the Indian context, the literature on *sama* has been documented in Qamus al-Kutub Urdu, vol 1; *Mazhabiyat* (Karachi: Anjuman-I Taraqq-I Urdu,1691) edited and published under the supervision of Maulwi Abdullah. In this bibliography as many as twenty-four works have been cited under *sama*. Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanwi's Haq al-*Sama* (Bijnor: 1935) has gone into several reprints. Many more can be cited: Mirza Ashfaq Salim, *A Note on Qawwali* (Islamabad: Lok Virsa Instaitute, 1975); Music and *Qawwali* (Karachi; Pir Muhammad Inrahim Trust 1975); Abdul Majid ibn Sardar Khan Muhammad, *Qawwali*; *Qur'an wa Sunnat aur Sulaha-I Ummat ki Nazar min* (Abbotabad;1985). In Turkey's context sconsult, Ali Asani, 'Music and Dance in the work Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi' inIslamic Culture, vol. 60, no.2 (April 1986), 41-55.

[53] Raziuddin Aquil, 'Music and Related Practices in Chishti Sufism: Celebrations and Contestations,' *Social Scientist*, Vol. 40, No. ¾ (March-April 2012), 17.

[54] John A. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrine: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India and Pakistan* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publication,1999), 332.

[55] Raziuddin Aquil, 'Music and Related Practices in Chishti Sufism: Celebrations and Contestations', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 40, No. ¾ (March-April 2012), 18. For detail also see, William C Chittick, *Sufism: A Short Introduction* , (Oneworld Publications, Oxford, 2007).

[56] Muhammad bin Mubarik, *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, trans. Ghulam Ahmad, (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, 2012), 648-9.
[57] Raziuddin Aquil, 'Music and Related Practices in Chishti Sufism: Celebrations and Contestations', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 40, No. ¾ (March-April 2012), 24; Muhammad bin Mubarik, *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, trans. Ghulam Ahmad, (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, 2012), 658; Amir Ulla Sijizi, Fawa id-ul-Fu ad, (Delhi: Manzoor Book Publisher,) 419.

[58] Raziuddin Aquil, 'Music and Related Practices in Chishti Sufism: Celebrations and Contestations', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 40, No. ¾ (March-April 2012), 24; Muhammad bin Mubarik, *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, trans. Ghulam Ahmad, (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, 2012), 658.

[59]Richard Eaton, "The Political and Religious Authority of the Shrine of the Baba Farid", in *India's Islamic Tradition: 711-750*, (ed.) Richard Eaton (Delhi, 2003), 264.
[60] Jafir Qasmi, *Baba Farid-ud-Din Ghang Shakar*, translated in Urdu by Tahir Asadi, 73-74.
[61] Qazi Javed, *Punjab key Sufi Danishwer* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010), 62, and Amir Hassan Alla Sijizi, Fawad-ul-Fawaid (Lahore: Adara-e-Saqafat-e-Islamiya, 1966), 60.
[62] Qazi Javed, *Punjab key Sufi Danishwer* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010), 62.
[63] Maman Abdul Majeed Sindhi, *Pakistan Min Sufiana Tehrikhin* (Lahore: Sange-e-Mil Publisher, 2000), 243-244.
[64] Darushakow, *Sakinat-ul-Aulya* (Lahore: Alfaisal, 1992), 59-60.
[65] For details see, Muhammad Akbar Al-Hussaini, *Jama-ul-Kalam: Malfuzat Hazrat Khawaja Gaisodaraz* (Kanpur, 1356H), 131.
66 Raziuddin Aquil, "Music and Related Practices in Chishti Sufism: Celebrations and Contestations", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 40, No. ¾ (March-April 2012) 25-26.

[67] Muhammad Saeed, *Mirat-ul-Ashqeen*, (Lahore: Tasawuf Foundation, 1998), translated in Urdu by Nizam-ud-Din, 173.
[68] Shaikh Taj-ud-din Chishti was a grandson Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganjshakar of Pakpattan and his descendants founded the village of Chishtian around 1265. The dargah of Shaikh Taj-ud-din Chishti is called Roza Taj Sarwar. Many native tribes in Punjab region accepted Islam due to his missionary Da'wah. Shaikh Khawaja Tajuddin Chishti faced hostility from tribes that opposed his Muslim missionary Da'wah and he was martyred in a battle and was buried in Chishtian.
[69] Qazi Javed, *Punjab key Sufi Danishwer* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010), 315-316.
[70] In colonial Shahpur, the shrine at Sial Sharif was one of the revered shines. See, Muhammad Murid Ahmad, *Fauzul Miqal fi Khulfa Pir sial*, Vol 2 (Karachi: Anjuman-e Qamrul Islam Sulmaniya, 2010).

[71] Travlers, visitors and poor got food from *langar* (free kitchen at Sufis shrine). There were also arrangements for travellers and visitors to stay at night. Those who lived permanently at shrine clothes were provided to them. Khaleeq Ahmad Nizami, *Tarikh Mashaikh Chisht*, (Karchi: Makata Al-Sheikh), 705.
[72]Ibid., 705.
[73] Qazi Javed, *Punjab key Sufi Danishwer* (Lahore: Fiction House, 2010), 230.
[74] For the detailed study of Muhammad Din Sialvi see, Muhammad Murid Ahmad, *Fauzul Miqal fi Khulfa Pir sial*, Vol 2 (Karachi: Anjuman-e Qamrul Islam sulmniya, 2010); Ghulam Dastagir, *Mahboob-e Sial* (Lahore: 1925), Muhammad Saeed, *Jazbat-e Saeed* (Rawalpindi: Tamir Prinitng Press); Muhammad Imam din, *Mirat ul Salkin* (Gujranwala: Makki Press, 1895), Barkat-e Sial; Amir Bakhsh, *Anwar-e Shamsiya* (Lahore:1916)
[75] Muhammad Murid Ahmad, *Fauzul Miqal fi Khulfa Pir sial*, Vol 2 (Karachi: Anjuman-e Qamrul Islam sulmniya, 2010), 10.
[76] Muhammad Murid Ahmad, *Fauzul Miqal fi Khulfa Pir sial*, Vol 2 (Karachi: Anjuman-e Qamrul Islam sulmniya, 2010), p10. For details on madrasa see, Muhammad Murid Ahmad, *Fauzul Miqal fi Khulfa Pir sial*, Vol 2 (Karachi: Anjuman-e Qamrul Islam Sulmaniya, 2010), 35-36; Ghulam Dastagir, *Mahboob-e Sial* (Lahore: 1925), Muhammad Saeed, *Jazbat-e Saeed* (Rawalpindi: Tamir Prinitng Press).
[77] Muhammad Murid Ahmad, *Fauzul Miqal fi Khulfa Pir sial*, Vol 2 (Karachi: Anjuman-e Qamrul Islam sulmniya, 2010), 30-31.
[78] Mir qawwal was criticised by Ghulam Fakhar ud Din Mharvi at Pakpatan. See, Muhammad Murid Ahmad, *Fauzul Miqal fi Khulfa Pir sial*, Vol 2 (Karachi: Anjuman-e Qamrul Islam Sulmaniya, 2010), 83.

[79] Ibid., 50.
[80] Ibid., 53.
[81] Ibid., 50-51.
[82] Muhammad Din Sialvi came to Lahore for the treatment of his eyes on the request and suggestion of Malik Khuda Bakhsh Tiwana who was the *murid* (follower) of Mahammad Shams-ud Din Sialvi. He stayed at Badshahi Mosque where Moulvi Zakir Bughvi was the *imam* (prayer preacher). Muhammad Murid Ahmad, *Fauzul Miqal fi Khulfa Pir sial*, Vol 2 (Karachi: Anjuman-e Qamrul Islam sulmniya, 2010).
[83] Ibid., 52-53.
[84] Ibid., 54.
[85] Ibid., 56-57.
[86] Pir Mher Ali Shah (1859-1937) continued *Chishti* Sufis tradition in colonial Punjab. For more details see, Muhammad Din Kaleem, *Chishti Khanqahin aur Sirbrahabn-e Barr-e Saghir* (Lahore: Maktaba-e Nabvia, 1990).

[87] David Gilmartin, *Empire and Islam* (London: I.B Tauris & Co Ltd, 1988), 59.
[88] Muhammad Jahangir Tamimi, 'Pako-Hind Min Din,Fuqar, and Sama', in, *Maarf-e-Aulya*: Volum 1, No:4, September, 2003 (Lahore: Markaze-e-Maarif-e Aulya), 106.
[89] Virinder S. Kalra, *Sacred and Popular Musics: A Post Colonial Approach* (London: BLOOMSBURY, 2015), 121. There is a daily qawwali recital at Golra Sharif.
[90] The Chishti Sufis believed that apart from offering regular prayers, the state of ecstasy could also be attained through listing to *sama* (music) and *dhamal* (dance). For more details see, Hussain Ahmad Khan, *Artisans, Sufis, Shrines: Colonial Architecture in the Nineteenth Century Punjab* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 24.

REPRESENTING THE ANGRY YOUNG MAN IN PASHTO CINEMA (1970- 1980)

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ABSTRACT

In 1970s there were Pashto films of Angry Young Man genre. These had anger and revenge conventions. This article examines Pashto films of the 1970s belonging to the 'Angry Young Man' genre. Featuring a protagonist seeking vengeance, these films criticized the police system of the time, which was seen as corrupt and excessive. The anger of these films was in fact a critique of these films on Police System of the time. The Police was corrupt and engaged in excesses. Their investigation method was uncritical. I have tried to explain show how this anger towards the system was has been constructed throughout the 1970s in Pashto Cinema. It is argued that the expression of anger was symbolic of a heroic masculinity in crisis: Anger in Pashto Angry Young Man films has not been as overt as in Tamil Cinema, but it has made the case for protest against Police system of the time. It was symbolic of the heroic masculinity. But the masculinity was in crisis in expression and execution of it. It couldn't express itself as much as it could have been comparing it with the movies of Bollywood and Tamil Cinema. Pashto Cinema being a regional cinema carried a transcultural appeal by depicting the issues of other regions.

KEY WORDS

Police system, Masculinity, Anger, Pashto Cinema, Emotions

Anger in Pashto films is constructed as a concept with aural and visual dimensions. The Angry Young Man uses specific words such as '*badal*', *Pakhtun, 'ghairat'* and '*beghairata*'. These words are screamed alongside background music. The meaning of these words, screams and the background music together express the specific feeling known as anger on an aural level. This is further intensified by the accompanying visuals featuring the male protagonist. Body movements and a readiness to take action—revenge—defines their masculinity and constructs young male actors as angry. The anger is accorded further meaning when it is situated within the filmic narrative. This narrative is made up by the storyline and the appearance and behavior of the protagonist - his evident masculinity, manner of walking and talking, dress and address. This narrative then usually goes logically towards its bloody end, satisfying this masculine anger through its full expression. However, the hero's action and revenge are not always able to be fulfilled, rendering the expression of anger incomplete and revealing a masculinity in crisis.

The anger in Pashto films unpacks the anxieties of the time. It unfolds the tension between the police system and Pakistani society. Police excesses and *thana* culture were common in the 1970s. Police officers were involved in corruption and malpractices such as taking bribes and arresting the innocent and the poor were widespread. Harassment and brutality was believed to be their way of dealing with others. The police system itself was declared redundant, and its investigation methods irrelevant, in newspapers. Inability to control crimes showed its inefficiency. Departmental enquiries could not stop police officials' excesses and change the police station.

Pashto Cinema depended on Lahore for industrial technology and relied upon the use of studios in Lahore Pashto films tried to depict settings relevant to its audience. Although Pashto is a regional language in Pakistan, the films protested against the police system which affected all the provinces of Pakistan. Thus, Pashto films created a transcultural appeal as it portrayed projected a Pakistan-wide issue.

My work falls in the category of Cultural History in which I focus on the representation of state's institutions as cultural products. *Angry Young Man* was genre of 1970s' movies having action and revenge as themes. In the AYM

movies the emotions and gendered identity of the protagonist played the ultimate role. In the context of South Asia, significant work has been done on emotions in history. Tapan Raychaudhuri, Daud Ali, Francesca Orsini, Sumathi Ramaswany and Lisa Mitchell contend that emotions are culturally specific.[1] They argue that emotions can be understood according to the discourses of the time. Benno Gammerl argues that styles of expression and concepts are not fixed and vary across space and time, thus further reinforcing the point.[2] William Reddy argues that differences in love are due to difference in associated practices and thus variances in languages.[3] Love in Pashto language films is not as prominent as anger: that too is not as fully expressed as anger in Indian films. The protagonists of Pashto films cannot express the anger against the inefficient and corrupt Police as is expressed against the villains. The protagonist is unable to seek vengeance on the Police.

Regarding the history of gender, Sumit Sarkar and Tanika Sarkar, Samita Sen and Marry Hancock argue that roles were gendered for women in colonial times. They contend that these are actively constructed. These changes are accompanied with changing values. Women are central to imagination of these values. This creates a specific place for women with restrictions on freedom of movement[4] Steven Patterson, Sudipta Sen, Mrinalini Sinha write about masculinity. Masculinity has been constructed in terms of honor, race, strong physicality and intellectuality. This gives a sense of oneness in masculinity, however, its association to class and authority render masculinity divided. These divisions rest on the assumptions of English Masculinity of the colonial times. Indira Chowdhry though has argued that masculinity can be built on peculiarity too—weakness in Bengal's case.[5] In AYM films, the center of attention is the male protagonist. The female protagonist is subject to structural bounds—the filmic story. The action and fighting depicting heroic masculinity leads to revenge against the villains. However, it is not the case in Pashto films when it comes to dealing with the Police who cannot be fought. The Police are different from the protagonists in terms authority. The English masculine assumptions prove here, and masculine divide can be seen between the Police and the protagonists. Pakistan inherited British colonial state structures and the divided masculine culture still thrives. In these movies, the police define the gender of the protagonist. It is their authority that is the defining character and not the weakness of the protagonist.

Priya Jaikumar, Sharmista Gooptu, Ravi S. Vasudevan and Ali Nobel Ahmed have contested the idea of National Cinema and argue that focus on the category of the 'national', a historical sense of cinema cannot be construed. The cinema's boundaries go farther than national boundaries, and do not overlap with them neatly since each cinema has distinct socioeconomics and bears history that has contested that national idea.[6] At the same time, Prem Chowdhry, Ravi S. Vasudevan and M.S.S Pandian argue that cinema plays a role in politics and bears political messages. It results in national imaginations, and sometimes even state formation. appear to beregional, due to its dependence Kumuthan Maderya and Imke Rajamani argue that political crises impact cinema. They contend that the Angry Young Man genre of Indian Cinemas emerged as the outcome of politics which cinemas tried to address through *Angry Young Man* phenomenon. Rajamani goes further to examine anger itself as an emotion constructed within these situations.[7] The Pashto films show male anger and resentment against the corrupt police system that affects society. However, there is no bloody revenge involved in confrontation with the police, unlike the Indian films discussed by Rajamani.

Film is considered as "palimpsest" on which ideologies and concerns related to politics of the society are written and superimposed.[8] It is the blurred mirror image of society. It must thus be read along with its story and ideology. [9] The Angry Young Man genre follows certain conventions, to which logic is provided by story narrative. These conventions include a chaotic setting, violence, revenge and rage. The power to act resides exclusively with the hero (masculine).[10] The music and visual codes play a role too in defining this genre and in the expression of anger. [11] "Rage" or anger is in opposition to the corrupt central government. It is the central concept driving the story and can be heard and viewed apart from the meaning that is given to it within a certain ideological framework.[12] Masculinity is defined by markers such as the moustache, dress, exceptional physical ability, power to settle issues, sexual strength and the ability to control the opposite sex. All these embodied become symbol of rebellion.[13] In fact, anger itself is a marker of masculinity, along with body language and fights.[14] Pashto AYM anger or *ghusa* can be understood through *'zrha bade'* (resentment) and *'brhach'* (scream) specifically in dealing with the police. Pashto *Angry Young Man* masculinity fully expresses itself in the case of villains and seeking bloody revenge against them; however, it ends up in a compromising position when confronted with the police and its anger is suppressed—never indulging in action against police in contrast to villains in other film industries.

The 1970s was the first decade in which AYM conventions were followed by cinemas. These films have themes such as the corruption of the Judiciary and Police. While the latter theme is focused on in this article, other movies are included in the bibliography section of the thesis for reference. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of secondary sources related to Pashto films. There is nothing written about History of Pashto Cinema. A few magazines like *Shama*, mentioned by one of the interviewees, could not be found in the Peshawar Archives. To contextualize movie depictions in their historical setting, newspapers of the 1970s (housed in the Punjab Archives, Lahore) were used, namely: *Dawn, Daily Jung, Daily Mashriq* and *Daily Imroze.* These were published from different cities across Pakistan, and their reporting carried a tone of favoring the public over the institution of the police. To further strengthen the point, police records of Central Police Office Lahore, were checked but found scant though service files were found containing rich source of information—show cause notices, punishment orders, FIRs though were of inspectors and lower rank officers. Subaltern technique was used to know about the affected party. Unfortunately, the Pashto film industry people of the time are now hard to find but two persons were interviewed of whom one was related to film songs[15] and the other to story and dialogues.[16] There was one other person who provided with very useful information about censorship.[17] Due to this situation of scant information, I tried to keep interview as unstructured as I could.

This work I believe is first of its kind in Pakistan. The Pashto films within my time frame also depict perceptions of the state of the judiciary, a theme that can be further explored. There are some movies in this time frame that can be termed Angry Young Woman movies. In fact, the police problem of the time can further be explored.

In the 1970s, people perceived the police as corrupt. The activities they were involved in were prostitution, smuggling, rowdyism, fault arrests and public harassment. These were linked with police corruption as police took bribes and thus never hindered such activities. Apart from that the system of investigation was viewed as being uncritical, enabling the culprits to roam free. The *Angry Young Man* movies of 1970s like *Orbal* (1973, 'Forelock') and *Arman* (1975, 'Wish') show such anxieties of the time. In these movies, the protagonists—the Angry Young Men—depict through anger the culture of the times and the brunt borne by the people at the hands of the oppressors. Orbalprojects anger at selective treatment and harassment by the police. In the same way *Armaan*, which was released in 1975, shows anger towards the problematic investigation system.

In Pashto cinema (like other cinemas) anger was expressed in raised voices. It is coupled with body movements including face—eyes delivering a hard stare, vertical lines between brows, jutting out jaw, dilated nostrils, which signify aggression. The words uttered range from denoting the start of anger to the extremity of anger. These words include swearwords like *Badal*[18], *Pakhtun*[19]*, Ghairat* (honor), Qasam *pa Khudaye* (Swear to God), *Qasam me da mor spino vekhto* (Swear on my mother's white hair). It was expressed through the relatively mild act of calling the villain insulting names like *spiya* (dog), crying his name out loud, to belittling him ('my hands are enough for you') or warning of dishonoring ('my hand will reach your collar') and using phrases such as *Chap sha* (shut up), *wajnam de* (kill you), *beghairata*[20] to the very extreme ('I will pluck your eyes out', I will drink your blood, I won't leave you alive, Only God can save you). Such language is accompanied by slaps, fists, kicks, and the use of weapons—cane, club, gun. The angry hero faces the villain and goes to the point of shaking the villain's body. He raises hand and then jerks it down. This angry protagonist carries a gun (or snatches it from the villain) but he also engages in fistfights - even if he has to use a gun in the end. Apart from a gun he uses wooden clubs and stones to kill or smash the head of the antagonist. The killing of the main antagonist—the fulfillment of badal—becomes his defining masculine feature. Anger becomes gendered when it comes to a fight with the main villain as the female protagonist, given much weight like the male one, ceases to exist there. Women can be seen fighting in the films, but they do not get to end the main villain's life. Anger against police, however, is not taken exactly to this level, as will be made evident in later paragraphs.

Badal, in Pashto, means 'revenge'.[21] "*Narawa Karha"* (unjust behavior or unfair dealing) and *"tawan"* (harm or damage) angers the hero. This is not exclusively personal to the hero but affects his friends and family and violates his honor. This violation sets the hero out for revenge, and the hero remains angry until revenge is achieved. This *badal*-driven anger is violent and is directed against the villains. However, against the police the anger does not take

violent forms. There is no *badal* against the police: in fact, the gender roles are reversed. The police here take on the masculinity assumed by heroes against villains in contrast to heroines. What heroines could not do against villains—fight—is what heroes here are unable to do. The anger just comes down to *Zrha Bade* (resentment) or *Brhach* (Scream) unlike in Bollywood or Tamil films.

The 1970s and 1980s saw films which shared some similar features. These films were from across a range of genres such as romance, thriller, drama and action. All these genres had themes of anger, violence and revenge associated with masculine figure (convention sometimes torn apart) and narratives built by the filmic stories. This common theme converted these genres into a new genre known as the 'Angry Young Man' genre. It first started in Bollywood with Amitabh Bachchan[22] becoming the angry young man in *Zanjeer* ("Chains" Dir. Prakash Mehra, 1973).[23] This film broke the institutional traditions that former films followed. Earlier, anger was considered anegative emotion.[24]

The Tamil Cinema of India saw the same turn in the 1980s. Here, Rajinikanth[25] was the angry young man. In many of his films, the protagonist was initially an honest person. He later turned into an angry character after meeting or seeing rape victims. These victims were related to him (either his sister or girl friend or mother).[26] Tamil masculine features heightened the angry Rajini's heroic personality. These were moustaches, physical strength and the ability to attract women.[27] Anger thus became the symbol of heroic masculinity.

Pashto films had these angry young man features from the 1970s. Kumuthan Maderya has contended that until 1974, films were of historical and mythological genres.[28] This is somewhat true in the case of Pashto films too, but the movies depicting anger and revenge themes began to be screened in 1972.[29] These movies depicted police practices and their impacts resulting in cultures of crimes, biases and injustice. Badar Munir[30] and Asif Khan[31] played the angry heroes of Pashto Cinema through the 1970s, while Bedar Bakht sometimes occurred in this role but played supporting roles more often.

In Bollywood's angry young man films, specific words for anger are not mentioned.[32] Pashto films mention anger word *gho'sa* signaled by the protagonist when the opponent screams and tells protagonist to shut his mouth. *Brhach* can be translated as scream while *Zrha Bade* as resentment both of which constitute anger. *Zrha Bade* is basic and linked to *Brhach* that is the vocal expression of that. While this anger is there against the villains and taken to a next level to satisfy —physical fight with them and even killing—it is never taken to such next level against the Police in these movies. Protagonists scream at the top of their voice in front of the villains and killed them, but it is not so in case of the Police. It is either just *Zrha Bade* or its next level—*Zrha Bade* and *Brhach* accompanied.

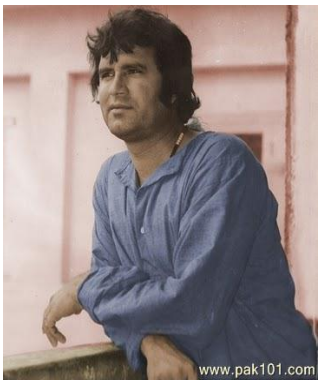

Figure 2.1. Arslan. *Badar Munir*. In *Pak101.com*. http://www.pak101.com/c/gallery/view/8582/Badar_Munir/Badar_Munir, (October 12, 2017).

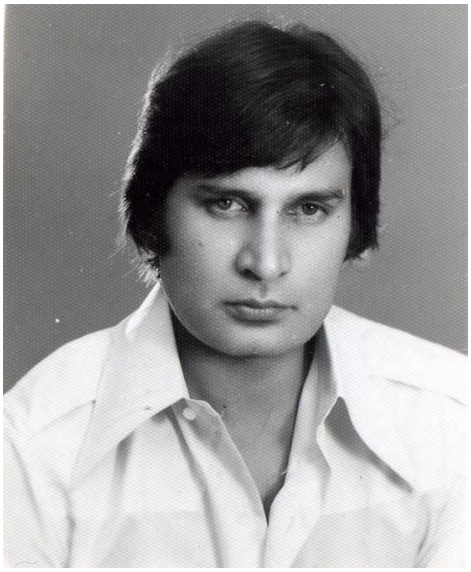

Figure 2.2. Syedmahmood, Shah. *Asif Khan*. 1970. In *Flickr*. May 3, 2012. https://www.flickr.com/photos/smshah/7138778445, (October 12, 2017)

On 28 December 1973, *Orbal* ("Forelock," Dir. Mumtaz Ali Khan, 1973) got released. It was a very successful film. It ran for 110 to112 days in Naz Cinema (Peshawar) alone.[33] It tells a tragic story of poverty and police biases. The protagonist, Dilawar, played by Badar Munir, is a coolie[34] who has never been given his wages on time. One night when he returns home and finds his son crying for food, he raises his hand and closes his fist. He then picks up his gun. Her wife reminds him of his promise that he would do nothing rash. Raising his voice to the point of almost screaming, he tells her about the injustice they are suffering, but she is still adamant. He thus knocks her down and goes off with the gun in his hand.

While on his way, Dilawar hears a girl screaming. He climbs into the house from where the sound has come, and sees a drunk rich man trying to rape a girl. When that man sees Dilawar with the gun, he begs for his life and gives him some money. Dilawar says, "You are drunk with liquor while I am [drunk] with honor. You would have raped many for these paper pieces (money)." He kills the man and plunders the place. He covers the girl and sends her away. The police arrive and Dilawar attempts to flee. However, he fails and is arrested. A police inspector tells him that he should have gone to him for money to buy food. Dilawar says that he is Pashtun 'and can't spread hands before anyone'.

During his life sentence in Haripur Jail (NWFP), Dilawar comes to know that his family has gone missing. He escapes from prison. He never returns to Haripur and reverts back to his old Bandit life. The Inspector who promised him their safety is now a Deputy Superintendent of the Police (DSP) fears for his life and sets after Dilawar again in order to put him behind the bars. One day Dilawar arrives with a gun. He tells the DSP that he has returned to take what he entrusted to him. He tells him, "You could enforce your rules and laws but not protect my family." He tells him, "You gave me punishment and now you should decide a punishment for yourself too!" He points his gun at him but then lets him go when his wife calls him brother. He goes away. Dilawar gets angry again when police put reward on him. At the very scene he turns toward the camera and belittle them with words followed by loud laugh. Away from his family for so long he one day mistakenly gets killed at the hands of his own son.

Figure 2.3. "*Orbal*": Badar Munir as angry at Police Officer (DSP)

The whole tragedy started with selective enforcement of the law. With that came selective justice. The protagonist was not given wages by his employer and the police did not care about it. A rich drunk man raped girl. The Police did not care about that either. But when an honorable man from a humble background became entangled with such situations and tried to do something, rules and laws were thrown in his face, and the protagonist was sent to jail for it. His family was not taken care of or given security and he was denied the right to live with them and care for them. This reached its peak when his son, not knowing him, killed him. Significantly, the protagonist killed the rapist and had the full opportunity to take revenge on the police officer but did not manag. He just screamed at him and argued with him. He had the body strength to fight and even pointed a gun at him, but he was just unable to pull the trigger. Anger and revenge is incomplete here.

1973 and the years preceding were no different. There was mistrust of the laboring and peasant classes. Police corruption was frequent. There were peasant and labor protests in the proximities of Peshawar, the capital of NWFP. Landowning Khans had political and institutional backing in the region. The laborers had resentments against their employers. The law and order situation had worsened. There was a crackdown against Kisan-Mazdoor party.[35] The labor and peasant leaders were put behind bars. Later on, newspapers reported that according to Mufti Mehmood, chief minister of the province, the law and order situation was under control. The so-called labor and peasant leaders would remain behind bars if they kept taking things in their hands.[36]

Police corruption was a nationwide phenomenon. In Hyderabad (Sindh), protestors clashed with the police when they were told to call off protests. IN response, the police brutally deployed tear gas at them. The Rangers (a paramilitary force) were called in to control the situation.[37] In Bahawalpur (Punjab), people demanded that action be taken against the police. They accused the police of harassing the public for no reason. There were also multiple arrests of police officers involved in corruption in Rawalpindi (Punjab) and Hyderabad (Sindh).[38] Accusations against SHOs (Station House Officer, Police) of Punjab and Sindh, regarding the running of gambling and prostitution centers, selling narcotics and involvement in extortion, circulated. Cases were filed against them.[39]

If we scavenge through police records we further find evidence reinforcing what is said the above. However, this evidence comes from service files, which hold a lot of show cause notices. There can be departmental politics behind this to ruin the service record and hinder promotion but if the notice contains details of misconduct the notices can be used. These details then lead to other sources where one can cross check. Inspector Muhammad Saleem Khan of Lahore was given a "Show Cause" notice after his misconduct and disobedience was reported in a memo.[40]. He was ordered to raid a location ("General Bus Stand") which was said to be the place of unlawful activities of various kinds. He was directed to inform the Senior Superintendent of Police (SSP). Inspector Saleem Khan never showed up to inform the SSP about raid. His plea that he had not understood the instructions was not accepted. He was demoted to the rank of sub-inspector rank.

Inspector Sarfaraz Khan Niazi of Multan division was suspended.[41] Deputy Inspector General of Police, Multan range, ordered a departmental enquiry against him. He was dealt with for a number of reasons disclosed in a memo.[42]. He had not conducted an investigation properly and implicated an innocent person. This same inspector in one other case recorded the statement of a complainant contradicting the FIR lodged. When this inspector was posted in another nearby region he did not maintain the diaries of two important robbery cases. Nor did he record any single note in history sheets thus harming the cases. Moreover, he also visited and inspected regions where he was not authorized to do so when he was posted at Multan district.

Arman ("Wish," Dir. Aziz Tabassum, 1975) is the story of a poor farmer, Abdullah, his struggles with an uncritical police system and subsequent attempt at revenge. The story goes as follows. One day, Abdullah, while on his land, is informed about his father's health. He goes to Nemat Ullah Khan—a smuggler—for financial aid. When he does not return for a long time, his sister goes in search of him to Khan's place. Khan leers at her and then assaults her. When Abdullah comes to know of his sister's whereabouts, he follows her there, but is seen by Khan's servant who informs the police that a hooligan has entered Khan's house. A fight ensues in which Khan empties his revolver at Abdullah, but Abdullah's sister tries to intercept the bullets and is shot instead.

When Abdullah tries to suffocate Khan with a cushion, Khan manages to throw him off. Abdullah grabs at the emptied gun in the heat of the moment. At that moment, the police arrive and arrest him for the murder of his sister. Abdullah tries to tell them the truth regarding what Khan did, but the police are convinced by Khan. The SHO slaps Abdullah and says that he himself saw a revolver in Abdullah's hand and that no one is as honest as Khan. On the way to prison, Khan mocks Abdullah. Later, Abdullah escapes from the police and befriends a bandit leader who tells him that it is society which compels you to become a criminal, and that no one is a bandit by birth. Abdullah tells him angrily that he too is like this due to a white-collar criminal. His new friend accompanies him in the journey to seek his revenge. After some years, Abdullah and the bandit go to the wedding of Khan's daughter. A fight breaks out, Abdullah's friend is killed. Abdullah screams and goes after Khan. After a long physical fight, he kills him with a pistol and surrenders only to his son (a police officer) whom he trusts.

Figure 2.4. "*Arman*": When Abdullah tries to tell Policemen that Khan killed his sister, but policemen do not listen.

Figure 2.5. "*Arman*": When Khan tries to convince SHO of Abdullah's hooliganism.

In this movie there is no verbal critique of the police system or officers. But the system is clearly shown as uncritical. The system's agents, the policemen, can be seen as biased in investigation with their partiality towards those who have high social status such as Khan. In such cases, eventsgo against the lower status individuals such as Abdullah. In this movie, the farmer's whole life is jeopardized until the very end by the police's actions. The whole idea of revenge is given life due to this act. Had Khan been arrested in the first place, Abdullah would not have fallen into a life of banditry and faced with imprisonment once again in the end. The protagonist is able to fight Khan and even kill him at the end, but he is unable to verbally express his anger or fight against the police who are equally responsible for his hardships. One can only see the facial expression of anger here that signifies *Zrha Bade* but without the oral elements of *Brhach*, which means it is not satisfied through verbal expression or actions. Even as Abdullah embodies the AYM phenomenon, he is weakened by these constraints.

The film reflects the resentment against the police expressed in newspapers of the time. The resentment went so far that in lengthy articles in newspapers were devoted to highlighting this issue. For instance, in one such article the faults in this system were highlighted in terms of some findings.[43] The investigation system was depicted as redundant. The police were accused of failing to capture the real culprits. Identity rules are not focused at while apprehension of the culprits. There is no formidable sketch system that helps the cases.

Moreover, police corruption could not be resolved. Reporting on bribery and the release of dacoits continued. Smuggling was a major threat at the time. In Multan, due to the ban on certain flour and ghee mills, smuggling of such products soared. Police not only indulged these activities but also became involved in them and harassed the public. In Lahore, there were killings in police encounters. The public openly registered their suspicions against this incident. They also said that their relatives had been taken away without them being informed. This incident caught the attention of the higher officials, and an enquiry was started after just three days. Before that, in Ahmed Abad and Baroda, when protestors were protesting against the hiking prices of grains Police opened fires on them twelve times. Many got killed and injured.

On the fifth day, 17TH March 1974, students stoned the Police. As a result, multiple arrests of student leaders were carried out. This started due to an incident in Multan in January of the same year, in which students of Government College Multan were beaten up and injured severely. They disrespected the Principal according to the statement of Librarian before the investigation tribunal. According to the statements of other lecturers, the police threatened to set fire to the college. Later on, at the completion of the investigation, the police were found guilty.[44] Such protestors were called threats to society. In Peshawar a police clash with them was reported with such names.

Afzal Bhatti was a police inspector charged with misconduct during his postings to different areas of Punjab.[45] He, while in Gujranwala, misquoted a deceased's name in an inquest report. In Lahore, a bus owner and passengers complained against the said inspector. When the bus driver refused to allow him to board, Bhatti, who was not in uniform, fought with the driver. He also forced passengers to vacate the bus. Thus, he caused losses to the bus owner and inconvenience to passengers. In another case, Bhatti removed a ring from a female complainant's finger and confiscated it, asking to know where that ring had come from. He also tried to grab her hand, sexually threatening her. A departmental enquiry was started against him.[46]

Badal or Revenge is necessary in the films discussed because it satisfies *Zrha Bade* (resentment) and Brhach (anger). This is because villain has enacted some form of "*Narawa Karha"* (Unjust behavior or dealing) and *"Tawan"* (Harm or Damage) to the protagonist. However, the revenge is not able to be fulfilled. The police is party to the villain's behavior and damage caused. The protagonist has the same emotional and masculine capacity but that is not realized. Although there is an opportunity for revenge, it is not taken. Hence, the AYM phenomenon in Pashto films is different. How can this be explained?

Orbal and *Armaan* represent the police excesses and uncritical investigation systems. The angry heroes of these films show only *Zrha Bade* (resentment) and Brhach (anger) against the police officials and the system because of the latter's position of authority. The Angry Young heroes could not express the anger to the level they expressed against the villains who got killed in the end. They did not vilify the police as much as Indian films of the genre did. The masculinity depicted in Pashto cinema seems to fall into crisis when it comes to dealing with the police.

The police issue depicted in Pashto cinema was an issue of a national level. The representation of the issue was in part regional, since the medium of communication was Pashto. This dialectic of the national and regional is significant, indicating that Pashto Cinema was imagined within Pakistani Cinema. The representation of this issue also imagines the 'Pakistaniness' of the Pashtun, compared to the police authorities. It tells us that the forces of the national were present within the regional.

In 1970s authoritarian policies were adopted and coercion was promoted. Censorship affected the film industry. This allows us to understand why the cinematic representation of confrontations with the police was not bloody. This tells us why the hero's anger was mild, and he was situated in a compromising position. The Pashto AYM phenomenon was thus different from other AYMs in its incomplete expression of anger and crisis of masculinity in confrontations with authority. A deep reading of these films sheds light on why masculinity had to be compromised and why the system won each time. These movies in fact offered a deep, layered criticism of the representation as well. It was masculine but individual without any social dimension translating into a movement against the system as in some Tamil films. Thus, the system's masculinity with a lot of manpower and resources couldn't be fought.

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[15] Ghazi Sial
[16] Nisar Muhammad Khan
[17] Waqar Shah
[18] This word is uttered in such a way that one tries to grasp whether it embodies the anger or the other way round.
[19] Variant of word Pashtun, denoting not only member of ethnic people but the principles—Pashtunwali—that define them.
[20] Can be translated loosely as dishonest. In Pashtun community when one is called so, he or she has to then restore honor or bear the brunt of the word.
[21] It has been defined exclusively so by colonial administrators serving in Frontier regions now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa but is more than that. See The Pashtun Question hy Abubakar Siddique and The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women by Benedicte Grima
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THE RECIPROCITY OF GIFTS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POTLATCH VS VARTAN BHANJI

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the contemporary gift-giving practices in the social life of people and it provides a better understanding of the motivation behind reciprocity of gifts and its degree of universality. It compares *potlatch* with *vartan bhanji*; taking the former as being representative of western traditions and the latter of Punjabi traditions of exchanging gifts which delve on the similarity showing that there is a universality in reciprocity of gifts even though there may be dissimilarities in various other customs and on the other hand, also other similarities. Furthermore this paper throws light on the prominent festivals and occasions when gifts are given in the two subject cultures; similarities and dissimilarities; the significance of the value of the present; the obligation entailed; social implications and give cases of genuine generosity and appreciation and it examine how the reciprocity of gifts is determined by the class structure and in the end mention some social norms in this regard in the subject eastern culture. Through ethnological research conducted by the authors over a period of one year and applying Marcel Mauss's framework of gifts being a form of exchange, reciprocity of obligation and a ritualistic concept of the act of giving a present, the results of this study show that in both eastern and western system of exchanges, gifts play a pivotal role for creating and strengthening the interpersonal relations.

KEYWORDS

Reciprocity of Gifts, Vartan Bhanji, Potlatch, Ethnological Research, Interpersonal Relations

We wish to recount the scene of our friend Ali, who is from the wealthy class and lives in the posh Defense society in Lahore, returning from Germany after several years, which is somewhat typical of such homecomings:

> As soon as he entered the drawing room, he was surrounded by many members of his household asking keenly, "What did you bring for me?" His brother asked, "Have you brought that wrist-watch I asked for? If you didn't, I won't speak to you.
> Ali opened his large suitcase and started distributing gifts to his loved ones. Of course his family and relatives were happy to see him again but atthat moment their primary interest was to see what gifts he had brought ---.both young and old. He brought presents for all of them; children, wife, brother, his sister and her children, mother and his spinster aunt who lived with them. There was much joy and celebration in Ali's house that night. He loved to exchange gifts within his circle of family and friends.

The above scene is based on our observation of an elite class home, where we were also present to greet our mutual friend on his return. It may be considered as an ethnographic representation of the custom of "reciprocity of gifts for this study and it will take the reader into the atmosphere of a well-to-do Pakistani house and show how gifts are reciprocated with love, affection and mutual respect. Pakistan is an Islamic society where exchange gift plays an important role. It also has a great significance in the religion of Islam. This custom strengthens and maintains relationships between people and creates affection among them. According to sociologist Stephen Harold Riggins exchange of gifts produce the "consequences of social relationships."[1]

Behavioral patterns and significance in society of reciprocity of gifts is a subject that has hardly been given any attention in Pakistan. Modern studies done by esteemed scholars (listed inter alia below) have now opened the horizon of this subject and created greater understanding of the various facets of this custom and its effect in history, sociology, on various cultures both primitive and modern and humanity in general. This discourse attempts to study this custom in Punjab, Pakistan and put it in a perspective related to the western civilization by comparing *potlatch* and *vartan bhanji* (the local gift giving custom in villages here). It starts with a domestic scene of a homecoming in Lahore to show that whatever larger implication reciprocity of gifts has in society the crux of the matter is to spread joy among near and dear ones.
Anthropologist Marcel Mauss stresses that;

> … as a rule every gift has to be returned in some specified way. Giving and exchanging gifts is part of human nature and of course, it is universally prevalent in all cultures, even among primitive tribes. It has prevailed since the evolution of human cultures. It serves as a nexus of interpersonal relations and has an enormous impact on the arts and has deep social implications.[2]

Actually, even giving a gift is a form of exchange, because the donor expects either some form of affection, maybe just evoking happiness in the recipient or on the other hand perhaps obligation of some kind in return for his action, so in future we will refer to this merely as exchange or reciprocity of gifts.

The subject in hand has been extensively studied by many anthropologists such as, Marcel Mauss (2004), David Cheal (1998), and many others. Modern studies of collecting, gifting and exchanging goods in the broad discipline of anthropology, history and art history have informed our approach to the subject. We regard objects and their presentations as vehicles for mediating relationships and identity. The seminal studies of Marcel Mauss (2004) on the practice of reciprocity of gifts, as well as other more recent studies in anthropology have provided a range of theoretical frameworks for us. These include studies on the agency of objects, art and commercial material. The conclusions that Mauss drew from his seminal studies have had such an enormous influence upon social sciences that they deserve our close attention.

Due to the lack of interest in the disciplinary boundaries in the humanities and social sciences, particularly in Pakistani discourses, this topic has not received a great deal of attention. The present study deals with this form of material culture, which in fact has great significance in our Islamic society. This study combines ethnology, history and sociology and throws light on related questions of cultural content and changes over long periods of time, in their anthropological context. The transposition of concepts, succession of events, narratives and relations and patterns of cultural history and social variation are core foci of this study. The research reported in the following pages, focuses the meanings of modern rituals in context of exchanging and giving gifts which constitutes relationships among various communities.

In his seminal book "The Gift" French sociologist Marcel Mauss discusses the reciprocity of gifts as a system of exchange and obligation which according to him;

> … takes place in the form of presents; in theory these are voluntary, in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily."[3] Our study is basically founded on the anthropological theory of Mauss's reciprocity of gift which provides a framework for the habits of exchanges in different societies particularly in Polynesia and in the American Northwest which are extremely "diverse in scope.[4]

We may mention that the term *potlatch* originated from the custom of Indians in the Northern Pacific, especially the Kwakiutl and now this word denotes exchange of gifts generally among scholars in the west. Mauss also mentions in his study about the popular custom called *potlatch*, a system of exchanging gifts. According to him "… the obligation to reciprocate as well as the obligation to give is the essence of potlatch."[5] He further explains that there is a strong link between "circulation of gifts and circulation of rights and persons."[6]

In many western and non-western societies giving and receiving of gifts is a frequent activity which is reciprocated with interest, plays a significant part and brings pleasure to people's lives as well as it forms a gift economy.[7] This paper discusses the western system of *potlatch* and compares it with eastern (Pakistani) system of *vartan bhanji*. It has followed the method of comparison of both system of exchanges as adopted by Mauss by studying documents, exchange systems, philological studies which has restricted the scope of our comparative analysis.[8] It studies the popular habits of contemporary gift giving often carried out by both men and women in everyday life of the different strata of the Pakistani society both in urban and rural areas. The discussion and conclusion presented in the following pages have been arrived from reflection upon the results of one year of field research conducted in the period of 2017-2018. During

this period of time, the data was collected through a number of investigations conducted by us personally, ranging from small-scale participant observation to a random sample survey of the main cities of the Punjab and their suburbs. The interlocutor's interpretations have merely local ethnographic interests and the comparison between *potlatch* and *vartan bhanji* can broaden the scope of the facts presented in the followings and deepening their meanings.

PARAMETERS

Primarily we are talking about Punjabi society in Pakistan, though there are other societies similar in many ways in the East and South Asia. Gifts may be of the following types:

i. Gifts of affection to family members, friends and loved ones.
ii. Gifts as obligations.
iii. Gifts as status symbols.
iv. Gifts to commemorate some event.
v. Gifts to curry favour with someone.
vi. Stipulated gifts, like *beri*, *moo dikhai, salami,* etc.
vii. Business gifts, like Cos. giving diaries, desk sets, etc., or special facilities and such.
viii. Religious gifts, which donors and recipients may believe will bestow blessings on them. In this category we may also include gifts given to *pirs* and religious leaders as a sign of veneration.

In comparing Punjabi society with the West, we have assumed that the primary difference at a general level is that in the paternal Punjabi environment the man's main consideration is his standing and prestige in his environmental circle, i.e., his *mohallah* (neighborhood), his village, his *biraderi* or extended family or tribe, if he belongs to one. He is responsible to society for the correct behavior of all members of his family and of getting his daughters married off in a fitting way according to custom. In western society the main aim is, as aptly put by Benjamin Franklin famous quote, 'the pursuit of happiness' and civic responsibilities seem to enjoy greater observance. Of course, religion is important in both societies. Thus, the basic social unit of western societies is the family whereas in Punjabi society it is the extended family or joint family. Naturally, these lines are not hard and fast; there are many grey areas, interactions, amalgamations, exceptions and new developments of numerous different kinds.

DISCUSSION

In the Punjabi society of Pakistan, regular exchange of gifts occurs on *Eid* celebrations (the two main Muslim religious festivals) weddings and birthdays and also often on the birth of a child, especially a boy, circumcision of a child, as a *mannat* (a religious promise to fulfill certain conditions if some special wish is granted), visiting in-laws, etc. In the educated class in urban areas sometimes there is exchange of gifts for special events, like marriage anniversaries, St. Valentine's Day, to celebrate some good fortune, etc., similar to western traditions.[9] In western tradition also gifts are given to loved ones on numerous occasions. Apart from special days of Christmas and Easter there are many other times when presents are given. They may be personal, like someone merely wanting to show a loved one that he or she is thinking about them or to show them some special device and many other such reasons. Overall, it may be observed in our society familial relationships are more delineated and the greater number of gifts are obligatory or semi-obligatory.

Celebrating birthdays was originally a western custom, but that got adopted by South Asians. Birthdays are events regularly celebrated by people all over the world. In Punjabi society among the middle and upper classes, on weddings usually *jorras* are presented, i.e., suit lengths of cloth both male and female; by the groom's family to all the members of the bride's family and vise verse. Then many families also exchange *jorras* when the newly married couple spends the mandatory few days after the marriage with the bride's family (*maklava*), then again when they return. This process may be repeated at every important juncture of the couple's lives; if they build a house, buy a car, etc. One family we met even exchanged *jorras* on the death of any family member.

The spirit of unconditional generosity is, of course, present in all societies. Anthropologist David Cheal who conducted multiple field studies about gift giving behavior in the Canadian city of Winnipeg referred to one case study of a woman who was found of just giving presents, not expecting any form of reciprocity. He writes that;

> … the gifts are given [by her] on the big occasions that come once in a lifetime, in which she includes marriage, the birth of a first child, or sixtieth wedding anniversary. They are also given on the regular occasions, such as birthdays, in order to let people know that she is thinking about them.[10]

He further states that;

> …the nature of the occasion, and the nature of the gift, is not the most important consideration, it is the person (of the recipient) and how they receive the gift that is really important…gifts serve to connect individuals to one another, insofar as people are willing to participate in the process of social exchange.[11]

It is quite interesting to note that Ali (who has been mentioned in the start of this study) was also very happy to merely to deliver gifts to his loved ones; he didn't expect anyone to give him a present. He said that;

> … relationships are important for him and so are the gifts. They not only maintain the culture of love among the family and friends but also create nostalgia. Gifts are often remembered years and years afterwards, such as souvenirs and other material objects particularly brought from abroad.

Another interlocutor of an elite class in Lahore told us:

> My father has presented me some very expensive gifts, a luxury car on the eve of my graduation. However, for me the value of the car is nothing compared to the affection and bonding between my father and me, which is priceless.

Several educated elite and middle-class interlocutors in urban areas have expressed that the reciprocity of gifts was an important factor in their lives. They exchange gifts on many occasions, particularly on weddings and birthdays. One pertinent question we asked them was if gifts presented to them were ever free? And did they present gifts to the giver in return? Invariably their reply to the second part of the

question was, 'Yes'. Most of them told us that gifts given to them were returned more or less in equal value particularly on birthdays. Birthdays bring a lot of happiness, particularly to children and of course lots of presents are given on these occasions.

Marcel Mauss stresses that;

> as a rule every gift has to be returned in some specified way. [This] sets up a perpetual cycle of exchanges within and between generations. In some cases the specified return is of equal value, producing a stable system of statuses: in others it must exceed the value of the earlier gift, producing an escalating contest for honour.[12]

In western society, gifts are generally considered to be given free in contrast most of the gifts in Punjabi society (as mentioned earlier) which represent obligations and services that need to be reciprocated. In many elite and middle-class homes, we interviewed women who frequently exchanged gifts particularly on birthdays and wedding ceremonies of their family and friends. According to many of these female interlocutors the reciprocity of gifts keeps their goodwill and relationships strong. One interlocutor said;

> It looks awkward to go to a friend's wedding without any gift… [long pause] and moreover you must show your love, concern for the interest of your friend and to help bind your friendship together. It is important to give them presents which would be remembered for a long time.

We observed that in elite and middle-class circles of different cities such as Faisalabad and Multan, at functions such as *Eid*, birthdays and anniversaries, women were more involved in reciprocity of gifts then men. In western societies the most important time for the reciprocity of gift according to Cheal is;

> …the marked feature of Christmas festivities in these societies. It is also clear that the usual temporal ordering of gift transactions on that occasion is not one of separation, but one of simultaneity on Christmas Eve or Christmas Day. Furthermore, much of the giving at Christmas takes place in face-to-face encounters of family gatherings. It frequently occurs when the recipients are not involved in choosing their own gifts, that the gift givers do not always know others well enough to choose things that they will like and so it can happen that people receive gifts which are of no interest to them, or which they find offensive.[13]

David Cheal further emphasized that;

> The value of the gift given in an exchange to a partner may be nicely calculated to balance the gift received. It is often the case that the objects received from others in gift exchange are things which the recipients could have provided for themselves, if they had really wanted to.[14]

In educated elite and middle-class circles, the reciprocity of gifts is determined by the class system and social position of the giver and recipients. In this context a gift may play a pivotal role in maintaining the social class structure, family hierarchy and maintain the community strata. It may be noted that a richer

person will usually receive a more expensive present in keeping with his social position. Also, if a junior visit his senior, an employee his boss, a small landlord the village head, or any family member calls on one of his elders it is courtesy to take a present. This rule applies only to the middle and upper class. On the other hand, if a poor man visits one who is established; a tenant his landlord, an old servant his boss, etc. he is entitled to a free handout.

POTLATCH VS VARTAN BHANJI

According to Marcel Mauss as discussed above that *potlatch* is a ceremonial feast of the American Indians of the northwest Pacific coast particularly in the region of Canada and Unites States which is marked by the host's lavish distribution of gifts with the expectation of eventual reciprocation. He stressed that in any case exchange-through gifts is the rule of *potlatch* and it is strictly observed by the local people. This is quite similar to the well-established custom of Punjab's *vartan bhanji*, *a* popular custom in rural Punjab where reciprocity of gift is practiced at the ceremonies of marriage, death, birth and circumcision and many others. In both western and eastern customs of reciprocity of gifts is given according the giver's class, as Aftab Nasir and Katja Mielke states in their study of vartan bhanji exchange practices that;

> … the ability to exchange gifts is directly proportional to a household's socio-economic status, social position within the class (*biraderi*), and, its influence among *biraderi* members.[15]

For instance, to celebrate the circumcision of a child, most of the gifts are given in the form of money; either in cash or garlands made of currency notes, un-stitched clothes, shoes as well as packets of sweets are presented to the family or parents of the child. This ritual is quite well-established on both sides of the border between Pakistan and India.[16] The main purpose of the people to give money is to aid support for the child's family on the one hand and also to boost the status of the donor in the *biradari* on the other. Similarly, reciprocity of gifts is very much observed in marriage ceremonies, both in rural and urban areas. This is the event when most families spend most lavishly and mothers spend years gathering a dowry for their daughters. Moreover "congratulatory money, locally called *salami*, *neondra* or *neota*, is given to the bride and groom by his or her parents, siblings, relatives and friends at the time of their weddings."[17] This tradition is practiced in the Chinese and other cultures, where clothes and money are given at marriage ceremonies to the bride and groom and their respective families. In the rural area on the day of the marriage or engagement, all fellow villagers of some substance give gift money to the head of the house."[18]

However, in western tradition of gift exchanges, money is often not accepted. There is an exchange of rings between the bride and groom, which are always simple gold bands. This custom probably appealed to the elite society in Pakistan and it adopted the custom of the groom giving a ring to the bride on the engagement, but usually it is an expensive piece of jewelry –- no plain gold band. In the case of western marriages David Cheal referred to one of his case studies;

> The exchange of gifts (such as rings) between the marriage partners unites them as a couple, whereas other gifts 'have a collective significance' either in joining one or the other of the individuals to new groups or in uniting two or more groups…acceptance of the interactional adjustments that must be made by group members is symbolized by the

> transfer of gifts, and the obligation created by their acceptance binds the individual to his or her position in the group.[19]

In western societies, as Chea futherl stated;

> … the typical gift that links all occasions of Easter, St. Valentines Days, any farewell, is candy, a non-nurturing substance, whose prominence here is probably related to its sweetness. The sweetness of candies makes them very attractive, and they have the power to draw others close (particularly small children)…giving candies is thus expressive of a desire to keep other particularly close.[20]

The giving away of candies in western societies is considered the most typical ritual on various celebration and it is quite similar to many Punjabi village local rituals where sweetmeats are distributed. For instance, sweets are disbursed on the birth of a child, recovery from health and on various religious celebrations. Also, in Punjab village weddings the delivery of sweets is an important ritual. In this context anthropologist Elgar Zakyie explains that;

> …if at the marriage of their sons, the parents have performed all the ceremonies which require the distribution of food in the village, their sons and their wives are entitled to be treated as if they had separate households [and must also be sent their share]; when other families in the village are distributing food or sweets, they will [also have to]send --- sweets and rice for the parents and unmarried children as one group and for each of the married sons separately. On the other hand, as long as they spend from the common fund, the married sons themselves do not take part in the system of reciprocal gift giving. Rather it is their parents who, on behalf of the whole family, conduct all the dealings on appropriate occasions and distribute food in the village.[21]

Of course, weddings are important events that come once in the life of most people in the subject eastern culture because they are customarily followed by a substantial change in the way of life and family setup. In this way wedding gifts contribute to the providing the newly married couple with the material necessities to start a familial way of life and be part of the social order.[22] The display of wedding gifts received prior and on the date of the display is known as a 'bridal shower'.

In his ethnographic study David Cheal describes that

> …the event of bridal shower has been elaborated into large, complex events with many interesting ritual features. Their economic dimensions are also most impressive.[23]

Cheal himself observed a bridal shower in the Canadian city of Winnipeg and states that that all gifts such as, Deep fryer, utensils, bath towels, and many more are presented to the future bride in a big church hall. Most of the gift were physically brought into the hall and handed to the bride, who opened them in full view of the assembly.[24] This custom is very similar to that often observed in Pakistani urban or rural weddings, where all the presents given to bride in the form of dowry from parents and by family friends are displayed before the wedding. It is also a well-established ritual on other side of the border (in India). Now,

the elite class also frequently refer to this as a bridal shower and have become a regular feature of upper class weddings. Many people think that giving dowry or gifts help the bride or newly married couple establish themselves in their new home. Most of the gifts presented to brides during both Pakistani and Winnipeg weddings are items that will assist her in housekeeping, which is assumed to be the inevitable and immediate consequence of marriage.[25]

David Cheal further elaborates that;

> … at bridal showers women provide material support to other women in order to help them setup homes for themselves and their husbands. It is this kind of provision of social support that sociologist have generally found most interesting in research into the gift economy. The material objects transferred to bride have other qualities that serve other ends. A wife may need bowls and glasses to serve food and drink in her house. But she does not need a gold bowl or crystal goblets. Nevertheless, often such costly things are given on these occasions. The fact that they are presented shows us that in the gift economy transactions are always shaped by a dialectical relationship between practical and symbolic values.[26]

David Cheal's further expression in this regard is as he states that;

> …In this way giving of very expensive gifts will give one-person ascendency in obligation over another, while normal presents will make it possible for two parties to maintain a continuous personal relationship.[27]

Each gift is a part of a system of reciprocity in which the honour of the giver and recipient are at stake. It is a total system in that every item, be it of social, spiritual or material status has some value in the eyes of the whole community. The system is quite simple; the rule is that every gift has to be returned in some specified way. This starts a perpetual cycle of exchanges and may extend within one and or between different generations. In some cases, the specified return is of equal value, producing a stable system of exchange; in others it might exceed the value of the earlier gift, producing an escalating contest for honour. Thus, families maintain a comprehensive register in some form or the other of all the obligations owed by various people to them and all that they owe. Of course, over lengthy periods of time the value of money goes down so allowance has to be made to keep a balance in regard to the value of the present. The cycling gift system is an important aspect in society. According to social psychologist Robert Cialdini; "[People are] obliged to the future repayment of favors, gifts, invitations and the like".[28] Further, these obligations often feature in times of differences in the community or family and someone or the other may either laud the generosity or criticize the stinginess of a person according to the circumstances of the dispute.

The range of gift given on special occasions in rural Punjab is larger than that of gifts presented in urban areas. Whereas in urban areas the presents are usually of a commercial nature; in villages the newly married couple may receive livestock, farm goods, even the produce of a tract of land on a regular basis and gifts of land or houses sometimes given by the rich class on marriages is more frequent in rural areas than in the cities. Perhaps one reason for this is that in the urban areas a wedding is primarily a function, albeit however important, whereas in the village, if the people are important an it is event in the annals of the place and is often used as an opportunity to settle disputes and sort out family matters.

Here we have to digress a bit to explain the difference in concept between a western and an eastern marriage. A western marriage is a vow taken by two people in front of a recognized authority and witnesses. In eastern tradition it is a contract, negotiated, agreed upon and signed along with witnesses. Thus, the eastern marriage consists of two primary parts (excluding the *mehndi* or eve of celebration with dancing and singing and *walima*, which is the reception given by the groom's family afterwards). The first part is the *nikah*, which is the signing of the contract and this is the actual marriage and the second part is the *rukhsati*, which is the celebration function arranged by the bride's family after which the bride leaves her family and goes to her new home. Often people hold the *nikah* and *rukhsati* together. The sweetmeats for the *nikah*, which is called *bidh*, are supplied by the groom's family; later the sweatmeats to be distributed among the bride's family and whole *biraderi* to show how happy the family is because of the marriage is supplied by the groom's family on the *rukhsati* and conversely the sweetmeats for the groom's *biraderi* are brought by the bride's family, usually on the *walima* and if either sides *mithai* is found not up to the mark it reflects badly on the prestige of that family.

In closing we would like to mention one type of gift in the religious category that is more appreciated in the rural areas than the urban and therefore also commoner there; that is mass-produced religious posters. There are of three types of these retrospectives of material art, each in their own, popular and characteristic genre. These are sacred pictures of Makkah and Madinah, calligraphy and icons of venerated Sufi saints and their shrines. Devotees visit these shrines particularly during religious festivals such as the *urs* (death anniversary) of these saints and bring back these posters to give to loved ones or paste in their own houses since they believe these icons provide protection and benediction. These icons are becoming more popular in the middle and lower middle class of Punjab. In fact, this is the primary subject of the doctoral thesis of the author whose name is mentioned first in this discourse and he conducted extensive field research in Punjab in this regard. We quote one relevant passage;

> … such prints are more unique icons than the previous local ones and are often presented as gifts specially on the eve of a birthday of a boy or girl as well as given to pilgrims returning from Makkah and Madinah [and on marriages]. Thereafter they are placed on shelves or may occupy a respectable place on a wall for the purpose of *Baraka* (benediction) and as decorative pieces.[29]

Such ritual gifts have particular significance both for the donor and the recipient because of their deep beliefs; also, such gifts reflect the personal identities of these social classes. The practice of giving religious gifts is deeply rooted in Muslim traditions and customs. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) also used to accept and bestow gifts of a religious nature and he recommended this custom. For many believers no gift can be more beautiful than these devotional objects because he venerates these saintly personages, the holy sites of Makkah and Madinah and the calligraphy represents, and they have a utility value of providing benediction and inspiring religious worship in him. On the other hand, some sects in Islam prohibit the worship of saints and shrines. For them the non-figurative calligraphy and images of the holiest sites of Islam in Saudi Arabia assert their religion "also have utility value] and are far] preferable and more acceptable than imaginary, visual depictions of saints."[30]

CONCLUSION

We refer to the Teddy Roosevelt famous quote in history, he said, "There's no such thing as a free meal." Well, this study explores the limits of this axiomatic statement. Indeed, as Marcel Mauss quoted earlier stresses that "as a rule every gift has to be returned in some specified way." Further, at another level, giving happiness by distributing presents and assuring the future of loved ones is in itself a 'payment' for a 'free meal'. We argue that, a gift is an investment which leads towards creations of interpersonal relations. Giving and exchanging gifts is part of human nature and of course, it is universally prevalent in all cultures, even among primitive tribes. This study has further compared *potlatch* with *vartan bhanji*; taking the former as being representative of western traditions and the latter of Punjabi traditions of exchanging gifts. Following are the conclusions:

1. Primarily exchange of gifts occurs in both cultures on religious festivals, homecomings, birthdays, weddings, which are especially important in this regard, and other customary landmark occasions in people's lives like the birth of children, etc. It might be added that in *vartan bhanji* the occasions might seem more primitive by western standards, like circumcision and also the practice of distributing sacrificial meat not only on *Eid-ul-fitr* (to commemorate *haj*) but also on other occasions.
2. Marcel Mauss stressed that the exchange-through gifts is the rule of *potlatch* and it is strictly observed by the local people. This further covers all the implications of code of conduct, maintaining the social structure and observance of customs that are inherent in an exchange of gifts system. This is quite similar to the well-established custom of Punjab's *vartan bhanji*, *a* popular custom in rural Punjab where reciprocity of gift is practiced at various ceremonies. It may be noted that the ability to exchange gifts is directly proportional to a household's socio-economic status, social position within the class (*biraderi*), and, its influence among *biraderi* members.
3. The spirit behind giving presents is also the same in both cultures; in some cases, it is an act of love and affection towards one's family and loved ones (as illustrated by Ali's homecoming) or merely a genuine desire to be generous (as illustrated by Cheal's housewife in Winnipeg or the interlocutor we mentioned who received a car from his father). Other motivations are:
    a) Obligatory: Presents given on ceremonial occasions oblige the recipient to give a gift of approximately equal value in return. According to Mauss and Cheal this is the most important operative factor in reciprocity of gifts, affecting society; setting up cycles of exchange; dictating its own economics in various sections, circles and families in society and defining the social structure or hierarchy of a village or family.
    b) Show or maintain status: People like to display their status and on ceremonial occasions or public gatherings make a show of their generosity while giving presents to increase their prestige in society, their circle or family. In this context a gift may play a pivotal role in maintaining the social class structure, family hierarchy and maintain the community strata.
    c) Social norm: People are obliged on some occasions to give presents as a sign of respect. This is more prevalent in the subject eastern society because of people being members of an extended family system or belonging to a village hierarchy and a junior is usually required to take a present when visiting a senior, a family elder or a big, influential landlord. On the other hand,

seniors are obliged to give presents or largesse in accordance to their status to juniors when this is called for, say on the birth of a child, etc. Further, it is more necessary for people in the subject eastern society to give formal acknowledgement to ties of relationship, for instance it is customary for people to take presents when visiting in-laws. Many families have their own customs of giving gifts on various occasions to betoken their relationships.

d) Both societies often distribute presents on homecomings and birthdays and of course weddings and the other occasions mentioned above.

   In the west the important religious festivals are Christmas and Easter. Wedding anniversaries are prominent occasions for exchanging presents in the west but not so much in the east. The practice of courtship in the west creates many occasions for boys and girls to exchange gifts. In the subject eastern society, the two *Eids* are the most prominent religious festivals. Presents and garlands are also given to pilgrims when they return from *Haj*. St. Valentine's day is becoming popular in this hybrid, developing society. In the east it is usually considered unbecoming to accept a present that is not authorized by custom or outside the social hierarchy.

e) In this society we have observed that women are more active in exchange of gifts than men.

4. Nature of gifts: The giving away of candies in western societies is considered the best way to celebrate occasions of happiness and good fortune. Similarly, in the subject eastern society sweetmeats are distributed on such occasions. The distribution of sweetmeats is also an important part of the various wedding functions in an eastern marriage. In villages often, food is distributed by the groom's family to all the villagers if they are wealthy landlords.

   At weddings *salaami* or money is given to the bride and groom by closer members of the *biraderi.* Usually a record is kept of who paid what and it is obligatory that when a progeny of the donor gets married a similar sum should be paid back to him as discussed by Nasir and Katja (2015). On the other hand, in western marriages giving money is frowned upon. Furthermore, on *Eid* money is given to children, whereas again in the west currency is not a very acceptable gift.

   Another form of gift that is very common in the subject eastern culture are *jorras*, which are presented to immediate relatives of the bride and groom, apart from the dowry a*nd beri* that is given by the groom's family to the bride. These are also presented to foster inter-family and familial relations on other important occasions. This has no counterpart in the west.

   The bridal shower in the west is a display of wedding presents and the purpose is to provide the couple the wherewithal to start their house. The dowry and wedding present in this eastern culture also serve this purpose, in fact now elite weddings here have adopted the practice of the bridal shower and it is more a status symbol than a practical donation.

   Religious posters and souvenirs are gifts that are highly appreciated among the rural and middle classes, in villages old feudal style presents, like goats, a plough, land, etc., are still given sometimes.

Thus, we can safely argue and say in a nutshell that reciprocity of gifts in the subject eastern culture and as in any culture, sets out its own system and code of conduct and becomes a parallel operative sector of society mainly concerned with the prestige of personages and societal behavior. And unfortunately, the subjective pleasure one gets in giving presents to near and dear ones do not have much anthropological value.

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