Kamalika Banerjee (National University of Singapore)

Neocolonial Heritage Practices in ‘Postcolonial’ Mumbai

Daniel Goh (2014) states that history is not destination, but the production of heritage reproduces the dominant cultural logic, of the past in the material present, “so that history defines destiny”. In this paper, I seek to theorize the spatial practice of an Indian city through the politics, practice and discourse of heritage preservation in the city of Mumbai. Mumbai has a postcolonial character in terms of its urban dynamics, multiple locations of power and agency. However, the politics of heritage reveals a neo-colonial or a decolonial facet.

I refer to David Lowenthal’s (1996) classic argument, that while sharing the same field of past, “history explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies past so as to infuse them with present purposes”. The present times have seen how history has ceased to be an exploration and has been continually constructed and reinterpreted. In the whole debate over “provincializing the West, postcolonial historians have argued for a new kind of history, which is attuned to the diverse routes to the past. Jorgensen (2014 pp. 4) affirms that in heritage studies, history is negotiable and hence “studying how history is constructed in situ offers an exceptional opportunity to examine what is meant by “history”…. Thus, heritage encompasses both materiality, manifested in its practice, and historicity. In this paper, I seek to explore the politics of heritage through these two approaches: 1) what sense of history do the new manifestations of heritage spring from, and 2) how is heritage socially and politically constituted in the context of the emerging contours of urbanism in a postcolonial Indian city.

My study is based in the city of Mumbai, India. Mumbai is the first Indian city to initiate a protective framework for preservation of old buildings. This in itself is inspired or influenced by a Eurocentric discourse, identified by Lowenthal as the “cult of heritage”. The heritage practices reveal that mostly European architectural fashion and their application have found their way into preservation. Urban vernacular buildings have mostly been ignored. The primary reason cited for the same is that colonial structures are mostly public buildings, whereas the precolonial buildings and forts have become squatter and slum settlements and are principal vote banks. Several vernacular buildings lies in ruins in the city, uninhabited and unattended, thereby becoming dens of the homeless, the drug users and lovers. Thus, the issue of heritage is linked to the issue of urban planning and management, on one hand, and a neo-colonial sense of history on the other; I call it neo-colonial as several of the preserved Victorian structures have acquired new vernacular names.

The final objective is to go beyond the facile problem of heritage production to the production of postcolonial heritage space; the postcoloniality is testified by the multifarious spatial practices of the built heritage in Mumbai, reflecting a heterotopic nature. This paper traverses the journey of heritage conceived in neo-colonial imagination and practiced as a postcolonial space.

Priyanka Basu (SOAS)

Heritage, Performative Labour, and Representation in the Performances of the Chitrakar Community of West Bengal

The “visibility of labour” in performance practices and the broader “performative turn” can be best understood through site-specific performances, especially those that are crafted and packaged for creative and cultural industries (like fairs and festivals) as part of projecting local and national cultural heritages. In this paper, I choose to look at the transformations within the process of performative labour as it remains tied to the ideas of cultural heritage. The distinctions between “cultural heritage” and “cultural property” are blurred (Blake, 2000) though the latter is considered a part of the former by the virtue of being “movable or immovable property of great inheritance to the cultural heritage” (Article 1 in Hague Convention, 1954). Within cultural heritage itself, again, the complexities of tangible and intangible cultural heritages offer further problems in establishing performance and performative labour vis-à-vis a specific art form. It is the art practice(s) of the Chitrakar community in Bengal—a community of scroll-painters (known as patuas)—that wish to look at through the intricacies of “tangible” and “intangible” cultural heritages. The Chitrakar are a community of scroll-
painters (locally known as patuas) who use the generic surname of “Chitrakar” that occludes their Muslim identity and associates them seamlessly with the narrative scrolls that they paint and sing. Traditionally, these scrolls represented Hindu mythological themes, myths and popular stories centering on gods and goddesses. However, nowadays, the nature of scroll-paintings has shifted drastically whereby the scroll-painter/performer interweaves tradition and innovation to generate a "cosmopolitan impression" (Inês Ponte, 2015) that addresses and ensures an urban clientele. This shift in the nature of the performing tradition that transforms it into a marketable visual object coincides with the larger changes in the content/context of South Asian performing arts with the coming in of the neo-liberal market economy and post-Fordist working conditions. For example, present-day scrolls on subjects such as awareness of HIV/AIDS, female feticide, 9/11 terrorist attacks, literacy campaigns etc. show how the nature of the content is fast transforming. How do different sites in relation to cultural politics (e.g. museums, folk festivals, fairs or even new media) affect the performative labour of performer? Can the dissemination of this performance form in several media still help in assuring a “folk” identity for the performers both locally and within the larger discourse of South Asian performing arts? By situating the practice of scroll-painting as an example of dynamic heritage, this paper will explore the relationship between cultural heritage and folk history.

Gauri Bharat (CEPT University, Ahmedabad)
Producing and Consuming Adivasi heritage - Industrialization and the 'Noble Savage'
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The history of Adivasi communities in eastern India is replete with narratives of dispossession and conflict between Adivasi groups and various outsiders including different industrial and mining establishments. Adivasis form a bulk of the informal labour force employed in the various industries in the region but, apart from being framed as victims of development, have remained historically invisible in the narratives celebrating industrialisation in India. In recent years, aspects of Adivasi heritage have begun surfacing in some cities and are being promoted by industrial establishments particularly as part of their corporate social responsibility programs. This paper focuses on how Adivasi arts and crafts are produced and consumed to suggest that heritage becomes a tool for framing Adivasi identity. The paper explores two facets of Adivasi heritage. First, I examine the selective use and promotion of Adivasi domestic decorative practices, performance traditions and crafts in corporate products (such as calendars, diaries, and mementos) and corporate social responsibility programs, and the use of Adivasi murals as street art. Adivasi heritage, thus constructed, lies in complete contrast to the views of furnaces, industrial sheds, uniformed workers, and machinery that present a global image of the industrial establishments in the region. Second, I discuss how the visualisation and presentation of Adivasi heritage makes little or no reference to the sites or communities where particular forms and practices originate. This lack of specificity creates a ‘generic’ sense of Adivasi heritage and by extension, of being Adivasi itself. The decontextualised forms and motifs also flatten out the varied and complex dimensions of Adivasi life and experience in the region and in popular imagination, Adivasis get identified mainly with exotic song and dance or as producers of metal and clay artefacts. The paper concludes that in this way, heritage becomes a tool for framing Adivasis as ‘noble savages’ representing an earlier stage in human cultural evolution as compared to urban and industrial societies. One may further argue that such a position is central to the framing of these communities as beneficiaries in the process of industrialisation.

Souradip Bhattacharyya (National University of Singapore)
Whose Heritage? : Politics of Negotiation in Restoration of Indo-Danish Heritage Buildings of Serampore
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In August 2010, the Serampore Initiative of the National Museum of Denmark published a report on initial surveys on Indo-Danish Heritage Buildings in Serampore in West Bengal, India to identify and
describe the “physical remains” of Danish history in Serampore, “register” such “heritage” buildings, assess the need of restoration necessary, and “promote” knowledge about Indo-Danish history to provide an understanding about Serampore’s past and present by recreating the urban setting where the buildings are placed (Auland & Rasten, 2010). Such agendas have been planned through consultation with government organisations and other “stakeholders”, and meetings were held with relevant authorities and experts in “historical documentation and preservation” (Auland & Rasten, 2010). The restoration project wishes to produce such knowledge that is inherently ‘top-down’ in nature by imparting an intrinsic heritage quality to the buildings. Indeed, through registering buildings as heritage and promoting knowledge to the common people, in collaboration with West Bengal Heritage Commission, the project produces an ‘official’ heritage that neglects the multiple spatial relations that common people share with such sites in the present. Through architectural planning and restoration of tangible objects, it wishes to mould the present in the form of an ideal past, and in the process dissociate such spaces from multiple (in)tangible connections with the common people. This has been planned through the eviction of many petty shops, tea-stalls, other means of livelihood and public convenience from the urban setting of such buildings, and has met with considerable resistance from the people, leading to negotiations between the two groups. The plan of compulsive eviction proves that rather than being an inclusive project of heritage construction, the buildings are always already identified as heritage, and fails to be popular in nature.

This paper aims to bring out the politics of negotiation between the common people associated with the space, the Museum, and governmental agencies in the process of restoring the heritage buildings. Through interviews conducted among the people, governmental officials, and experts, and by studying the surveys produced by the Museum, this paper also aims to study the power relation between the process of producing official heritage and the resistance to it, and connivance (if any) between the Museum, the State and politics on the ground. It shall also address the larger question of choosing Serampore, a satellite town of Kolkata that is of relatively lesser economic importance, for heritage conservation and tourism. The larger research question is: what role does politics of heritage play in the construction of Serampore’s history and contemporary present, and for whom?

Moushumi Bhowmik (Jadavpur University, Kolkata)
‘Aage Ki Sundar Din Kataitam!’ How ‘Beautiful’ Were Our Days in the Past? A Critical Examination of Shah Abdul Korim’s famous song from Sylhet, in the context of Bengal’s history and heritage
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Shah Abdul Korim was born in undivided India in 1916, in Sunamganj district of Sylhet, now Bangladesh. When we went to visit him in his home in Ujandhol village one late spring morning in 2006, on one of our Travelling Archive field recording trips (The Travelling Archive: Field recordings and field notes from Bengal, www.thetravellingarchive.org), the 91-year-old songmaker was lying in bed, slowly waking up from what seemed like a trance. The two hours that we spent in his home, he became more and more alert, sat up and talked with us, despite the slurred speech, till it was time for us to leave. He walked with support to the edge of the Kalni river and stood there as we got on the boat which would take us back to Sylhet town. Most of what Korim Shah had said that morning was a broad paraphrasing of what he wrote in his late 1970s song, ‘Aage Ki Sundar Din Kataitam’.

‘Those days were beautiful! Hindus and Muslims lived side by side. There used to be beautiful music—ghatugan, baulagan, sarigan, gajirgan. . .’ All forms of song which have been part of the ‘heritage’ of undivided Bengal. Obviously, Korim Shah’s song is set against the backdrop of Partition. Thus, implied in this list from the past is also the story of what has been lost in the present.

What is this idyllic age, or past, that Korim Shah is talking about? This presentation will put that time to test, asking the question of whether indeed there was such a conflictless time, an age (aage) of innocent songmaking and shared listening?

Finally, whether or not such a time of harmonious coexistence actually ever existed, a song of nostalgia for this glorious ‘heritage’ of pre-Partition days naturally strikes a chord with people across disparate listener communities of Bengal. This song is performed in various settings, especially in Sylhet, almost as a national anthem of the region. In London too, we have heard this song sung by
Sylheti Londoners; we have heard popular folk bands of Calcutta perform this song on television. The song then has almost become part of our new cultural heritage, especially because of Shah Abdul Korim’s iconic status in Sylhet and across Bangladesh in his lifetime and also after his death. Today Korim Shah himself has become something of Bengal’s heritage and history.

Michel Boivin (CNRS-CEIAS, Paris)
Negotiating a Vernacular Heritage: Visual representations of Jhulelal and the construction of Sindhiyat in Pakistan and India
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In colonial Sindh, the British had observed that a number of sacred figures were worshipped both by the Sindhi Muslims and the Sindhi Hindus. Among them, there was one Udero Lal, or Amar Lal or Khwaja Khizr, whose two main sanctuaries were located near Hyderabad and Sukkur in Sindh. As one of its other names attests, Darya Lal, the cult was closely related to the Sindhu, the Indus River, where Sindhi Muslims as well as Sindhi Hindus used to perform rituals. The paper wishes to explore how the heritage of this figure, later on known as Jhulelal, another name given to the figure possibly after independence, was negotiated in postcolonial South Asia through investigating the visual representations. Thus, it will focus on two visual arts: iconography and cinema.

The first part, devoted to iconography, will propose an archeology of Jhulelal’s figure in exploring the oldest printed sources, as well as, beyond iconography proper, the image and statuary in Sindh proper. The main goal will be to question the existence of a pattern, and the relation between Jhulelal’s representations and those of other sacred figures from Sindh. I use data collected from fieldwork in different temples located in Sindh, such as those settled in Udero Lal and Naserpur, Sukkur (Jinda Pir), Karachi (Darya Lal) etc. The paper addresses the issue of the existence of a pattern, and the relation between Jhulelal’s representations and those of other sacred figures from Sindh. Interestingly, it is striking to observe how other figures’ iconography are close, such as Pithoro Pir or Ramdeo Pir, both figures who are worshipped in Sindh and beyond, including Gujarat and Rajasthan.

The second half of the paper examines the heritage of Jhulelal in Sindhi cinema. Ram Panjwani had constructed the identity of Jhulelal as a ‘Sindhi god’ during the Sindhiyat movement in India in 1950s and 1960s. Jhulelal has since then been used as a marker of Sindhi cultural and political identity in India and abroad. Constructed as a ‘Sindhi god’ first in the devotional Sindhi film Jhulelal (Deepak Asha, 1966), every Sindhi feature film made post Jhulelal contains Jhulelal either as a recurrent motif or through its symbolism. The paper analyses the cultural production of Jhulelal in Jhulelal through Jhulelal mandir and Jhulelal rituals. It seeks to address the issue of Sindhi, Partition and migration of homeland through the constructed heritage and imagery of Jhulelal -- Jhulelal’s magical power in cinema and Jhulelal’s tangible manifestations through Jhulelal temples in India and across the globe. The concept of Jhulelal and the construction of Sindhi heritage and history will be addressed through the issue of circulation of the iconographical representations of Jhulelal in Sindhi iconography and cinema between Pakistan and India.

Elizabeth Cecil (British Museum/Leiden University)
Gods Imprisoned: the Politics of Heritage Making in Rajasthan
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In February 2011 thieves invaded the Pipala Mata temple in Osian, a small village in the Jodhpur District of Rajasthan. They had come to steal the gods—more specifically, the massive 8th century stone sculptures of Kubera, Ganesha and Durga venerated as the tutelary deities of the Pipala community. Before they could be sold to black-market antiquities dealers, however, the thieves were apprehended and the stolen images recovered by police. As objects of immense value and symbolic density—aesthetic, economic, political, and ritual—images of Indian deities have long been subject to theft and looting. Yet, while the theft of the Osian images gestures to an established historical pattern,
the events that followed have made this case considerably more complex. Rather than being returned to the temple, the images were deposited in a cell at the Osian jail, where they remain today, pending the resolution of an ongoing battle in the Rajasthan High Court in Jodhpur. The removal of the gods from the temple sanctum, and their extended absence, has had serious implications for the religious life of the Pipala community. Efforts to have the images reinstalled have been challenged by agents of the national government, who argue that their removal from the sanctified space has rendered the icons ‘desacralized.’ This shift in status, from divinity to art object or artifact, means that the images now properly belong in the National Museum as symbols of a ‘national heritage’ to be displayed for citizens and tourists.

The imprisonment of the gods is a powerful reflection of the contested status and complex materiality of these images. The incident has also served to direct new attention towards Osian and to underscore the economic potential of the region’s material heritage. In this paper, I use this fraught case of heritage making as an entrée into broader considerations of the valuation of the past in modern India. Drawing upon evidence gathered during fieldwork and interviews in Osian and Jodhpur in 2015, I examine the interactions between local authorities and state and national heritage actors. In doing so, I pay particular attention to the impact this case has had on the local village economy and the ways in which Osian’s archeological legacy is being mined for its potential to draw tourists to an otherwise isolated region, thereby creating new economic opportunities and potential for social mobility for local residents.

Bidisha Dhar (Tripura University)

Crafting Linkages
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This paper ‘Crafting Linkages’ addresses the making of the notion of heritage in Lucknow’s embroidery industries of chikan and zardozi in the twentieth century. Over a period of a century, these embroideries have assumed the status of heritage while also providing for the livelihood of a large section of the city’s populace who are involved as embroiderers, designers, printers, tailors, block carvers in the various stages of production in the industry. The paper while elaborating on the changes within the organization of production as well as the relations of production, traces the history of the making of the conception of heritage through the years of colonial rule and through the post-colonial years since the 1940s.

On the one hand, the industry at present produces mass embroidered products with standardized designs and on the other hand, in the last few years, the politics of Geographical Index has earned for Lucknow chikan a copyright and given it a status of heritage. The process was initiated in the 1960s by the World Crafts Council (W.C.C) that based the revival process on the popular notions of pre-colonial origins of these crafts amongst those involved in the embroidery industry and amongst Lucknow’s populace in general almost overlooking the various changes that the craft went through during the colonial period from the 1860s to the 1940s including that of becoming a cheap, mass product.

This sense of history helped in the marketing of the products since the late twentieth century and was often incorporated within the tourism literature. This incorporation was also affected by the events around the world since the 1960s and the 1970s and in particular in India since the 1990s. These events contributed to the various formulations about the ‘traditional’ origins of the two embroideries transforming the very idea of the two crafts in ways that would suit their market compatibility.

Thus, this paper will analyse, through the oral narratives along with the documents of the W.C.C, the effects of these changed interpretations on the people involved in this industry. Addressing the first, second, and the third themes of this conference, the paper will try to probe the following questions: How have the manifestations of the market formed/reformed/changed the idea of the heritage craft in Lucknow? Have they empowered the laboring force by contributing in its popularity and in its nature of its production? And, what has been the W.C.C.’s role in this?
Anne-Julie Etter (Cergy-Pontoise University, France)

Between local and global forms of architectural conservation in South Asia: the Company Raj (mid 18th century – mid 19th century)
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This paper deals with conservation of architectural heritage during the Company Raj, from the last decades of the 18th century to the 1850s. This period attracts little attention among heritage studies’ scholars and historians, who focus more readily on the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, when preservation policies developed on a larger scale, with the setting up of both an institution (the Archaeological Survey of India) and a legal framework, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act passed under Curzon’s viceroyalty. Yet, the East India Company (EIC) did maintain and repair monuments. From the point of view of heritage practices and policies, the Company Raj can be considered as a transitional period, enabling to examine the articulation between indigenous and colonial modes of preservation.

Even though the notion or category of ancient monuments was not yet operative, EIC’s authorities proved concerned to preserve relics of the past, which were deemed important or interesting from a historical point of view. However, political considerations weighed much more. For instance, monuments linked to Mughal past attracted attention, because of the prestige and legitimizing power the dynasty still remained. Edifices that were active places of worship and pilgrimage also benefited from colonial funding. Preservation was then linked to the intricate issues of taxation and revenue free endowments of land. By allocating funds to the maintenance of religious institutions, the EIC tended to conform to an established mode of rule, in which patronage of religious institutions and personalities was part of a sovereign’s duties. Abandoned monuments, such as cave temples in the Bombay Presidency and the ruins of Gour and Pandua in Bengal, were not completely neglected, but they were not considered a priority.

The Company Raj throws some light on indigenous modes of conservation, which came to be confronted with other concepts and methods in the course of colonial period. This paper explores the relationship between local and global forms of South Asian heritage. Taking into consideration concepts such as jīrṇoddhāra, it will aim at identifying groups of actors who were traditionally implied in preservation (political power, elites, local communities and populations) and the nature of their contribution. This echoes contemporary issues dealing with the appropriation of monuments and the potential tensions deriving from edifices being both places of worship and ancient monuments.

Anaïs Da Fonseca (SOAS, London)

Contemporary Cherial Paintings from Telangana India: Negotiating Tradition and Changes
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While studying the development of crafts in India, it is often assumed that craftsmen act as the sole transmitters of their expertise to contemporaries in an invariable way. Through the case study of the Cherial painting tradition from Telangana, this paper expands upon this rather incomplete view and questions the sole responsibility of hereditary practice in shaping craft heritage. Tradition is also a dynamic space of social and cultural changes that play an equally important role in the construction of heritage.

In the Southern Indian state of Telangana (and some part of Andhra Pradesh), itinerant storytellers narrate genealogies of the local castes using a scroll painting on cloth as a visual aid to their performance. These scrolls are also the only archive of these local narratives. In the late 1970s, the All Indian Handloom and Handicraft Board (AIHHB) developed an interest in these paintings as part of an initiative for the sustainability of Indian handicrafts. The Board’s intervention increased the visibility of the paintings, hence relegating the performances to a secondary position. The emphasis on the material culture of this tradition permitted their entry to museums and the market, and initiated what I call the institutionalization of Cherial paintings. In this process of institutionalization, the makers of these paintings adapted their practice and incorporated new techniques, iconography, and style. In addition to their role as preservers of the local heritage, they now partake in the national discourse on art and crafts. These conjunct developments challenge the presupposed fixity of tradition in offering a rather dynamic response to the contemporaneity of both local communities and the State.
Furthermore, it questions the validity of Cherial painting as a part of the local heritage and what would really define heritage in a broader sense.

In the first part of this paper, I will concentrate on the legitimizing function of these paintings for the storytelling of local castes Puranas. I will argue for the necessity of visual fixity in maintaining the identity and cultural heritage of the communities. In the second part, I will give three examples that illustrate changes in the painting practice: in material, style, iconography, patronage, and museum display. These observations will highlight the process of institutionalization and present the Cherial painting tradition as ‘patron-sensitive’. I aim to present heritage as a rather flexible notion, taking shape in the process of transmission, and inevitably adapting to both the fixity and dynamism of traditions.

Sanjukta Ghosh (SOAS, London)

Experiments with the Self as Citizen: Bengal’s Bratachari Movement

This paper studies the indigenous movement in physical and spiritual training called Bratachari by evaluating the foundational ideas of Rabindranath Tagore and those involved in rural welfare, such as Gurusaday Dutta in the twentieth century. Both Tagore and Dutta’s approach to vocational training and routine physical culture for the youth were based on their convictions in internationalism. The movement developed as an alternative agenda to the ambiguous attitude of the colonial state for launching any Scout movement in India, aimed primarily at European and Anglo-Indian boys. Colonial officials did not encourage physical training programs for the Indian youth which passed on military training as its core objective or had similar implications. In contrast to such military imperatives, the Bratachari movement aimed for a spiritual and social improvement in India. An alternative mode of communicating spiritual nationalism arose in the post-Swadeshi period in Bengal, when ‘useful’ knowledge was promoted by way of vocational training. Rabindranath Tagore’s Institute of Rural Reconstruction (1921) gave vocational training for holistic reasons such as physical and moral well-being. Studies on Tagore’s educational ideals emphasise philosophical and aesthetic underpinnings. These give scant attention to non-instrumental knowledge shaping youth culture and identities. Tagore influenced several individuals to develop a co-operative spirit among the young people and the village community. In 1932, Gurusaday Dutta’s programme for the Bratacharis incorporated strands of the international Scouts movement. He included fellowship through dance, such as Rayabese, in folk heritage to present Bratachari as an integrated culture. The movement aimed at raising the self-esteem of Indians irrespective of religion, caste, sex or age. Contrary to routine physical exercises in British schools, Dutta opposed a fragmentary outlook on, and treatment of, life in education, science, work, play and social function. Each of these social and cultural parts in the Bratachari programmes inferred a unity of purpose and distinction.

The Bratachari movement is studied here as a distinctive trend in developing youth identity within cultural nationalism. The paper argues for the relevance of pluralist roots in tradition represented as a heritage to promote a longer term goal of development, and different to short-term freedom (swaraj) from colonial rule. Bratacharis aspired for organic development through ‘self-help’ and ‘brata’ (moral/ethical vow/commitment) as a citizen, which in postcolonial times has underpinned in various forms the material and moral logic for physical education among the youth in India.

Bisakha Goswami (Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata)

Music Archiving in Colonial India: Global Perspectives on the Conceptualisation of Intangible Cultural Heritage

The collection of oral and written sources for the documentation of the history of Indian civilisation experienced a revival in the late colonial age. Since then, the collection and archiving of the intangible cultural heritage of India has been effected through three different means, notably the preservation and editing of historical manuscripts, the recording of performing arts and the documentation of
recordings through processes of musical transcription. Western concepts of archiving have affected methods of archiving on the Indian subcontinent in the modern age to a considerable extent. Since 1899, the Gramophone Company has documented the intangible cultural heritage of India through sound recordings. When the East India Company first came to India, they acknowledged the sub-continent as the bearer of a great and rich civilization that abounded in intellectual and artistic endeavour. Several company officers engaged themselves with the study of various aspects of Indian civilization including languages, philosophy, art and architecture. Many efforts have been made to catalogue the collections of manuscripts in India. General Charles Stewart’s catalogue of the library of the Emperor Tipu Sultan of Mysore was published in 1809. Since 1785, the Asiatic Society in Calcutta has promoted the collection and documentation of manuscripts from South Asia. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library were established as comprehensive collections of manuscript materials, while All India Radio acted as a comprehensive sound archive in India in the late colonial age. Rabindranath Tagore and V.N. Bhatkhande and other educational reformers supported these new processes of cultural preservation. Through this multifaceted endeavour new methods of archiving were promoted, which also effected changes in systems of teaching and learning in Indian performing arts in the late colonial age. Processes of transmitting cultural heritage have tended to move away from pure orality of teaching and learning towards institutionalised teaching that is aided by notations and recordings. This paper explores how Western notions of archiving have influenced the preservation of intangible cultural heritage in India, thereby affecting processes of teaching and learning in Indian performing arts since the late colonial age.

Sayantani Gupta Jafa (SOAS)
Heritage Politics: Oversight issues in the Governance Frameworks of Heritage Administration In Contemporary India
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Heritage structures, sites and antiquities are privileged as national assets in the governance frameworks of contemporary India. A colonial administrative apparatus, in the Orientalist inspired project to identify and preserve ancient Indian antiquities was largely retained in the heritage apparatuses of post 1947 independent India. However, despite almost 153 years of its existence, the Archaeological Survey Of India (ASI), the nodal agency to conserve monuments and sites deemed as “heritage” assets has shown several and serious deficiencies in its overall functioning and delivery of projects.

This paper will seek to argue that the weaknesses of the ASI are not stand-alone shortcomings, but mined in an administrative paradigm reflective of an over-centralization and thematic monopoly of the Ministry of Culture, which in its turn is hampered by its overall structural situating in a sprawling, bureaucratic apparatus.

This translates into critical weaknesses in a national heritage mapping process, including data mis-matches, untraceable monuments, theft and loss of antiquities, custodial slippages of antiquities and deficiencies in policy and monitoring of conservation projects.

The paper will show that the above weaknesses are leading to systematic slippages in the management of India’s historical past; and leaving scope for distortions in the interpretations of the past. As a result there is a danger of observed historical environments not being the actual, and hence the potential of a disjuncture between “history”, “heritage” and “historical environment” cannot be ruled out.

The paper will suggest an institutional overhaul in both the functioning of India’s heritage apparatus as well as an immediate re-assessment of its priorities, data management and strategy road-maps. It will attempt to establish that a dynamic heritage management framework requires a concerted effort by the ASI to broaden participation, increase volunteering and involve local communities through collaborative outreach programmes; and shift focus from a top-down, bureaucratically managed style of functioning to a more collaborative and holistic framework firmly rooted in the communities, cultures and regions of its operation. Heritage management in this sense needs to transmute from a static paradigm to a dynamic enterprise, based on longitudinal and greater popular participation.
Souvik Mukherjee
Of Swimming Doctors, Scotch Dissenters and Susanna’s Seven Husbands

At the most forgotten and neglected crossroads of digitization in India are the country’s memories of its dead colonial masters. Whether as the result of a postcolonial reaction or the difficulties of working out a viable conservation plan, colonial cemeteries are perhaps the worst neglected of the built heritage spaces – often falling outside the purview of the Archaeological Survey of India or the interest of government agencies. Cemeteries, however, can potentially serve as an archive, a roll-sheet of names of those who are buried there, with ‘metadata’ to reconstruct the history of specific communities. The Dutch cemetery in Chinsurah and the Scottish Cemetery in Kolkata, the records of which have been recently archived digitally, are cases in point. The more famous South Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta is another example which, despite initial attempts at listing the tombs, still remains an unexplored archive of the rich layers of historical data about the British in eighteenth and nineteenth century Bengal.

The cataloguing of names of persons buried somewhere or a record of their lives and their epitaphs is nothing new. Such catalogues, however, restrict themselves to remaining genealogical record books where the many stories that are hidden in the data remain unexplored. The digitization of such an archive, in contrast, allows researchers to unearth unexpected connections and to create larger and multiple narratives through the hyperlinked database and the potential for collaborative research.

This paper offers a preview of the digital cemetery archive, tracing a history of such practices of recording, and suggesting why the digital form conditions the way in which the archive is conceived, what it can include, and how the form allows it to remain dynamic, objective and accessible. Focusing on the digitization of the cemetery records in the Scottish burial ground in Calcutta and the Dutch Cemetery in Chinsurah, the archive aims to enable a fresh exploration of the stories of two European communities that have made a significant impact on the society and culture of India but have not been researched adequately. Facilitating research into these unexplored layers of cultural history – on one level from the tombs themselves and on another, tracing emergent connections between the names of those buried here and key events during the early period of British colonialism – the digital archive, as a Digital Humanities 2.0 initiative, arguably opens many more avenues of research into the multiplicity of narratives of Empire and colonial rule in India.

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‘The Evolution of Culture in Pakistan’: Sibte Hasan’s Neglected Contribution to a People’s History of Pakistani Culture and Heritage
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‘But what is Pakistani culture and what it ought to be can only be resolved when we first decide what do we mean by culture? What are its organizing elements; what are the laws of cultural evolution; what are the various eras through which it has passed in Pakistan and what were the individual qualities of these eras? Through the arrival of the Aryans to the present day, the cultures of India and the Indus Valley have been so mixed and they have influenced each other so deeply that it is impossible to study Pakistani culture without any reference to Indian culture.’ (Hasan, pps. 9-10) The paper highlights Sibte Hasan’s (1916-1986) seminal albeit neglected and marginalized role, and continuing relevance, in contributing to a people’s history of Pakistan as well as a popular history of Pakistani culture and heritage in his neglected work The Evolution of Culture in Pakistan (1975). Beginning from a holistic definition of culture and heritage, Hasan traces the people’s history of Pakistan from the ancient Indus Valley civilization to a discussion of Mughal culture and heritage in the mirror of contemporary Western culture and heritage and then Pakistani culture and its identity in our own time. Hasan’s work is a vital corrective to history-writing in Pakistan since he convincingly shows us that our history is not merely a catalogue of the activities of kings, rulers and their courts but an ordinary person in ordinary circumstances is present throughout this history with his mind and his
hands. Supported by an original translation of the book from the Urdu, the paper is a timely reintroduction for a new generation of historians, and critical appreciation of, the role of Sibte Hasan as a people’s historian and the continuing relevance of his contribution to a people’s history of Pakistani culture and heritage, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the book’s publication and Sibte Hasan’s birth centenary (2016), amidst a continuing crisis of Pakistani state, society and culture.

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Beyond the generic: plural histories of the local
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“Kara is famous for various things. For one, it is the birthplace of Sant Malukdas. And next to it is the memorial [samâdhi sthal] of Sant Baba Karakshah. Both these Babas are known for their devotion to the Formless (nirîkâr bhâv) and both gave primacy to [good] actions. Come, let’s go and find out more about these people and this place.” This well-meaning and enterprising video (by Video Volunteers, uploaded 2011 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PQkguUDmiY) on the qasba of Kara near Allahabad is an example of “heritage activism” that rightly seeks to valorise a local place and its history. In a context in which a muscular “master narrative” history of ancient Aryan glory, Muslim oppression, and Hindu resistance that seeks to forcibly “undo history” by destroying monuments and denying groups the right to live has become attractive and has been embraced by ever wider range of groups, a natural reaction has been to offer counter-narratives and examples of “social harmony” and “composite culture.” “The village of Kara in Uttar Pradesh shares lessons about living in harmony” – as the blurb of the video says. But how useful is it to use such generic terms that ignore any differences and any kind of realistic competition?

Hegemonic nationalist narratives, we now know, “other” and effectively produce disaffection and unbelonging towards large sections of local populations as well as local spaces/histories: if you take pride in being a child of the Vedic Aryans and view all later history as “a thousand years of slavery,” how will you relate to your local mosque or colonial built environment? How will you relate to the history of your family or town, and to your local Muslims and Christians? It thus becomes crucial to search for – conjure – stories that produce belonging and affection, and to make space for the counter-hegemonic histories that mainstream institutions and media render invisible. Doreen Massey defines space as “the multiplicities of stories so far”: in order to counter exclusivist narratives, researching the “other” stories that help pluralise and relativise hegemonic claims over territory and peoples is crucial. But how do we find effective and creative ways to tell stories that are not generic and that do not paper over differences but in fact embrace them as a fact of history and of life? And how do we tell these histories outside academia and outside the realm of English so that they can generate belonging and affection?

Christan Friedrich Poske (SOAS, London)
The Bake Collection of the British Library Sound Archive: Global Perspectives on Historical Sound Recordings from South Asia
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The preservation of intangible cultural heritage has assumed a global dimension through initiatives of international cultural organisations such as the UNESCO in recent decades. Arnold Adriaan Bake (1899-1963) was a scholar of Indian music and culture who conducted field work on the performing arts of South Asia at a time when global initiatives such as these were yet to evolve. Bake extensively documented the folk music and folk dance traditions of South Asia through nearly twenty years of field work that he conducted during four journeys to the subcontinent between 1925 and 1956. In 1948, Bake became lecturer in Sanskrit and Indian Music at the School of Oriental and African Studies, which he remained until his demise in 1963. Throughout his career, Bake illustrated his writings on South Asian music with transcriptions of recordings and enhanced his lectures on Indian performing arts with presentations of audio recordings and silent films. After 1963, the material collected by Bake remained at the School of Oriental and African Studies, from where audio and video recordings were
later transferred to the British Library in London. Since the 1980s, Bake’s field work was the subject of several restudies that aimed to evaluate continuity and change in the performing arts of South Asia on the one hand and to repatriate his recordings to relevant communities in South Asia on the other hand. The restudies had different regional foci, with Nazir Jairazbhoy and Amy Catlin-Jairazbhoy restudying Bake’s South Indian field work, Carol Tingey evaluating Bake’s field work in Nepal and Mousumi Bhowmik repatriating recordings to West Bengal. Copies of Bake’s field recordings are now also available at the Archives and Research Centre of Ethnomusicology of the American Institute of Indian Studies in Gurgaon. This paper discusses the repatriation of the Bake collections of SOAS and the British Library Sound Archive to societies in South Asia and its relevance for these and diasporas in the United Kingdom. Through this, the paper throws light on the diverse agendas of performing communities, academic field workers, academic institutions and archiving institutions that are involved in processes of repatriation.

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Adivasis and Cultural Heritage Conservation
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There is a widely held belief that Adivasi (so-called ‘tribal’, ‘indigenous’) cultural heritage is endangered and therefore needs to be protected. Besides raising questions of the very possibility and meaning of cultural heritage conservation, it is also worthwhile observing that to call something endangered implies that it is so deeply valued that it must be protected.

Perhaps no category of people on earth have been the subjects of more heritage conservation efforts, nor perceived as more endangered, than indigenous peoples. And in India, calls for the conservation of Adivasi cultural heritage have reached an almost fevered pitch, especially amongst global north NGOs and Indian middle class civil society groups.

The question for this paper is why? Why are non-Adivasis so concerned with the conservation of Adivasi cultural heritage? From the early days of salvage anthropology up through the campaigns of contemporary NGOs like Survival International (formerly the Primitive People’s Fund), non-Adivasis have time and again declared themselves the self-appointed protectors of what they see as threatened ‘tribal’ and ‘indigenous’ culture.

A history of these cultural heritage conservation efforts will first and foremost have to address the problem of paternalism. Approaches to Adivasi cultural heritage conservation in India have often relied on the assumption that the subaltern cannot speak, i.e. that Adivasis cannot advocate for themselves, protect their own heritage, or know their own interests. In the colonial period, conservation efforts were also often based upon the assumption that Adivasi cultural heritage would inevitably become extinct, and so these efforts focused on ethnographic salvage, the museumization of culture heritage, particularly material heritage, along with the capture of photographs and recordings which might memorialize a bygone way of life.

At least since the 1980s, conservation has become the normative approach to (nearly all forms of) cultural heritage in liberal mainstream discourse. This has also been a period that has seen the tremendous growth of the environmental movement and nature conservation efforts. It is thus unsurprising that concerns for the endangerment of natural and cultural heritage for indigenous communities have often been linked in various ways.

Calls for the conservation of natural and cultural heritage in rural indigenous areas around the world may on the surface seem to be a wholly unproblematic notion. However, this paper will flag several key issues requiring critical examination. For instance, to what extent do such biocultural diversity conservation efforts rely on longstanding romantic notions of Adivasis as ecologically noble savages living in harmony with nature?

Drawing on my oral history fieldwork conducted in Adivasi hill areas in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, and Rajasthan amongst Bhil and Gond Adivasis, I will examine the assumption so often made by outside groups supposedly campaigning for ‘tribal rights’, that all Adivasis desire to maintain their cultural heritage by continuing to live in remote rural hill and forest regions, without access to key indicators of development such as roads, electricity, running water, schools, and hospitals.
The paper will advance the argument that cultural heritage conservation efforts, particularly those aimed at preventing the relocation of Adivasi communities from national parks and other underdeveloped hill and forest areas in central India, have often willfully ignored the point so clearly stressed in indigenous rights discourse, that indigenous peoples have the fundamental right to self-determination for their communities. As often as not, Adivasis I have interviewed have expressed the determination to move to plains villages as long as adequate resettlement is provided, and modern amenities are available, despite the pressure of environmentalist and cultural conservationist groups keen to stop their resettlement.

Peter Robb (Emeritus Professor, SOAS, London)
Community and modernity: Abdul Latif (1828-93), Calcutta Colleges, and British India
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While considering proposals for the reform of the Calcutta and Hooghly Madrasas and Hindu and Presidency College, the paper discusses Abdul Latif’s advocacy of modern English education to ‘restore’ and advance Bengali Muslims, comparing his views with those of W.W. Hunter and Sayyid Ahmad Khan. It notes that, by identifying himself and his interests primarily as Muslim, Latif shared in a general reification of categories, influenced by political and intellectual change and imperial policy. The paper then considers the compatibility of modern education with religiously-segregated schools and colleges, along with nineteenth-century debates on languages of instruction and on the commensurability of cultures. It asks if the authority of a revealed faith can coexist with the evolving findings of empirical knowledge, and if sectarian religious identity, based on doctrine, is intrinsically at risk of fundamentalism. Finally, the supposed rationality of modernity itself is questioned.

Shweta Saraswat (University of California, Los Angeles)
The Shifting Value of Heritage in the Diaspora: Formulations of Indian Classical Dance Practice in the United Kingdom
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This paper explores the role of dance in framing heritage and creating reservoirs of power in South Asian immigrant communities. Sprouting from my dissertation research on how Indian classical dance affects identity formation among Indians living in the U.S. and the U.K., this paper theorizes how certain types of value are produced and reinforced through strategic dance practice. I draw from scholars of gift and commodity to think about the processes through which Indian classical dance negotiates different regimes of value in the diaspora, to use Arjun Appadurai’s term, and how the moment of displacement caused by diaspora may initiate transformations in the communally understood value of dance that depart from existing notions of heritage. The initial phases of my ethnographic research in the Kathak dance communities of London have revealed two major regimes of value for Indian classical dance practice in the UK: what I have termed the “heritage model” and the “mainstream model.” I argue that the heritage model positions dance as a kind of “inalienable possession”, building off of Annette Weiner’s description of items that are imbued with a defining sense of self and of community history. These items are anchors, “securing permanence in a serial world” according to Weiner. As an icon of nationhood, Indian classical dance has been imbued with indispensable history and value that authenticates group identity in the diaspora. Using the case study of the Bhartiya Vidhya Bhavan, I trace how Kathak’s inalienability comes across through the teaching, performance, and discourse of heritage at that institution. The cultural authentication dance offers gives power and position to its community through the boundaries it creates between immigrants and their host society; rigorous classical training can be seen as a Foucauldian technology of the body that enforces those boundaries.

The mainstream model, on the other hand, reflects a shift in the valuation of Indian classical dance in the transnational context. Exemplified by the contemporary production house Akādemi, the mainstream model affords position and power to the South Asian community by facilitating integration with British society through dance. The mainstream model overturns the value for boundary-creating
heritage to privilege the “intercultural life condition,” as Royona Mitra puts it. This model is one example of how value for heritage and the nature of heritage itself can be radically transformed by social actors in shifting contexts like diaspora.

Suhrita Saha (Presidency University)
Social Thought of Benoy Kumar Sarkar: Heritage not Inherited
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Heritage in popular ‘Indian imagination’ is mostly about few among many dusty, dilapidated forts and palaces being converted to boutique hotels with the underlying inability of the original inheritors to preserve that. This then becomes site of global elite consumption and of course ‘re-imagining India’ by non-Indians and Indians alike. This metaphor is relevant to the context of Indian thought in social sciences, how most of the original thinkers are either subjected to mass amnesia, while a few are made into larger than life icons first globally and then nationally, whose appropriation is constantly contested by vested interest groups. While sociology had its origin in the West, it was Indian scholars who were responsible for institutionalization of sociology in India. But there has not been much interest among Indian sociologists to engage with their predecessors and the common past. Sociologist Andre Beteille had once lamented:

The problem with us is not that the small amount of good work done by preceding generations is unjustly criticized by succeeding ones, but that it is ignored and then quickly forgotten. In India, each generation of sociologist seems eager to start its work on a clear slate, with little or no attention to the work done before. This amnesia about the work of their predecessors in no less distinctive of Indian sociologists than their failure to innovate (Beteille 1997: 98).

Institutional mechanisms for documentation, preservation of archival material is not of academic intellectual priority in India. At the level of individual professionals in discipline, they seek to domesticate theoretical trends that are global namely western and derive answers to local social and political concerns (Uberoi, Sundar, Deshpande 2010: 3). While the global is brought home courtesy the colonised mind, the reverse is not done. Apart from a very few academic works of recent times, Indian thinkers (that also a select few) remain part of commissioned reports, commemorative volumes. Critical and reflexive engagement with Benoy Kumar Sarkar is the focus of this paper. Sarkar wrote and lectured for forty-two years and his writings in English and Bengali run to about thirty thousand printed pages (currently unavailable). His ideas famously known as ‘Sarkarism’ was an attempt to endow Indian social science with a new method and content. Sarkar was essentially a sociologist of problems and based on his axial and analytical concerns, I would like to focus on a few themes: a) Sarkar’s epistemological concerns: methodology, boundary, etc, b) his ideas of existence: personality, society, progress, c) positivist background of Hindu tradition: East-West dialogue and reconstruction of Indian heritage.

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Geography – History – Heritage in Gujarat
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This paper conceptualizes heritage as the contemporary remnants of the historical past. It attempts to show how constructive links between the past and present can illuminate everyday experience. Heritage provides a sense of continuity and identity, however, it need not be mythologized to foster the richness of our contemporary lives. Notions of Gujarat’s ‘asmīta’ (proud identity) at present draws on the Solanki period of Gujarat’s history. A study of caste governance, organisations, marriage circles today suggests that Gujarat’s society is much richer and more diverse than this singular, homogenous construction. This paper drawing on the historical geography of Gujarat will demonstrate how a rich heritage can only be drawn up, if we look at the total history of Gujarat.
The paper will explore the historical geography of Gujarat and how it is etched in social and cultural structures. It will provide a series of historical maps of Gujarat, seeing how they were constructed through different understandings of place and connections. The paper will begin with Shaka descriptions of Gujarat, (1st C AD) through Vallabhi (7th C A.D. South Gujarat), Solanki (10 to 12th C. A.D. central Gujarat and Saurashtra), Sultanate (12-14th Cent.) Mughal (15th – 17th Cent.) and Rajput descriptions of places and administrative divisions in Gujarat.

Contemporary caste names, marriage boundaries (gols) and caste jurisdictions show an uncanny coincidence to many of the boundaries and places identified in earlier historical periods. Historical geography has given rise to a cultural geography. The paper will suggest what kinds of governance strategies, migrations, new forms of social organisation might lead to this overlap between administrative boundaries of the state and the terms of social organisation and caste (jnati) formation. It will map the presence of different names of contemporary jnatis on to geography as well as history. Thus some jnati names draw on Solanki period administrative regions, whereas others on Mughal administration based on pargana classifications. It will draw on historical sociology of Gujarat to identify forms of caste administration and governance.

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**Representation of Heritage in Museums of Sikh History**

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This paper discusses the representation of heritage in museums of Sikh history in India. I argue that the Sikh museum cannot be adequately explained within present understandings of museums and their role in production of heritage, either as a project of the Indian nation-state, or as an expression of identity politics in a globalised world. The nature of the Sikh museum derives from the particular nature of the Sikh community’s relationship with its past. Sikh history is the story of development of the Sikh community (Panth) through the actions and ideas of the Sikh Gurus. After the lineage of the Gurus came to an end, the Panth and the Granth (the canon) are considered Gurus, and they continue to exist through the presence of the community and its practices. Therefore, the Sikh past is not disconnected from its present; it continues to exist in it. The Sikh past is thus, also framed within the religious. This is reflected in the Sikh museum, which is both a secular place for acquiring authorised knowledge of the Sikh past, and a sacred space for reaffirming one’s faith.

Further, the display in Sikh museums is made up of modern ‘history paintings’ which are also referred to as popular/calendar art. These paintings enjoy widespread popularity and are reproduced in calendars, posters, academic scholarship, animation, illustrated children’s books and even government advertisements. Their presence in several domains which are traditionally considered distinct—the formal sphere of the museum and scholarship, and the informal sphere of the bazaar and popular cultural production—is of great significance in understanding how the Sikh community looks at its past. It also suggests the possibility of considering the Sikh museum as part of a popular network authorizing these paintings as evidence of the past. I explore these themes using the Bhai Mati Das Museum at Sisganj Gurdwara, Delhi as the case study. The history paintings at Bhai Mati Das Museum were not made for display in a gallery but were commissioned over a period of three decades, by the Punjab and Sind Bank, for reproduction in calendars. Tracing the history of the history paintings, the Punjab and Sind Bank and the Bhai Mati Das Museum, reveals networks of patronage where threads of Sikh identity, Sikh politics and Sikh popular art interconnect to contribute to production of Sikh heritage.
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The Intangible Aspect of ‘Artefact’ as ‘Heritage’: Explorations within artisanal communities from southern India and Mauritius
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Co-authored with: Dr. Vijayluxmi Panray (Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Mauritius)

This paper explores the complex issues of how heritage may be understood within the context of traditional artisanal communities in South Asia and the related legacy of diaspora communities. Some of the ideas are shaped through the field research undertaken by the first author over many years with traditional metalworking communities in southern India, known variously as Kammalar or Vishwakarma. It seems that the aspects of caste, community and ritual that have shaped notions of identity can generally been taken as more visible cultural signifiers of heritage in terms of the artisanal communities. However, one of the striking aspects in the authors’ field experience is that, whereas it is easier to gain some insight into the ways in which ‘identity’ as an aspect of heritage may have played a role in the lives or artisans, it is harder to fathom the role of the artefact itself in terms of its intrinsic value as ‘heritage’ in their eyes.  This intangible heritage in terms of the place of the artefact is particularly difficult to gauge within certain Indian artisanal traditions including metalworking and pottery where metal is a recyclable material and pottery is not indestructible. Hence it is difficult to construct a narrative concerning the role and value of the artefacts themselves in a more tangible sense. This paper thus attempts to explore the intersections between these various facets of the cultural identities and place of the artefacts and manufacturing processes themselves in exploring constructs of heritage. Some of the communities examined would include the Kammalar or bronze smiths in Kerala, the Karuman and Kammari, the blacksmiths in Tamil Nadu and Telangana respectively, and the Sthapathis or the lost wax bronze casters of Tamil Nadu. The paper would also explore specific ritual practices in northern Karnataka and Telangana and in relation to the archaeometallurgical record for metalworking. The paper will also reflect on some of these issues with respect to Indian diaspora communities in Mauritius (the arts and crafts of which have been particularly studied by the second author), and which have also included significant immigrant communities from the Tamil and Telugu regions, to explore what aspects have tended to be carried over in terms of narratives of heritage.

Emily Rose Stevenson (SOAS, London)
A Walk Down Memory Lane: The Material and Spatial Experience of Heritage Walks in Bengaluru
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Bengaluru’s population nearly doubled to 8 million between 1994 and 2011, bringing with it rapid and often unplanned urban development. The growth of the city continues to be evidenced by the countless construction sites one sees scattering the urban landscape, leaving many self-proclaimed Bengaloreans feeling a sense of estrangement and nostalgia for the past lives of the city. As such, materials evocative of Bengaluru’s pasts as the Garden City and Pensioners’ Paradise (brick, stone, stucco, trees) are being replaced by those symbolic of its current identity as the IT capitol of India (concrete, glass, steel). This dramatic change to the streets of Bengaluru and people’s physical and emotional relationships with them has been the catalyst for a proliferation of companies and organisations offering heritage walks around the city.

Through an ethnographic analysis of such heritage walks, this paper will explore the effect that Bengaluru’s physical urban change has had upon its inhabitants’ relationships to the architecture of both their city’s and their own personal/familial pasts. By retracing the steps of memorable pasts, viewing remnants of the city’s physical heritage and simultaneously experiencing a rare moment of mobility on foot, Bengaloreans are able to enact a very visceral form of participatory heritage through ‘viewing’ and ‘walking’ their city. In the absence of government heritage regulation in Bengaluru, I propose that heritage walks offer one means through which residents can meaningfully locate themselves in, and navigate through, a changing urban environment via the movement of their bodies through space, and indeed time. In doing so, they contribute to a pervasive discourse of what heritage
is, should be, and why it is being ‘lost’. Drawing upon understandings of locality as something which is
not spatially given but must be socially produced and constantly maintained, I will suggest that those
who conduct and attend these walks contribute to a performative and participatory production of
heritage and reveal the very tangible ways in which the city’s pasts live on in dialogue with the present.
By exploring the very literal relationship between mobility, pasts and belonging in this ever-changing
metropolis I will seek to highlight the construction of heritage discourse in relation to the complex
materialities and temporalities of one social space.

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Partition Pasts and the Heritage of Delhi
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This paper will depart from the twin notions of the static monument and the dynamic urban
environment. Monuments in India are rarely socially stagnant in the manner of monumental orders in
the west. Instead, urban monuments are vibrant and occupied spaces. Building on Kaviraj’s (1997)
insights into the ambivalent nature of ‘public space’ in India, this paper addresses two core themes.
One will trace the nature of the ‘threat’ that has been implicit within the practices of urban
conservation in Delhi over the last century. I will describe the occupation of monuments in Delhi, and
the acts of physical modification – small and large – that characterise the physical pasts of the city.
This occupation includes transgressive, public appropriations of space within monuments and the
requisition of monuments by the Ministry of Refugees and Rehabilitation during Partition. These
occupations raise questions about the meanings of the physical past in a dynamic urban environment
and the means by which monuments are animated and adapted – as opposed to threatened - by their
immediate environs. The second theme considers how heritage might be theorised to accommodate
the (tangible and intangible) dynamics of inhabitation, modification and transgression that have
characterised the lives of monuments in the city. A physical structure, analogous to a text, resonates
with the many voices that have lived within it. A protected monument, subject to an organised
programme of physical conservation, tends to be made (and re-made) to privilege one version of itself.
However, the monumental order as defined by UNESCO (with little modification by the NARA
agreement of 1994) rests upon a very specific aesthetic order. This aesthetic order is expressed in
heritage legislation in India but lacks any significant traction in the public cultural imagination, broadly
defined. Most conservation practise articulates an exclusive and jealous relationship between the
moment of curation and a single, authentic past (as in the redoubtable conservation of Humayun’s
Tomb). I argue that throughout the twentieth century, the dominant comportment of the city’s heritage
has been transformation. The meaning of this heritage cannot be separated from the potential of its
material parts, its malba, to be rearranged or repurposed. Instead of the ‘ruin’, a notion often
borrowed from Benjamin to describe decrepitudinous stasis, the most apposite property of the
heritage of Delhi is its capacity to be renewed, remodelled and reused. This refashioning is not a
violation of its meaning as heritage but an inherent part of its expression of the city’s physical pasts.

Alice Tilche (LSE, London)
Curating the everyday: the museum, the body, the landscape and the home
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Since the avant-garde movement, big-budget art productions have gone alongside a growing interest
towards the ‘primitive’, the everyday and the ephemeral, challenging the hierarchical space of art
galleries and museums. Bringing everyday objects and ‘poor’ materials to art spaces integrates them
into new networks of circulation and consumption. It also has the transformative potential to bring
attention to what goes otherwise unseen, and to disembed objects/materials from normative social
relations.

In India, the revaluation of everyday, rural and tribal arts and crafts has a long history in
relation to the search for a national heritage and ‘spirit’, set against western commercialism,
manufacture and greed. This paper discusses the contemporary post-liberalisation-era transformation
of everyday objects into Adivasi (tribal, indigenous) art. It also asks how, in turn, newly defined art
objects relate to transformations of the everyday. The paper draws on my long-term collaboration with an Adivasi museum and cultural centre in a tribal area of western India, in which young Adivasis were artists and curators rather than objects of museumisation.

The paper shows how the transformation of mundane objects as Adivasi art opened up spaces of self-reflexivity and cultural critique. How are objects used and whose are they? What counts as art? What is beautiful or ugly? The making and display of Adivasi identities entailed complex curatorial acts, in the art gallery and museum but also in relation to the body, the home and the landscape. These acts related to external representations of Adivasis as found in official museums, the art market and the media, and to processes of change and socio-religious reform internal to Adivasi communities. Contrary to common associations of the indigenous with what is natural and sustainable, young Adivasi curators liked plastic and synthetic and found natural materials ‘dirty’ and ‘ugly’.

Multi-sited curatorial practices will be elucidated through the help of images and by juxtaposing colours and materials: the red of tribal dress and dances, the saffron colour of the Hindu nation, the neutral colours of Gandhian aesthetics. The natural materials of tribal mud houses, the cement of promised roads and infrastructural developments, hand-spun khadi and the ‘fake’ and synthetic of small-town markets. These juxtapositions will tease out changing notions of beauty and diverging aspirations to the future within Adivasi communities. They will also enable broader reflections on the relationship between heritage making, heritage politics and innovation.

Bryony Whitmarsh (SOAS, London)
**Putting the Nepali Nation into Place: Historical stagings in the Narayanhiti palace grounds, Kathmandu**
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Questions of history and memory can be highly contentious and political transformations place struggles over historical interpretation into high relief. Nepal abolished its 239 year old monarchy in May 2008 and declared itself a republic, and now the site of the ex-royal palace in the centre of Kathmandu is home to two public history sites: The Narayanhiti Palace Museum, and the Ganatantra Smarak (Republic Memorial). Each aims to represent Nepali national history and identity and to salvage a nation perceived to be in crisis through the creation of national unity. I am interested not only in the kinds of place attachment that underlie these two different government sites, but also the ways in which their articulation and establishment is intended to shape social relations.

This paper will examine who decides what constitutes the history of this place and how competing interests get mediated. It will compare these two sites, one nearing completion [at the time of writing] and one extant. I begin with an overview of the centrality of the monarchy to the construction of Nepali national identity, of particular importance for understanding the location of these new public history sites is the relationship of the palace to the monarchy and its symbolic importance as a representation of the nation state. The political transformation from monarchy to republic marks the historical moment from which both of these public history sites spring, and I follow with a synopsis of recent events, starting with the massacre of 11 members of the royal family at the Narayanhiti Palace on 1 June 2001 when the position of the monarchy in the construction of Nepali national identity was destabilised.

That the various parties cannot agree on what the proper tone or the overarching narrative should be is made clear through a subsequent comparison of the Narayanhiti Palace and the Ganatantra Smarak and an analysis of the contrasting visions of those behind each. While the Narayanhiti Palace Museum embodies the paradox of the need to sever the royal past from the ‘republican’ present, yet to maintain a sense of connection with the culture from which the nation’s identity has been derived, the design of the Ganatantra Smarak aims to fix the co-ordinates of a new national identity without the monarchy. Central to both though is the fusing of the site of the palace with the re-ordering of Nepali national identity in the post-monarchical present.
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**Heritage Tourism and Indian Diaspora: Non-Himalayan sites of pilgrimage in India**  
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Tirupati Balaji temple situated in the state of Andhra Pradesh in India, is world renowned amongst the Indian diaspora for its pilgrimage value. It boasts to be the richest temple in India due to the donation received from visitors. However, it's not a traditional Indian pilgrimage site as there is no holy rover associated with the site of the temple even though Lord Balaji is the husband of goddess of wealth, Laxmi as per the legends. The place was popularised as a site of pilgrimage by the non-resident Indians/green card holders in the US. As a result, its popularity is not as historical as are the traditional pilgrimage sites. According to Indian mythology, for a place to be pilgrimage or holy in the Indian context, it needs to be situated alone one of the Himalayan river tributaries, mainly the Ganges, the wife of Lord Shiva. In that sense, one can argue that the association of Tirupati Balaji qualifies to be more for Heritage Tourism by non-resident Indians rather than as a site of pilgrimage. This leads us further to investigate the difference between Heritage Tourism and Traditional pilgrimage practices in India. Particularly focus is needed on understanding the practices of Hindu faith by Indians residing outside of India. What are the political aspirations of these non-resident Indians and what does such practices reveal of their ideas about the cultural heritage and imagination of India? What do these practices, visitations, and charity donations to non-Himalayan tributary places of worship reveal about the changing ideologies and cosmologies of sin, purity, pollution, and the ideas of a 'proper Hindu' identity? How is this identity different compared to the identities associated with traditional Indian norms and customs historically assumed to be domains of Indians residing in India? In this paper, I discuss how this linking and relinking with Indian heritage by non-resident Indians or Indian diaspora, through acts of worshipping and generous donations is a political project rather than purely spiritual and religious. These religious and spiritual acts through generous donations have to be examined as a coexistence of both the salvation for non-resident Indians but at the same, reproducing an Indian image abroad that is transported through materials of heritage and souvenirs helping in the continuity of such powerful imaginations for their political identity outside of India. In this paper, I will interpret such complex acts as 'religious' transactions at the junctures of religion and politics for non-resident Indians.

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**The Politics of Place and Heritage-Making in Lahore**  
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In the last four years, two major government investments in the city of Lahore have directly influenced this ancient city’s heritage. The first was the establishment of the Walled City of Lahore Authority in 2012, an autonomous body to “run the functions of the entire Walled City of Lahore,” which has significantly transformed portions of the Walled City into tourist attractions. The other is an aggressive transportation system that comprises the Lahore Metrobus and the Lahore Rapid Mass Transit System train. These schemes, also initiated in 2012, have involved the construction of dedicated corridors through the city. The 27 kilometre bus route was completed in 2013, while the highly-contested train line is under construction at this time. Several portions of this development are under legal stay order for violating local and international heritage laws.

I intend to investigate how certain sites elicit claims of heritage and investment towards preservation, while others of equivalent antiquity and intangible heritage value are surrendered. For example, the Shahi Hamaam, a 17th century bath house, has been restored at a cost of $1 million while Shalimar Bagh, the 17th century Mughal gardens on the UNESCO world heritage list, are endangered by the overhead speed train line. Monumental sites notwithstanding, urban expansion and “development” projects have a significant impact on locations of intangible and lived heritage. How can we assess and discuss the heritage value of a local shrine whose access is cut off by a pylon or the demolition of a building that has housed five generations of a family?

This paper will consider these two schemes in Lahore to interrogate how heritage is a contested space where the ownership of sites, events and memories is controlled and resisted. I will explore the tension between local and universal heritage value in these two examples. The complex
spatial pattern of urban Lahore carries layers of history, each fraught with signs of entanglement between the people who live there and those who have sought to control it. The focus of the analysis will draw on the built landscape and architectural archive to consider how the idea of Place persists in the collective memory through indexical and symbolic associations with particular types of architecture. The control and/or destruction of these archetypal structures thereby come to be associated with social and political efforts to construct alternative historical narratives and heritage.