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Publication Date

2018

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Partition and the Historiography of Art in South Asia

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History

by

Aparna Megan Kumar

2018

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Partition and the Historiography of Art in South Asia

by

Aparna Megan Kumar

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Saloni Mathur, Chair

This dissertation investigates the impact of the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 on the development of art, art institutions, and aesthetic discourse in India and Pakistan in the twentieth century. At the core of this study is the history of the Lahore Museum, whose collections of art and archaeology were divided between the emerging nations of India and Pakistan beginning in 1948. My analysis traces the contours of this division of movable art and heritage, against the broader spirit of madness of the period, to bring forth the crisis of dispossession that the Lahore collections endured in response to this unprecedented process of bifurcation. I argue that the fate of the Lahore collections in the twentieth century dramatizes the partition's empirical and epistemological ramifications for art and art writing across South Asia both then and now. It exposes the forms of physical and ideological violence imposed on art and culture in the course of this process of decolonization and nation-building; it elucidates the pivotal role that museums have played in negotiating the ruptures of place, history, and

identity concomitant to the experience of partition in South Asia; and, it unravels the dialectics of non-belonging and nationalization that entangle India and Pakistan into the present. I contend, moreover, that the case of the Lahore Museum stands as an allegory for the partition as an unfinished process of cultural fragmentation in South Asia.

Methodologically, this dissertation combines extensive archival records, formal analysis of art objects, and histories of archaeology and museum spaces, with debates in Indian historiography and post-colonial criticism to weave a cross-border history of art and museums. It uproots the nationalist logic at the center of prevailing art historiography in South Asia by foregrounding repressed art histories of division, displacement, and dispossession. By writing on and across the Indo-Pakistani border, my analysis further emphasizes the continued ties between archives and museum collections in India and Pakistan, and seeks to intertwine these resources otherwise isolated by virulent national divides. In the process, this dissertation asserts the necessity of the visual arts to any writing of partition history in South Asia, and ultimately exposes how the experience of partition in South Asia has, through either memory or representation, perpetuated a pervasive ethos of division that continues to structure the art history of modernism in India and Pakistan today.

The dissertation of Aparna Megan Kumar is approved.

Robert L. Brown

Miwon Kwon

Aamir R. Mufti

Saloni Mathur, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

For my parents,
Anil and Lori Kumar

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	viii
Acknowledgements	xvi
Vita	xxi
Introduction – Between Objects and Nations: Partition, Museums, and the Visual Arts in South Asia	1
I. Dancers, Kings, and Nations	1
II. Partition and the Lahore Museum	4
III. Methodology	7
IV. Scholarly Frameworks and Relevant Literature	13
V. Chapter Summaries	28
Chapter 1 – Unraveling a National Symbol: The Lahore Museum, 1856-1947	33
I. A Museum for Punjab, 1849-64	36
II. Of Exhibitions and Expansion, 1864-75	43
III. Protecting and Preserving a Province: John Lockwood Kipling, 1875-93	48
IV. Negotiating Kipling’s Legacy, 1883-1944	70
V. National Possibilities: Mortimer Wheeler, 1944-46	85
Chapter 2 – An Unfinished Divide: Partition and the Lahore Museum	98
I. Partition, Boundaries, and the “Great Migration”	101
II. Monuments and the Madness of Partition	109
III. The Curious Case of Gaur	119
IV. Dividing Museums, Controlling Histories	125
V. The Lahore Museum and its Fragments	135
VI. A British Coordinate	143

VII. An Unfinished Process	165
Chapter 3 – In Search of a Home: The Lahore Collections in India, 1948-68	170
I. The Crisis in Lahore	176
II. Displaced Across Punjab	184
III. A Language of Homelessness	191
IV. Resettling Indian Cities: M.S. Randhawa, 1934-68	199
V. A Museum for Chandigarh	205
- <i>An Art Gallery for Chandigarh, 1954-57</i>	206
- <i>An Interim Solution for Simla, 1957</i>	209
- <i>The Question of Patiala, 1957-58</i>	211
- <i>The Moti Bagh Palace, 1960-61</i>	213
- <i>The Museum of Knowledge, 1958-61</i>	221
- <i>Threats of War and Partition, 1961-68</i>	230
Epilogue – Cultural Dispossession and the Making of the Postcolonial World	240
Figures	248
Bibliography	342

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 0.1.** *Dancing Girl*, Mohenjodaro, Sindh, Pakistan, c. 2500 BCE. Bronze, 10.5 x 5 x 2.5 cm, National Museum of India, New Delhi, Acc. No. 5721/195. Courtesy of CC0 1.0. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dancing_girl._Mohenjodaro.jpg. 248
- Figure 0.2.** *Priest King*, Mohenjodaro, Sindh, Pakistan, c. 2200-1900 BCE. White, low-fired steatite, 17.5 x 11 cm. Courtesy of CC-by-SA 1.0, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, Acc. No. 50.852. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mohenjodaro_Priesterk%C3%B6nig.jpg. 249
- Figure 0.3.** *Monument to Priest King*, Mohenjodaro, Sindh, Pakistan, c. 2008. Courtesy of CC-by-SA 3.0, Soban, 2014. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Priest_King_Monument.jpg. 250
- Figure 1.1.** *Lahore Museum*, Lahore, Pakistan, 1893. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 2.0, 2010. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ALahore_Museum%2C_Lahore.jpg. 251
- Figure 1.2.** *Miniature Paintings Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 252
- Figure 1.3.** *Islamic Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 253
- Figure 1.4.** *Gandhara Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 254
- Figure 1.5.** *Freedom Movement Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan, 1973. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 255
- Figure 1.6.** *View of Freedom Movement Gallery from Pakistan Postage Stamp Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 256
- Figure 1.7.** “*Azaadi ki Jadd-o-Jihad ke Do So Saal [200 Years of Struggle for Freedom]*” Display in *Freedom Movement Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan, 1973. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 257
- Figure 1.8.** *Photographs of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Freedom Movement Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 258
- Figure 1.9.** *Marble Façade*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 259

- Figure 1.10.** *Lahore and Environs*, c. 1900/1909. From John Murray, *Hand-Book for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon* (London: J. Murray, 1901), p.200A. Southeast Asia Visions: John M. Echols Collections, Cornell University Library. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/Cornell_Echols_1039410953. 260
- Figure 1.11.** *Wazir Khan's Baradari*, Lahore, Pakistan, c. 17th century CE. 261
Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 3.0, Aamer Ahmed, 2014. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=35708510>.
- Figure 1.12.** *Tollinton Market and Heritage Museum*, Lahore, Pakistan, c. 1860. 262
Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 4.0, 2016. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APakistan%2C_Tolinton_Market_%26_Heritage_Museum_Lahore_By_%40Ibneazhar_-_2016_\(34\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APakistan%2C_Tolinton_Market_%26_Heritage_Museum_Lahore_By_%40Ibneazhar_-_2016_(34).jpg).
- Figure 1.13.** *Zamzama Gun before Lahore Museum*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan, 1761. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 3.0, Khalid Mahmood, 2010. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AZamzama.jpg>. 263
- Figure 1.14.** John Lockwood Kipling, *Relief for Crawford Market Depicting Trade*, Mumbai, India, c. 1860. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 2.0, Koshy Koshy, 2016. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACrawford_Market%2CMumbai_\(26136241191\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACrawford_Market%2CMumbai_(26136241191).jpg). 264
- Figure 1.15.** *Sikri Stupa Adorned with the Scenes of the Life of Sakyamuni Buddha*, c. 2nd century CE. Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, The Ohio State University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/HUNT_9897. 265
- Figure 1.16.** *Gandhara Gallery*. Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 266
- Figure 1.17.** *Plan of the Lahore Museum*, c. 1900. From Percy Brown, *Lahore Museum, Punjab: A Descriptive Guide to the Departments of Archaeology and Antiquities* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1908), x. University of California, Los Angeles Library. 267
- Figure 1.18.** *Durga-Mahishasuramardhini*, c. 8th-9th century CE. From, K.N. Sita Ram, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1930-31* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1931), Plate I. Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. 268
- Figure 2.1.** *Map of the Partition of India (1947)*. Image courtesy of CC-by-SA 2.5, 2010. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, <https://commons.wikimedia.org> 269

/wiki/File:Partition_of_India-en.svg.

- Figure 2.2.** *Archaeological Ruins of Mohenjodaro*, Sindh, Pakistan, c. 3rd century BCE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 3.0-IGO, Junhi Han, 2017. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Archaeological_Ruins_at_Moenjodaro-108221.jpg. 270
- Figure 2.3.** *Excavated Streets of Sirkap, Taxila*, Pakistan, c. 1st century BCE - 2nd century CE. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 271
- Figure 2.4.** *Red Fort*, Delhi, India, c. 1638-1648 CE. The John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, The Ohio State University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/HUNT_61082. 272
- Figure 2.5.** *Jama Masjid*, Delhi, India, 1656 CE. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 273
- Figure 2.6.** *Alamgiri Gate, Lahore Fort*, Lahore, Pakistan, c. 17th century CE. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 274
- Figure 2.7.** *Jahangir's Tomb*, Shahdara Bagh, Lahore, Pakistan, 1637 CE. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014. 275
- Figure 2.8.** *Fatehpur Sikri*, India, c. 1571-1585 CE. The John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, The Ohio State University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/HUNT_61107. 276
- Figure 2.9.** *Stupa III*, Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, India, c. 2nd century BCE. American Council for Southern Asian Art Collection, University of Michigan. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/ACSAA_MICHIGAN_1039428511. 277
- Figure 2.10.** *The Bharhut Rail, Inner View of the East Gateway*, Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh, India, c. 3rd century BCE. Photograph. From E.B. Havell, *Ideals of Indian Art* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1912), p. 16. 278
- Figure 2.11.** *Taj Mahal*, Agra, Uttar Pradesh, India, 1632-1653 CE. Photograph courtesy of author, 2007. 279
- Figure 2.12.** *Tomb of Shah Alam, Wazirabad*, Delhi, India, c. 14th century CE. American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10312527478. 280
- Figure 2.13.** *Sultan Ghari's Tomb*, Delhi, India, 1231 CE. American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10312539577. 281

- Figure 2.14.** *General View of Upper Storey, Chauburji Mosque, Delhi, India, 1375 CE.* American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10312539951. 282
- Figure 2.15.** *Tomb of Fateh Jang, Alwar, Rajasthan, India, c. 17th century.* 283
Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 4.0, Aditya Vijayavargia, 2016. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fateh_Jang_Gumbad_Side_View.jpg.
- Figure 2.16.** *Humayun's Tomb, Nizamuddin, Delhi, India, c. 1569-70 CE.* 284
Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.
- Figure 2.17.** *Purana Qila, Delhi, India, c. 1540-1550 CE.* Photograph. American 285
Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10313333825.
- Figure 2.18.** *Isa Khan's Tomb, Nizamuddin, Delhi, India, c. 1547 CE.* Photograph 286
courtesy of author, 2015.
- Figure 2.19.** *East Gate, Arab Sarai, Nizamuddin, Delhi, India, c. 16th century CE.* 287
American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10313335489.
- Figure 2.20.** *Tomb of Mariam-uz-Zamani, Sikandara, Uttar Pradesh, India, c. 1500-1525 CE.* American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from 288
ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10313331754.
- Figure 2.21.** *Safdarjang's Tomb, Delhi, India, c. 1753-1754 CE.* American 289
Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10313340335.
- Figure 2.22.** *Feroz Shah Kotla, Delhi, India, c. 1351-1388 CE.* American Institute 290
of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10312539944.
- Figure 2.23.** *Map of Gaur (with Monuments in India), West Bengal, India.* Image 291
courtesy of Google Maps, 2018.
- Figure 2.24.** *Baruduari Masjid, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 1526 CE.* 292
Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.25.** *Kadam Rasul Masjid, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 1530 CE.* 293
Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.

- Figure 2.26.** *Tomb of Fateh Khan, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 16th century CE. 294
 Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*,
<https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.27.** *Firoz Minar, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century CE. 295
 Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*,
<https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.28.** *Baishgazi Darwaza, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century – 16th 296
 century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from
Sahapedia, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.29.** *Dakhil Darwaza, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 16th century CE. 297
 Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*,
<https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.30.** *Gumti Darwaza, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 16th century CE. 298
 Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*,
<https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.31.** *Luckochari Darwaza, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 17th century CE. 299
 Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*,
<https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.32.** *Chamkatti Masjid, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century CE. 300
 Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*,
<https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.33.** *Chika Monument, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century – 16th 301
 century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from
Sahapedia, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.34.** *Gunamanta Masjid, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century CE. 302
 Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*,
<https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.35.** *Lotan Masjid, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century – 16th 303
 century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from
Sahapedia, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.36.** *Tantipuri Masjid, Gaur*, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century CE. 304
 Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*,
<https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.
- Figure 2.37.** *Kotawali Darwaza, Mohibodipur Border Crossing, India and 305
 Bangladesh*, c. 15th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018.

Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.

- Figure 2.38.** *Map of Gaur (with Monuments in India and Bangladesh)*, West Bengal, India and Rajshahi District, Bangladesh. Image courtesy of Google Maps, 2018. 306
- Figure 2.39.** *Map of Bhitagarh (in relation to Indian city of Jalpaigiri)*, Bangladesh, c. 6th century – 7th century, CE. Image courtesy of Google Maps, 2018. 307
- Figure 2.40.** *View of Gandhara Collections*, Chandigarh Museum, Chandigarh, Punjab, India. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 308
- Figure 2.41.** *Portrait of Farrukh Sirjar*, c. 18th century CE. Paper, Mughal-Style, 23.2 x 15.7 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. B-49. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 309
- Figure 2.42.** *Girl's Head*, Akhnoor, Jammu District, India, c. 1st century CE. Terracotta, 16 x 10.5 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. 02961 (C-1). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 310
- Figure 2.43.** *Buddha*, Nagapattinam, Tamil Nadu, India, c. 11th century CE. Bronze, 4.25 x 9.625 in, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. 1564 (C-1). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 311
- Figure 2.44.** *Phulkari*, Hazara, Pakistan, c. 19th century CE. Cotton and silk thread, 8.5 x 6 ft, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. 111. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 312
- Figure 2.45.** *Leaf from Illuminated Quran*, N.D. Paper, 39 x 25.7 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. N-5. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 313
- Figure 2.46.** *Huqqa*, Hyderabad, India, c. 18th century CE. Metal, 23.2 x 13.6 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. 4/984. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 314
- Figure 2.47.** S.N. Gupta, *Radha*, c. 20th century CE. Watercolor on paper, 49.8 x 37 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. O-46. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 315
- Figure 2.48.** *Rupachanda's Attraction Towards Chanda* (Folio from Lahore-Chandigarh *Chandayan* Manuscript), Malwar, Central India, c. 1550 CE. Gouache on paper, 23.8 x 16.2 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. K-7-30 (i). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 316

Figure 3.1. Le Corbusier, <i>Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh</i> , India, 1968. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	317
Figure 3.2. <i>Exterior View of Chandigarh Museum</i> , Chandigarh, India. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	318
Figure 3.3. <i>Exterior View of Chandigarh Museum</i> , Chandigarh, India. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	319
Figure 3.4. <i>Interior View of Metal Sculpture Gallery</i> , Chandigarh Museum, India. Photograph. Courtesy of author, 2016.	320
Figure 3.5. <i>Interior View of Gandhara Sculpture Gallery</i> , Chandigarh Museum, India. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	321
Figure 3.6. <i>Interior View of Indian Miniature Painting Gallery</i> , Chandigarh Museum, India. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	322
Figure 3.7. <i>Interior View of Contemporary Indian Art Gallery</i> , Chandigarh Museum, India. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	323
Figure 3.8. Pierre Jeanneret and Le Corbusier, <i>Chandigarh</i> , c. 1951-53. Avery/GSAPP Architectural Plans and Sections, Columbia University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_34610402 .	324
Figure 3.9. <i>Darbar Hall, Qila Mubarak</i> , Patiala, India, c. 18 th century. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	325
Figure 3.10. <i>Moti Bagh Palace</i> , Patiala, India, c. 19 th century. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	326
Figure 3.11. <i>Example of Acquisition Seal for Exhibits Acquired by Punjab State Museum, Patiala</i> , c. 1959. Paper, Pahari-Style, 14.2 x 8.3 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. G-1. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	327
Figure 3.12. <i>Sheesh Mahal</i> , Moti Bagh Palace, Patiala, India, c. 19 th century. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	328
Figure 3.13. <i>Science Museum</i> , Chandigarh, India, 1973. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	329
Figure 3.14. <i>Chandigarh Architecture Museum</i> , Chandigarh, India, 1997. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.	330
Figure 3.15. Le Corbusier, <i>Model for Museum of Knowledge</i> , City Architecture	331

- Museum, Chandigarh, India, c. 1960. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.
- Figure 3.16.** Le Corbusier, *High Court*, Capitol Complex, Chandigarh, India, c. 1951-55. The John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, The Ohio State University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/HUNT_61222. 332
- Figure 3.17.** Le Corbusier, *Palace of the Assembly*, Capitol Complex, Chandigarh, India, c. 1951-1962. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 333
- Figure 3.18.** Le Corbusier, *Secretariat*, Capitol Complex, Chandigarh, India, c. 1951-58. Avery/GSAPP Architectural Plans and Sections, Columbia University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_34611298. 334
- Figure 3.19.** Le Corbusier, *Philips Pavilion*, World Expo, Brussels, Belgium, 1958. Avery/GSAPP Architectural Plans and Sections, Columbia University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_34611332. 335
- Figure 3.20.** *National Museum of India*, Delhi, India, c. 1948. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 3.0, Miya.m, 2009. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:India_national_museum_01.jpg. 336
- Figure 3.21.** *Territorial Evolution of Punjab from 1951-1966*. Image courtesy of CC-by-SA 4.0, Furfur, 2015. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Punjab_1951-66.svg. 337
- Figure 4.1.** Zarina Hashmi, *Dividing Line*, 2001. Woodcut printed in black ink on handmade Indian paper, mounted on Arches Cover white paper, Edition of 20, 25.75 x 19.75 in (sheet size), 16 x 13 in (image size). © Zarina; Image courtesy of the artist and Lühring Augustine, New York. 338
- Figure 4.2.** Shilpa Gupta, *Blame*, 2002-04. Simulated blood, posters, stickers, interactive performance, 2.7 x 1.1 in (bottles), 1.9 x 1.1 x 0.7 in (stickers). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 339
- Figure 4.3.** Shilpa Gupta, *Blame* (View of Bottle with English Inscription), 2002-04. Simulated blood, posters, stickers, interactive performance, 2.7 x 1.1 in (bottles), 1.9 x 1.1 x 0.7 in (stickers). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 340
- Figure 4.4.** Shilpa Gupta, *Blame* (View of Bottle with Urdu Inscription), 2002-04. Simulated blood, posters, stickers, interactive performance, 2.7 x 1.1 in (bottles), 1.9 x 1.1 x 0.7 in (stickers). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016. 341

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation owes its greatest debt to the support of my dissertation committee who have provided me with invaluable mentorship over the course of my graduate education in the Department of Art History at the University of California, Los Angeles, and pushed me to be the very best version of myself. Robert L. Brown has been a generous and supportive teacher from the start, whose seminars fostered lively intellectual debate, and a unique sense of camaraderie and community that shapes the very core of this project. Miwon Kwon has provided instrumental advice at key junctures in the development of this project that has strengthened my interventions in new directions, and helped me to hone my voice with precision and confidence. Aamir R. Mufti has been a most rigorous interlocutor, whose scholarship and teaching have pushed me to think differently about the world, and ask new and probing questions through my engagement with art and literature. Finally, Saloni Mathur has been an unparalleled mentor. A rigorous and supportive teacher, she embodies a model of scholarship and professionalism that I have come to both deeply admire and aspire to in my own work and teaching. Her generosity of spirit, openness to new ideas, and constructive criticism have made this dissertation possible; I consider it a great honor to be her student.

This dissertation was made possible by fellowship support bestowed by the Department of Art History and the Graduate Division of the University of California, Los Angeles, as well as several external fellowships and grants. These include: the Fulbright-Nehru Student Research Fellowship (2015-16), the American Institute of Indian Studies Junior Research Fellowship (2015-16), the American Institute of Pakistan Studies Conference Travel Grant (2017), the Berkeley-AIPS Urdu Language Program in Pakistan

Fellowship (2014), the Critical Language Scholarship (2012, 2013), the Ruth-Nagle Watkins Scholarship (2016), the Edward A. Dickson Fellowship (2010, 2014, 2016), and the UCLA Dissertation Year Fellowship (2017-18). Portions of this dissertation were work-shopped at conferences hosted by the American Council for Southern Asian Art (2018), the Institute of Historical Research, London (2017), and the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (2016). I am also thankful to Alka Patel, Lisa N. Owen, and Steven Lindquist for the opportunity to share selections of this project at the University of California, Irvine (2017), the University of North Texas (2018), and Southern Methodist University (2018) at formative stages in its development.

My dissertation fieldwork was completed with the generous assistance of several organizations and individuals in India, Pakistan, and Britain. In India, I am grateful to the American Institute of Indian Studies, the United States-India Education Foundation, and the School of Arts and Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University. I would like to extend special thanks to the entire staffs of these three institutions for their invaluable support in country, and especially to Purnima Mehta, Priyanjana Ghosh, Neeraj Goswami, Kalden Shringla, Shukla Sawant, Kavita Singh, and Bishnupriya Dutt. I am also thankful to the National Archives of India in Bhubaneswar and New Delhi, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library in New Delhi, the Raza Foundation in New Delhi, the AIIS Center for Art and Archaeology in Gurgaon, the Government Museum and Art Gallery in Chandigarh, the City Architecture Museum in Chandigarh, and the Punjab State Archives in Chandigarh and Patiala. My work in these archives and museums was facilitated by the kindness of many, and especially Anumita Banerjee, Bittu Indora, Dipti Ranjan, Seema Gera, Radha ma'am, Shruthi Issac, and Ashok Vajpeyi. In Pakistan, I am thankful for the

support of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies, the Berkeley-AIPS Urdu Language Program in Pakistan, and the Lahore University of Management Sciences. I am also grateful to the Lahore Museum, the Fakir Khana, and the Punjab State Archives at the Central Secretariat in Lahore for their generous hospitality and sincere support of my research. Special thanks are due to Sumaira Samad, Bashir Bhatti, and Abbas Chughtai, who helped me to uncover hidden archival gems in between my Urdu coursework. In Britain, I am indebted to the staff of the British Library, the National Art Library at the Victoria & Albert Museum, the Royal Academy of Arts, Tate Britain, and the University College, London Special Collections at Kew Gardens.

I have been extremely fortunate in my many years of education to work with faculty, scholars, and teachers who have inspired me at every turn with their ideas, teaching, and passion. In particular, I am grateful to my language teachers Ashok Koul, Ahtesham Ahmed Khan, Zeba Parveen, and Faiza Saleem for introducing me to Urdu with patience and precision, and helping me to unlock the profound beauty of its poetic and aesthetic worlds. Laurel Bestock, John Guy, Mallica Kumbera Landrus, and Vazira Zamindar showed me what art history is capable of at a formative stage in my undergraduate education at Brown University, and encouraged my decision to pursue graduate studies within the field. My high school teachers Sara Anderson, Joan Cleary, Elisabeth Gordon, and Sara Williams revealed writing and history to be an inexhaustible source of magic, and gave me the confidence at an early age to trust my mind and put pen to paper.

This dissertation is also built from an invaluable matrix of friendships, formed over many years and across several continents. In Delhi, Sonali Gupta-Agarwal, Raka

Gupta, the late J.D. Gupta, and Motee welcomed me into their family with open arms. Their home in Lajpat Nagar proved an oasis from the trials and tribulations of dissertation fieldwork, and was instrumental in making the tortuous city of Delhi my home-away-from-home. Natalia di Pietrantonio, Kate Imy, Neelam Khoja, and Erin Quinn were welcome and inspiring company on the archival trail in India and Britain. Chai breaks with Narayani Basu and Matthew Shutzer brought laughter and adventure to the tedium of archival work in Delhi. In Lahore, Maryam Wasif Khan and Nadhra Shahbaz Khan were pillars of support. My colleagues in Los Angeles have been extraordinary companions on this rollercoaster journey. I am especially grateful to Jamin An, Tracy Bonfitto, Andrea Gyorody, Julia McHugh, Lakshika Senarath Gamage, Elizabeth Searcy, Sarah-Neel Smith, Shivani Sud, and Lauren Taylor for the many memories of laughter and cheer that have proven a source of constant light in an otherwise difficult process. Madihah Akhter, who is more sister than friend, read every inch of this dissertation and never let me lose faith in my project or myself, for which I will always be grateful. For their constant support and understanding; for making sure graduate school was equal parts work and fun; for always being there when I needed them, I am also deeply grateful to: Sofia Bengoa, Nandini Das, Sujata Gidumal, Komal Kapoor, Ragini Kashyap, Raj Kothari, Akash Kumar, Baird Lagenbrunner, Jennifer Lin, Michael Norris, Melissa O'Brien, Neil Paik, Sima Patel, Nazia Rashid, Soumya Sanyal, Jose Vasconez, Mayon Yen, and Divya Yerramilli.

This dissertation owes a special ode of thanks to my extended family in India—an incredible network of aunts, uncles, cousins, grandmothers, and grandfathers who took me in with extreme love and care while I found my way in a country and culture

somehow both foreign and my own. They have touched my life and my work in unimaginable ways, and I will always be grateful for this dissertation's gift of time spent in their company. Dadi, Choti Dadi, Dipak Kumar, Poonam Kumari, Rita Srivastava, Bhuneshwar Sahay, Amritesh, Amisha, and Kanu welcomed me home to Patna whenever time permitted, filling my days of fieldwork with warm memories of love, laughter, and aloo parathas. Prashant Verma, Ujjwal Verma, Lallan Dada, Manish Sinha, Mita Priyadarshini, Sanjay Sinha, Manisha Priyamvada, and Anita Srivastava were always just a phone-call away in Delhi, and ensured I never went a day feeling out of place. My conversations with Chitra and Aditya Bahadur over pakoras and chai easily made Lucknow one of my favorite places to visit. But for their invaluable guidance, their unwavering support, their patience and friendship, extra gratitude is reserved for my Mantu Papa and Punnu Chacha.

Finally, this dissertation would not have been possible without the love and support of my family. Divya Yerramilli cheered me on every step of the way, never letting my confidence waver. Sushma, Ram, and Priyanka Singh kept me grounded with countless phone calls, face-times, and emails, and never went a day without reminding me of their support. My grandparents, Geraldine Hutchins, the late Winston Hutchins, Leela Devi, and the late Bishwanath Prasad, taught me the meaning of hard work, dedication, and tolerance, and the importance of family. Their love and care inflect every word of this dissertation. Words cannot adequately express the gratitude I hold for my parents, Anil and Lori Kumar, who inspire everything I do. This dissertation is a deep reflection of their love, guidance, and friendship. With immense love, this dissertation is dedicated to them.

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INTRODUCTION

Between Objects and Nations: Partition, Museums, and the Visual Arts in South Asia

I. Dancers, Kings, and Nations

The *Dancing Girl* and the *Priest King* are considered today among the most iconic archaeological artifacts excavated from Mohenjodaro, the renowned ancient metropolis of the Indus civilization (3300-1300 BCE) presently located in Sindh, Pakistan. Made from bronze, the *Dancing Girl* [Fig. 0.1] is a rare example of metal sculpture from the site.¹ It depicts a nude female figure in the round, with her right hand resting on her hip, her hair braided into a tight bun at the nape of her neck, and her arms and clavicle heavily adorned with jewelry, including a set of bangles that line the length of her left side from her shoulder down to her wrist. She stands, moreover, with her left leg bent and placed slightly in front of her right in a “half-impudent posture”² according to British colonial archaeologist, John Marshall, that lends her form a noted vitality. This sense of vitality has fueled great conjecture around her sexuality and profession as a dancer in the years since her excavation in the 1920s, though her moniker of “dancing girl” remains speculative at best, a relic of early attempts to understand the sculpture in light of later Indic civilization, in which dance plays a significant cultural role.³ The *Priest King* [Fig. 0.2], carved from a low-fired steatite, is equally rare. It shows the upper torso of a bearded male figure that sits adorned in his own right. The sculpture sports headgear indicative of a high social rank and possibly a religious affiliation. It also dons a patterned garment across his left shoulder, one bedecked with trefoil, double circle, and

¹ Susan Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain* (Boston: Weatherhill, 2006), 16.

² John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1931), 45.

³ Huntington, 16.

single circle designs that recall motifs found in ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Minoan art as well.⁴ The artifacts' contemporary celebrity, however, is less a reflection of the singularity of their craftsmanship and age, than it is a mark of the enormous, if unexpected role both objects have played in the shaping of contending national imaginations across South Asia.

At present, the *Dancing Girl* anchors the proto-historic galleries of India's National Museum in New Delhi, where she has remained a critical, physical link to the site of Mohenjodaro since the 1940s, and energized a national canon of art for India along gendered lines. She has, in this respect, been variously interpreted over the years as an aboriginal *nautch*-girl,⁵ a precursor to the sensuous *apsara* figures of medieval Indian sculpture,⁶ and even an early incarnation of the Hindu goddess Parvati. The latter is a recent and disturbing distortion of right-wing Hindu nationalist scholarship in India, which has repeatedly sought to lay claim to the Indus civilization as a Hindu antiquity in light of India's Hindu-majority population in the present.⁷ The *Priest King*, by contrast, lies some distance away in the troves of Pakistan's National Museum at Karachi. As the *Dancing Girl*'s more staid and dignified counterpart from Mohenjodaro, the sculpture has fueled visions of a chaste, tolerant, and egalitarian past for Pakistan, born moreover of a

⁴ Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, "Priest King, Mohenjodaro," *Harappa.com*, accessed September 21, 2018, <https://www.harappa.com/slide/priest-king-mohenjo-daro>. See also, Huntington, 12-13.

⁵ Marshall, 33.

⁶ Kavita Singh, "The Museum is National," *No Touching, No Spitting, No Praying: The Museum in South Asia*, Saloni Mathur and Kavita Singh, eds. (Delhi: Routledge, 2014), 112.

⁷ For more on this recent controversy around the *Dancing Girl* and its ties to Hindu iconography, see: Kavita Singh, "'Dancing Girl' as Parvati is Just One of Many Bizarre Claims in ICHR Paper on Harappan Civilisation," *Scroll.in*, January 6, 2017, accessed September 21, 2018, <https://scroll.in/article/825782/dancing-girl-as-parvati-is-just-one-of-many-bizarre-claims-in-ichr-journal-paper-on-mohenjo-daro>.

harmonious fusion of religion and law.⁸ In other words, the *Dancing Girl* and the *Priest King* have come to chart the divergent “lives”⁹ of the subcontinent’s shared heritage in the years since the partition of 1947, the rupture of territory and community that marked the end of British colonial rule in South Asia, the arrival of India and Pakistan to the world stage,¹⁰ and a critical upheaval of place, humanity, and identity. Taken together, they point moreover to the extraordinary burdens—both physical and ideological—that objects of art and heritage have been forced to bear in South Asia, as nations have transitioned from colonial to post-colonial states, and in the process looked to reify the cultural fissures underwriting their separate claims to sovereignty by the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Beneath the nationalist narratives of art and history that these artifacts have come to symbolize in their coveted positions within India and Pakistan’s national museums are, indeed, difficult stories of disjuncture and loss, dispossession and homelessness that unravel the fragility of national borders, national histories, and national identities in South Asia. The *Dancing Girl* and *Priest King*, in particular, have been a recurring source of conflict for the Governments of India and Pakistan since the partition of 1947, when they were included among a collection of movable art and heritage controversially awarded to India. Pakistan had claimed these objects as its rightful inheritance too, in accordance with its custodianship of Mohenjodaro—itsself an upshot of partition and the

⁸ For example, see Aitzaz Ahsan, *The Indus Saga and the Making of Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University, 1996), 26-30. See also, Singh, “The Museum is National,” 112.

⁹ Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1986); Richard H. Davis, *Lives of Indian Images* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1997).

¹⁰ In 1947, Pakistan consisted of two separate territories: East Pakistan in Bengal and West Pakistan in Punjab. Following the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971, these territories became modern-day Bangladesh and Pakistan, respectively.

hasty drawing of the Indo-Pakistani border in the mid-twentieth century. The loss of these artifacts to India at partition thus constituted no less than a crisis of cultural legitimacy for Pakistan in its “moment of arrival,”¹¹ one that has since powered a number of campaigns advocating for the objects’ return. While Zulfikar Ali Bhutto eventually negotiated the return of the *Priest King* to Pakistan in 1972, as part of the *Simla Agreement* with India, that which ended the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971 and effectively gave rise to the state of Bangladesh, the *Dancing Girl* has continued to elude Pakistan’s grasp, but not for lack of sustained activism. In moments of political tension even today, Pakistan has been known to raise the issue of repatriation with India. This national posturing has taken the form of writ petitions filed with the Lahore High Court, claiming the *Dancing Girl* as property of the Lahore Museum in Pakistan.¹² It has even resulted in the construction of life-size replicas of the *Dancing Girl* and *Priest King* at Mohenjodaro [Fig. 0.3], where, in the absence of *Dancing Girl*’s original, they preside over the site’s excavated ruins more as a reminder of rupture and cultural fragility, than a declaration of national pride and assurance.

II. Partition and the Lahore Museum

This dissertation, *Partition and the Historiography of Art in South Asia*, sits in the dynamic cultural field between these Indus civilization relics and the nation-states that they have come to represent on the Indian subcontinent to expose the difficult conditions in which art and heritage have been made national in South Asia. It intervenes, moreover,

¹¹ Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986), 131.

¹² A writ petition advocating for the *Dancing Girl*’s return to Pakistan was filed with the Lahore High Court as recently as 2016. See, “Move to bring ‘Dancing Girl’ back from India,” *Dawn*, October 11, 2016, accessed September 25, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1289393>.

against the cultural forces underlying the objects' estrangement in the twentieth century, and their mutual transformation from archaeological treasures of a shared antiquity to icons of rival nation-states to foreground the fragility of the national boundaries, national histories, and national identities that they have come to demarcate. Entwined with histories of partition in South Asia, this dissertation is in one sense a study of cultural fragmentation. My chapters, in this respect, explore the ways in which a shared cultural imagination was splintered through the physical division of monuments, art objects, and art institutions during the partition of 1947, to constitute separate and sovereign territories, histories, cultures, and identities for India and Pakistan. This dissertation is also, however, a study of persistent cultural entanglements. In this regard, my analysis of monuments, objects, and art institutions in India and Pakistan also unearths repressed art histories of displacement, dispossession, and homelessness to underline the ways in which art and culture in India and Pakistan continue to seep through the hard and fast divisions of territory and identity upon which the partition of 1947 was purportedly based. Of concern to this study, in other words, is the manner in which art and culture in India and Pakistan remain intimately available to one another in spite of national divides across the region. This project thus seeks to uproot nationalist historiographies of art in South Asia and open the analysis of modern and contemporary South Asian art to new cultural cartographies. At stake in this study is also an understanding of partition as an unfinished process of cultural fragmentation.

This dissertation, more specifically, brings together a constellation of stories that figure at the center of the Lahore Museum in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Lahore Museum was an institution gravely affected by the partition of 1947, when its

collections of art and archaeology were divided between the emerging nations of India and Pakistan beginning in 1948. In this sense, the Lahore Museum is emblematic of the cultural field between objects and nations in South Asia that this dissertation seeks to interrogate; it manifests the cultural forces of estrangement and division, disjuncture and loss, dispossession and homelessness that entangle nationalist discourses of art and culture in India and Pakistan today. My analysis traces the contours of the Lahore Museum's fragmentation in the twentieth century, against the broader spirit of madness of the period, to bring forth the crisis of dispossession that the Lahore Museum and its collections endured in response to this unprecedented process of bifurcation. In addition to exposing the multifaceted layers and violence of this division process, I explore the Lahore Museum's difficult arrival as a national institution for Pakistan in the mid-twentieth century, against the tortuous fate of the Lahore collections sent to India in the 1940s and 1950s to contrast the various ways the institution and its collections have struggled to find a home in the aftermath of partition, and to make sense of the national parameters that had come to divide and separate them in the present. Of central concern to my analysis in Chapter 3, moreover, is the ideological relationship that developed between the Lahore Museum and its counterpart across the border at Chandigarh, where India's share of the Lahore Museum's collections were eventually housed in the 1960s, in a new building designed by French architect, Le Corbusier. Ultimately, this dissertation argues that the fate of the Lahore collections in the twentieth century, situated in both India and Pakistan but determined by a logic of dislocation and displacement, dramatizes the partition's empirical and epistemological ramifications for art, art institutions, and art writing across South Asia both then and now. It exposes the forms of physical and

ideological violence imposed on art and culture in the course of this process of decolonization and nation building; it brings to light the pivotal role that museums have played (and in many ways continue to play) in negotiating the ruptures of place, history, and identity concomitant to the experience of partition in South Asia; and, it unravels the dialectics of non-belonging and nationalization that entangle India and Pakistan into the present.

III. Methodology

This dissertation is the product of over two years of extensive research in various museums and archives in India, Pakistan, and Britain. In London, where I spent a total of four months, I visited the India Office Records of the British Library, the National Art Library of the Victoria & Albert Museum, the archives of Tate Britain and the Royal Academy of Arts, as well as the University College, London Special Collections at Kew Gardens. In India, where I lived for nineteen months, I conducted research in the National Archives of India in New Delhi and Bhubaneswar, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the Raza Foundation, the Punjab State Archives in Chandigarh and Patiala, and the archives of the Government and City Architecture Museums in Chandigarh. In Pakistan, where I stayed for five months, I worked primarily in the archives of the Lahore Museum, the Fakir Khana, and the Punjab Archives at the Civil Secretariat in Lahore.

When I first embarked on this project, records pertaining to the division of the Lahore Museum's collections were largely thought to have been lost. While there were indications in archaeological historian Nayanjot Lahiri's recent scholarship from India of a "massive exchange of correspondence" relating to the division of the subcontinent's

archaeological collections,¹³ anthropologist Shaila Bhatti had noted in her study of the Lahore Museum as late as 2012 that “official documentation relating to the transfer of objects [from Lahore was] scant, and none [was] available in the archival institutions of Lahore.”¹⁴ In my visits to the Lahore Museum and the Punjab Archives (Lahore) in 2014, I discovered that, while these institutions maintained a vast collection of colonial records and art resources, there was indeed little by way of documentation pertaining to the museum’s administration during or after the partition in the intervening years between the 1940s and 1970s. Registrar lists in the archives of the Lahore Museum mentioned the existence of an “Unauthenticated List of Antiquities sent to East Punjab in/after 1947,” but the file ultimately proved elusive. Piecing together the story of the Lahore Museum’s fragmentation in the 1940s has thus involved negotiating an uneven archival terrain between India and Pakistan, and a number of critical silences “etched by loss and nation in ways that are not simple to undo.”¹⁵

In addition to looking beyond the historian’s traditional archive in the vein of the Subaltern Studies Collective, to include artworks, photography, literature, film, and oral histories in my study of partition, this dissertation embraces literary scholar Aamir Mufti’s idea of “partition as method” as a point of departure into these archival silences.¹⁶ Born of the entanglements of language and culture in South Asia, Mufti’s “partition as method” describes above all a critical intellectual orientation, one that pushes aside more

¹³ Nayanjot Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past: Ancient India and its Modern Histories* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2012), 156.

¹⁴ Shaila Bhatti, *Translating Museums: A Counterhistory of South Asian Museology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2012), 99.

¹⁵ Vazira F-Y Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia* (New York: Columbia University, 2007), 14.

¹⁶ Aamir R. Mufti, *Forget English!: Orientalisms and world literatures* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2016), 200-202.

stagnant understandings of partition as a singular historical event relegated to the past, in favor of a view or positionality that foregrounds partition as the “very modality of culture” in South Asia, “a political logic that inheres in the core concepts and practices of the state.”¹⁷ Recognizing the modern state as a “majoritarian” force, whose socio-political hegemony relies on the repeated “minoritization” of other groups, practices, and social imaginaries, moreover, it underscores partition as the “very condition of possibility of nation-statehood and therefore the ever-renewed condition of national experience in the subcontinent.”¹⁸ It is not enough, in other words, to ask how the partition of India in 1947 impacted art, culture, and society in South Asia, or our knowledge of art, culture, and society in South Asia on the level of the archive, a question that implies a resolution or finite end to partition’s processes of division. Mufti’s “partition as method” is a call, rather, to inhabit partition’s bifurcations as a persistent cultural dynamic in South Asia, an ongoing crisis of minoritization that “continually instantiates and intensifies” the social, political, economic, and cultural divisions underlying postcolonial states across the region.¹⁹

To this end, my dissertation also looks to historian Vazira Zamindar’s strategy of “writing on the border.”²⁰ If Mufti’s “partition as method” describes a critical intellectual orientation, Zamindar’s “writing on the border” provides a model on the level of archival research and history writing to enact it and the dialectical imperative at its core.

Zamindar’s cross-border methodology grew from the ground realities of archival research

¹⁷ Ibid., 200.

¹⁸ Ibid., 201.

¹⁹ Mufti, *Forget English!*, 201. See also, Saloni Mathur, “Partition and the Visual Arts,” *Third Text*, Vol. 31, No. 2-3 (2017): 8.

²⁰ Zamindar, 12-16.

in India and Pakistan,²¹ and a wider set of observations around nationalism's violent ramifications for history writing in South Asia.²² It implies a conscious embrace of the dialectics of the Indo-Pakistani border, as a means to problematize and resist the national frame in the writing of partition history going forward, and more pragmatically entails attending to archives, institutions, resources, memories, and experiences on both sides of the Indo-Pakistani border as though “mutually constituted parts of a single history.”²³ Importantly for both Mufti and Zamindar, the “Indo-Pakistani border” refers to something much more than a line on a map, or a geographic borderland. The Indo-Pakistani border is an historical and universalized institution both internal and external to the self that proliferates “with a sort of psychotic intensity and repetitiveness”²⁴ to cut through families, households, communities, institutions, infrastructure, territories, histories, memories, hearts, and minds.²⁵

Enacting this idea of “partition as method,” while abiding by a practice of “writing on the border” has taken several different forms in the course of my research for this project. It has constituted travel across the Indo-Pakistani border, travel within India and Pakistan, and even at times travel at the edge of these nation-states. For instance, I visited the Wagah-Attari Border between Amritsar and Lahore multiple times during my fieldwork to experience the spectacle of the flag ceremony from the perspectives of both

²¹ Ibid., 15.

²² Ibid., 4.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Mufti, *Forget English!*, 201.

²⁵ Zamindar, 12-13.

nation-states.²⁶ Importantly, this travel across, within, and at the edge of India and Pakistan was largely facilitated by my study of Urdu. While I began studying Urdu alongside Hindi as an undergraduate student at Brown University, my continued pursuit of Urdu in graduate school at the University of California, Los Angeles took me to Lucknow, India in 2012 and 2013, where I studied with the American Institute of Indian Studies (AIIS), before also leading me across the Indo-Pakistani border to Lahore, Pakistan in 2014, where I was a fellow with the Berkeley-AIPS Urdu Language Program in Pakistan (BULPIP). These contrasting experiences of learning Urdu in India and Pakistan foregrounded in very lived ways the diverse, post-1947 trajectories of the subcontinent's shared linguistic heritage at a formative stage in the conceptualization of this project. In Lucknow, my Urdu language training was deeply entwined with a politics of loss and nostalgia fitting a language increasingly marginalized in contemporary India, where as in Lahore, where Urdu is one of two national languages for Pakistan, I became acutely aware of Urdu's politicized history—its contentious link to national politics in South Asia, its vexed relationship to religious and communal identity in India and Pakistan, its continued negotiation of elite and popular spheres of South Asian culture. Over time, the juxtaposition of these experiences in my language training lent my travel between India and Pakistan a greater sense of exigency.

In turn, these methodological strategies and archival orientations have also manifested as a conscious and concerted attention to archives and resources on both sides

²⁶ For more on the Wagah Border, the daily flag ceremony, and its relationship to partition history, see Jisha Menon, *The Performance of Nationalism: India, Pakistan, and the Memory of Partition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2013); Richard McGill Murphy, "Performing Partition in Lahore," *The Partitions of Memory: The Afterlife of the Division of India*, Suvir Kaul, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University, 2002), 184-206; and Neelima Jeychandran, "Specter of War, Spectacle of Peace," *Choreographies of 21st Century Wars*, Gay Morris and Jens Richard Giersdorf, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University, 2016).

of the Indo-Pakistani border.²⁷ My dissertation emphasizes, moreover, the continued ties between archives and museum collections in India and Pakistan, and seeks in its narration of the Lahore Museum's history to intertwine these resources in new and intimate ways, in an effort to make visible and problematize the virulent national divides that otherwise keep them isolated today, both physically and ideologically. Reconstructing the history of the Lahore Museum in the twentieth century has, indeed, entailed the careful interweaving of government records and correspondence pertaining to the activities of the Partition Council, the Archaeological Survey of India, and Pakistan's Department of Archaeology; object provenance records in the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums; newspaper records in English, Hindi, and Urdu; and the private papers of several key individuals affiliated with government agencies and museums across the region, including John Lockwood Kipling, Mortimer Wheeler, M.S. Randhawa, V.S. Agrawala, and W.G. Archer.

These methodological strategies and archival orientations have also had important implications for the form of my historical narrative itself. In this sense, my dissertation is consciously anchored at either end by the histories of the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums. My analysis in Chapter 1 begins with the Lahore Museum's founding in the 1850s, proceeds in Chapter 2 through to its fragmentation in the 1940s on account of partition, and ends with the development of the Chandigarh Museum in Chapter 3, where a majority of India's share of the Lahore collections presently resides. Far from simply invoking the dysfunctional cartography of the Indian subcontinent, or the violent politics

²⁷ Zamindar, 15.

of the Indo-Pakistani border, this structure is intended to carve out a “productive space”²⁸ between these institutions and the nationalist histories of art their collections often profess, in which to foreground India and Pakistan’s relentless entanglements. In the course of my analysis, the movement of the Lahore collections between India and Pakistan across the long-twentieth century is not only thus treated in terms of its own historical temporalities, but also as an analytical mode of entanglement. That is, I frame the Lahore collections both as fragments of a violent division of place, history, and identity in South Asia, and as “fragmentary points of view” within a larger historiographical terrain that, in the words of historian Gyanendra Pandey, resist the “drive for a shallow homogenization” of history and identity, and in the process “struggles for other, potentially richer definitions of the ‘nation’” and, in this case, partition.²⁹

IV. Scholarly Frameworks and Relevant Literature

My dissertation is situated at the intersection of a number of intellectual debates and discussions that galvanize several bodies of (overlapping) literature. These include the work of the Subaltern Studies Collective,³⁰ the historiography of modern and

²⁸ Iftikhar Dadi and Hammad Nasar, eds., *Lines of Control: Partition as Productive Space* (London: Green Cardamom, 2012).

²⁹ Gyanendra Pandey, “In Defence of the Fragment: Writing about Hindu-Muslim Riots in India Today,” *Representations*, No. 37, Special Issue: Imperial Fantasies and Postcolonial Histories (Winter, 1992): 28-29.

³⁰ For example, see Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1993); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Post-Colonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2000); Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1997); Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, eds., *Selected Subaltern Studies* (New York: Oxford University, 1988); Gyanendra Pandey, “In Defence of the Fragment: Writing about Hindu-Muslim Riots in India Today,” *Representations* 37, Special Issue: Imperial Fantasies and Postcolonial Histories (Winter 1992); Gyanendra Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Delhi: Oxford University, 1990).

contemporary South Asian art and cinema,³¹ as well as recent critical scholarship on partition itself.³² The work of the Subaltern Studies Collective has helped to enable a critical upheaval of national frameworks within recent scholarship on Indian and Pakistani visual culture, that which drives the present study. The primary objective of the Subaltern Studies Collective, at least as it was initially conceived in the late-twentieth century by Ranajit Guha, was to “rectify the elitist bias characteristic of much research and academic work” in the burgeoning field of South Asian studies.³³ The movement grew, more specifically, out of the mounting dissatisfaction among scholars of Indian

³¹ For example, see Rebecca M. Brown, *Art for a Modern India, 1947-1980* (Durham: Duke University, 2009); Iftekhar Dadi, *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010); Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New “Indian” Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992); Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Post-colonial India* (New York: Columbia University, 2004); Jyotindra Jain, *Kalighat Painting: Images from a Changing World* (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 1999); Kajri Jain, *Gods in the Bazaar* (Durham: Duke University, 2007); Shanay Jhaveri, ed., *Western Artists and India: Creative Inspirations in Art and Design* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013); Geeta Kapur, *When Was Modernism: Essays on Contemporary Cultural Practice in India* (New Delhi: Tulika, 2000); Sonal Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations* (Oakland, CA: University of California, 2015); Saloni Mathur, *India by Design* (Berkeley: University of California, 2007); Saloni Mathur, ed., *The Migrant’s Time* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); Christopher Pinney, *Photo of the Gods: The Printed Image and Political Struggle in India* (London: Reaktion, 2004); Sumathi Ramaswamy, ed., *Barefoot Across the Nation* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Emilia Terracciano, *Art and Emergency: Modernism in Twentieth-Century India* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2018); Grant Watson, Anshuman Dasgupta and Monika Szewczyk, eds., *Santhal Family: Positions around an Indian Sculpture* (Antwerp: Museum Van Hedendaagse Kunst, 2008); Virginia Whiles, *Art and Polemic in Pakistan: Cultural Politics and Tradition in Contemporary Miniature Painting* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010); Karin Zitzewitz, *The Art of Secularism: The Cultural Politics of Modernist Art in Contemporary India* (London: Hurst & Co, 2014).

³² For example, see Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence* (Durham: Duke University, 2000); Joya Chatterji, *The Spoils of Partition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2007); Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition*; Ritu Menon, and Kamal Bhasin, *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India’s Partition* (Delhi: Kali for Women, 1998); Aamir Mufti, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2007); Gyanendra Pandey, *Remembering Partition*; Anvesha Sengupta, “Breaking up: Dividing assets between India and Pakistan in times of Partition,” *India Economic Social History Review* 51.4 (2014), 529-548; Vazira Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia* (New York: Columbia University, 2007).

³³ Ranajit Guha, “Preface,” *Selected Subaltern Studies*, Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ed. (New York: Oxford University, 1988), 35.

history with the dominant historical narratives of the “Freedom Movement” in India,³⁴ many of which in their retelling of the subcontinent’s bid for self-determination in the twentieth century systematically ignored the “politics of the people.”³⁵ In such accounts, as Guha observes in his now canonical essay “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India,” Indian nationalism was typically configured in one of two ways. Either it was understood as the product of the activities and ideas of the Indian elite as they responded to the bureaucratic and cultural infrastructure of British colonialism,³⁶ or it was configured from the outset as the “idealist venture” of the Indian elite, who in their benevolence took it upon themselves in the mid-twentieth century to lead Indian society from the fetter of subjugation to freedom.³⁷

To realize this objective, effectively a radical transformation of Indian historiography in the late-twentieth century, members of the Subaltern Studies Collective turned to the scholarship of Antonio Gramsci, a Marxist thinker known for his work on cultural hegemony, among the first to offer a theory of subalternity.³⁸ Important for the Collective was not only Gramsci’s understanding of the historical as the “socio-cultural interplay between ruler and ruled, between the elite, dominant, or hegemonic class and the subaltern,”³⁹ but also his subsequent break with the economic determinism of

³⁴ Vinayak Chaturvedi, “Introduction,” *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial*, Vinayak Chaturvedi, ed. (London: Verso, 2000), vii.

³⁵ Guha, “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India,” *Selected Subaltern Studies*, Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ed. (New York: Oxford University, 1988), 40.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Guha, “Preface,” 35.

³⁹ Edward Said, “Forward,” *Selected Subaltern Studies*, Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ed. (New York: Oxford University, 1988), vi.

orthodox Marxism in his use of the term subaltern.⁴⁰ By using “subaltern” to connote the “rural peasantry” in his essays “Notes on Italian History” and “Some Aspects of the Southern Question,” by which he meant a group subordinated by coercive and/or ideological measures that had not yet “achieved consciousness of their collective economic and social oppression as a class” in contrast for instance to a group like the industrial proletariat,⁴¹ Gramsci set the stage for the Collective’s broader application of the term as the “general attribute of subordination.”⁴² Indeed, in the broader context of the Subaltern Studies movement the term came to embody a designation of “inferior rank” inclusive of class, caste, age, gender and office among other social divisions constitutive of colonial and post-colonial Indian society that would moreover fuel the Collective’s commitment to writing histories from below.⁴³

The Subaltern Studies Collective, in their appropriation of the term “subaltern,” however, did not merely offer an alternative in their scholarship to the dominant narratives of Indian nationalism, the product then primarily of elite perspectives. The work of the Collective was not, in this way, simply a battle for inclusion that aspired to some kind of naïve historiographic resolution in the recovery of “subaltern consciousness.” Recovery of said consciousness was not only impeded quite consistently by “great epistemological struggle” with Guha and others relying on new strategies of reading that aimed to deconstruct the “blind spot” of Indian historiography into collaborative parts, into codes of pacification and insurgency revealing of historiographic

⁴⁰ Chautravedi, “Introduction,” viii.

⁴¹ Stephen Morton, “Subaltern Studies and the Critique of Representation,” *Gayatri Spivak: Ethics, Subalternity and the Critique of Postcolonial Reason*, Stephen Morton (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 96-97.

⁴² Chautravedi, “Introduction,” vii.

⁴³ Ibid.

biases.⁴⁴ In time, tangible reclamation of the “subaltern” proved to be quite beside the point for many members of the Collective.⁴⁵ While the Collective certainly desired a more integrative, if not objective historiography of the Indian subcontinent that, at the very least, acknowledged the entanglements of elite and subaltern histories,⁴⁶ their project became one more of bringing a “hegemonic historiography to crisis,” as Gayatri Spivak has argued in her article “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography.”⁴⁷ Their intervention was constitutive, moreover, in both its empirical and theoretical frame of a contestatory and self-conscious methodology with far-reaching implications for the writing of history—Indian or otherwise—going forward. This is ever the case for key participants in the movement like Partha Chatterjee and Dipesh Chakrabarty who, in their later publications, extended the historiographic struggle of the Subaltern Studies Collective, rooted as it was in the dialectic of elite and subaltern consciousness, to dismantle other systems of knowledge as hegemonic, including Western “rationalism” and Enlightenment “historicism.”⁴⁸ This slight divergence in the interests of its members, of course, cannot be divorced from the other, at times understated objective of the Subaltern Studies Collective—that is, the increasing desire of the group to understand (through a concerted interrogation of the limits of Marxist thought in the era of late-capitalism) the colony, as exemplified by the history of the Indian subcontinent, as a distinct site of the modern.

⁴⁴ Ranajit Guha, “The Prose of Counter-Insurgency,” *Selected Subaltern Studies*, Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ed. (New York: Oxford University, 1988), 45-47.

⁴⁵ Said, “Forward,” viii.

⁴⁶ Guha, “On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India,” 43; Said, “Forward,” viii.

⁴⁷ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography,” *Selected Subaltern Studies*, Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, ed. (New York: Oxford University, 1988), 4.

⁴⁸ Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1986); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2000).

The attention the Subaltern Studies movement brought to problems of agency in the colonial and nationalist historiographies of the Indian subcontinent, and to certain hegemonic systems of knowledge including Western rationalism and Enlightenment historicism have, indeed, provided important conceptual scaffolding with which to rethink the development of visual culture in South Asia. From these lessons, and from the deconstructive methodologies that have, in turn, arisen out of their collaborative enterprise, the field of South Asian art history has seen a greater attention to vernacular traditions in the Collective's spirit of writing histories from below, a growing attention to new artistic subjectivities beyond elite, colonial, and national spheres of aesthetic production, and a healthy skepticism of post-partition, national frameworks, all of which have signaled productive directions for the discipline beyond the tantalizing discourses of nationalism and globalization in the twenty-first century.

In relation to the history of South Asian art, scholars have long employed the category of the nation as an analytical frame with which to both canonize and disrupt conventional understandings of the region's aesthetic developments at various moments in the twentieth and twenty-first century, in ways that, together with the work of the Subaltern Studies Collective, expose the nation to be as much a cultural artifact, as an "imagined community" or geo-political body.⁴⁹ It first emerges in the form of "Swadeshi" as early as 1912, in the writings of Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy, who together with his contemporaries, E. B. Havell and Sister Nivedita, championed the problematic of "Western classical bias" in European interpretations of the subcontinent's

⁴⁹ Mathur, "Partition and the Visual Arts," 1. See also, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Ed.* (London: Verso, 2006).

art forms.⁵⁰ This early constellation of writers and thinkers in art history proffered in their scholarship and in their “radical” views towards art education in India more broadly, the need for an exclusively “Indian” point of view, marking the beginnings of a defensive stance (in the realm of aesthetic discourse at least) against certain colonial forms of knowledge and subordination that would help to decenter the canon of ancient Indian art away from British mores and values and, in time, open contemporary aesthetic discourse in India to the accomplishments of the Bengal School, noted for its repudiation of British academicism in favor of “Pan-Asian” forms.⁵¹ This defensive stance has since diverged along national (often religious) lines in the years following 1947, in a manner that has seen the historiography of modern and contemporary South Asian art increasingly balkanized by the demands of rival nation-states.⁵² Exemplified perhaps best by the writings of Akbar Naqvi and, to a lesser extent, the seminal work of Partha Mitter, these later histories embrace the category of the nation as a means to bolster India and Pakistan’s separate claims to authority in the mid-twentieth century.⁵³ Naqvi’s volume *Image and Identity* foregrounds the innovations of Pakistan’s key artistic players in the

⁵⁰ For example, see Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Art and Swadeshi* (Madras: Ganesh & Co., 1912); E. B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London: Murray, 1908); E. B. Havell, *The Ideals of Indian Art* (London: Murray, 1911); Sister Nivedita, *The Complete Works of Sister Nivedita (Vol. 3)* (Calcutta: Secretary Ramakrishna Sarada Mission Sister Nivedita Girls’ School, 1955).

⁵¹ Tapati Guha Thakurta, *The Making of a New “Indian” Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992), 146-147, 176-177.

⁵² Zamindar, 4.

⁵³ For example, see Yashodhara Dalmia, *The Making of Modern Indian Art: The Progressives* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2001); Yashodhara Dalmia and Salima Hashmi, eds. *Memory, Metaphor, Mutations: Contemporary Art of India and Pakistan* (New Delhi: Oxford University, 2007); R. Siva Kumar, *Santiniketan: The Making of a Contextual Modernism* (New Delhi: National Gallery of Modern Art, 1997); Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994); Partha Mitter, *The Triumph of Modernism: India’s Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1922-1947* (Reaktion Books, 2007); Akbar Naqvi, *Image and Identity* (Karachi: Oxford University, 1998); Shivaji K. Panikkar, Parul Dave Mukherji and Deeptha Achard, eds., *Towards a New Art History: Studies in Indian Art* (New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, Ltd., 2003); K. G. Subrahmanyam, *Moving Focus: Essays on Indian Art* (New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi, 1978); K. G. Subrahmanyam, *The Living Tradition: Perspectives on Modern Indian Art* (Calcutta: Seagull, 1987).

twentieth century in the Muslim heritage of the subcontinent, and reinforces in his praise of the Ghaznavid and Mughal empires, for instance, the logic of Pakistan as the necessary and natural culmination of British colonial rule in India.⁵⁴ Similarly, Mitter lays claim to Rabindranath Tagore, Amrita Sher-Gil, and Jamini Roy, pioneering modernists of the subcontinent and proponents of what Mitter identifies as an Indian counter-discourse of “Primitivism,” as the artistic counterparts to Mahatma Gandhi in the political sphere.⁵⁵ Growing awareness of the limits of nationalist historiographies towards the close of the twentieth century, however—and the inclusions and exclusions involved in a project of canon formation—has transformed the national frame into a kind of benchmark for scholars with which to work and think against. Recent histories, particularly of the last decade, have significantly come to rely on “trans-national” or “post-national” methodologies in their revisions of modern and contemporary South Asian art history, a trend certainly enabled by the advent of globalization, but powerfully sustained by an attention to new subjectivities and new economies of aesthetic production. Importantly for this study, these intellectual transformations are epitomized by the Partitions Special Issue of *Third Text* published earlier this year, entitled “To Draw The Line: Partition, Dissonance, Art—A Case for South Asia.”⁵⁶ Spearheaded by art historians Alice Correia and Natasha Eaton, this collection of essays interrogates partition’s contested legacies of violence, trauma, and displacement in South Asia through the visual arts. By drawing on film, literature, art, art history, history, museum studies, postcolonial criticism, and

⁵⁴ Naqvi, 1-38.

⁵⁵ Mitter, *The Triumph of Modernism*, 29-122.

⁵⁶ Alice Correia and Natasha Eaton, eds., “To Draw the Line: Partition, Dissonance, Art – A Case for South Asia,” Special Issue of *Third Text*, Vol. 31, No. 2-3 (2017).

trauma theory, it reframes “partition as expanded field,”⁵⁷ a point of departure into a matrix of new temporalities, new geographies, new affective registers, new artistic subjectivities, and new social imaginaries that not only raises the “(im)possibility of representing Partition and its legacies,” but also challenges the national logic(s) at the center of art history in South Asia.⁵⁸

Taking the lead from this critical analytical shift within the discipline, my dissertation builds, more specifically, on the work of such scholars as Rebecca Brown, Iftikhar Dadi, Jyotindra Jain, Kajri Jain, Geeta Kapur, Nayanjot Lahiri, Sonal Khullar, Saloni Mathur, Sumathi Ramaswamy, Tapati Guha-Thakurta, and Virginia Whiles. This scholarship dismantles the logic of nationalist canons in both India and Pakistan by making visible regional, cross-cultural, even medium-specific discourses at odds with the national unit privileged by the discipline of Art History as a whole.⁵⁹ This growing skepticism of national frameworks has, for example, resulted in interdisciplinary volumes like Sumathi Ramaswamy’s edited collaboration *Barefoot Across the Nation*, which incites a productive reappraisal of the life and career of the preeminent modern painter, M. F. Husain.⁶⁰ Of concern to Ramaswamy and her colleagues are the questions raised by Husain’s “self-imposed” or, as she describes it, “absurd” exile from India in 2008—that which effectively invalidated conceptions of Husain as the epitome of the “national artist,” the Nehruvian esthete whose professional achievements cannot be divorced from

⁵⁷ Alice Correia and Natasha Eaton, “Partitions Special Issue: Introduction,” *Third Text*, Vol. 31, No. 2-3 (2017): 12. See also, Rosalind Krauss, “Sculpture in the Expanded Field,” *October*, Vol. 8 (Spring 1979): 30-44.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁹ Monica Juneja, “Global Art History and the ‘Burden of Representation,’” in *Global Studies: Mapping Contemporary Art and Culture*, ed. Hans Belting, Jakob Birken, and Andrea Buddensieg (Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz, 2011), 274–297.

⁶⁰ Sumathi Ramaswamy, ed., *Barefoot Across the Nation* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

the “career of independent India as a democratic, secular and multi-ethnic nation.”⁶¹ It is a conceptual shift that has sustained an increasing interest among scholars in the vernacular, a realm of visual culture often subordinated in nationalist histories of the subcontinent for that of the “fine arts.” Jyotindra Jain has, for example, attempted to inscribe the Kalighat painters of Calcutta as the “first contemporaries of Indian art,” in recognition of the way in which Kalighat painting has in its long history as a form of regional expression in India adapted to the changing social environment of the subcontinent in the nineteenth century. His study reframes the Kalighat genre’s embrace of European academicism, mechanical reproduction, photography, and, in time, the politics of Bengali nationalism as a precursor, more specifically, to the popular culture of the twentieth century.⁶² Similarly, Christopher Pinney and Kajri Jain have drawn attention to the importance of Indian calendar art.⁶³ Emphasizing the “pan-national” character of the calendar art industry, the latter exposes the way in which Indian calendar art, located at the critical intersection of the aesthetic context of the mass-cultural form and the ethical context of the bazaar, makes visible the disjunctures of the “post-colonial condition” in India, in other words the entangled histories of neoliberal modernism and vernacular artistic traditions.⁶⁴

These intellectual shifts have also significantly shaped recent surveys on modern Indian art, and recent monographs on the development of modernism in South Asia.

⁶¹ Sumathi Ramaswamy, “Introduction: Barefoot Across India—An Artist and His Country,” *Barefoot Across the Nation*, Sumathi Ramaswamy, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2011), 1-20.

⁶² Jyotindra Jain, *Kalighat Painting: Images from a Changing World* (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 1999), 8-15.

⁶³ Kajri Jain, *Gods in the Bazaar* (Durham: Duke University, 2007); Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997); Christopher Pinney, *Photo of the Gods: The Printed Image and Political Struggle in India* (London: Reaktion, 2004).

⁶⁴ K. Jain, 14, 24.

Rebecca Brown, Sonal Khullar, Karen Zitzewitz, and Emilia Terracciano's recent publications have, for example, embraced innovative conceptual frameworks that betray a heightened awareness of the nation-state and the challenges it poses to the field of art history, in spite of also being studies of modernism in India.⁶⁵ Brown's *Art for a Modern India* is thematically organized around a set of "interconnections," as opposed to a linear chronology, and facilitates, one could argue, an initial attempt at a truly "post-national" formulation of this history.⁶⁶ Khullar embraces Edward Said's notions of "worldliness" and "affiliation"⁶⁷ to construct an account of modernism in India as "a practice of affiliation between artists in East and West, a system of transnational exchange and critique, and a movement generating artworks with shared visual and material forms," that dispels understanding of Indian modernism as a derivative, discrete, national discourse born of a European center.⁶⁸ Terracciano and Zitzewitz turn to histories of "emergency" and "secularism" in India, respectively, to probe how modern art in India shape, respond, and intersect with the fissures of the post-colonial Indian nation-state.⁶⁹

Virginia Whiles and Bhaskar Sarkar, by contrast, privilege medium-specific discourses in their respective monographs to uproot nationalist historiographies of art in South Asia. Whiles's book *Art and Polemic in Pakistan* intervenes, more specifically, into recent discourse around the post-partition resurgence of miniature painting in Pakistan, which has often been linked to issues of "revivalism" and "authenticity" at play

⁶⁵ Rebecca M. Brown, *Art for a Modern India, 1947-1980* (Durham: Duke University, 2009); Sonal Khullar, *Worldly Affiliations* (Oakland, CA: University of California, 2015); Emilia Terracciano, *Art and Emergency: Modernism in Twentieth-Century India* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2018); Karin Zitzewitz, *The Art of Secularism: The Cultural Politics of Modernist Art in Contemporary India* (London: Hurst & Co, 2014).

⁶⁶ Brown, 17-21.

⁶⁷ Edward Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1983), 1-30.

⁶⁸ Khullar, 14.

⁶⁹ Terracciano, 10; Zitzewitz, 5-7.

in the formation and articulation of Pakistan's national culture and identity. Combining art historical and anthropological methodologies, her analysis traces divergent genealogies of miniature painting in contemporary art education and practice in South Asia to expose the medium as a critical bridge between India and Pakistan's contending art worlds, one that negotiates a persistent conflict between tradition and modernity, and thus presents an important stage for socio-political commentary and critique across the region.⁷⁰ Drawing on trauma theory, memory studies, post-colonial criticism, and global histories of colonial partitions, Sarkar's *Mourning the Nation* traces the vestiges of partition history across five decades of Indian film to construct a theory of cinema as linked to cultural and collective mourning. While his analysis verges, at times, on the singularity of an Indian paradigm, he ultimately argues for an "affective history" of post-colonial Indian cinema that asks how the subcontinent's shared history of partition can upend theories of social trauma and mourning, often governed by the moral authority of the Holocaust.⁷¹

In the writings of Iftikhar Dadi and Saloni Mathur, this push against the category of the "nation" productively results in an attention to new (or perhaps overlooked) artistic subjectivities. Dadi's *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia* revisits the history of modernism in South Asia through the activities of artists associated with the concept, the geography, and the eventual nation of "Pakistan."⁷² In this regard, his study is less about tracing the formulation of Pakistani nationalism on the level of form, and more about

⁷⁰ Virginia Whiles, *Art and Polemic in Pakistan: Cultural Politics and Tradition in Contemporary Miniature Painting* (London: I.B. Tauris Publications, 2010), xx, xxii, 2.

⁷¹ Bhaskar Sarkar, *Mourning the Nation: Indian Cinema in the Wake of Partition* (London: Routledge, 2008), 5, 13.

⁷² Iftikhar Dadi, *Modernism and the Art of Muslim South Asia* (Chapel Hill: The University of California, 2010), 1.

making visible the emergence of artistic subjectivity or subjectivities in South Asia in relation to a group of conceptual frameworks, including but not limited to nationalism, modernism, cosmopolitanism, and tradition.⁷³ While Dadi elucidates the ways artists have contributed to the national life of Pakistan from its inception in the mid-twentieth century to the contemporary moment, his analysis also unfolds a deconstructive project in which the “national” is unraveled in favor of a de-territorialized or “transnational” history of modernism in South Asia, enabled by the inherent discursivity of “South Asian Muslim” identity in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In concert with Dadi, Saloni Mathur’s edited volume, *The Migrant’s Time* foregrounds the “increasing universality of the conditions of global migration and interdependence,” and the radical ways “mobility” in all its forms has shaped contemporary art practice, history, and criticism.⁷⁴ Inspired by Ranajit Guha’s short essay of the same name, it turns to the experience of the migrant, as a means to energize existing perspectives in transnational and diaspora studies. For Mathur, the dialectics of space and time at the core of the migrant experience are charged with critical possibilities for the visual arts and the writing of art history. They make visible a unique “field of human and societal relationships” that have come to define a kind of collective condition in an age of relentless histories of global dislocation and social fracture, including “the most difficult forms of entanglement and separation” that expose the violence and fragility of national frames.⁷⁵ Significantly, Mathur’s push to consider the visual arts in relation to “the forms of subjectivity produced by migration

⁷³ Ibid., 1-45, 216.

⁷⁴ Saloni Mathur, “Introduction,” *The Migrant’s Time: Rethinking Art History and Diaspora*, Saloni Mathur, ed. (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2011), vii-viii.

⁷⁵ Ibid., ix.

and displacement in the modern era” animates my analysis of the Lahore collections’ dispossession throughout this dissertation.⁷⁶

Crucially for this study as well, this upheaval of national frameworks within the field of South Asian art history has reinvigorated discussions around partition history—its dilemmas and possibilities for the visual arts. In the last two decades, these discussions have taken the form of a number of critical exhibitions that together have galvanized a growing body of artistic and curatorial production embracing partition history as a means to reckon with the fissures of contemporary politics and society, and expose the limits of the “national survey” for our understanding of contemporary aesthetic production in South Asia. Born of “cross-border” collaborations in many cases, these exhibitions have, indeed, opened the analysis of modern and contemporary South Asian art to new cultural configurations that denaturalize the national logic at the center of present art histories across the region. They have included: *Mappings: Shared Histories...A Fragile Self* (1997), *Edge of Desire: Recent Art from India* (2005), *Karkhana: A Contemporary Collaboration* (2005), *Hanging Fire: Contemporary Art from Pakistan* (2009), *Zarina: Paper Like Skin* (2012), *Lines of Control* (2012), *After Midnight: Indian Modernism to Contemporary India, 1947/1997* (2015), *My East is Your West* (2015), and *This Night Bitten Dawn* (2016).⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Ibid., viii.

⁷⁷ For more examples, see Susan S. Bean, ed., *Midnight to the Boom: Painting in India after Independence* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2013); Regina Bittner, et. al., eds., *The Bauhaus in Calcutta* (Berlin: Hatje-Cantz, 2013); Iftikhar Dadi and Hammad Nasar, eds., *Lines of Control: Partition as Productive Space* (London: Green Cardamom, 2012); Shilpa Gupta and Rashid Rana, *My East is Your West* (Noida, India: HarperCollins, 2016); Salima Hashmi, ed., *Hanging Fire: Contemporary Art from Pakistan* (New York: Asia Society, 2009); Hammad Nasar, ed. *Karkhana: A Contemporary Collaboration* (Ridgefield, CT: Aldrich Contemporary Art Museum, 2005); Allegra Pesenti, *Zarina: Paper Like Skin* (Los Angeles: Hammer Museum, 2012); Apinan Poshyananda, ed., *Contemporary Art in Asia: Traditions/Tensions* (New York: Asia Society, 1996); Chaitanya Sambrani, Kajri Jain and Ashish Rajadhyaksha, eds., *Edge of Desire: Recent Art in India* (London: Philip Wilson, 2005); Pooja Sood, *Mappings: Shared Histories...A Fragile*

Recent discussions around partition history and the visual arts in South Asia have also animated a critical body of literature around the subcontinent's shared monumental heritage. Art historians Aditi Chandra, Santhi Kavuri-Bauer, Nayanjot Lahiri, Mrinalini Rajagopalan, and Saleema Waraich have, in this respect, elucidated partition's violent ramifications for key archaeological and tourist sites on both sides of the Indo-Pakistani border, including the *Purana Qila* in Delhi and the *Lahore Fort* in Lahore.⁷⁸ This work has unearthed incredible stories of iconoclasm and vandalism, as well as hospitality, and foregrounded the critical role that the subcontinent's monumental heritage has played as refugee camps during partition. Lahiri has, moreover, been among the first to draw attention to the way the subcontinent's archaeological collections were divided between India and Pakistan during the break-up of the central imperial government in the 1940s; in this regard, her scholarship has served as a pivotal point of departure for this project on the Lahore Museum. My dissertation builds on her analysis of archaeological sites and collections by foregrounding the museum in South Asia as a critical site for these negotiations of objects, histories, borders, and identities, and by seeking to move beyond the archaeological record of the split to interrogate partition's implications for other forms of visual culture. This includes sculpture, painting, decorative arts, and textiles,

Self (New Delhi: Eicher Gallery, 1997).

⁷⁸ For example, see Aditi Chandra, "On the Becoming and Unbecoming of Monuments: Archaeology, Tourism and Delhi's Islamic Architecture (1928-1963), PhD diss. (University of Minnesota, 2011), 184-235; Aditi Chandra, "Potential of the 'Un-Exchangable Monument': Delhi's Purana Qila, in the time of Partition, c. 1947-63," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2013), 101-123; Nayanjot Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2012), 137-162; Nayanjot Lahiri, *Monuments Matter* (Mumbai: Marg, 2017), 8-21; Mrinalini Rajagopalan, *Building Histories* (Chicago: Chicago University, 2017), 121-151; Saleema Waraich, "The Ramifications of Ramparts: The Mughal Forts of Lahore, Pakistan and Delhi, India," Ph.D. diss. (UCLA, 2007); Santhi Kavuri-Bauer, *Monumental Matters: The Power, Subjectivity and Space of India's Mughal Architecture* (Durham: Duke University, 2011).

each of which was central to the Lahore Museum's collections by the mid-twentieth century.

V. Chapter Summaries

Chapter 1, titled "Unsettling a National Symbol," delves into the early history of the Lahore Museum to expose the institution's embattled identitarian logic in the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, and to unsettle its contemporary standing as a national institution for Pakistan. My analysis foregrounds four critical moments in the Lahore Museum's development: its founding as a colonial apparatus in the 1850s, its growing ties to industrial exhibitions and world's fairs by the 1860s, its provincial reorientation in the 1880s, and its strong relationship to the Archaeological Survey of India by the 1940s. Taken together, these moments elucidate the development of the Lahore Museum's collections of art and archaeology, the key personalities that have shaped the institution's curatorial aspirations in the years leading up to partition, and its changing relationship—both economic and ideological—to the broader region of Punjab. They also provide a portal into the institution's changing and multifarious identities, which see the Lahore Museum and its collections torn among colonial, provincial, and national responsibilities by the 1940s. This chapter, on one hand, grows out of a critical reading of the Lahore Museum's annual reports, which, I argue, lay bare the physical and ideological tensions that root the Lahore Museum in place. On another, it is anchored by the figures of John Lockwood Kipling and Mortimer Wheeler, whose respective interventions into the Lahore Museum, though separated in time by nearly sixty years, bring forth the critical frictions between the museum's provincial ties and national ambitions underlying its transformation by the 1940s. I argue, moreover, that attention to

the instability of the Lahore Museum's identity between 1856-1947 provides new ways to understand partition's ramifications for the institution and its collections. Specifically, it repositions partition and the crisis of identity and ideology that it engendered within the institution, as part of a much longer and, in many ways, ongoing struggle of identity formation internal to the Lahore Museum.

Chapter 2, "An Unfinished Divide," takes an in-depth look at the Lahore Museum's experience during partition to interrogate the process by which the institution's permanent and archaeological collections were divided between India and Pakistan beginning in 1948. My analysis draws on a combination of government and museum records, and personal correspondence of art and archaeological officials in India, Pakistan, and Britain to challenge prevailing understanding of when and where the division of the Lahore Museum's collections took place, who was involved in the process, and what precisely was divided between India and Pakistan, a narrative that has until now primarily been told through the subcontinent's archaeological heritage. In this respect, this chapter contextualizes the division of museums and museum collections between India and Pakistan against the partition's broader upheavals of place, community, and identity, generated in part by the division of land, people, immovable heritage, and government assets and liabilities as well. It demystifies the administrative and physical mechanics of the Lahore Museum case to expose how various portions of the institution's collections were valued differently in the course of the division process, and how the fight for museum objects between India and Pakistan essentially devolved into a battle for control over representation and history writing.

My analysis in Chapter 2 also expands the geographic coordinates, across which the fragmentation of the Lahore Museum unfolded in the mid-twentieth century, drawing special attention to a set of museum objects sent overseas for exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts in London from 1947-48. This latter detour into the Royal Academy of Arts serves as an important opportunity to reflect on the personalities and egos that shaped this division process as well, and in particular the recurring figure of Mortimer Wheeler, who served as a dual representative for both India and Pakistan at various moments in the course of these negotiations over art and heritage. Moreover, by highlighting the long *durée* in which the division of cultural heritage between India and Pakistan ultimately took place, as well as open cases of division among the Lahore Museum and other art institutions across the subcontinent today, this chapter ultimately emphasizes the incomplete nature of this process of division, and positions the Lahore Museum as a critical allegory for partition as an unfinished process of cultural fragmentation in South Asia.

Chapter 3, “In Search of a Home,” brings forth the crisis of dispossession the Lahore collections endured both in place in Pakistan and away in India in the aftermath of partition to elucidate the continued entanglements between monuments, museums, and museum collections in India and Pakistan today. My analysis begins with the Lahore Museum itself, and traces the physical and ideological hurdles that the institution faced in the course of its difficult arrival as a national institution for Pakistan, before also looking across the Indo-Pakistani border to interrogate the fate of those objects in the Lahore Museum’s permanent collections transferred to India. The latter story, which comprises a majority of the chapter, unearths the long and winding journey of the Lahore collections

in India, as they traveled between various cities and museums across northern India, in search of a new and permanent home. It distills the language of both criminality and homelessness that encapsulated these objects in India in the two decades preceding their eventual settlement in Chandigarh in the 1960s and brought into question their sense of belonging to India. Finally, it overlays the development of the Chandigarh Museum, where India's share of the Lahore collections are presently settled, against partition's larger refugee crisis to reveal the dialectics of non-belonging and nationalization that these objects embody today, and that continue to bear on India and Pakistan more broadly. Critical to this chapter is the figure of M.S. Randhawa, a fascinating Indian civil servant, botanist, and later art historian of Indian painting who took charge of the resettlement of the Lahore collections in Chandigarh. In particular, I argue that Randhawa's view of the Lahore collections as "homeless" and his subsequent efforts to rehabilitate them as the base collection of the new Chandigarh Museum grew out of a broader concern for the unsettled condition of Indian cities in the wake of partition, and can be tied to his wider efforts to garner civil prosperity in India in the mid-twentieth century.

In the final pages of this dissertation, I circle back to the contemporary moment to offer a few reflections on how this study of the Lahore Museum ties into contemporary art and curatorial practice in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the South Asian diaspora, in which partition history has made a critical resurgence. While I seek to provide a critical overview of this unique and powerful field of artistic and curatorial engagement, and its implications for how we understand partition and its ongoing ramifications for contemporary society and politics, my analysis in this short epilogue, titled "Cultural

Dispossession and the Making of the Postcolonial World,” also juxtaposes the fragmentation of the Lahore Museum in the mid-twentieth century with three recent exhibitions on partition history to elucidate the questions that this study raises for art writing in South Asia. Among the exhibitions that I discuss are Rashid Rana and Shilpa Gupta’s collaborative installation, *My East is Your West*, for the Venice Biennale in 2015, Salima Hashmi’s tour-de-force exhibition, *This Night Bitten Dawn*, organized in New Delhi in 2016, and Iftikhar Dadi and Hammad Nasar’s “exhibition-led inquiry” *Lines of Control* held at Cornell University’s Johnson Museum of Art in 2012. While each project reframes “1947” as a critical threshold for art writing in South Asia, I argue that this dissertation builds, in particular, on the transnational line of inquiry at the heart of *Lines of Control*, by offering a pathway to interrogate partition’s violent ramifications for the Lahore Museum against other historical instances of iconoclasm and cultural uprooting in the colonial and postcolonial worlds. This dissertation not only thus asserts the importance of the visual arts to any writing of partition history going forward; it foregrounds the need for a more global and comparative approach to partition history and its dilemmas, and positions the field of South Asian art history as uniquely poised to take on the historiographical challenge.

CHAPTER 1

Unsettling a National Symbol: The Lahore Museum, 1856-1947

The Lahore Museum is often prized today as the “greatest repository of the history and culture of Pakistan” [Fig. 1.1],¹ a powerful view of the institution that inscribes its holdings as a source of national heritage, identity, and pride. This conception of the museum, as linked to national culture in Pakistan, is fully reinforced by its standing curatorial program, which includes galleries devoted to Mughal, Kangra, and Basholi miniature paintings, Islamic calligraphy and metalwork, antiquities from the Indus Civilization and Gandhara, and paraphernalia from Pakistan’s “Freedom Movement” [See Figs. 1.2-1.5]. The latter is a specialized and unique display within the museum that takes over much of its second level, bleeding out from a meticulous exhibition of Pakistani postage stamps [Fig. 1.6]. The Freedom Movement gallery is comprised, moreover, of paintings, photographs, newspaper cuttings, poetry, songs, explanatory sheets in both English and Urdu, among other miscellaneous items that together celebrate the political struggle for Pakistan through the ascension of the All-India Muslim League in the twentieth century, as well as other key political voices dating as far back as the eighteenth century [Fig. 1.7]. For example, the figure of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan’s first Governor-General, is a recurring motif throughout the gallery [Fig. 1.8], as are the figures of Tipu Sultan, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and Allama Iqbal.

I begin with these contemporary views of the Lahore Museum as a steadfast national symbol for Pakistan in order to depart from them. As will be shown in the course of this chapter, the Lahore Museum’s relationship to the nation-state in South Asia has

¹ Hafeez Akhtar, “Foreword,” *Lahore Museum: A Gallery of Our Culture, A Guide*, Liaquat Ali Khan (Lahore: Niaz Ahmad, Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2004), 6.

been greatly contentious, notwithstanding the violence it endured in response to the partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, and the arrival of Pakistan to the global arena. Indeed, for much of its institutional history, and especially in the twentieth century, the Lahore Museum has more consistently resided at a crossroads of identity and ideology—torn at its core among colonial, provincial, and national orientations.

Hints of this identitarian struggle persist today in the Lahore Museum’s architecture. On one level, the museum stands as a powerful ode to its colonial beginnings: it is a striking embodiment of the Indo-Saracenic aesthetic favored by the British Raj at the height of its imperial power in India, much like the living remnants of Edwin Lutyens’ Delhi. In particular, it combines Anglo-Gothic forms, such as pointed arches, monumental spires, and unyielding symmetry, with Indo-Islamic features common to royal Mughal architecture, including a series of bulbous domes, *chajjas* (projecting eaves), and *chattris* (canopies), intricate *jaali* (lattice) work, as well as a beautiful white marble façade that demarcates the museum’s entrance with royal grandeur. On another level, the Lahore Museum’s exquisite façade, inlaid further with black stone to project the English word “Museum” and, more importantly, the Urdu word “*ajajib ghar*”² [Fig. 1.9], reminds visitors of the institution’s provincial significance as well. Professing to the museum’s past (and ongoing) life as the great “Wonder House” of Lahore, the calligraphic Urdu inscription lays bare the museum’s complex and intimate ties to the broader region of pre-partition Punjab—its economy, culture, and peoples.

This chapter provides a critical overview of the Lahore Museum’s formative development in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to explore the contours of

² Related to the Urdu word *ajeeb* (meaning strange), *ajajib ghar* roughly translates to “House of Wonders” or “Wonder House,” but today is commonly used to mean museum in English.

this historical disjuncture in the museum's identity, and further unsettle its contemporary standing as national armature for Pakistan. In this regard, my analysis traces the Lahore Museum's inception as a colonial apparatus in the 1850s, its strong ties to industrial exhibitions and world's fairs by the 1860s, its provincial reorientation under the auspices of John Lockwood Kipling in the 1880s, and its pivotal relationship with Mortimer Wheeler and the Archaeological Survey of India by the 1940s. A critical preface to my subsequent discussion of the museum's fragmentation in the 1940s (Chapter 2), this early history also charts the genesis and expansion of the institution's collections of art and archaeology, the key personalities that have shaped the museum's curatorial and conservation objectives in the period between 1856-1947, as well as its evolving relationship to the region of Punjab. In particular, I juxtapose the interventions of John Lockwood Kipling and Mortimer Wheeler throughout the course of the chapter to elucidate the tensions between the museum's provincial commitments and national ambitions by the mid-twentieth century.

My primary objective, in returning to the Lahore Museum's beginnings in this manner, is to expose the institution's embattled identitarian logic, and explore its changing and multifarious identities in the years leading up to the partition. While my narrative of the museum's growth and development can thus be broken down into three general phases—colonial, provincial, and national—my analysis also seeks to emphasize the instability of these identities and ideologies as embodied by the institution and its collections over the years. In other words, this early history of the Lahore Museum explores how these categories of identity have changed over time, how they have overlapped within the institution and its collections, and how they have manifested

differently for different curatorial leadership at different times. This endeavor is anchored by a critical reading of the Lahore Museum’s annual reports and Mortimer Wheeler’s personal papers, which, far from simply being a record of British colonial administration in India, are powerfully revealing of the personalities and agendas of the curators and officials tasked with writing them. They provide, moreover, an important portal into the museum’s internal, structuring mechanisms; and when juxtaposed together, they bring to life the matrix of physical and ideological tensions at the Lahore Museum’s core both then and now—a matrix that, I further argue, repositions partition and the crisis of identity and ideology it facilitated within the institution in the 1940s, as part of a longer and ongoing struggle of identity formation internal to the museum and its collections since their founding.

I. A Museum for Punjab, 1849-64

The idea to establish a museum in Punjab was first discussed in the 1850s, in conjunction with efforts on part of the British East India Company to assess the potential of the Punjab province in matters of trade, agriculture, and industry, an area then relatively “unmapped and poorly known” to the British.³ This was a period of critical growth for the British in Punjab, who after arriving in Lahore in February 1846 and occupying the city’s citadel, quickly took steps to extend the Company’s administrative and judicial control throughout the province, a region they would formally annex in 1849 after defeating the Sikh army at Gujarat in 1848.⁴ Over the subsequent two decades, the British appointed a “three-member Board of Administration” to implement economic,

³ William Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2008), 27.

⁴ Glover, 18.

social, and political reforms in Punjab.⁵ They established a cantonment a few miles east of the city at Mian Mir, and overtook a series of old Mughal and Sikh structures within Lahore for use as offices and residences,⁶ continuing what historian William Glover has described as a long-standing local practice in Punjab of asserting political authority through the appropriation of extant architecture.⁷ The British also began construction on a series of new buildings on either side of the Mall, which had increasingly become a center of activity for Europeans in Lahore. These included the (now old) Post Office in 1849, the Government House in 1853, and the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls between 1861-1866. As seen in a later map of the city, *Lahore and Environs* [Fig. 1.10], published in John Murray's 1901 *Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon*, this elaborate public works project, spanning several decades, eventually linked older parts of Lahore like Anarkali, with the newly built cantonment area at Mian Mir, and in the process reshaped the city into new and complex cultural configurations of which the Lahore Museum eventually became a crucial part.⁸

This was also a period of changing global outlooks towards museums within the region, and in many ways signaled the growing importance of museums to the inculcation of British colonial power in India by the mid-nineteenth century. Following the establishment and general success of museums in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, British officials increasingly acknowledged the vital role museums could play in colonial administration, especially as repositories of local products and heritage. Museums, even

⁵ M. Naeem Qureshi, "Lahore Museum: New Light on its Early History," *Cultural Heritage of Pakistan*, Anjum Rehmani, ed. (Lahore: Lahore Museum, 2000), 209.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Glover, 19.

⁸ Qureshi, 210.

at this early stage in their development in India, were not only understood to be vital infrastructure undergirding what historian Bernard Cohn has described as the Company's larger "survey modality"—the Company's systematic exploration and investigation of India's natural, economic, and social features, as a means to political and economic exploitation.⁹ Museums were also increasingly valued as potential hubs for regional knowledge, education, and policy analysis, manifesting spaces where anyone interested in learning about an Indian locality (and especially British officers) could enter and thus apprise themselves of the region's larger history, economy, and arts, and on the basis of which improvements to colonial governance or the regional economy could then be suggested.¹⁰

British officials were encouraged in their plans to establish museums within the Punjab province in the mid-nineteenth century by similar discussions taking place in other parts of the Empire, regarding museums and their capacity for administration in areas of trade, agriculture, and the industrial arts. Historian and anthropologist Shaila Bhatti notes, for instance, that Major General William Cullen, a Resident Minister of Travencore and Cochin from 1840-1860, had advised the Madras Government as early as 1843 on the establishment of a network of district museums to facilitate the Madras Presidency in its accumulation of regional knowledge and statistics.¹¹ In Cullen's proposal, museums were to be at the center of a systematic effort to document the Madras province. Their collections would be compiled at the hands of knowledgeable officials and influential natives, instead of in the ad-hoc manner of earlier colonial museums and

⁹ Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1996), 7-8.

¹⁰ Bhatti, 53.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 53-54.

archives; they would methodically chronicle their district through a selection of natural products, specimens, arts, and manufacture, and in turn become a source of pertinent information and statistics, used to educate Company officials, scholars, scientific bodies, and elucidate opportunities for economic exploitation and further growth.¹² Cullen's idea was thus to transform the museum in India from a random assortment of objects and artworks, however valuable to the Orientalist scholar, into an interconnected atlas of local knowledge to be employed in the systematic advancement of colonial governance.

In March 1855, the Financial Commissioner for Punjab D.E. McLeod secured the necessary permissions to establish a similar series of district museums in Punjab, as well as a provincial museum at Lahore.¹³ As Bhatti has shown, each museum within this new institutional matrix was to be run by a qualified individual within the civil administration, the engineer department, or the medical service, who displayed a predisposition for ordering and display and a willingness to take on curatorial work.¹⁴ In addition, each museum was to be responsible for acquiring representative collections of its immediate district, as well as districts within its broader network, with an eye towards collecting objects "peculiar" to every district locality in Punjab, before expanding its scope to include "more interesting objects of Natural History" more generally.¹⁵ Like Cullen's ideas for Madras then, McLeod's network of district museums in Punjab represented a push to professionalize such collections in the service of the Company. They would map

¹² Bhatti, 53-54; Qureshi 211.

¹³ Bhatti, 53-54; Qureshi 211.

¹⁴ Bhatti, 54.

¹⁵ Circular Number 15, dated February 14, 1855, Home Proceedings, General Department, No. 44-46, March 31, 1855, Serial 73, Punjab State Archives, Lahore, quoted in Bhatti, 54.

the Punjab through objects and display, and in the process create a bank of local knowledge to be used in the effective control of the Punjab province.

The Lahore Museum was established shortly thereafter, in early 1856, at which time it was temporarily housed in Wazir Khan's *Baradari* [Fig. 1.11], a seventeenth century Mughal-style pavilion located near Anarkali, in close proximity to the unfolding Mall. Commissioned during the reign of Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1628-1658), the *Baradari* had previously been occupied by the British for military purposes in the 1840s, before also being used as a Settlement office, a Telegram office, and later the Anarkali Book Club and the Punjab Public Library.¹⁶ While further information about the museum's establishment remains scant, the recent work of historians Shaila Bhatti and M. Naeem Qureshi has nonetheless been instrumental in helping to demystify the institution's earliest years. For instance, both Bhatti and Qureshi cite a letter to the editor of the *Lahore Chronicle* published on July 23, 1856, in which an anonymous traveler indicates that the Lahore Museum was being administered by a "regular Committee," and kept "under the immediate eye of the highest local authorities."¹⁷ Importantly, this letter provides additional insight into the state of the Lahore Museum's collections at this early juncture. It describes them as lacking in comparison to the museum's counterpart at Amritsar,¹⁸ which according to the writer was more deserving of the title "the Museum of

¹⁶ Bhatti, 54; Glover, 23; Qureshi, 211.

¹⁷ "Letter to the Editor from A Traveller," *Lahore Chronicle*, dated 23 July 1856, quoted in Qureshi, 211; Bhatti, 55.

¹⁸ Ironically, not long after the establishment of the Lahore Museum, the Amritsar Museum was disbanded by a resolution of the Municipal Committee of Amritsar during the revenue year 1872-73, and its collections dispersed. Efforts were made by the Lahore Museum to acquire a portion of the Amritsar Museum's collections at this time. In 1873, for instance, A.F. Cunningham, Officiating Curator for the Lahore Museum, acquired several models of mechanical appliances for the Lahore Museum, in anticipation of the museum's joining a projected Design School at Lahore. A majority of the Amritsar Museum's collections, however, were placed up for public auction to the dismay of museum officials in Lahore, who believed that the Amritsar Museum's most important exhibits of historical value should have instead been

Punjab.”¹⁹ It is not until September 1860, when the Lahore Museum came under the leadership of T.H. Thornton, a British officer in the Indian Civil Service then stationed in Punjab, who would later rise to prominence within the Punjab Government for his role in organizing the 1877 Delhi Durbar, that a thriving picture of the museum begins to take more thorough shape.²⁰

Under Thornton’s leadership, the Lahore Museum cultivated a geological and ethnographic focus, and dramatically increased its visitorship.²¹ While efforts were made to establish a Geological Department within the museum at this time, Thornton significantly expanded the museum’s ethnographic collections as well, by obtaining “casts of different races” for display in the two octagonal rooms flanking the *Baradari*’s entrance.²² These included casts of Hindu and Aboriginal tribes, as well as casts of the Pathan, Turk, Tibetan, and other foreign tribes.²³ Bhatti attributes Thornton’s interest in these ethnographic collections to the idea that they allowed for easy visual comparisons between “types”—presumably types of people and cultures—and thus enabled Thornton in his efforts to transform the museum from a passive material archive into an index of the region, or a kind of “ordering house,” a space where Orientalist narratives about India

given over in their entirety to the Lahore Museum, either as a donation or sold for a nominal fee. See, A.F. Cunningham, *Report on the Lahore Museum for the Year 1872-73*, dated 7 May 1873, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁹ Qureshi, 211; Bhatti, 55.

²⁰ Qureshi, 211.

²¹ M. Naeem Qureshi and Shaila Bhatti, citing Thornton’s correspondence with the Government of Punjab, both note that visitorship at the Lahore Museum for the year 1860 nearly doubled, with Qureshi further detailing that nearly 800 visitors came to the museum, up from 440 visitors the previous year. See, Qureshi, 211; Bhatti 56.

²² Qureshi, 211.

²³ *Ibid.*

could be rendered from the classification and display of objects.²⁴ Indeed, constructing visual histories of Punjab with the museum's burgeoning ethnographic collections appears to have been a priority for Thornton during his tenure as Curator. By 1863, as Qureshi notes, Thornton's efforts had given way to a "chiefly antiquarian" institution, in that it was arranged to express "clear conceptions of the ancient history of the capital of Punjab."²⁵

In other words, the Lahore Museum operated in much the same way as earlier cabinets of curiosities in its formative years. It embodied an antiquarian approach to the ordering, classification, and exhibition of its burgeoning collections, reminiscent of the India Museum in London,²⁶ and sought primarily to "[visualize] material knowledge" of the Punjab.²⁷ This is not, however, to suggest that the Lahore Museum was fully organized by the 1860s. In spite of Qureshi's assertions, the exact nature of Thornton's displays is not entirely known and, as Bhatti contends, the museum retained a haphazard quality in many aspects of its composition. On one hand, it continued to house an *mélange* of curiosities, which unremittingly arrived at its doorstep in spite of Thornton's clear efforts to professionalize the institution, its collections, and displays.²⁸ The museum also suffered from a lack of space and lighting, which severely inhibited the proper display of its collections.²⁹ As will be shown in the following section, these qualities and constraints in the evolving identity of the Lahore Museum contrast in dramatic ways with

²⁴ Bhatti, 55.

²⁵ H. Cleghorn, "Memorandum on Local Museums of the Punjab," dated 23 January 1863, Home (General) Proceedings, No. 4, 28 February 1863, quoted in Qureshi, 212.

²⁶ Qureshi, 212. See also, Ray Desmond, *The India Museum, 1801-1879* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1982).

²⁷ Bhatti, 23-24, 53-56.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 56.

²⁹ Bhatti, 56; Qureshi, 212.

the next phase of its expansion, which involved concerted integration with the local community and province of Punjab, and an increased entanglement with the phenomenon of industrial exhibitions both in India and abroad.

II. Of Exhibitions and Expansion, 1864-75

The Lahore Museum's first substantive shift in form, function, and identity followed the Punjab Exhibition of 1864. The Punjab Exhibition of 1864 was, as Percy Brown describes in his early guide to the institution, "the outcome of a movement in the Punjab towards the development of local arts and industries."³⁰ Inspired by the success of industrial exhibitions taking place in Europe and other parts of India, as well as changing attitudes towards traditional Indian arts and crafts, British officials in Punjab looked to stage a comparable exhibition of local products in Punjab by the 1860s. The objective of this first Punjab Exhibition was thus primarily two-fold: to encourage the development of local arts and industry and showcase the province's economic wealth. In this regard, an exhibition planning commission was established as early as 1860 to arrange the event, construct an exhibition venue in Lahore, and solicit requisite donations for display.³¹

Over the next three years, exhibits were donated to the Punjab Exhibition from a variety of rich local sources and collections. Among those who contributed to the exhibition at this stage were the influential Fakir family of Lahore,³² whose ancestors had

³⁰ Percy Brown was a well-known British scholar, artist, art critic, historian, and archaeologist. He published widely on Indian art and architecture, and held several positions in the Indian Education Service in the early twentieth century. This included the post of Principal of the Mayo School of Art and Curator of the Lahore Museum, which he held from 1899-1908; Percy Brown, *Lahore Museum, Punjab: A Descriptive Guide to the Departments of Archaeology and Antiquities* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1908), 1.

³¹ Bhatti, 56-57.

³² The Fakir family has since transformed their extensive collections into a private museum. The *Fakir Khana*, as it is known locally, is housed in the family's former residence within Lahore's Walled City, situated between the *Badshahi Masjid* and *Bhati Gate*, along the *Hakiman Bazaar*.

accrued a large collection of art and other novelties while serving as high-ranking officials in the government of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (r. 1792-1893).³³ Various district committees, government administrators, princely families, and local schools of industry also contributed widely to the exhibition, along with the Lahore Jail and the Lahore and Amritsar Museums.³⁴ These donated exhibits were subsequently divided into four primary categories—raw produce, manufactures, machinery, and fine arts—which became the overarching framework for the exhibition and determined the exhibition’s prize groups.³⁵ Though the exhibition was designed primarily to “project the arts and crafts of the [Punjab] Province,”³⁶ the planning commission did not turn away donations originating from outside Punjab. In many instances, as Bhatti has shown, such items were embraced by the commission as an opportunity to highlight the region’s most profitable trade relations and essentially “[map] the Punjab’s economic geography.”³⁷

After three years of planning, the Punjab Exhibition opened to mild fanfare on January 20, 1864 and ran till the first week of April, situated in a hastily constructed Exhibition Building, a short distance from Wazir Khan’s *Baradari*.³⁸ Having brought

³³ Bhatti, 57.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Bhatti, 57; Qureshi, 212.

³⁶ Qureshi, 212.

³⁷ Bhatti, 57.

³⁸ Little is known about the Exhibition Building’s designer or construction, except that it came together in a hasty manner, was funded by a mix of local, provincial, and imperial funds, and was never meant to be a permanent fixture of the city. Following a series of renovations in the 1860s and 1870s, however, the Exhibition Building came to be known as Tollinton Market. Today, this Tollinton Market stands adjacent to the Lahore Museum, and the National College of Arts on Mall Road, and serves as the Lahore City Heritage Museum, where temporary exhibitions of arts, crafts, and other commercial products are still regularly held; J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1886-86*, Lahore Museum, Lahore. Also see, Bhatti, 57; Nadhra Shahbaz Khan, “Industrial Art Education in Colonial Punjab: Kipling’s Pedagogy and Hereditary Craftsmen,” *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts and Crafts in the Punjab and London*, Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, eds. (New Haven: Yale University, 2017), 484.

together a memorable array of products and exhibits from across the province and beyond, the event proved a decent success, with upwards of 25,000 tickets sold over the course of its nearly three-month run.³⁹ At its close, the Punjab Exhibition also became a critical opportunity to expand and relocate the Lahore Museum's burgeoning collections. In discussions that followed the Punjab Exhibition, regarding the future of the Exhibition Building, a suggestion was put forth to give half of the building over to the Lahore Museum.⁴⁰ This, in conjunction with a subsequent proposal to retain the exhibition's best items for permanent display in Lahore,⁴¹ saw the Lahore Museum combine its ethnographic and geological collections with selected remnants of the 1864 Punjab Exhibition, and relocate from the *Baradari* to the Exhibition Building in late-1864, which by then had been partially renovated in anticipation of the museum's occupation. For a time, the Exhibition Building was divided into two parts by a "handsome double-screen of glass and carved wood" with half of the building being used as a museum, and the other half retained for use as a public hall.⁴² But, it was not long after the Lahore Museum took up residence within the Exhibition Building, later named Tollinton Market [Fig. 1.12], that the building's other, public half was refurbished as well and given over to the Lahore Museum for use as additional storage and display.⁴³

The new and expanded Lahore Museum in Tollinton Market, by then under the leadership of the new Curator B. H. Baden-Powell, comprised a new and vibrant mix of exhibits. From the Punjab Exhibition of 1864, the museum acquired a number of raw

³⁹ Bhatti, 58.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Qureshi, 213.

⁴² Bhatti, 58; Qureshi, 213.

⁴³ Bhatti, 58.

products, models, manufactured goods, inlaid furniture, and Cambay agates, as well as a set of fabrics donated from the Government of Bombay.⁴⁴ The added space afforded by the museum's new premises also allowed for other additions to be made to its collections at this time. These included a number of donations and loans from British officers and scholars stationed in India, and ranged from antiquities of carved friezes and fragmentary sculptures from Yusafzai, among the most prized items to be added to the museum's collections, to a selection of animal specimens and fossils; several collections of dresses and other curiosities from Ladakh, Little Tibet, and Daro country were also donated to the museum in this transitional period.⁴⁵ It was around this time that the Lahore Museum acquired its famed *Zamzamah* as well [Fig. 1.13].⁴⁶ This large bore cannon was originally cast for Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1761,⁴⁷ and later immortalized in the opening pages of Rudyard Kipling's novel *Kim* as one of the museum's defining outdoor features.

Introducing the book's spirited protagonist, Kipling wrote:

“He sat, in defiance of municipal orders, astride the gun Zam-Zammeh on her brick platform opposite the old Ajaib-Gher—the Wonder House, as the natives call the Lahore Museum. Who hold the Zam-Zammeh, that ‘fire-breathing dragon,’ hold the Punjab; for the great green-bronze piece is always first of the conqueror's loot.”⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 58-60.

⁴⁶ M. Naeem Qureshi notes that after the Lahore Museum reopened to the public in Tollinton Market by the end of 1867, the *Zamzamah* was dragged from its pedestal at Delhi Gate and placed on a platform in front of the museum's entrance to increase the institution's visibility with the public. The *Zamzamah* then stayed in front of Tollinton Market until the 1890s, until which time the Lahore Museum and the Mayo School of Art shifted to the Jubilee Museum and Technical Institute, its present building on Mall Road. At this time, the *Zamzamah* was shifted to the Jubilee Museum as well, where it continued to adorn the Lahore Museum's entrance. By 1917, as Shaila Bhatti notes, the fabled cannon was given its own platform in the middle of Mall Road, where it remains today, with Punjab University to one side, and the Lahore Museum and the National College of Arts to the other. See, Qureshi, 214; Bhatti, 72.

⁴⁷ Qureshi, 214.

⁴⁸ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1901), 1.

These eclectic, if not strategic acquisitions to the Lahore Museum's collections bolstered the development of its antiquities, natural history, and ethnography departments, strengthened its ties to the Punjab economy, and in time made room for more dynamic exhibition practices. As Bhatti observes, the types of objects on display in this new Lahore Museum were no longer just raw products, manufactures, or scientific specimens, but, for the first time, objects meant to visualize "the people of India and their ways of living."⁴⁹ In this regard, there was even a push to establish a Punjab tribal dress gallery, to complement and expand the museum's burgeoning ethnographic and colonial function.⁵⁰

And yet, what the Lahore Museum gained in exhibits during this period, it still lacked in expertise—that is, museum professionals capable of both curatorial work and art historical research. This problem of expertise within the museum deeply affected its collections and displays by inhibiting their instructive potential.⁵¹ For instance, as Bhatti demonstrates, the museum's displays of Buddhist sculpture remained largely ornamental at this time, because the museum lacked staff members who were well-versed in the history of Buddhism and capable of accurately decoding Buddhist iconography and inscriptions.⁵² That the Lahore Museum had already amassed an impressive collection of Buddhist antiquities by the 1860s, more than capable of significant contributions to the study of Buddhist history and culture in India, speaks to the significance of this particular hurdle to its curatorial potential and ambitions. Among other serious problems impeding the museum at this juncture were a continued lack of space, a lack of proper lighting, a

⁴⁹ Bhatti, 59.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

leaking roof, and a lack of funding.⁵³ Nevertheless, these early changes to the Lahore Museum laid an important foundation for the curatorial and administrative interventions to come under the leadership of John Lockwood Kipling. Taking over for Baden-Powell, who left the museum to become Conservator of Forests for Punjab in 1873,⁵⁴ Kipling assumed the post of Curator in April 1875, in conjunction with his appointment as Principal of the new Mayo School of Industrial Art in Lahore, and in the course of his nearly two-decade tenure (1875-93) at both institutions became a driving force behind the museum's "provincial" reorientation in the late-nineteenth century. As will be demonstrated in the next section, Kipling's take on the museum's "provincial" charter far exceeded McCleod's original, colonial brief for the institution. In time, Kipling not only developed the Lahore Museum's material archive to represent Punjab, and all that the province had to offer by way of regional history, culture, and curiosities. He made the provincial global, in that he gave shape to an institution that both played an active role in the province's cultural and economic development, and ushered Punjab and its people into new global economies of art and industry.

III. Protecting and Preserving a Province: John Lockwood Kipling, 1875-93

John Lockwood Kipling first came to India in 1865, when he was recruited to teach ceramics and architectural sculpture at the newly established J.J. School of Art and

⁵³ Shaila Bhatti notes that by 1866 the Governor of Punjab had ordered Rs. 200 per month to be allocated to the Lahore Museum in support of its activities, an increase in patronage attributable perhaps to the institution's growing popularity with the Indian public. The Lahore Museum had previously been supported with local funds, with only the Curator's salary funded by the government. This slight increase in government patronage, however, was hardly sufficient to support the museum's many activities, especially when considering the unprecedented rate at which the museum was amassing exhibits by the mid-1860s. See, Bhatti, 59-60.

⁵⁴ C.D. Waterson and A. Macmillan Shearer, *Biographical Index of Former Fellows of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1783-2002, Part II* (Edinburgh: Royal Society of Edinburgh, 2006), 746.

Industry in Bombay (est. in 1857).⁵⁵ As *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts & Crafts in the Punjab and London* attests, a recent and significant volume on Kipling's career, writing and pedagogy in Britain and India edited by art historians Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, Kipling brought to this role extensive practical experience and training in the industrial arts.⁵⁶ Prior to his arrival in India, Kipling had apprenticed as a modeler and designer with Pinder, Bourne & Hope, an earthenware and ceramics manufacturer in Burslem, Staffordshire.⁵⁷ He had attended the Stoke and Fenton School of Art, which generally followed the national curriculum, set by Henry Cole's Department of Science and Art,⁵⁸ but also specialized in ceramics.⁵⁹ Kipling had also trained with architectural sculptor John Birnie Philip in London from 1859-61, before securing a permanent position as an artist and architectural modeler with the South Kensington Museum in 1863.⁶⁰ In this latter post, Kipling's primary responsibility had been to assist designer

⁵⁵ Julius Bryant, "The Careers and Character of 'J.L.K.,'" *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts & Crafts in the Punjab and London*, Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, eds. (New Haven: Yale University, 2017), 40.

⁵⁶ This edited volume was published in conjunction with a major traveling exhibition of the same name, sponsored by the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Bard Graduate Center. The exhibition ran in London from January 14 – April 2, 2017, and in New York from September 15, 2017 – January 7, 2018. See, Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, eds., *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts & Crafts in the Punjab and London* (New Haven: Yale University, 2017).

⁵⁷ Christopher Marsden, "Ceramics and Sculpture, Staffordshire and London, 1852-65," *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts & Crafts in the Punjab and London*, Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, eds. (New Haven: Yale University, 2017), 61-63.

⁵⁸ Located in South Kensington, the Department of Science and Art (DSA) was a British governmental body founded in 1853 by a mix of intellectuals and bureaucrats to advance education in art, science, technology, and design in Britain. Under the leadership of Henry Cole, its first superintendent, the DSA overtook the Government School of Design in London, and played a major role in the reform of British design and industry in the nineteenth century. On the DSA's significant impact on the development of art schools and art education in India, see, Arindam Dutta, *The Bureaucracy of Beauty: Design in the Age of its Global Reproducibility* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Deborah Swallow, "John Lockwood Kipling: A Post-Colonial Perspective," *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts & Crafts in the Punjab and London*, Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, eds. (New Haven: Yale University, 2017), xv.

⁵⁹ Marsden, 64-68.

⁶⁰ Bryant, 38-39.

Godfrey Sykes in modeling a majority of the terra-cotta decoration for the South Kensington Museum's then new buildings in London.⁶¹

Kipling's practical education and experience in Britain served him well in Bombay, which was rife with opportunity for an architectural modeler. As head of the J.J. School's sculpture atelier, Kipling taught modeling, terra-cotta, and architectural sculpture; he, along with his students, also contributed widely to the city's architectural decoration, then in the midst of a Gothic revival.⁶² Among his most successful commissions in Bombay were, for instance, the exterior friezes at the entrance of Crawford Market that depict Indian farmers and other economic activity [**Fig. 1.14**], as well as the stone fountains on the market's interior.⁶³ To supplement his income in Bombay, Kipling also worked as a journalist for such publications as *Pioneer*, *Chameleon*, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, *Bombay Builder*, and the *Bombay Gazette*, which quickly became important platforms for his staunch criticisms of museums and art education in India, and later advocacy for traditional Indian architecture, arts, and crafts.⁶⁴

Kipling's criticism of Indian museums in the British-Indian press began shortly after his arrival in India in 1865, and had important implications for his later development of the Lahore Museum between 1875-93. His earliest columns for *Pioneer*, as art historian Sandra Kemp notes in her study of Kipling's journalism, expressed extreme frustration at the dearth of Indian museum collections, which in Kipling's view severely

⁶¹ Ibid., 39.

⁶² Ibid., 41.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Sandra Kemp, "'My Bread and Butter': Kipling's Journalism," *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts & Crafts in the Punjab and London*, Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, eds. (New Haven: Yale University, 2017), 301-327.

lacked in antiquities and contemporary Indian material to be considered useful to visitors, students, or scholars.⁶⁵ Another point of contention for Kipling were the prevailing standards of organization and display in Indian museums at the time, or rather lack thereof. Of the Victoria and Albert Museum in Bombay (renamed the Dr. Bhau Daji Lad Mumbai City Museum in 1975), for instance, Kipling scathingly remarked in *Bombay Builder*:

“It is a pity that the specimens of ancient Indian sculpture lying about in different places, are not collected and arranged in some sort of order of date, or material. I had hoped to find here some larger pieces of that richly fretted and figured sculpture, in tawny grit-stone, fragments of which contributed by Sir Bartle Frere, form part of the glories of the oriental courts of the South Kensington Museum, but I looked in vain.”⁶⁶

Kipling often blamed European museums for this status quo in India. A common refrain in many of his articles on museums in India, as seen in the passage above, was the inferiority of Indian museum collections to those back home in Britain, which systematically sent for all the best examples of Indian art and archeology without more thoughtful exchange with museums in India. This practice, in Kipling’s view, incapacitated Indian museums in significant ways, by stripping them of the very best collections of Indian art, and leaving them moreover unable to satisfactorily narrate India’s history on their own terms. In *Pioneer*, he wrote:

“The best examples of all that this country produces are to be found at home [in Britain], and the last place to go for information on Indian art and archaeology is the Museum of Bombay. All that we get in return are a few casts of European ornament and the wiry outlines of the sciences and art department. Unhappily, the vessels bringing them are never ship-wrecked.”⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibid., 311.

⁶⁶ [J.L. Kipling], “First Impressions of Art and Architecture in Bombay, No. 1,” *Bombay Builder* 1, no. 1 (July 5, 1865), 4-6, quoted in Bryant, 43.

⁶⁷ [J.L. Kipling], “From Our Own Correspondent. Bombay,” *Pioneer*, November 23, 1874, quoted in Kemp, ““My Bread and Butter,”” 311.

In this regard, Kipling also blamed standing government policies that were more apt to funnel funds towards international exhibitions, instead of towards institutions that could truly benefit from the support, like museums and art schools in India.⁶⁸ Following the success of the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, international exhibitions were indeed on the rise, and became an extremely fashionable platform to stimulate trade and economic growth both domestically and across borders. It seems, however, the most potent source of Kipling's frustration with museums in India came from what he saw as a lack of opportunity to study traditional Indian sculpture, or artisan practices in Bombay. As a subscriber to the teachings of Henry Cole and the Department of Science and Art, Kipling believed that innovation was wholly dependent upon a thorough understanding of and exposure to traditional art practices.⁶⁹ In other words, the inadequacy of museum collections in India not only represented a crucial gap in history and knowledge for Kipling and his students who sought a thorough understanding of the subcontinent's artistic past; it also proved a critical impediment to innovation in both art and industry in India, and was therefore a threat to the survival of India's traditional artisanal practices in the nineteenth century.⁷⁰

That Kipling, by the 1870s, increasingly came to view traditional Indian arts and crafts to be at risk of dying out, especially in the face of modernization and the onslaught of mass-produced British goods into India, only lent his published attacks of museums and art education in India, which Kemp likens to later forms of tabloid "cause"

⁶⁸ Sandra Kemp, "The Appreciative Eye of a Craftsman': Kipling as Curator and Collector at the Lahore Museum, 1875-93," *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts & Crafts in the Punjab and London*, Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, eds. (New Haven: Yale University, 2017), 171.

⁶⁹ Kemp, "My Bread and Butter," 311.

⁷⁰ Bryant, 43; Kemp, "My Bread and Butter," 311.

journalism, a greater sense of urgency.⁷¹ It was a view nurtured largely by his travels across the Northwest Frontier Province between 1870-72, when he documented village workshops, Indian craftsmen, and local industries in a series of drawings commissioned by John Henry Rivett-Carnac, Commissioner for Cotton and Commerce, for the Government of India.⁷² It was also a view that greatly impacted his later ambitions as Principal of the Mayo School of Art and Curator of the Lahore Museum. Indeed, Lahore became a veritable playground for Kipling to confront these most pressing challenges to museums and art education in India, where in time he would implement a series of educational and economic reforms designed to champion India's traditional arts by the turn of the twentieth century.

The city of Lahore was, in many ways, well suited for this kind of intervention, having once been a haven for art and craft production in Punjab. As an intermittent seat of royalty and government between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, Lahore had flourished under the patronage of the Mughal Emperors, and succeeding Sikh rulers such as Maharaja Ranjit Singh, over time becoming a critical center for the production of gold and silver jewelry, metallic-lace, embroidery, dyed fabrics, weaponry, and carpentry in Punjab.⁷³ However, following the dissolution of the Sikh empire in 1849, and the annexation of the Punjab by the British, patronage of traditional Indian arts and crafts in

⁷¹ Kemp, "My Bread and Butter," 310-311.

⁷² These drawings were shown widely at international exhibitions in London and Vienna between 1871-1873, before also being exhibited in the Indian Section of the South Kensington Museum. Kipling later published many of these drawings in the *Journal of Indian Arts*, which he established in January 1884 in collaboration with Edward Charles Buck and Thomas Holbein Hendley. For more on Kipling's drawings, see Bryant, 43-44. For more on the *Journal of Indian Arts* and its role in producing the figure of the native Indian craftsmen, see Deepali Dewan, "Scripting South Asia's Visual Past: The *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* and the Production of Knowledge in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, Julie F. Codell, ed. (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University, 2003), 29-44.

⁷³ Shahbaz Khan, 469-471.

Lahore severely declined, leading to a mass exodus of craft communities from the city by the mid-nineteenth century, many of whom had to look elsewhere for survival.⁷⁴ During this period, artists and craftsmen everywhere in India were adjusting their crafts to better cater to the demands of new patrons and the British-Indian market, which often entailed adapting European designs into existing artisanal practices or copying imported European goods.⁷⁵ In short, Lahore itself was rife for revival and reform in the late-nineteenth century.

Kipling's tenure in Lahore coincided with the growing aura of dissatisfaction around the state of art schools in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and especially those schools like the J.J. School of Art and the Madras School of Industrial Arts that privileged the study of European art over Indian art and craft traditions.⁷⁶ This dissatisfaction was the product of a long and ongoing debate among British officials over the best approach to art education in India. While some officials like Kipling and T.H. Hendley, a British medical officer, amateur expert on Indian art, and trustee of the Indian Museum in Calcutta, saw art schools in India as an opportunity to protect and preserve indigenous arts and crafts traditions from the dangers of modern life, others like Alexander Hunter, the founding Principal of the Madras School of Industrial Arts, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the founder of the J.J. School of Art in Bombay, and Henry H. Locke, the first Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, utilized art schools in India as a way to generate a taste for European methods across the subcontinent, and thereby

⁷⁴ Ibid., 470-471.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 471.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

“modernize” or “westernize” indigenous art practices, which otherwise had little merit to them.⁷⁷

In many ways, this seminal debate over art education in India echoed the larger changes taking place within the British East India Company following the Indian Mutiny of 1857,⁷⁸ as the British transitioned from economic to colonial presence in India. Having marked a severe crisis of leadership for the Company and the British imperial mission in India more broadly, the Mutiny ended with the passage of the *Government of India Act of 1858*, which effectively dissolved the Company and transferred the Government of India directly to the British Crown, who administered the Company’s former territories in India as the British Raj until 1947. As historian Karuna Mantena demonstrates in her book, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism*, the 1857 Mutiny also became a critical turning point for British imperial ideology. It not only marked a “turning away from an earlier liberal, reformist ethos,”⁷⁹ that framed (and justified) British imperialism as a “civilizing mission.” It ushered in a new “culturalist” stance, one born of new theories of traditional society, and “an array of arguments for the protection and rehabilitation of native institutions.”⁸⁰

Upon his arrival in Lahore in 1875, Kipling came armed with a distinct vision for the newly founded Mayo School of Industrial Art (est. 1873) and the Lahore Museum,

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ The Indian Mutiny of 1857 was the largest indigenous rebellion against a European empire in the nineteenth century. It began as a sepoy mutiny in Meerut in May 1857, but quickly grew into a popular insurrection, bringing together various groups of the Indian populace disaffected by British rule, especially across Northern India. On the contested status of this event in histories of nationalism in South Asia today, and whether it constituted a “national” uprising, see Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1993); Karuna Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2010); Biswamoy Pati, ed., *The 1857 Rebellion* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2007).

⁷⁹ Mantena, 1-2.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 7.

one that embraced this culturalist stance, and that set both institutions on a path of development aligned with the central tenets of the Arts and Crafts Movement in Britain,⁸¹ as well as the pedagogic model of Kipling's earlier training in South Kensington. Essentially, this vision entailed the establishment of an art school that worked in tandem with the Lahore Museum and its collections to "rescue Indian crafts from the onslaught of modernization and the debased forms of industrial goods being imported from Europe."⁸² For the Mayo School, this meant opening its doors to hereditary craftsmen in Lahore,⁸³ and adopting a new art curriculum that gave students a well-rounded education in drawing, geometry, modeling, painting, carpentry, blacksmithing, carving, repoussé, and construction, all the while emphasizing the protection and preservation of traditional Indian designs and techniques.⁸⁴ As art historian Nadhra Shahbaz Khan argues in her study of Kipling's pedagogic practices in India, Kipling, as both Principal and Curator in Lahore, "followed the pattern of British art education in the general sense, but his application of it [in Lahore] was specifically designed to cater to the needs of his [Indian]

⁸¹ The Arts and Crafts Movement grew out of efforts in the nineteenth century to reform British design and industry. Propelled by the ideas of William Morris and John Ruskin, it promoted a revival of traditional craftsmanship and the use of simple forms in the advancement of British decorative and fine arts. The movement was, in part, a response to the social and economic ramifications of the Industrial Revolution on British society, and endeavored to raise the quality of aesthetic standards in Britain, as well as rectify industrial working conditions. For more on the social and creative ideals of the Arts and Crafts movement, see Steven Adam, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (Seacaucus, NJ: Chartwell, 1987); Elizabeth Cumming, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991); William Morris, et. al., *Arts and Crafts Essays* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893).

⁸² Bhatti, 23.

⁸³ Kipling often waived tuition fees for students coming from hereditary craft backgrounds to make enrollment in the Mayo School a more attractive and feasible prospect for them and their families. In some cases, promising students were allocated a living stipend as well. As Nadhra Shahbaz Khan has shown, this was a very significant intervention on part of Kipling, considering hereditary craftsmen never paid their sons or students to learn a craft. Moreover, it was rare for hereditary craftsmen to receive any kind of wage during their education, and until which time they had made significant progress in learning their craft. See, Shahbaz Khan, 477.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 474.

students,” and especially those coming from hereditary craft backgrounds.⁸⁵ For the Lahore Museum, Kipling’s plan meant diversifying and expanding its collections to include more examples of Punjab’s traditional arts and crafts, as well as then integrating the institution’s collections into his students’ daily program of study.

To cement this institutional partnership, Kipling also proposed the construction of a new building to house the Mayo School of Art and the Lahore Museum together.⁸⁶ Critically, this new building was intended to address a number of the museum’s reigning physical constraints, including its lack of space, lighting, and infrastructure for display, as well as serve as an educational opportunity for students. Kipling argued that the process of constructing the building and its corresponding ornamentation would, itself, be a way for students to practice their crafts, hone their expertise in traditional techniques, and generate public interest in traditional forms and designs.⁸⁷ Due to lack of funds, Kipling’s proposal for a new combined building was not immediately fulfilled in 1875. In fact, the Lahore Museum would not relocate from Tollinton Market until after Kipling’s retirement from the curatorship in 1893, when a new Jubilee Museum and Technical Institute was constructed in honor of Queen Victoria’s Jubilee. This new (and final) building was designed by Kipling and one of his former students, architect Bhai Ram Singh, and remains the current location of the Lahore Museum and the Mayo School (renamed the National College of Arts in 1958) on Mall Road. Nonetheless, Kipling’s proposal at the start of his curatorship in 1875, representative of a palpable ideological shift towards art education and museums in India, had a number of important practical

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Kemp, “The Appreciative Eye of a Craftsman,” 171.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 171-172.

ramifications for the development of the Lahore Museum and its collections over the course of his tenure.

As principal of the Mayo School of Art, Kipling set out to “save the dying arts of India,” to which the Lahore Museum became his most important tool.⁸⁸ First and foremost, he transformed the museum into a space of education and preservation, where students and scholars affiliated with the Mayo School and surrounding universities could learn and hone traditional techniques through “object lessons”⁸⁹ and careful study of the museum’s collections. In this regard, Kipling not only encouraged students to draw or copy the collections on display, as a way to master and preserve local arts and crafts into the modern era. Kipling also involved students in the process of documenting and cataloguing the museum’s collections. In 1877, for instance, he had a group of Mayo students photograph the museum’s Buddhist sculptures for the dual “purpose of instructing the pupils in photography,” and advancing the project of indexing the museum’s collections, begun in haste under the museum’s former curator Baden-Powell.⁹⁰ In this time, the Lahore Museum also became a forum for debate for students and local Indian visitors. Kipling, along with local government officials, utilized the space of the museum to host “lantern lectures”⁹¹ and *conversazione*, to discuss

⁸⁸ Shahbaz Khan, 473.

⁸⁹ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1876-77*, dated 23 May 1877, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

⁹⁰ D. Garrick, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1877-78*, dated 29 May 1878, Lahore Museum, Lahore. See also, Kemp, “The Appreciative Eye of a Craftsman,” 171-172.

⁹¹ Following the purchase of a magic lantern (and slides) for the museum’s lecture hall during the revenue year 1892-93, the Lahore Museum played host to a series of public lectures, generally known as Lantern Lectures. These ranged in topics from history to science, were given in both English and Urdu, and attracted a wide audience of both British and Indian visitors. See J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1892-93*, dated 3 May 1893, Lahore Museum, Lahore. See also, Gyan Prakash, “Staging Science,” *No Touching, No Spitting, No Praying: The Museum in South Asia*, Saloni Mathur and Kavita Singh, eds. (London: Routledge, 2015), 96.

“technological innovation in a range of scientific, artistic, and consumer goods,” as well as various aspects of the museum’s collections.⁹² Incidentally, this helped to promote the museum’s collections to a broader audience, further strengthening its ties with the local community and economy.

With the support of the Government of India, and its passing of Resolution No. 239 in March 1884,⁹³ the museum capitalized on these growing ties to Lahore, and the Punjab province more broadly, to become a space for promoting provincial trade and industry under Kipling as well. In addition to hosting industrial exhibitions at the museum, or sending the museum’s collections for participation in international exhibitions across Europe, Kipling established an “Art Sales Room” within the museum by 1889 for “the purpose of supplying visitors and the public with objects of Punjab art workmanship not easily obtainable in the bazárs.”⁹⁴ This scheme was first suggested in 1887 in the *Review of the Report of the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1886-87*, following the success of a similar arrangement at the Lucknow Museum. In Lucknow, a “sub-department of the art-section” of the Lucknow Museum was established for the “purchase of art wares for sale to visitors.”⁹⁵ This sub-department served “the double purpose of keeping up a better display of specimens and at the same time benefiting both the purchasing public and the artisans [of Lucknow],” and it was believed that “a similar

⁹² Kemp, “The Appreciative Eye of a Craftsman,” 178.

⁹³ The Government of India passed Resolution No. 239 on March, 14, 1884. The primary objective was to reorganize museums in India into “trade museums” or “sample rooms” to support global trade and the development of India’s industrial arts. For more on Resolution No. 239, and its impact on the development of museums in India, see Bhatti, 65-67; Kemp, “The Appreciative Eye of a Craftsman,” 175.

⁹⁴ J.L. Kipling, *Report of the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1888-89*, dated 20 May 1889, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

⁹⁵ L. Saville, *Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1886-87*, dated 20 June 1887, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

undertaking [in Punjab] would with judicious management show good results.”⁹⁶ After “some correspondence and consultation,” Kipling agreed that the “experiment might be tried,” and following dispatch of all the museum’s “good specimens of Punjab art workmanship” to the Glasgow Exhibition in 1888, he “began to collect articles for sale.”⁹⁷ Among those items sold through the Lahore Museum’s Art Sales Room in its first year were cotton prints from Kot Kamalia, Sultanpur, and Lahore, cotton *khes* from Leh, carpets from Khorasan, embroidered *soznis* and some specially made *phulkaris*, carved wood doors and panels from Bhera, Chiniot, Udoki, and Lahore, inlaid wood-work from Hoshiarpur, pottery from Delhi, Multan, and Gujranwala, embossed and perforated brass and copper wares from Delhi, brass chiseled ware from Pind Dadan Khan, chased and tinned copper ware from Peshawar, and leather and brass hookahs from Sirsa.⁹⁸

Interestingly, while noting the extreme popularity of the initiative on the part of the Indian public,⁹⁹ Kipling also cautioned against its “chief difficulty”—that of “keep[ing] the supply of artwares up to the demand, and at the same time up to the standard of good work.”¹⁰⁰ Moving forward, he argued that the chief purchasing clerk for the museum should, as the occasion arises, be allowed to “visit the producers and deal with them face to face,” to secure both quality of product and the best bargain,¹⁰¹ indicating the extent to which Kipling envisioned the Lahore Museum as a “paternalistic” broker for local

⁹⁶ J.L. Kipling, *Report of the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1886-87*, dated 12 May 1887, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

⁹⁷ J.L. Kipling, *Report of the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1887-88*, dated 15 May 1888, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

⁹⁸ J.L. Kipling, *Report of the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1888-89*, dated 20 May 1889, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ P. Raynor, *Review of the Report of the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1888-89*, dated 31 May 1889, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

artisans by 1889,¹⁰² deeply imbricated in the development and growth of regional arts and crafts.

The Lahore Museum's multi-pronged role as a space of education, preservation, and trade by the late-nineteenth century demanded certain changes and additions to its collections as well, which, in spite of earlier modifications under Thornton and Baden-Powell, were in many ways still "entirely consistent with the founding ethos of India's first colonial museum" when Kipling took over.¹⁰³ In this regard, the collections were greatly expanded under Kipling to include antiquities, archaeology, coins, natural history, portraits, contemporary arts and manufacture.¹⁰⁴ Of particular interest to Kipling were specimens of local heritage, which he collected for the museum and preserved regardless of their perceived public importance (or lack thereof). For example, he temporarily acquired the "carved front of a house" set to be taken down by a new water-works project.¹⁰⁵ This façade was "set up and restored as to some missing and decayed details" in the museum compound before being sent to England.¹⁰⁶ He also acquired a "small richly-carved balcony-window," which was erected in the museum's entrance-hall.¹⁰⁷ Of this acquisition in 1880-81 Kipling wrote, "This house was in no sense a public monument, but a piece of private property which had to be demolished, and yet it was valuable as an authentic example of domestic architecture of the province."¹⁰⁸ In

¹⁰² Swallow, xiii-xvii.

¹⁰³ Kemp, "The Appreciative Eye of a Craftsman," 174-75.

¹⁰⁴ Bhatti, 23.

¹⁰⁵ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1880-81*, dated 15 June 1881, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

supplement to these specimens of local heritage, Kipling also collected implements relating to local economic activity while Curator of the Lahore Museum. These included a series of agricultural implements from various districts in Punjab, including ploughs, harrows, trenching tools, sickles, and hoes, of which models “one-fourth actual size” were made in the Mayo School to give students and museum visitors, “an idea of the way in which these often apparently rude contrivances [were] used...”¹⁰⁹ According to Kipling, these exhibits, along with their models, were important for “giving a faithful representation of Punjab field work,” and were moreover greatly popular with the Indian public, who took “an almost infantile pleasure in going round and round them and commenting on them.”¹¹⁰ The Lahore Museum, in this way, really began to hone its “provincial” character under Kipling’s guidance, reorienting its collections and displays to speak to its specific cultural context, to everyday life and culture in Punjab.

In this regard, Kipling was also deeply invested in expanding the Lahore Museum’s antiquities holdings, and in particular its collections of Indian sculpture from Punjab and the Northwest Frontier Province. He acquired a number of Buddhist antiquities for the museum while in Lahore, which quickly became the great pride of the museum, and remains today one of the most extensive and distinctive collections of Buddhist antiquities in the world.¹¹¹ These included a collection of 142 Gandharan sculptures from the Yusafzai Valley in 1884-85, the most important of which were “three large panels from the neighborhood of Mohamed Nari” presented by Mr. Dempster, the

¹⁰⁹ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1883-84*, dated 20 May 1884, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ For instance, the Lahore Museum’s *Fasting Buddha*, among the most significant sculptures in the collection displayed at the heart of the museum’s Gandhara Gallery, is recognized today by UNESCO World Heritage status. Also see, Kemp, “‘The Appreciative Eye of a Craftsman,’” 187.

Executive Engineer of the Swat Canal.¹¹² In his *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1884-85*, Kipling described the largest of these panels as “the most perfect in preservation and the most elaborate and [skillful] in execution of any of the large number of sculptures unearthed on the frontier.”¹¹³ In addition to Buddhist material, Kipling also looked to bolster the museum’s collections of Hindu sculpture over the course of his curatorship. By and large, he held a very low opinion of Hindu sculpture from Punjab, and like many Orientalist and antiquarian scholars in India often castigated its “imperfect development” and “low artistic level,”¹¹⁴ in comparison to the “splendid”¹¹⁵ specimens of Buddhist carvings in the museum’s collections, with their clear visual associations to the stylistic accomplishments of the Greek and later Roman empires. Nevertheless, Kipling repeatedly lamented the “scarcity of Brahminical sculptures in the Punjab generally, and their almost entire absence from the [Lahore] Museum,” in his annual museum reports.¹¹⁶ For instance, after acquiring an “altar from Muttra, carved in red sand-stone, showing two female figures carved in bold relief with a tree behind them,” in 1885-86, courtesy of Director-General Alexander Cunningham of the Archaeological Survey of India, Kipling wrote:

“These acquisitions may not be very important in themselves, but we have hitherto had but two or three insignificant fragments of purely Hindu sculpture to compare with a splendid series of Buddhist carvings from the Yusafzai country... These, in their rudeness and artlessness, will testify to the restrictions

¹¹² J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1884-85*, dated 15 May 1885, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1882-83*, dated 2 June 1883, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹¹⁵ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1885-86*, dated 13 May 1886, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹¹⁶ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1886-87*, dated 12 May 1887, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

under which they were wrought, and will form an instructive contrast to the almost classic grace of the Buddhist figures.”¹¹⁷

His efforts to bolster the museum’s Brahminical collections led to a number of acquisitions over his tenure, and a “rapidly accumulating mass of Hindu sculptured fragments” by 1889.¹¹⁸ These included two important figures of Shiva and Parvati, and Chatarbhuji Devi from Sirsa, finely executed in sandstone, a series of Brahminical sculptures from Kangra, important fragments from Kaithal and Thanesar, as well as a series of small, but “very highly wrought” sculptures in stone and terracotta from Agroha in the Hissar District.¹¹⁹ Though in desperate need of space, Kipling placed these exhibits on display on a series of stands in the Lahore Museum’s “already crowded entrance hall.”¹²⁰

Kipling’s efforts to expand the Lahore Museum’s collections, however entrenched in colonial regimes of value, were also deeply intertwined with another emerging ambition: to position the museum as a central repository of archaeological artifacts from Punjab, and its environs. As early as 1882, Kipling expressed “anxiety that the rights of Government should be asserted to all sculptures discovered in Punjab, with a view to their being placed in the Museum, or, at least to procuring casts of them for the purpose.”¹²¹ Between 1881-82, a number of sculptures had been discovered in the course

¹¹⁷ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1885-86*, dated 13 May 1886, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹¹⁸ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1888-89*, dated 20 May 1889, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹¹⁹ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1886-87*, dated 12 May 1887, Lahore Museum, Lahore; J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1888-89*, dated 20 May 1889, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹²⁰ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1886-87*, dated 12 May 1887, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹²¹ C.L. Tupper, Junior Secretary to Government, Punjab, *Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1881-82*, dated 4 September 1882, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

of work on the Swat Canal. To Kipling's dismay, these works had ended up in "private hands" after being requisitioned by the Government of India, instead of being given over to the Lahore Museum to enrich its collections.¹²² He saw this practice of surrendering provincial rights over local archaeological finds to the Government of India as a threat to the Lahore Museum's development—the institution's historical, cultural, and educational value, in Kipling's view, being wholly dependent on the completeness of its collections.¹²³ To this point, Kipling added, "These sculptures must always be the most valuable possession of the Museum, and it is of the utmost importance that the collection should be as complete as possible."¹²⁴

Indeed, Kipling was extremely adamant in subsequent museum reports that the Lahore Museum should retain all archaeological discoveries made within the Punjab Province. Importantly, this was not only out of concern for the "completeness" of the museum, but also out of concern for the objects themselves, which he believed only reached their full cultural and educational value when displayed in their province of origin. Kipling contended:

"The natural and proper resting place for such objects found in the Province is in the chief town of the Province, where they can be grouped into an intelligible and self-explanatory whole. A few such fragments on the shelves of a foreign museum can obviously be regarded only as odd and out-of-the-way curiosities."¹²⁵

Initially, Kipling's views on the matter of local archaeological finds largely ran contrary to those of the Government of India at the time. According to Resolution No. 3/167-81 of

¹²² J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1881-82*, dated 15 August 1882, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1885-86*, dated 13 May 1886, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

the Home Department, passed on November 8, 1882, the latter asserted that objects of archaeological interest should be “collected, as far as possible in one central place instead of being deposited in Provincial Museums,” unless there were “special reasons to the contrary.”¹²⁶ By and large, this “central place” referred to the Indian Museum in Calcutta, which by the late-nineteenth century had been prioritized as the “most legitimate repository” for the subcontinent’s antiquities, even over European museums.¹²⁷ The idea, in this regard, was primarily to avoid the “undesirable” prospect of having such specimens “scattered over a number of merely local institutions,” where presumably they could not be properly cared for or studied.¹²⁸ By 1883, however, it appears the Government of India, at the urging of the Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, amended its policy to better align with Kipling’s ideas, in a move that would also foreshadow the passing of the *Indian Treasure Trove Act of 1888*,¹²⁹ and later the *Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904*.¹³⁰ As noted in the *Review of the Report of the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1882-83*, the Government of India, by a further Resolution No. 1/58-71, passed June 8, 1883, decided that:

¹²⁶ *Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1882-83*, dated 7 June 1883, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹²⁷ Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York: Columbia University, 2004), 70.

¹²⁸ *Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1882-83*, dated 7 June 1883, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹²⁹ The *Treasure Trove Act of 1888* gave the Government of India, along with its provincial and local governments, “indefeasible rights” to the acquisition of objects of archaeological interest in India. See, Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 56.

¹³⁰ The *Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904* authorized the Archaeological Survey of India to protect and preserve the subcontinent’s monuments and archaeological heritage, and made any injury to protected monuments a punishable offence by law. It also granted the Central Government of India the power to regulate the excavation, acquisition, and trafficking of objects of archaeological, historical or artistic interest found within India. Importantly, the act was largely administered by provincial governments until 1937. See, “Ancient Monuments Preservation Act,” File No. D.384/1946/Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

“...all future discoveries of objects of archaeological interest shall be reported to the Local Government or Administration within which the discovery is made for the issue of orders whether the objects shall be preserved in situ or be removed to the Provincial Museum.”¹³¹

While this transition in policy was not entirely seamless for the Lahore Museum in the 1880s, with Kipling noting several instances during his tenure where archaeological relics from Punjab still eluded acquisition by the museum, it was nevertheless critical. For on one level, and in large part due to Kipling’s insistence, this is the first instance of the Lahore Museum acting in the capacity of an archaeological “site museum.”¹³² Following the discovery of Mohenjodaro and Harappa by John Marshall and the Archaeological Survey of India in the 1920s, the site museum would come to define the development of museums in India under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey, embodying the agency’s growing preference for keeping archaeological material as close to its site of origin as possible. Critically, the Lahore Museum would channel this ethos of the site museum again in the 1940s, when the Archaeological Survey of India, under the direction of British archaeologist Mortimer Wheeler, looked to transform the Lahore Museum into a central repository for the subcontinent’s archaeological collections, and especially those from proximate archaeological sites at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, and Taxila, as will be discussed further in this chapter.

¹³¹ *Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1882-83*, dated 7 June 1883, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹³² The Archaeological Survey of India established its first site museum at Sarnath in 1904. The primary objective of this institution was to house movable antiquities from the excavation at Sarnath that could not be preserved *in situ*. Within a few years, and with the approval of the Museums Association of India, the Archaeological Survey embraced the site museum as general practice, and established site museums at Nalanda, Taxila, Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Nagarjunakonda, and Pagan by 1939, as well. According to Leonard Woolley, this practice of using site museums was adopted from Greece, the only other country to have implemented a systematic use of site museums prior to India in the twentieth century. In his review of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1939, however, Woolley heavily condemned the Survey’s use of site museums. He argued, instead, for the centralization of the region’s archaeological collections. See, Leonard Woolley, “A Report on the Work of the Archaeological Survey of India (1939),” *Harappan Studies Vol. 1*, Gregory L. Possehl and Maurizio Tosi, eds (New Delhi: Oxford and IBH Publishing, 1993), 41-45.

With Kipling at its helm, the Lahore Museum thus harnessed its material archive in new directions, embracing an active role in the cultural and economic development of its surrounding community, along with a new commitment to education and economic reform by the late-nineteenth century. In the years that followed, the Lahore Museum played a key role in the “patronage” and “protection” of the Indian craftsman, and worked in collaboration with the abutting Mayo School of Art to educate students, local artists, and its public in regional design aesthetics. It also became an important taste-maker within colonial Punjab, manipulating consumer interest in local arts and crafts through exhibitions and display, to encourage provincial trade, and thereby the continued development of indigenous craft traditions.¹³³ However, to say that Kipling’s ambitions for the Lahore Museum were strictly “provincial” would be to overlook his efforts to also situate the museum’s collections globally in the course of his curatorship. This can be seen in his efforts to preserve Lahore’s larger historical sites, including the Badshahi Mosque and the Shalimar Gardens, undertakings that powerfully inscribed the city as an extension of the Lahore Museum’s archives and broader curatorial objectives.¹³⁴ This can be seen in Kipling’s efforts to create networks of exchange between museums, art schools and the various surveys in both India and Europe.¹³⁵ This can also be seen in his attention to industrial exhibitions—both domestic and international—during his tenure.

While attending to the Lahore Museum’s provincial reach, Kipling frequently sent its collections for exhibition in Europe, and notably the Glasgow Exhibition of 1888.

Kipling was also the key organizer of the Punjab Exhibition of 1881-82, for which over

¹³³ Bhatti, 61.

¹³⁴ Kemp, “‘The Appreciative Eye of a Craftsman,’” 190.

¹³⁵ Bhatti, 64-65.

4050 exhibits were assembled for display in Lahore to promote the development of industrial art in Punjab.¹³⁶ These exhibits included selections of cotton, woolen, and silk textiles, embroideries such as *phulkaris*, leather, metal, and wood works, potteries, as well as extensive loan collections from various princely rulers in India, and the South Kensington Museum in London.¹³⁷ Like the previous Punjab Exhibition held in 1864, Kipling's 1881-82 Exhibition had two primary objectives: to ascertain the progress made in "the quality of native industry in the Punjab" since the last exhibition was held in 1864, and to inspire "further effort in the Punjab in the direction of genuine native work of original Oriental design."¹³⁸ However, Kipling's careful planning and distinct vision for the exhibition and its displays in 1881-82, which in the end were situated across both the Lahore Museum and the Mayo School of Art, had a much larger effect. Aspiring to a "wider publicity" for the productions of Punjab art manufacture,¹³⁹ the Punjab Exhibition of 1881-82 also succeeded in placing the Lahore Museum on the global map of art institutions, along with the achievements of local artists and Mayo School students, whose work was featured heavily throughout the event.¹⁴⁰

The Lahore Museum's identity as a "provincial" institution of global ambition carried through to the early 1940s. Although Kipling's successors, including F.H.

Andrews, Percy Brown, Lionel Heath, and K.N. Sita Ram, would make several

¹³⁶ *Catalogue of the Punjab Exhibition of Art and Manufacturers Held at Lahore, 1881-82*, dated 1881-82, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ "Proceedings of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab in the Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce Department—No. 219 S," dated 23 July 1880, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

¹³⁹ J.L. Kipling, "Brief General Report on the Punjab Exhibition, 1881," dated 22 March 1882, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

¹⁴⁰ Susan Weber, "Kipling and the Exhibitions Movement," *John Lockwood Kipling: Arts & Crafts in the Punjab and London*, Julius Bryant and Susan Weber, eds. (New Haven: Yale University, 2017), 236-237.

significant changes to the museum's collections, architecture, and curatorial layout in the early twentieth century, with an eye towards making the museum, first and foremost, a space of historic, archaeological, and artistic education,¹⁴¹ they would also in large part maintain Kipling's investments in the Punjab economy. In what follows, I explore how successive leadership negotiated Kipling's vision for the Lahore Museum, and in the end pushed the institution's "provincial" reach in new directions in the twentieth century.

IV. Negotiating Kipling's Legacy, 1883-1944

F.H. Andrews was the first to succeed Kipling in the position of Curator in 1893. He did not, however, hold the position for long due to furlough restrictions, which saw him leave the Lahore Museum by March 1898. Nonetheless, in his short time as Curator, Andrews oversaw one of the museum's most crucial physical transformations—its transfer from Tollinton Market to the new Jubilee Museum and Technical Institute, which was completed in late-1893. The Lahore Museum's reorganization in the new Jubilee Museum and Technical Institute, popularly referred to as the Institute,¹⁴² began during the revenue year 1882-93, when Kipling was still Curator. As indicated by his final museum report in May 1893, Kipling was heavily involved in the preparation of the building's general decoration, eager to integrate the building's construction into his students' program of study at the Mayo School of Art in a way that aligned with the tenets of his initial proposal for the museum's development in 1875. He wrote,

“The new building is now practically complete... Designs, models, moulds and casts have been prepared for the enrichment in embossed plaster work of the doorways between each of the galleries, but have not hitherto been fixed. The surfaces of the Museum walls afford an excellent field for the practice of the

¹⁴¹ Bhatti, 75-76.

¹⁴² Ibid., 68.

decorative art, and it is hoped that a small annual allotment may be made in order that the students of the School of Art may continue the work.”¹⁴³

Prior to his retirement, Kipling also green-lighted the erection of the “nearly complete *stupa* discovered by Captain Deane at Sikri near Hoti Mardán” within the Institute, in the gallery eventually designated for the museum’s collections of Buddhist antiquities and other sculptures.¹⁴⁴ The Sikri *stupa* [**Fig. 1.15**], with its intricate reliefs of the life of Shakyamuni Buddha carved all around its façade, remains an iconic structure within the Lahore Museum today and a signature feature of its Gandhara Gallery [**Fig. 1.16**]. Kipling did not, however, witness or take part in the actual transfer of the Lahore Museum’s collections to its new premises, in spite of his efforts to complete the move quickly and seamlessly, and in time for the Institute’s formal inauguration, which according to Kipling was to be marked by “a selected exhibition of Punjab arts and manufactures” at the close of 1893.¹⁴⁵ This, instead, became the first and primary responsibility of Andrews, who carried out the transfer of exhibits to the Institute between the summer months of 1894 and the following October, along with the museum’s subsequent rearrangement in November 1894, during which time the Lahore Museum remained closed to the public.¹⁴⁶

By and large, Andrews did little to intervene against Kipling’s vision for the Lahore Museum. In the course of the transfer and rearrangement of exhibits, Andrews maintained the general organization of the Lahore Museum from Kipling’s tenure,

¹⁴³ J.L. Kipling, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1892-93*, dated 3 May 1893, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ F.H. Andrews, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1894-95*, dated 25 July 1895, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

allocating the Jubilee Museum's East End Room for the Art Sales-Room, the East Gallery for the display of Sculptures, the East Pillared Gallery for the display of Art Manufactures, the Entrance Hall for Fine Art, and the West Pillared Gallery for Economic Products and Natural History.¹⁴⁷ He upheld the museum's commitment to fostering educational discourse, arranging for the "regular course of popular lantern lectures," along with "several experimental lectures," of which little else is known except that they proved "eminently successful and attractive."¹⁴⁸ In the course of his Curatorship, Andrews also sent a number of exhibits for sale at the Empire of India Exhibition in London during the revenue year 1895-96, extending the institution's record of participation in international fairs. Among those items sent for exhibition and sale in 1895 were wood-carvings, lacquered wares, and arms, several of which garnered cash prizes and certificates, securing continued recognition for the Lahore Museum and its exhibitors abroad.¹⁴⁹

Most importantly, however, Andrews maintained strong support for the museum's Art Sales-Room, which faced increasing opposition from government officials, in light of its rapid decline in sales and profit by 1894. While acknowledging that the museum's Art Sales-Room continued to fulfill its purpose of "bringing sellers and purchasers into direct communication with one another," government officials in Punjab increasingly voiced concern that "the very small number of sales effected in the Art Sale-Room" by August

¹⁴⁷ It remains unclear to what extent, if any, Andrews then arranged these sections and displays. See, *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ F.H. Andrews, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1895-96*, dated 20 July 1896, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

1894 had made the establishment obsolete, and should by extension be closed.¹⁵⁰ In response, Andrews argued that the Art Sales-Room was not simply about effecting economic exchange between sellers and purchasers. Rather, it occupied a critical role in the advancement of design and industry in India as well, protecting the Indian public against a “contamination of style” and taste, along with the broader activities of the Lahore Museum and the Mayo School of Art.¹⁵¹ He further wrote:

“The decrease in the amount of sales during the last few years is partially due to the manner in which artisans formerly obscure and unknown excepting to the few have been encouraged to come forth and show themselves and their wares to the purchasing public, thereby securing direct commissions without our intervention, thus fulfilling one of the objects of our existence. But an evil attends this good. The purchasing public is unfortunately generally not a judge of art, and with this direct communication comes the danger of contamination of style, and it is against this evil that the efforts of the Museum and School of Art are largely directed, and it is for this reason that it appears undesirable to abolish the sale-room at present. As long as the sale-room is known to exist, the craftsmen will come and do business with us and so give us a chance of correcting bad design and encouraging good work.”¹⁵²

Closing the museum’s Art Sales-Room was thus not a viable solution to its decreased revenue for Andrews, as such a plan entailed compromising the Lahore Museum’s hard-won role in the cultural and economic development of the Punjab Province, what in many ways had become, as I have suggested, the institution’s defining precept under Kipling.

If Andrews sought primarily to preserve Kipling’s status quo, Percy Brown, who succeeded Andrews in the curatorship from 1889-1908, pushed it in new directions. He inaugurated a new and vibrant era for the Lahore Museum, one of “continuous

¹⁵⁰ J.M. Douie, *Review of the Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1893-94*, dated 28 August 1894, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁵¹ F.H. Andrews, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1894-95*, dated 25 July 1895, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

adjustment, rearrangements, and reclassification,”¹⁵³ aimed at enhancing and revitalizing the museum’s curatorial framework, and broadening the institution’s appeal to local artists, craftsmen, students, and the general Indian public alike. Brown, a well-known British scholar, artist, art critic, historian, and archaeologist, came to the Lahore Museum at a time of great administrative change. In the course of Andrews’ tenure, a Committee of Management had been established to supervise and administer the Jubilee Museum and Technical Institute’s broader affairs, which specified in a set of “Rules and Regulations,” implemented as early as August 1894, that the Lahore Museum was to develop “sections devoted to art, archaeology, ethnology, technology, natural history, and economic products” under the control of an Honorary Secretary, a position to be occupied concurrently by the Lahore Museum’s Curator.¹⁵⁴ To this charge, Brown oversaw the development of new fittings for the proper display and preservation of exhibits within the museum, which largely involved replacing the museum’s “old dark cumbersome cases” with new “light dust-proof ones with moveable shelves.”¹⁵⁵ He undertook a “gradual cleaning out of the different collections,” discarding specimens that “only took up space,” and offered little by way of artistic or educational value.¹⁵⁶ Importantly, this process unearthed several exhibits within the museum’s stores that were “formerly kept under lock and key,” including a “good collection of antique and modern jewellery,” which Brown then made available for display within the museum’s new galleries.¹⁵⁷ Brown also

¹⁵³ Bhatti, 69.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1900-01*, dated 25 June 1901, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

greatly rearranged the Lahore Museum's program of displays and labels, which he described in 1900 as "much mixed and in a very confused state, having never been properly assorted or arranged after their removal from the old building in 1895."¹⁵⁸ While it is difficult to say precisely what shape these rearrangements took during the course of his tenure, Brown describes a plan in 1900 to introduce new specimen cases in each section of the museum, which would allow him to divide the museum's galleries into "a series of bays" or "sub-sections," and, in turn, provide a more nuanced arrangement and classification of exhibits, if not just a "considerable improvement on the present system."¹⁵⁹ From his visitor's guide, *Lahore Museum, Punjab: A Descriptive Guide to the Departments of Archaeology and Antiquities*, published in 1908, it appears Brown was largely successful in implementing this aforementioned plan, at least in parts of the Lahore Museum. In addition to providing a brief historical overview of the Gandharan region (located today in northern Pakistan) and its importance for ancient Indian art, the guide gives a case-by-case breakdown of Brown's new displays of Gandharan, Jain, and Brahmanical sculpture in the museum's Archaeology and Antiquities Gallery, one that attests to his larger curatorial priorities, that of illuminating chronological, geographical and stylistic narratives within the museum's collections.¹⁶⁰

In the hustle of this period of reclassification and rearrangement, the Lahore Museum did not lose sight of its "provincial" character, harnessed so diligently under Kipling. Like his predecessor, Brown introduced several initiatives to adapt the

¹⁵⁸ Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1899-1900*, dated 13 July 1900, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁵⁹ Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1900-01*, dated 25 June 1901, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁶⁰ Percy Brown, *Lahore Museum, Punjab: A Descriptive Guide to the Departments of Archaeology and Antiquities* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1908).

institution's collections to better meet the needs of its public and province, among which was the establishment of a "*Zenana* day," one day a month when the museum was open only to women.¹⁶¹ On these days, a "staff of female attendants" was provided for the museum, along with a "lady superintendent," who in addition to supervising the female staff was also responsible for guiding visitors through the collections, "explaining any specially interesting object or process," as needed.¹⁶² The feature was implemented to make the collections more accessible to women of the province, and specifically Indian women observing *purdah*, who otherwise would have "been debarred" from the institution due to the presence of male staff and visitors.¹⁶³ The success of the *Zenana* day initiative in time also led to the organization of *Zenana* lectures under Brown's leadership, which were arranged in conjunction with the museum's annual program of Lantern Lectures.

Brown, like Andrews before him, also extended many of Kipling's prior initiatives in new directions, as a means to strengthen and expand the museum's "provincial" orientation. In this regard, the Lahore Museum continued to operate as a central repository for local antiquities, and in particular for collections of Buddhist antiquities from the Gandharan region. In his time as Curator, Brown not only oversaw tremendous acquisitions of these "Greco-Buddhist" sculptures, including five discovered at Charsadda by the Deputy Commissioner of the Peshawar District in the revenue year

¹⁶¹ Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1901-02*, dated 2 April 1902, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

1900-01,¹⁶⁴ and twenty-nine pieces found “lying in the Municipal Town Hall, Rawalpindi” during the revenue year 1903-04.¹⁶⁵ He also orchestrated massive exchanges with museums across the subcontinent to acquire their dormant or “undisplayed” collections of Greco-Buddhist antiquities for Lahore.¹⁶⁶ In 1905, for instance, Brown applied to the Madras authorities to acquire an extensive series of Greco-Buddhist sculptures lying “undisplayed in a store room” of the Madras Museum.¹⁶⁷ These sculptures had been bequeathed to the Madras Museum by Major H.H. Cole in the revenue year 1883-1884, and were part of a series of sculptures that had also been dispersed to the Lahore Museum in the revenue year 1885-86. Brown argued that these Madras exhibits “would be of more value exhibited together with the remainder of [Cole’s] collection at Lahore,”¹⁶⁸ in many ways tapping into Kipling’s earlier view that objects should be displayed near their point of origin to better meet their cultural and educational potential. In sanctioning the transfer, the Madras Government accordingly offered the whole series of Greco-Buddhist sculptures to Brown and the Lahore Museum, with the “exception of a few special specimens which [were] retained as types,”¹⁶⁹ a decision that greatly strengthened the Lahore Museum’s overall holdings of antiquities from Punjab and its environs, as well as its “provincial” claims.

¹⁶⁴ Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1900-01*, dated 25 June 1901, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁶⁵ Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1903-04*, dated 8-28 June 1904, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁶⁶ Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1905-06*, dated 21 June 1906, Lahore Museum, Lahore; Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1907-08* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1908), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁶⁷ Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1905-06*, dated 21 June 1906, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

In attending to the Lahore Museum's provincial responsibilities, Brown was also deeply invested in cultivating its industrial arts collections. His visitor's guide to the Department of Archeology and Antiquities, which begins with a schematic "Plan of the Lahore Museum" [Fig. 1.17], suggests that in the course of his curatorship he expanded the museum's Industrial Arts section to extend across two of the museum's galleries, instead of just one. This was likely to accommodate his broader efforts to revitalize and nuance the section's displays, a project which consumed much of his tenure. As early as 1903, Brown implemented a scheme to "illustrate the process of manufacture in various common local art industries," from initial stages of production to the final products.¹⁷⁰ In 1904, he reported:

"Efforts are being made to give additional interest to the collections on the Art side by illustrating the preparation of some of the more important manufactures by means of photographs arranged in the cases. Tools, &c., are also displayed, and specially prepared specimens showing different stages of the process are placed in prominent positions. Small models of the workmen at work are also being added, and it is anticipated that with the help of these the art handicrafts represented may be made more intelligible and instructive to the visitor."¹⁷¹

In many instances, these displays and models were prepared by students of the Mayo School of Art under Brown's supervision, and were designed to become a "special feature of the Museum."¹⁷² More critically, they constituted a more concerted embrace of Punjab's living art traditions, a subtle but significant shift in the museum's curatorial program that would be more forcefully realized by Brown's successors. Indeed, while Brown lamented the considerable time and energy this new scheme demanded, he also

¹⁷⁰ Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1904-05*, dated 4 July 1905, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁷¹ Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1903-04*, dated 8-28 June 1904, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁷² Percy Brown, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1904-05*, dated 4 July 1905, Lahore Museum, Lahore.

remained optimistic that these revamped displays would be of “great value to those wishing to study the Arts and Industries of the Province,” which by 1905 covered pottery, glass blowing, ivory carving, lacquer and metal work, and painting, with plans to take up textiles, as well.¹⁷³

The question of revitalizing and revamping the museum’s industrial arts collections also became a central focus for Lionel Heath, an accomplished British miniature painter and craftsman who succeeded Brown in the Curatorship in 1912,¹⁷⁴ and held the position on a part-time basis until 1929.¹⁷⁵ Upon his arrival in Lahore, Heath expressed concern that the Lahore Museum was no longer living up to its full educational potential, what he deemed the institution’s “best and most legitimate purpose.”¹⁷⁶ In his first annual report, published in 1913, he lamented more specifically that the Lahore Museum had devolved into a “play-ground” for the general public, and as a result could “scarcely be considered a quiet place of study,” or “conducive to good work.”¹⁷⁷ Heath’s initial assessment of the Lahore Museum was likely framed by his participation in the 1912 Museums Conference held in Madras, which emphasized the role museums could and should play as spaces of serious historical education in India, if properly modernized.¹⁷⁸ By 1919, however, Heath’s concern for the museum’s educational

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Following Percy Brown’s transfer to Calcutta in 1908, where he became Principal of the Calcutta School of Art, B. Mouat Jones (1908-1909) and G.A. Wathen (1909-1911) briefly served as Curator of the Lahore Museum prior to Lionel Heath’s arrival in 1912.

¹⁷⁵ S.N. Gupta, an artist, scholar, and later Principal of the Mayo School of Art, took over for Heath as Officiating Curator of the Lahore Museum at several points during Heath’s tenure, when Heath was required to return to London on furlough.

¹⁷⁶ Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1912-13* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1913), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Bhatti, 70-71.

function ballooned to include its economic responsibilities to Punjab as well. He feared that the Lahore Museum, especially in light of its growing “archaeological functions,” had also lost sight of its principle objective as a provincial museum—that of “encouraging provincial industries.”¹⁷⁹

To rectify these conditions and, by extension, rehabilitate the museum’s educational and economic role within the Punjab province, Heath worked to encourage local students to once again prioritize the museum’s collections and displays for the purposes of drawing and painting, implementing in due course a weekly “Students’ day,” one day a week when the museum was open only to students and other “intelligent visitors”¹⁸⁰ interested in art and science.¹⁸¹ Part and parcel to this broader student initiative were Heath’s attempts to index and re-categorize the museum’s collections in new displays (often with vernacular signage) to make them more accessible to Indian visitors, an exercise in “physical verification and reordering” that over time resulted in the construction of new galleries (despite continued lack of funds), as well as the publication of several textual resources about the Lahore Museum and its collections.¹⁸² As regards this latter point, Heath oversaw the publication of British numismatist R.B. Whitehead’s *Coins Catalogue*, a project begun in the revenue year 1911-12 to draw greater attention to the Lahore Museum’s vast collection of Greco-Bactrian coins, then

¹⁷⁹ Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1918-19* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1919), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁸⁰ Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1912-13* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1913), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁸¹ Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1913-14* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1914), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁸² Bhatti, 71.

the “second-best” in the world.¹⁸³ He commissioned S.N. Gupta, then Vice-Principal of the Mayo School of Art, to “classify, arrange and give notes on the Persian, Mughal and Kangra paintings” in the museum’s collections,¹⁸⁴ which resulted in Gupta’s *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore*, published in 1922.¹⁸⁵ Heath also encouraged H. Hargreaves, Superintendent of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments for the Archaeological Survey of India’s Northern Circle, in his efforts to catalogue the museum’s collections of Gandharan sculptures. While this latter project never resulted in a publishable catalogue for the museum, its completion inhibited by Hargreaves’ other duties in India, Heath did publish a handbook for the Lahore Museum’s “Section of Buddhist Sculptures” from a lecture Hargreaves delivered in 1914, entitled “The Buddha Story in Stone.”¹⁸⁶ A consolation to Hargreaves’s other cataloguing efforts within the museum, the book nonetheless proved an immensely popular souvenir with the Indian public, resulting in its translation into Urdu.¹⁸⁷

Among Heath’s greatest interventions into the Lahore Museum’s organization and curatorial program, however, was his “overhaul” of its industrial arts section,¹⁸⁸ an effort eventually anchored by his proposal in 1919 to establish a new gallery of Punjab Art and

¹⁸³ G.A. Wathen, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1911-12* (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1912), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁸⁴ Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1912-13* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1913), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁸⁵ S.N. Gupta, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1922).

¹⁸⁶ Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1914-1915* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1913), Lahore Museum, Lahore; Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1916-1917* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1917), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁸⁷ Bhatti, 73.

¹⁸⁸ Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1913-14* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1914), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

Craft.¹⁸⁹ In subsequent museum reports, Heath argued that an institution like the Lahore Museum, “founded for the benefit of arts and crafts of the province [was] only doing part of its duty in exhibiting the old arts and crafts” of India, a view that distinguished his praxis slightly from Kipling’s earlier approach.¹⁹⁰ According to Heath, displays of traditional Indian crafts alone provided little by way of practical assistance to the contemporary craftsman seeking to “revive interest in demand for Indian craft work.”¹⁹¹ To fulfill its provincial charter more fully into the modern era, the Lahore Museum also needed a space for the exhibition and preservation of “living arts” within the province,¹⁹² a permanent gallery to showcase the “best work of the province in all departments of Arts and Crafts,”¹⁹³ and assist the local craftsman in “[working] a higher standard and in bringing his work to the notice of possible purchasers.”¹⁹⁴ Not to be confused with the Art Sales Room previously attempted under Kipling (and later closed in 1910), Heath’s proposed gallery of Punjab Art and Craft was not to be a space of sale within the museum. It was conceived, rather, as a space “for ready communication between the buyer and seller,” where the museum’s act of display, itself, stood in for economic facilitation.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁹ Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1918-19* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1919), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁹⁰ Lionel Heath, “Prefatory Note,” *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1920-21* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1921), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Bhatti, 71.

¹⁹³ Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1918-19* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1919), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁹⁴ Lionel Heath, “Prefatory Note,” *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1920-21* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1921), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

While Brown and Heath's interventions into the Lahore Museum revolved primarily around its industrial arts sections, those that followed them in the curatorship at Lahore, including K.N. Sita Ram, S.N. Gupta, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, and M.I. Chaudhri, the first Indian scholars to be appointed to the position full-time, looked to bolster other aspects of the museum's collections and displays in their efforts to harness and refine its provincial identity in the early-twentieth century. K.N. Sita Ram, for instance, who trained with Heath prior to holding the curatorship for twelve years, from 1929 until his untimely death in 1940, turned his attention towards the museum's latent "Brahmanic Gallery," which he described in 1931 as historically "none too rich."¹⁹⁶ A Sanskrit scholar with profuse interests in Hindu history, religion, and culture, Sita Ram was greatly frustrated by what he observed to be a general and persistent apathy towards preserving and understanding Brahminical sculpture both within the museum, and more broadly within the Punjab province, and in his time as Curator worked to bring balance to the museum's curatorial and intellectual priorities admittedly to mixed reactions.¹⁹⁷ Sita Ram's interventions into the Lahore Museum importantly coincided with a period of changing attitudes towards the subcontinent's ancient and fine arts, spearheaded by efforts on part of artists, art historians, and art educators in India and abroad in the early twentieth century, such as Abanindranath Tagore, E.B. Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy, to challenge European perceptions of Indian art and culture, and

¹⁹⁶ K.N. Sita Ram, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1930-31* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1931), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹⁹⁷ Shaila Bhatti notes, for instance, that S.N. Gupta, who served for a time as K.N. Sita Ram's mentor, was highly critical of the changes Sita Ram wanted to implement during his curatorship, calling them "ill-founded" and "flawed." See, Bhatti, 74-77.

essentially mount a scholarly “defence”¹⁹⁸ of Indian art traditions that would wrest Indian art history from the deceit of Western bias.¹⁹⁹ To this end, Sita Ram not only lent his expertise to the museum’s annual lecture series, giving multiple presentations on the “Hindu Period of Indian History” over the course of his tenure. Beginning in 1931, he also worked to enhance the museum’s Brahminical collections with the acquisition of a number of “unique specimens” of Hindu and Jain sculpture, what he further described in his museum reports as a “welcome departure” from the “custom in the Museum for the last few years to acquire mainly paintings and rugs.”²⁰⁰ One of these unique specimens was, for example, a stone sculpture of *Durga-Mahishasuramardhini* dated to the 8th or 9th century CE [**Fig. 1.18**], a dynamic piece from Bohr near Rohtak showing the Hindu goddess Durga ruthlessly slaying a buffalo demon. Importantly, many of Sita Ram’s acquisitions were the product of his touring the Punjab province in the 1930s, travels that helped to tie the museum and its collections to the broader Punjab landscape in new and intimate ways. Though museum funds remained scant during this period, Sita Ram managed multiple trips to the Kangra Valley between 1931-34, as well as tours of Kurukshetra, and Rohtak, where he identified large numbers of antiquities from the Mauryan, Kushan, and Gupta periods of Indian art for acquisition and preservation.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New “Indian” Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1992) 146-84.

¹⁹⁹ Examples of this “defensive” nationalist stance come to fruition in such scholarly works as, E.B. Havell, *Indian Sculpture and Painting* (London: Murray, 1908) and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Art and Swadeshi* (Madras: Ganesh & Co., 1912).

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ K.N. Sita Ram, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1931-32* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1933), Lahore Museum, Lahore; K.N. Sita Ram, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1932-33* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1933), Lahore Museum, Lahore; K.N. Sita Ram, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1933-34* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1934), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

The decade of the 1940s inaugurated a series of critical shifts in the Lahore Museum that would unsettle its identification as both a colonial and provincial institution, and thereby foreshadow (if not also constitute) the crisis of partition. Though partition would be the most visible source of this physical and ideological disruption within the museum, the upheaval of the Lahore Museum's collections and identity admittedly began as early as 1944, when British archaeologist Mortimer Wheeler, the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India from 1944-48, sought a suitable and central location in which to collect and consolidate the subcontinent's growing archaeological collections of Indus civilization relics.

V. National Possibilities: Mortimer Wheeler, 1944-46

Mortimer Wheeler was recruited to lead the Archeological Survey of India in August 1943, while serving in the British Armed Forces during World War II. His long record of archaeological work in Britain made him a prime candidate for the position. After earning an M.A. from the University College, London, in 1912, where he studied Greek art under the tutelage of Ernest Gardner, and cultivated a keen interest in Roman-British archaeology, Wheeler held a number of archaeological positions in England and Wales. In 1913, for instance, he was awarded an archaeological studentship, jointly established by the University of London and the Society of Antiquities of London, for a project involving the study of Roman-British pottery.²⁰² The following year, Wheeler joined the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments as a Junior Investigator, for which he surveyed Late Medieval architecture in Essex, and eventually Romano-British

²⁰² R.E.M. Wheeler, *Still Digging: Interleaves from an Antiquary's Notebook* (London: Readers Union, 1956), 26.

remains in the area as well.²⁰³ From 1920-26, after serving in the British Armed Forces during World War I, Wheeler shifted to Wales, where he was dually appointed Lecturer in Archaeology at the University College at Cardiff and Keeper of Archaeology in the National Museum of Wales, and worked to amass a broad archaeological understanding of the Romans in Wales.²⁰⁴ Wheeler's work with the National Museum in Wales, which ended shortly after his appointment to the Directorship in 1924, eventually led him back to London, where he served as Keeper of the London Museum from 1926-33. His primary focus in this latter position was to revitalize the London Museum's antiquities collections, and institute curatorial reforms designed to emphasize the importance of archaeology as an academic discipline.²⁰⁵ Over the course of the 1920s and 1930s, Wheeler also participated in several significant excavations of Roman sites in Britain, amassing great practical experience to his credit. These included excavations of the Roman forts at Segotium, Y Gaer, and Caerleon in Wales, the Roman settlements at Lydney Park and Verulamium in England, and the Iron Age hill fort at Maiden Castle in Dorset.²⁰⁶ The latter proved an especially formative experience in Wheeler's career, during which time he perfected the archaeological technique of the box-grid, which consists of developing of an area-excavation by accumulative squares.²⁰⁷ Known today as the "Wheeler method," the box-grid technique emphasizes the use of stratigraphic analysis in three-dimensional recording, and is still widely practiced in archaeological

²⁰³ Ibid., 26-28.

²⁰⁴ Jaquetta Hawkes, *Mortimer Wheeler: An Adventurer in Archaeology* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1982), 83-84; Wheeler, *Still Digging*, 62-63.

²⁰⁵ Hawkes, 103-121; Wheeler, *Still Digging*, 83-85.

²⁰⁶ Wheeler, *Still Digging*, 92-107.

²⁰⁷ Hawkes, 122-143; Wheeler, *Still Digging*, 107.

excavations across the Indian subcontinent largely on account of Wheeler's immense influence over the field.²⁰⁸ Among Wheeler's most critical accomplishments in the field of British archaeology prior to his joining the Archaeological Survey of India in 1944, however, was his establishment of the Institute for Archaeology at Regent's Park in 1934.²⁰⁹ Attached to the University of London, the school was Wheeler's long held dream, part and parcel of his larger and ongoing efforts to address the "poor technical standards of pre-war excavation in Britain."²¹⁰ Wheeler envisioned the school as a means to professionalize the discipline of archaeology in Britain, and manifest a space in London where young archaeologists could be trained in methods of archaeological fieldwork, a mission he would in time extend to the Indian subcontinent as well.²¹¹

In 1944, Wheeler's efforts to consolidate archaeological collections in India was part of his larger scheme to reorganize and revitalize the activities of the Archaeological Survey, which had been operating in a state of languish for several years prior to his appointment as Director-General. In his initial assessment of the department, Wheeler affirmed many of the criticisms put forth by the *Woolley Report* of 1939. In March 1938, the Government of India had tapped Sir Leonard Woolley, a British archaeologist known for his excavations at Ur in Mesopotamia, to conduct a review of the activities of the Archaeological Survey of India. They sought advice on the "most promising sites or areas for exploration" in India, the best methods and agencies for the advancement of the

²⁰⁸ For more on Wheeler's impact on the field of archaeology in South Asia, see Dilip K. Chakrabarti, *India: An Archaeological History* (New Delhi: Oxford University, 1999); Himanshu Prabha Ray, *Colonial Archaeology in South Asia: The Legacy of Sir Mortimer Wheeler* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2008); Sudeshna Guha, *Artefacts of History: Archaeology, Historiography and Indian Pasts* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2015).

²⁰⁹ Wheeler, *Still Digging*, 79-91.

²¹⁰ Hawkes, 82.

²¹¹ Wheeler, *Still Digging*, 84.

Survey's "exploration activities," the best methods for training officers for archaeological work, and any general points bearing on the "field of exploration and excavation," to which Woolley added a review of the Archaeological Survey's museums.²¹² Woolley argued that "the question of museums was intimately connected with the enquiry" into exploration and excavation in India, and could therefore not be excluded from his review of the Archeological Survey.²¹³ Published in 1939, the *Woolley Report* emphasized the "need for reform" within the Archaeological Survey, while also blaming the Department's recent decline primarily on "financial stringency."²¹⁴ Among Woolley's primary suggestions for the Department's improvement was the need for more specialized knowledge, especially in the fields of conservation and preservation, which he saw as "wasteful financially" and "scientifically deplorable" in their current state of practice in India.²¹⁵ He also argued for the need of an Archaeological Advisor, someone capable of "training and tuition" and "museum direction," a role eventually filled by Mortimer Wheeler.²¹⁶ To this latter point of "museum direction," Woolley largely reiterated the condemnation of museums and museum organization in India that had structured S.F. Markham and H. Hargreaves's earlier 1936 report and survey of *The Museums of India*.²¹⁷ In particular, Woolley expressed a great dissatisfaction with the Archaeological Survey's general policy of establishing local or site museums on excavated sites, advocating instead for the centralization of the Department's

²¹² Woolley, 20.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 21.

²¹⁶ Ibid., 21.

²¹⁷ S.F. Markham and H. Hargreaves, *Museums of India* (London: The Museums Association, 1936).

archaeological collections, and the establishment of a “central” or “national” museum in Delhi.²¹⁸ In 1944, Wheeler too conceded that the Archeological Department had crippled under a serious lack of financing, leadership, and training in the years since British archaeologist John Marshall’s retirement in 1929, and was in need of “drastic reform.”²¹⁹ He also, in time, took up Woolley’s call for the centralization of archaeological collections in India.

Wheeler’s plans for reform took shape in a number of different ways in the course of his four-year tenure with the Archaeological Survey. He reorganized the staff to accommodate a smaller operating budget, and gaps in departmental expertise. He reinstated a modified Excavations Branch, whose recent inactivity had been a primary source of the department’s growing ill-repute in India and abroad.²²⁰ He gave new importance to training and recruitment of departmental officers, establishing a Training School of Archaeology at Taxila in October 1944.²²¹ In this spirit, Wheeler also looked to revamp the department’s nine archaeological museums, along with the historical sections of the Delhi and Lahore Forts.²²²

²¹⁸ Woolley, 41-45.

²¹⁹ “Archaeological Survey of India: Report and Recommendations,” September 1944, E/1/10, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ “Training School of Archaeology Syllabus,” dated 1 June 1944, File No. 33/28/44, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²²² According to the Woolley Report (1939), the Archaeological Survey of India had established “local” or site museums at Sarnath, Nalanda, Taxila, Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Nagarjunakonda and Pagan by 1938. It had also taken charge of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum in Calcutta, the Central Asian Antiquities Museum in Delhi, and the historical sections of the Delhi and Lahore Forts. See, Woolley, 41.

Of primary concern to Wheeler in this regard was the “[hopeless dispersion and inaccessibility]”²²³ of the department’s Indus Valley collections, which in the course of two decades had either been “scattered over a large number of small museums and remote store-houses,” or “hidden away in a bank safe.”²²⁴ Wheeler wrote that, in such conditions, it was difficult “even for specialists to visualise the full extent and importance of the material,”²²⁵ at hand, let alone the general museum-going public. This was, moreover, an unacceptable state of affairs for an archaeological collection whose discovery in the early twentieth century had, in his words, conceivably changed the “general fabric of the history of civilization.”²²⁶ For Wheeler, redistribution of the department’s collections of art and archaeology thus appeared the most logical step towards museum and departmental reform.

The mechanics of Wheeler’s redistribution plan were fairly simple. The department was to relocate “all the best things from Harappa, Mohenjodaro and related sites, including the collections of jewelry,” to the Lahore Museum, “with a view to preparing a really worthy exhibition of this great phase of Indian civilization.”²²⁷ The reserve collection was also to shift to Lahore, in so far as it was desired by researchers.²²⁸ Interestingly, Wheeler’s proposal was, in part, a tried and tested policy. Between 1937 and 1938, the Archaeological Survey had received a host of requests for Indus Valley

²²³ R.E.M. Wheeler to E. Dickinson, Letter dated 14 May 1944, File No. 25/17/44, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²²⁴ R.E.M. Wheeler to W.H.F. Armstrong, Letter dated 22 May 1944, File No. 25/17/44, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Ibid.

artifacts, and in response looked to redistribute its surplus collections to select institutions at home and abroad, presumably with the hope of increasing the collections' visibility worldwide.²²⁹ Petitions for archaeological material from museums at Allahabad, Baroda, and Lucknow, mirrored those from the British Museum in London, the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.²³⁰ New to Wheeler's redistribution scheme in 1944 was the idea of consolidation, and specifically the consecration of a "central depot" for Indus material at Lahore.²³¹ This latter aspect of his plan had immense impact over the Lahore Museum's collections and curatorial program, thrusting the institution into a realm of new identitarian possibilities. It sanctioned the transfer of roughly 22,000 antiquities from the Mohenjodaro Museum to the Lahore Museum in 1945, including artifacts from key archaeological sites at Mohenjodaro, Jhukar, and Chanhudaro.²³² It also consecrated a new and expansive display of Indus artifacts within the Lahore Museum, occupying 2,300 sq. ft. of an institution historically pressed for space.²³³

Nevertheless, Wheeler's vision for the Lahore Museum fluctuated greatly between 1944 and 1946, when the transfer of Indus material to Lahore ostensibly occurred. In his initial correspondence on the subject in 1944, Wheeler lamented the absence of a central, national Indian museum for the job, but framed the Lahore Museum

²²⁹ "Harappa Antiquities: Disposal of Antiquities Unearthed During Excavations," File No. 140/1937, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ R.E.M. Wheeler to C.L. Fabri, Letter dated 4 May 1946, File No. 25/7/46, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²³² "Mohenjodaro Antiquities," Departmental Memo, Department of Archaeology in India, New Delhi, dated 24 April 1946, Bundle No. 62, SL No. 1190, File No. CM 136, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Bhubaneswar.

²³³ Ibid.

as a “useful substitute,”²³⁴ and a “most suitable repository”²³⁵ for such a collection of “outstanding national importance.”²³⁶ Admittedly, his selection of the Lahore Museum as a repository for the Indus collections at this stage appears primarily a matter of convenience. In 1944, he cited the museum’s proximity to key archaeological sites at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, and Taxila, and its extant collection of Gandharan sculpture, as justifying factors for his choice.²³⁷ That the Lahore Museum had already amassed a number of archaeological exhibits from Mohenjodaro, Harappa, and Taxila by the 1940s, including the museum’s acquisition of 1,600 antiquities from Harappa in May 1939, was also likely a contributing factor to Wheeler’s proposal.²³⁸ The impact of Wheeler’s growing anxiety around the absence of a central, national museum in India on his plans for the Lahore Museum, however, should not be overlooked. Though Wheeler fell short of inscribing the Lahore Museum as a “national” institution in so many words, his efforts to endow it with “unique importance” and bolster its “claims to fame as the Indus Valley Museum” through a policy of consolidation at Lahore, speak to the ways in which the Lahore Museum effectively came to stand in for such an institution in 1944-45.²³⁹ For Wheeler, the Lahore Museum’s “suitability” as a repository for the subcontinent’s

²³⁴ R.E.M. Wheeler to M.I. Chaudhuri, Letter dated 7 May 1944, File No. 25/17/44, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²³⁵ R.E.M. Wheeler to W.H.F. Armstrong, Letter dated 22 May 1944, File No. 25/17/44, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ K.N. Sita Ram, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1939-40* (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1940), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

²³⁹ R.E.M. Wheeler to M.I. Chaudhuri, Letter dated 7 May 1944, File No. 25/17/44, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

archaeological collections appears to have been inextricably, even if still implicitly tied to its “national” potential.²⁴⁰

By 1946, Wheeler’s rhetoric towards the Lahore Museum changed drastically, when he looked to expand his policy of consolidation at Lahore to include new archaeological material from Harappa and Baluchistan. In these later letters, he was more cautious in ascribing the Lahore Museum with “national” importance, as though safeguarding said designation for more pointed use. Instead, he strove to solidify the museum’s status as a “first-class provincial institution.”²⁴¹ At this juncture, Wheeler offered the Lahore Museum “an important share” of the available Indus Valley collections on two conditions: (1) that a portion of its Mohenjodaro material be “surrendered” to Karachi should a “properly financed and controlled museum” be established there, and (2) that the existing archeological collections at Lahore be “shared” with the National Museum reserve.²⁴² In many ways then, the transfer of additional archaeological objects to Lahore at this point reads more as a pretense for Wheeler and his colleagues to canonize a hierarchy of museological institutions in India, one that would subordinate the Lahore Museum, and its “provincial” holdings to any future “national” institution, should it ever come into being. In other words, it is as if the Lahore Museum, under Wheeler’s policy of consolidation, had suddenly become a threat to the National Museum scheme in the 1940s.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ V.S. Agrawala to R.E.M. Wheeler, Letter dated 5 May 1946, File No. 25/7/46, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²⁴² R.E.M. Wheeler to C.L. Fabri, Letter dated 20 July 1946, File No. 25/7/46, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

On one hand, Wheeler's contradictory visions for the Lahore Museum in the 1940s are not entirely surprising given the approval in 1946 of his proposal for a National Museum in Delhi. While overseeing the consolidation of archaeological material at Lahore between 1944-46, Wheeler had simultaneously taken up the cause for a National Museum in India as early as January 1945, when as Director General of Archaeology he published three memorandums on the need for a central Indian museum of art, archaeology and anthropology.²⁴³ In these documents, Wheeler voiced a familiar refrain: that the absence of a national museum in India had produced "a great gap in the educational equipment"²⁴⁴ of the subcontinent and, more appallingly, left the region's celebrated material heritage "scattered in local museums of inadequate scope, in inaccessible private collections, or in un-recorded godowns," with much of it "actually lost from day to day."²⁴⁵ Lending his proposal added urgency, he further argued that this gap in national infrastructure had led to a decline in academic research and popular education in India by 1945, with him even lamenting that neither scholars nor the "man-in-the-street" had any recourse for the pursuit of "specialized humanistic studies" in India, on par with the British Museum in London.²⁴⁶ Importantly, provincial museums—no matter how exemplary their collections or curatorial scope—were not an adequate

²⁴³ R.E.M. Wheeler, "Memorandum No. 1 on the Proposal for a Central Indian Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology," January 1945, E/1/1, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London; R.E.M. Wheeler, "Memorandum No. 2, Relating to the Proposal for a Central Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology," January 1945, E/1/1, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London; R.E.M. Wheeler, "Memorandum No. 3, Relating to the Proposal for a Central Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology," January 1945, E/1/1, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

²⁴⁴ R.E.M. Wheeler, "Memorandum No. 1 on the Proposal for a Central Indian Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology," January 1945, E/1/1, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

replacement for a national museum for Wheeler by 1945. As he further describes in

“Memorandum No. 1”:

“Their primary function is of a different kind: to store and represent in detail the civilization of a limited area, with such efficiency as a small staff and modest equipment can achieve. Their task is not to emulate a central, comprehensive institution; rather is it *complementary* to such an institution, amplifying its work regionally and providing foci for the collection and classification of local cultures and variations beyond the scope of the central body.”²⁴⁷

For Wheeler, the only solution to these pressing issues of education and preservation in India was a central collection at Delhi “on a scale commensurate with the prestige of India.”²⁴⁸ Specifically, Wheeler envisioned a national institution for Delhi with nine primary functions. His proposed museum would maintain a representative collection of the arts, crafts, and cultures of India from ancient to recent times; provide necessary materials and facilities for scholarly research; set an international standard of museology and display; provide authoritative guidance to the Indian public and foreign scholars in matters relating to the cultural heritage of India; assist provincial and local museums in technical matters; advise the Government of India in the distribution of grants to the museum-service of India; issue publications for the information of scholars and the general Indian public; maintain and circulate loan-collections among appropriate educational institutions in India; and, represent India both to Indians and to the outside world in matters relating to “the material contributions of India to the sub-total of human civilization.”²⁴⁹

On another hand, Wheeler’s contradictory plans for the Lahore Museum between 1944-46—the slippages in how he described and positioned the institution as he solidified

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

his consolidation scheme—unravel the precarious ideological position that the Lahore Museum had come to occupy in the months leading up to partition, and with it new ways of understanding partition’s ramifications for the institution and its collections. The Lahore Museum, as we have seen in the course of this chapter, had always been an institution of overlapping identities and agendas, and this was ever the case in the 1940s when Wheeler’s reforms unlocked a slew of new identitarian possibilities for the institution. In the years since its founding, the Lahore Museum had served as an instrument of colonial administration, a platform into emerging global economies of art, a paternalistic broker of local arts and crafts, a repository for the subcontinent’s burgeoning archaeological collections, identities that tied the institution to the landscape of pre-partition Punjab in intimate and evolving ways. Under Wheeler, the Lahore Museum toggled among such designations as a “useful substitute”²⁵⁰ for a national museum, a “most suitable repository”²⁵¹ for a collection of “outstanding national importance,”²⁵² a “first-class provincial institution,”²⁵³ a potential “Indus Valley Museum,”²⁵⁴ a “central depot”²⁵⁵ for loaned material from the National Museum reserve, without ever fully realizing any of them. By 1947, when crisis came to the institution in the form of division, the Lahore Museum was already thus an institution at a crossroads, torn at its

²⁵⁰ R.E.M. Wheeler to M.I. Chaudhuri, Letter dated 7 May 1944, File No. 25/17/44, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²⁵¹ R.E.M. Wheeler to W.H.F. Armstrong, Letter dated 22 May 1944, File No. 25/17/44, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ V.S. Agrawala to R.E.M. Wheeler, Letter dated 5 May 1946, File No. 25/7/46, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²⁵⁴ R.E.M. Wheeler to M.I. Chaudhuri, Letter dated 7 May 1944, File No. 25/17/44, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

²⁵⁵ R.E.M. Wheeler to C.L. Fabri, Letter dated 4 May 1946, File No. 25/7/46, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

core between colonial, provincial, and national orientations, none of which aligned necessarily with the identitarian logic of its new dominion of Pakistan by August 1947. As much as the partition of 1947 can be understood as a crisis imposed on the Lahore Museum and its collections in response to the changing social, political, economic, and geographic dynamics of the Indian subcontinent, from this early history of the institution we can also see partition as a critical exacerbation of an ongoing crisis of identity and ideology emanating from within the institution itself, as will be demonstrated further in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2

An Unfinished Divide: Partition and the Lahore Museum

This chapter revisits the history of the Lahore Museum during the partition of the Indian subcontinent to shed new light on the process by which the institution's permanent and archaeological collections were divided between India and Pakistan beginning in 1948. This history has until now primarily been told through the subcontinent's archaeological heritage, a large portion of which came to be stored at the Lahore Museum in the 1940s, as explored in Chapter 1. Indeed, recent scholarship into the division of archaeological material between India and Pakistan has been instrumental in exposing partition's traumatic implications for the Lahore Museum. It has brought to light the "equitable" methodologies employed to effect the division of archaeological artifacts between India and Pakistan, as well as the physical violence that came to many of these objects as a result.¹ However, such scholarship, in privileging the archaeological record of the split, has also precluded discussion of other forms of visual culture that were equally affected by the division of cultural patrimony between India and Pakistan during partition, and which elucidate further complexities within the process. These include the Lahore Museum's permanent collections, which garnered separate treatment from the institution's archaeological holdings. In revisiting the Lahore Museum's experience during partition, my analysis seeks to go beyond the archaeological record to provide a more comprehensive picture of the division process, and the administrative, physical, and geographic complexities it entailed. This chapter thus, first and foremost, challenges

¹ Nayanjot Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past: Ancient India and its Modern Histories* (Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2012), 137-162; Nayanjot Lahiri, "Partitioning the Past: India's Archaeological Heritage after Independence," in *Appropriating the Past: Philosophical Perspectives on the Practice of Archaeology*, Geoffrey Scarre and Robin Coningham, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2013), 295-311.

prevailing understanding of when and where the division of the Lahore Museum's collections took place, who was involved in the process, and what precisely was divided between India and Pakistan.

This expanded narrative of the division of the Lahore Museum's collections during partition is further structured around four key objectives. First, I seek to understand how the division of museums and museum collections between India and Pakistan relates to the broader territorial and cultural upheavals concomitant to this period of historical transformation. This includes the division of land that took place in 1947 under the auspices of British jurist Cyril John Radcliffe, the subsequent division of immovable heritage, namely monuments to the subcontinent's pre-partition past, as well as the division of the assets and liabilities of the central imperial government. Taking the lead from such historians as Joya Chatterji, Yasmin Khan, Nayanjot Lahiri, Anweshia Sengupta, and Vazira Zamindar, I elucidate how these various and overlapping processes of division intersected and informed one another to create and, moreover, embody an atmosphere of uncertainty and "madness" around partition, with destabilizing effects for the region's museums. As regards the division of cultural monuments, one striking example upon which my analysis hinges is the unusual and little known case of Gaur in West Bengal, an Islamic heritage site dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As I show in the course of the chapter, Gaur was split between India and Pakistan during partition in much the same way as the Lahore Museum and its collections, when the new Indo-Pakistani border in Bengal was revealed to cut right through the archaeological site at its southern-most end. By drawing parallels between the two cases, as a preface to my more extensive discussion into the Lahore Museum itself, I demonstrate how the division

of cultural patrimony between India and Pakistan during partition, whether immovable or movable property, forced both nations into reckoning with the material reality of a shared cultural history precisely at a moment when the demands of nation-making demanded they renounce such interconnections.

Second, my analysis seeks to demystify the administrative and physical dimensions of this division process. In this regard, I unravel the various and overlapping jurisdictions at play within the Lahore Museum at partition, and provide an overview of the complex bureaucratic structures involved in solidifying the proportional mechanics of the overall split. I also delve into the physical division of objects, and demonstrate how various aspects of the Lahore Museum's collections were allocated differently between India and Pakistan. My analysis highlights the supposedly equitable methodologies upheld by archaeological and museum officials in the course of the division process, and the physical violence that resulted. It also elucidates how the division of the Lahore Museum's collections devolved into a battle for control over history and its representation. Crucial to this endeavor is an extended discussion of the Lahore Museum's permanent collections, namely its sculpture, painting, textile and decorative arts sections.

My third objective is to expand the geographic coordinates across which the division of the Lahore Museum's collections took place and elucidate the ways in which the division process exceeded the confined halls of the institution in place. In this regard, I draw special attention to a set of museum exhibits sent from Bombay to London just prior to partition, for inclusion in an exhibition of Indian and Pakistani art at the Royal Academy of Arts in London. Many of these exhibits belonged to the Lahore Museum and

other museological institutions allocated to Pakistan during partition, and thus garnered serious controversy between India and Pakistan when the question of returning the exhibits to Bombay was raised upon the close of the Royal Academy show in 1948. I argue that this under-examined British coordinate of the division process provides an opportunity to interrogate the ways in which the Lahore Museum and its collections came to serve as a microcosm of the Indian subcontinent at partition, and reflected the burden of partition violence. In this section, I further reflect on the personalities and egos that shaped the division process and its various outcomes. In this regard, I revisit the life and work of British archaeologist Mortimer Wheeler, who held a unique position within the division of museum collections during partition as both a representative of the Indian and Pakistani governments, and is thus notable for his entanglements within this process. Of central concern to my analysis of Wheeler is his involvement by 1949 with the development of the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, and how his investments in this institution may have compromised his “equitable” dealings at partition.

Lastly, my expanded narrative into the Lahore Museum’s experience at partition emphasizes the *unfinished* nature of this process of division. To this end, I conclude my analysis with several unresolved cases of division that attest to the various ways the division of museums and museum collections remains pending between India and Pakistan today.

I. Partition, Boundaries, and the “Great Migration”

The division of land between India and Pakistan in the 1940s, along with the subsequent division of cultural monuments, provides an important framework in which to think about partition’s ramifications for museums in South Asia, especially for the way it

foregrounds the atmosphere of chaos and persistent uncertainty around partition in the mid-twentieth century. As historian Joya Chatterji reminds us in her seminal article “The Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliffe Line and Bengal’s Border Landscape, 1947-52,” the process of dividing the Indian subcontinent into two new nation-states in 1947, and creating a new cartography from the ashes of the British Empire in India, ran counter to the surgical analogies and medical phraseology later used to describe and historicize it.² Partition was not in the end a smooth “remedy” to the “communal disease” that had swept the subcontinent in the twentieth century.³ Nor was it “a clean-cut vivisection” executed in “a single stroke” with “clinical precision,” as if the work of a surgeon or highly trained technician.⁴ Rather, the process of solidifying the new Indo-Pakistani borders in 1947 was powerfully enmeshed with chaos and imprecision; and, instead of producing a new cartography set-in-stone, it actually did more to feed the prevailing uncertainty around what partition was, and what partition meant for those experiencing it on the ground, as well as for established paradigms of sovereign nation-states, as historian Vazira Zamindar has elucidated in her book, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia*.⁵

The speed with which the division of land between India and Pakistan ultimately took place at partition was a major factor behind the emergence of this “historic chaos.”⁶ Incredibly, this exercise in twentieth-century map-making took place in just a matter of

² Joya Chatterji, “The Fashioning of a Frontier: The Radcliffe Line and Bengal’s Border Landscape, 1947-52,” *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Feb. 1999): 185-242.

³ Chatterji, 186.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Vazira F-Y Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories* (New York: Columbia University, 2007), 5.

⁶ Zamindar, 4.

weeks. Shortly after the announcement of the Mountbatten Plan on June 3, 1947,⁷ with Pakistani and Indian independence set for August 14th and 15th, 1947, respectively, a Boundary Commission was established to carry out the enormous task of demarcating India and Pakistan's new national boundaries. This Commission was headed by Cyril John Radcliffe, and comprised of two separate committees, one each for the provinces of Bengal and Punjab that were to be divided between India and Pakistan. Radcliffe was a respected British jurist who had never been to India prior to his appointment to the Chairmanship in July 1947. Remarkably, his inexperience relative to the region was viewed as an asset by key political figures involved in the division process, including Viceroy Lord Louis Mountbatten, who saw in Radcliffe a means to secure the "objectivity" of the Boundary Commission, and project an understanding of the division process (and resulting decision) as being free from party-political bias or official influence.⁸ That the Boundary Commission was in the end constituted by the subcontinent's key political parties,⁹ however, ensured that the "impartiality and professionalism" of the commissioners was compromised from the outset of the division process,¹⁰ and by extension that the politics and administration of partition were "too intricately intermeshed to be separated neatly into mutually exclusive domains."¹¹ As

⁷ The Mountbatten Plan, also known as the 3rd June Plan, proclaimed that the transfer of power in British India would be complete by June 1948 and, upon independence, the British Indian empire would be divided into two new states, namely India and Pakistan. For more on the Mountbatten Plan, its reception in 1947, and its ramifications for the Indian subcontinent, see Yasmin Khan, *The Great Partition: The Making of India and Pakistan* (New Haven: Yale University, 2007), 1-10.

⁸ Chatterji, 191.

⁹ Each committee of the Boundary Commission had four politically appointed members. This amounted to two representatives each for the Congress Party and the Muslim League on each of the regional boundary committees.

¹⁰ Chatterji, 191.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 187.

Chatterji further argues, “Political imperatives of the statesmen in Delhi and London thus profoundly shaped not only the character of the Boundary Commission but also the nature of the Awards and the timing of their announcement.”¹²

The resulting boundary lines dividing India and Pakistan in Bengal and Punjab, announced by the Boundary Commission on August 17, 1947, a few days after India and Pakistan had already celebrated independence from the British Raj, were thus hasty, unclear and illogical in places, as can be seen in this *Map of the Partition of India (1947)* [Fig. 2.1]. While the Commission outwardly fulfilled its charter, in that it created two states and three separate territories on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims in Bengal and Punjab, it did so at great social and humanitarian cost. For the Radcliffe Award, as the new boundary lines would formally be known, also cut indiscriminately through families, communities, towns, cities, vital infrastructure, and economic markets, creating in many places more harm than good, more confusion than clarity. As historian Yasmin Khan has described, the logic of the Radcliffe Award was essentially “to reduce individuals and communities to crass ratios and statistics which stripped bare the inner complexities of friendship, community and life itself.”¹³

Indeed, that the Boundary Commission’s decision was ever considered an “award”—with all the positive connotations of accomplishment—is a gross historical misnomer. This point becomes especially clear when considering further the severe humanitarian crisis that followed the implementation of the Radcliffe Award in August 1947. Though leaders in both India and Pakistan had sought to avoid a complete “transfer

¹² Ibid., 195.

¹³ Khan, 108.

of populations” at independence,¹⁴ the partition of 1947 involved one of the largest mass migrations of the twentieth century. Historians estimate that nearly twelve million people were displaced in divided Punjab alone, while upwards of twenty million people were displaced across the Indian subcontinent on the whole. These figures place the events of 1947 in conversation with other global catastrophes of the twentieth century such as World War I and World War II.¹⁵ This is to say nothing of the violence that also characterized the Radcliffe Award’s implementation in Bengal and Punjab. Estimates of the dead have varied significantly over the years, numbering anywhere from two hundred thousand to two million people. However, it is now widely accepted by historians of South Asia that at least one million people lost their lives on account of partition violence.¹⁶ Significant contributions to partition historiography in recent years by such scholars as Urvashi Butalia, Veena Das, Ritu Menon, and Kamal Bhasin have also elucidated the great extent to which this violence was directed at displaced women, thousands of whom were abducted and raped during this tempestuous period of nationalization and uncertainty by men both inside and outside of their own religious communities.¹⁷

¹⁴ Gyanendra Pandey, “Partition and the Politics of History,” *The Nation, the State and Indian History*, Madhushree Datta, Flavia Agnes, and Neera Adarkar, eds. (Calcutta: Samya, 1996), 8-9.

¹⁵ Zamindar, 6.

¹⁶ Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2000), 1.

¹⁷ For more on the experiences of women during partition, see Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence* (2000); Veena Das, *Critical Events: An Anthropological Perspective on Contemporary India* (Delhi: Oxford University, 1995), 55-83; Ritu Menon and Kamal Bhasin, *Borders and Boundaries: Women in India’s Partition* (Delhi: Kali for Women, 1998).

Partition's humanitarian crisis has been well documented in film in the twentieth century.¹⁸ As film historian Bhaskar Sarkar reminds us in his book *Mourning the Nation: Indian Cinema in the Wake of Partition*, "There were armies of film crew—associated with the pre-independence government agency Information Films of India, private film-producing bodies like Wadia Movietone, and Motwane Company, and international news agencies like Agence France-Presse and Reuters—ready to document the historic end of the British Raj and the birth of an independent nation-state."¹⁹ The photographic record of partition, by contrast, remains unexpectedly slim. The work of British photojournalist Margaret Bourke-White remains, in this respect, a striking exception even today.²⁰ An accomplished war-time photographer, Bourke-White had originally been sent to India on assignment by *Life* magazine in the spring of 1946 to document the Indian independence movement, but returned to India in 1947 and 1948 to record a "most rare event in the history of nations: the birth of twins," as she herself described partition in her book *Halfway to Freedom*.²¹ Her photographs from this time, a selection of which were published by *Life* magazine in November 1947 as part of a photographic essay on partition and the humanitarian costs of Indian and Pakistani independence entitled "The

¹⁸ While documentary films on partition from the mid-twentieth century remain scant, Bhaskar Sarkar notes the ample existence of stock footage on partition/independence and surrounding events, likely collected by news and government agencies in the 1940s; Bhaskar Sarkar, *Mourning the Nation: Indian Cinema in the Wake of Partition* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2009), 48.

¹⁹ Sarkar, 48.

²⁰ Apart from Bourke-White, the work of Indian photographer Sunil Janah is also of particular note. In addition to his own practice, Janah worked for a time, as Bourke-White's assistant while she was in India. For more on Janah's career and work, see Emilia Terracciano, *Art and Emergency: Modernism in Twentieth-Century India* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2018), 69-124; Ram Rahman, *Sunil Janah: Photographs 1940-1960* (Delhi: Vijay Kumar Aggarwal, 2014); Sunil Janah, *Photographing India* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2013).

²¹ Margaret Bourke-White, *Halfway to Freedom* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1950), 15.

Great Migration,”²² range from intimate portraits of families traveling together to broader studies of emigrant caravans and relief camps. They also include more violent scenes of starvation, abandonment, and death.

Together, as a historical series, Bourke-White’s photographs elucidate the desperation, exhaustion, and perseverance of the people and communities experiencing partition firsthand, as well as the many personal sacrifices made on account of the division process and its various uncertainties, as these communities reckoned with the dislocation of geographic and cultural boundaries, and what this sudden dispossession meant for their sense of identity and belonging. They also powerfully canonize the spatial, temporal, and identitarian uncertainty that defined this territorial and humanitarian catastrophe, and that in many ways continues to inflect the region today. Architectural historian M. Ijlal Muzaffar has, in this regard, drawn attention to Bourke-White’s use of opposing scales in the composition of her partition photographs, in other words her forceful juxtaposition of the grand and the particular, the national and the personal.²³ He contends that the “forced coupling” of distraught and overburdened bodies with the subcontinent’s grand landscapes, blank skies, and historical ruins in the “Great Migration” series evacuates “the social, the common, the familial, and the familiar” from this historical transformation in way that inscribes partition, instead, as the violent, unmediated friction of the personal and the national.²⁴ This, according to Muzaffar, further lends Bourke-White’s photographs an “air of incertitude,” by which her refugee

²² Margaret Bourke-White, “The Great Migration,” *Life Magazine*, November 3, 1947, 117-125.

²³ M. Ijlal Muzaffar, “Boundary Games: Ecohard, Doxiadis, and the Refugee Housing Projects under Military Rule in Pakistan, 1953-1959,” *Governing by Design: Architecture, Economy, and Politics in the Twentieth Century*, A. Dutta, T. Hyde, and D. Abramson, eds. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2012), 151.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

subjects not only appear incapable of surmounting the historical and spatial implications of partition—inhibited by inadequate transport, infrastructure, resources—but are left stranded in this “historical crossing,” unable to reconcile their “transitory status” or dispossession even as they arrive at their new national destinations.²⁵

Importantly for the present study, Bourke-White’s photographs also allude to the unique pressures that partition placed on cultural patrimony in India and Pakistan. For instance, two photographs featured by *Life* magazine in November 1947 as part of the “Great Migration” series show scenes of the Purana Qila, a sixteenth century stone fortress located at the heart of Delhi, overrun by partition refugees. In the first photograph captioned “Misery of the Dispossessed,” a young boy perches precariously on the edge of the Purana Qila’s crumbling stone ramparts, his hand gripping the sides of his head in presumed misery,²⁶ while a second youth situated to his right gazes straight at the camera, his head popping up above a sea of make-shift tents that overwhelm the fortified area below. In the second photograph of the Purana Qila captioned “Mosque within Fort,” a stampede of refugees crowd the interior of the fortress near the site’s central mosque, where they take shelter from the harsh conditions of the surrounding camp under the mosque’s great dome. Indeed, the Purana Qila was one of several cultural monuments under the protection of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1947 that was forcibly transformed into a refugee camp during partition, and made to house displaced refugees coming in and out of Delhi and the capital’s surrounding areas. In what follows, I elucidate these pressures further, both as a preface to my analysis of the Lahore Museum

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ The original caption of this image in *Life Magazine* describes the central figure as a reflection of the “misery of the dispossessed.” See, Bourke-White, “The Great Migration,” 118.

and its collections at partition, and as a way to unravel how these various processes of division that defined this period—the divisions of land, people, monuments, government assets and liabilities—in the end intersected and informed one another.

II. Monuments and the Madness of Partition

For the region’s cultural monuments,²⁷ partition has often been conceived as a “cataclysmic loss” experienced by both India and Pakistan.²⁸ In this view, India lost its Indus heritage to Pakistan at partition when the archaeological sites of Mohenjodaro [Fig. 2.2] and Harappa, along with the ancient Gandharan site of Taxila [Fig. 2.3], fell within Pakistan’s new territorial jurisdiction; and, Pakistan lost its claim to a majority of the subcontinent’s Islamic heritage, when key Mughal sites such as the Red Fort [Fig. 2.4], the Jama Masjid [Fig. 2.5], and the Taj Mahal were bequeathed to India following the announcement and implementation of the Radcliffe Award in 1947. This idea of “loss” is a powerful one and certainly puts India’s concerted attempts in the 1950s and 1960s to locate additional Indus civilization sites within its new national borders into a critical perspective.²⁹ This idea of “loss” also lends “credence to the view that nationalism influences understandings of the past,” as archaeological historian Nayanjot Lahiri has

²⁷ I define “monument” in this portion of my study primarily, as large-scale objects, heritage, or cultural sites widely regarded as remnants of the region’s collective pre-partition past. For example, this includes the architectural remains of the Mughal Empire in South Asia, such as the Red Fort in Delhi or the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, in addition to the archaeological sites of the Indus civilization at Mohenjodaro and Harappa.

²⁸ Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 3. See also, Mrinalini Rajagopalan, *Building Histories: The Archival and Affective Lives of Five Monuments in Modern Delhi* (Chicago: Chicago University, 2017), 147-149.

²⁹ Lahiri notes that, by the 1950s, the Archaeological Survey of India’s search for Harappan sites within India’s new national borders became a national project and was part of a broader effort to uncover and sustain an early Indian history perceived lost at partition, when Mohenjodaro and Harappa fell within Pakistan’s territorial jurisdiction; see Nayanjot Lahiri, *Monuments Matter*, 25-33.

contended in her volume *Marshalling the Past: Ancient India and its Modern Histories*.³⁰ It does not, however, necessarily speak to the enormity of ideological and actual physical violence that came to cultural monuments in India and Pakistan in the wake of partition in the 1940s and 1950s.

Important to emphasize at this juncture is the truly arbitrary manner in which cultural monuments were ultimately apportioned between India and Pakistan. The monumentality of archaeological sites like Mohenjodaro, Harappa, and Taxila, or architectural monuments like the Red Fort and the Jama Masjid made them immovable property at partition and, therefore, non-transferable between the new nation-states. This meant that the allocation of such cultural heritage between India and Pakistan, in contrast to the division of museum collections or movable cultural patrimony, as will be discussed later in this chapter, was dictated strictly by territory and the nuances of the Radcliffe Award, which itself gave little (if any) thought to the fate of cultural monuments in its formulation. In other words, monuments situated within the territorial jurisdiction of Pakistan like the Lahore Fort [Fig. 2.6] or Jahangir's Tomb [Fig. 2.7] were allocated to Pakistan based purely on their location in relation to the Radcliffe line—that is, without a larger sensitivity to place, and how place intersects and informs their broader meaning. Similarly, monuments like the Mughal palace at Fatehpur Sikri [Fig. 2.8], and the Buddhist stupas at Sanchi [Fig. 2.9] and Bharhut [Fig. 2.10] were allocated to India based only on their location within India's new national boundaries. This process of allocating cultural monuments between India and Pakistan thus paid little heed to the new religious and cultural parameters of each side's new national identity.

³⁰ Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 3.

Over time, this has opened the region's cultural monuments to nationalist and repressive regimes of meaning that have, in some cases, violently stripped them of their original historical and ideological contexts to meet divergent political ends. Evidence of this kind of ideological violence can be seen even today in the recent attacks against the Taj Mahal [Fig. 2.11], the crowning jewel of Mughal architectural patronage in the seventeenth century. These attacks, fueled by the rise of Hindu nationalist politics across India in the late-twentieth and twenty-first centuries, have sought to displace the monument's ties to the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan and re-envision the mausoleum, instead, as a Hindu temple dedicated to the gods Shiva and Parvati. These attacks have moreover run parallel to others that have endeavored to erase the Taj Mahal from India's cultural landscape all together, presumably on account of its "Islamic" origins. I am referring primarily to the recent and highly controversial attempts on part of the Government of Uttar Pradesh to delist the monument from official state tourism booklets.³¹

Monuments in India and Pakistan also faced great physical pressures on account of partition in the 1940s and 1950s.³² Nayanjot Lahiri has shown, for instance, that Indo-

³¹ For more on the recent controversies around the Taj Mahal, see Shashi Tharoor, "The Siege of the Taj Mahal," *Project Syndicate*, November 9, 2017, accessed April 18, 2018, <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/india-bjp-hindu-nationalism-taj-mahal-by-shashi-tharoor-2017-11>. See also, "BJP MP Charged with Demolishing Babri Masjid Now Wants Taj Mahal Converted into 'Tej Mandir'," *The Wire*, February 5, 2018, accessed April 18, 2018, <https://thewire.in/communalism/taj-mahal-bjp-vinay-katiyar>.

³² For more on partition's implications for monuments in India and Pakistan, see Aditi Chandra, "On the Becoming and Unbecoming of Monuments: Archaeology, Tourism and Delhi's Islamic Architecture (1928-1963), PhD diss. (University of Minnesota, 2011), 184-235; Aditi Chandra, "Potential of the 'Un-Exchangable Monument': Delhi's Purana Qila, in the time of Partition, c. 1947-63," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2013), 101-123; Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 137-162; Lahiri, *Monuments Matter*, 8-21; Rajagopalan, *Building Histories*, 121-151; Saleema Waraich, "The Ramifications of Ramparts: The Mughal Forts of Lahore, Pakistan and Delhi, India," Ph.D. diss. (UCLA, 2007); Santhi Kavuri-Bauer, *Monumental Matters: The Power, Subjectivity and Space of India's Mughal Architecture* (Durham: Duke University, 2011).

Islamic monuments in Delhi suffered systematic attacks by looters and miscreants starting in September 1947, when partition violence across the city had reached a new crescendo, spurred on by a growing and feverish “anti-Muslim frenzy.”³³ This included active places of worship within the city like the Moti Masjid in Mehrauli, which had “its marble minars torn off and smashed,”³⁴ along with five marble *taweez* or amulets adorning extant sarcophagi on its premises.³⁵ These attacks also extended to eminent gravesites and tombs, of which there were many across Delhi. The grave of the well-known saint Shah Alam in Wazirabad [Fig. 2.12], for instance, suffered extensive damage in the later months of 1947 primarily on account of looters. Its *mimbar* or pulpit was violently dismantled, along with the site’s red sandstone *jalis* and the plaster medallions that had ornamented its wall facings.³⁶ Sultan Ghari’s tomb [Fig. 2.13], an Islamic mausoleum dating to the thirteenth century and located in today’s south Delhi, was similarly pillaged and desecrated in 1947. Upon his inspection of the site in October 1947, Shankar Das, an Assistant Superintendent in the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi Circle, reported that graves both outside the walled enclosure of the tomb and within the crypt had been completely demolished, and that it had apparently been the intention of the perpetrators to “[convert] the crypt into a temple by the installation of some kind of Hindu deity.”³⁷ Although Das’ colleague K.N. Puri, also an Assistant Superintendent in the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi Circle, would dismiss this

³³ Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 139.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 140.

³⁵ “A List Showing Damages to Sarcophagi in Monuments at Delhi during Disturbances of 1947,” Document compiled by the Department of Archaeology, Delhi Circle, dated c. October 1951, File No. D.249/1951/Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

³⁶ Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 140.

³⁷ Shankar Das, Note on Sultan Ghari’s tomb dated 6 October 1947, File No. 16-C/1/1947, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi. See also, Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 140.

latter claim upon re-inspecting the site of Sultan Ghari's tomb a month later, noting "at the present monument there seems to be no such intention,"³⁸ Lahiri demonstrates that it was not uncommon for religious sites like Sultan Ghari's tomb to be converted in such attacks on cultural heritage. She further raises the example of the Chauburji mosque in Delhi [Fig. 2.14], where a cement effigy of the Hindu god Hanuman had been erected between 1947-48 with the intention of converting the site from a mosque to a Hindu temple.³⁹

More appalling still were the cases of more "organized campaigns of destruction" against cultural monuments in India and Pakistan in 1947, those orchestrated on part of local, regional, and princely administrations in the aftermath of partition.⁴⁰ On a visit to the princely states of Alwar and Bharatpur in Rajasthan, Shankar Das reported that mosques, graveyards, and tombs were actively being destroyed on orders from the state. In a confidential report, Das wrote of the travesty:

"I visited Alwar on the 10th December 1947, and studied the demolition of the mosques, graveyards and tombs in and around the city. This demolition campaign was launched by the state during the last disturbances and is still going on at some places. The State Ministers after a conference entrusted the task of demolition to one Sardar Joginder Singh, S.D.O. of the Public Works Department. This S.D.O. summoned various contractors and distributed the mosques and tombs for demolition amongst them on the simple conditions that whatever building material was got out of the debris would be appropriated by the contractor and virgin soil over which such a structure stood would be forfeited to the State. The contractors lost no time in razing both old and new mosques as well as grave

³⁸ K.N. Puri, Note on Sultan Ghari's tomb dated 7 November 1947, File No. 16-C/1/1947, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

³⁹ Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 140. See also, Shankar Das, Letter dated 29 April 1948, File No. 14B/1/1948, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi; Kurshid Ahmed Khan, Chief Commissioner of Delhi to N.P. Chakravarti, Letter dated 19 December 1947, File No. 14B/1/1948, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁴⁰ Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 142.

yards to the ground and the building material thus torn out was removed from the sites and stacked at appreciable distances in quite an unseemingly [sic] manner.”⁴¹

From this, it can be gleaned, as Lahiri has demonstrated, that in the case of Alwar the state administration sought to profit, under the cover of communal disturbances in 1947, from the demolition of monuments by repossessing the land on which they stood and the building material that comprised them.⁴² This unscrupulous behavior unfortunately ensured the destruction of a number of key historical monuments, including the infamous Tomb of Fateh Jang at Alwar [Fig. 2.15], a seventeenth century mausoleum constructed by one of Emperor Shah Jahan’s ministers. In the course of the state’s demolition campaign, the tomb’s ornate brackets and *chajjas* were lost, along with the entirety of the mosque situated at the tomb’s northern-most enclosure.⁴³

Looters, miscreants, and rogue administrative forces, however, were not the only perpetrators of violence against cultural monuments in India and Pakistan following partition. As previously mentioned, monuments across the subcontinent also experienced periods of sustained vandalism in the 1940s and 1950s when they were transformed, in some cases forcibly, into relief camps, and made to house displaced communities of Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh refugees flooding both nations. Cities like Amritsar, Calcutta, New Delhi, Karachi, and Lahore were inundated with refugees during and after partition at a rate their urban infrastructure often could not fully accommodate, leaving entire communities of refugees to scramble for temporary housing while the new governments on both sides of the border searched for and implemented long-term resettlement

⁴¹ Shankar Das, “Confidential Note,” Report on the (Monuments of) Alwar and Bharatpur dated 1947, File No. 14L/2/48, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, quoted in Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 142-43.

⁴² Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 142-43.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 143.

solutions.⁴⁴ Monuments like Humayun’s Tomb [Fig. 2.16] and the Purana Qila [Fig. 2.17] played an important role in this regard as spaces of temporary shelter, while others like the Lahore Fort were used to store moveable property abandoned by refugees then fleeing the city.⁴⁵ Historian Gyanendra Pandey notes, for example, that by October 1, 1947 nearly 80,000 Muslim refugees had taken up residence in the Purana Qila in Delhi.⁴⁶

In some cases, permission was granted directly by archaeological authorities in India and Pakistan to use these otherwise “protected” monuments for the purposes of refugee relief. In India, this was the case for Isa Khan’s tomb [Fig. 2.18] and Arab Sarai [Fig. 2.19], sixteenth century structures that today stand adjacent to Humayun’s tomb in Nizamuddin East, as well as for the tomb of Mariam-uz-Zamani [Fig 2.20], a seventeenth century Mughal mausoleum built for Emperor Jahangir’s mother, located today in Sikandara near Agra.⁴⁷ Permission to occupy monuments in this manner was typically accorded by the Archaeological Survey of India in special and dire circumstances “owing to the sudden outbreak of communal trouble” or “due to the influx of refugees,”⁴⁸ and was not without certain conditions. N.P. Chakravarti, the Director-General of the

⁴⁴ Gyanendra Pandey notes, for instance, that in the week ending October 30, 1947 alone, over 570,000 Muslim refugees were estimated to have crossed into West Pakistan via Amritsar and Ferozpur (barring other points of entry into Pakistan), while 471,000 non-Muslim refugees were estimated to have crossed the other way into India; see Gyanendra Pandey, *Remembering Partition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2001), 36.

⁴⁵ Ian Talbot, “Partition, memory, and trauma: Voices of Punjabi refugee migrants in Lahore and Amritsar,” *Sikh Formations*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (June 2006), 11. Saleema Waraich also notes that the southwestern corner of the Lahore Fort was used as an interrogation center for political prisoners after Pakistan gained independence. See, Waraich, 236.

⁴⁶ Pandey, *Remembering Partition*, 36.

⁴⁷ Madho Sarup Vats to R.N. Singh, Letter dated 11 March 1948, File No. 16C/4/48, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi; Shankar Das, Note dated 11 June 1948, File No. 15 i/5/1948, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁴⁸ N.P. Chakravarti to Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Western Circle, Poona, Letter dated 15 June 1948, File No. 15 i/5/1948, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

Archaeological Survey of India from 1948-51, notes, for instance, that the Department of Archaeology granted permission for some monuments of “minor importance” to be used as temporary refugee camps on the condition that proper sanitary arrangements were made and ensured by authorities, cooking took place at a “respectable distance” away from the monument in question, and no damage or alterations came to the monument while in use as a relief camp.⁴⁹ The pitching of tents was also allowed within the compounds of monuments for the housing of refugees in these cases, so long as such structures “could be easily removed without in any way damaging the character of the monument.”⁵⁰ It seems important to reiterate Lahiri’s observation that such conditions ultimately served as guidelines of behavior for local authorities supervising the establishment of refugee camps in India, and could rarely be enforced in practice.⁵¹ That is to say, in spite of the Archaeological Survey of India’s efforts to regulate the occupation of cultural monuments by refugee communities in the years immediately following partition, severe and at times irreversible damage still came to the monuments. After inspecting Isa Khan’s tomb in July 1948, Shankar Das reported in this regard that the monument had suffered gaps in its fortifications, which had apparently been made to facilitate the passage of refugees in and out of the camp. The tomb along with the mosque had been blackened with soot, while “other damage” had come to the monument’s entrance and roof.⁵² Das also stated that the complex’s gardens had been completely

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ N.P. Chakravarti to Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Western Circle, Poona, Letter dated 15 June 1948, File No. 15 i/5/1948, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi. See also, Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 144.

⁵¹ Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 144.

⁵² Shankar Das to N.P. Chakravarti, Note dated 10 July 1948, File No. 15B/8/1948, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

destroyed due to the occupation of the monument by refugees, noting in particular that its trees had been “cut down for fuel with impunity.”⁵³

In most cases, however, cultural monuments were wrested from the protection of archaeological authorities in India and Pakistan on humanitarian grounds, and put to use as relief camps without their permission and hence with little regard for the structural integrity of monuments or their historical preservation. The Archaeological Survey of India to an extent allowed this to happen on ethical grounds, in deference to the “[Indian] Government’s paramount obligation to afford immediate relief to displaced persons.”⁵⁴ As Mortimer Wheeler asserted in a letter to the Relief and Rehabilitation Commissioner in April 1948, “Please understand that my Department has been only too happy to collaborate to the fullest possible extent in the appalling refugee problem...”⁵⁵ This was not, however, without great historical cost. In India, monuments like Humayun’s Tomb, the Purana Qila, Safdarjang’s Tomb [Fig. 2.21], and Feroz Shah Kotla [Fig. 2.22] in Delhi, to name a few, were occupied repeatedly and by different communities of refugees on arrangement with local authorities, often without the knowledge of the Archaeological Survey of India, whose job it was to protect these structures under the *Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904*. As Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education recalls:

“Soon after the partition of India, Humayun’s tomb and Purana Qila which are protected monuments were occupied by the Muslim refugees on the 12th September, 1947, in accordance with the arrangements made by the Local Government without any permission from the Department of Archaeology. This

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Tara Chand, “Draft Note for the Cabinet, Ministry of Education,” dated 25 April 1951, File No. 165/1951/Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁵⁵ Mortimer Wheeler to the Relief and Rehabilitation Commissioner, Wavell Canteen, Delhi, Letter dated 10 April 1948, File No. 15B/3/48/1948, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

was followed by similar occupation of about fifteen other monuments in the vicinity of Humayun's tomb. The Muslim Camp at Purana Qila was disbanded towards the end of October, 1947, and the one in Humayun's tomb about the close of the year 1947. Both the monuments were again occupied by Hindu refugees from Pakistan at the [insistence] of the then Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation without permission of the Department of Archaeology and modern constructions in Purana Qila were started in January 1948 and in Humayun's tomb on the 26th May 1948."⁵⁶

This lack of coordination between local authorities and members of the Archaeological Survey of India, who as Lahiri has shown essentially lost custody of "protected" monuments while they served as relief camps, resulted in considerable damage of the monuments in a short period of time.⁵⁷ After Das inspected Humayun's Tomb in July 1948, he noted that the monument had suffered breaches in its fortifications due to the onslaught of wheeled traffic inside its grounds. The walls of the mausoleum as well as its enclosures had been sullied with soot, and its pavements and cells had suffered severe damage. Antiquities stored in the first floor of the tomb's southern entrance had been lost, and its red stone *jalis* and door-leaves had been broken, while the tomb's once blooming gardens had been transformed into "waste lands."⁵⁸ Of the Purana Qila, Das described an equally desolate scene:

"Side by side with the Humayun's Tomb, Purana Qila was also converted into another camp for the refugees. The colonnades all round were converted into habitable cells with the construction of modern partition walls. Brackets and poles were fixed into the masonry by boring holes. Heavy water tanks were placed on the roof of the colonnades near the entrance and other heavy plants were fixed in the basement transmitting vibration to the already crumbling structures. Everywhere the faces of the walls were blackened with soots [*sic*] and a number of graves were dug in the area. The gardens were destroyed and soakage pits for the latrines dug on the spot. The Sher Shah's Mandal and Sher Shah's mosque too

⁵⁶ Tara Chand, "Draft Note for the Cabinet, Ministry of Education," dated 25 April 1951, File No. 165/1951/Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁵⁷ Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 147.

⁵⁸ Shankar Das to N.P. Chakravarti, Note dated 10 July 1948, File No. 15B/8/1948, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

were not spared. Besides, most of this Departmental stores and various wooden fixtures from the gate and gardens were removed and burnt. Here too the door leaves fixed to the Mosque as well as other trees in the area were cut and destroyed.”⁵⁹

By referencing Das’s notes on Humayun’s Tomb and the Purana Qila, I do not mean to suggest in any way that the Archaeological Survey of India should have privileged the preservation of cultural monuments over the welfare of refugee communities in this period. Rather, I seek to emphasize the scale of damage that took place regardless and, in turn, make visible the humanitarian and ethical quandary partition created for cultural monuments in India and Pakistan, the authorities charged with their protection, as well as other forms of cultural patrimony that were also subject to division at this time.⁶⁰ For, it is this web of humanitarian and ethical complication that also ensnared the division of the subcontinent’s museums.

III. The Curious Case of Gaur

Partition’s ramifications for cultural monuments in India and Pakistan were not merely a matter of looting, vandalism, or desecration. In some cases, the fate of monuments at partition was much more absurd, as with the case of Gaur [**Fig. 2.23**], an heritage site now primarily located in the Indian state of West Bengal, near the present-day Indo-Bangladeshi border. Gaur was once one of the largest medieval cities of the Indian subcontinent, having served as the capital of Muslim Bengal from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries.⁶¹ Today it stands as a potent reminder of the

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 150-151.

⁶¹ For more on the medieval history of Gaur and its monuments, see M. Abid Ali Khan and H.E. Stapleton, *History and Archaeology of Bengal* (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1980); Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal* (Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1961); George Michell, ed., *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal* (Paris: UNESCO, 1984); H. Creighton, *The Ruins of Gour* (London, Black,

position of confluence the city once held in the history of the region, home to a vast array of monuments dating to the Sultanate of Bengal, and specifically the dynasties of Illyas Shah and Hussain Shah in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶² These include the famed Baruduari Masjid, the Kadam Rasul Masjid, the Tomb of Fateh Khan, and the Firoz Minar [See Figs. 2.24-2.27]. Also present at Gaur are a series of monumental gates, including the Baishgazi Darwaza, Dakhil Darwaza, Gumti Darwaza, and Lukochari Darwaza [See Figs. 2.28-2.31], and a number of other smaller mosques and monuments, including the Chamkatti Masjid, the Chika Monument, the Gunamanta Masjid, the Lotan Masjid, and the Tantipuri Masjid [See Figs. 2.32-2.36].

Prior to the partition, the site of Gaur was even more expansive. Gaur and its monuments stretched twenty miles in length along an eastern strip of land between the Ganges and the Mahananda rivers, just south of the present-day town of Malda, and included monuments like the renowned Chhoti Sona Masjid, the Darashbari Masjid, and the Kotawali Darwaza [Fig. 2.37].⁶³ This latter set of three monuments today reside just across the Mohodipur border crossing in the Chapai-Nawabgunj Subdivision of the Rajshahi district of Bangladesh, or directly on the Indo-Bangladeshi border in the case of the Kotawali Darwaza.⁶⁴ Partition and the implementation of the Radcliffe Award in Bengal in 1947 essentially thus incised the site of Gaur at its southern-most end, necessitating the division of its monuments between India and East Pakistan (now

Parbury & Allen, 1817); Parjanya Sen, "Gaur as 'Monument': The Making of an Archive and Tropes of Memorializing," *Journal of Art Historiography* 8 (Dec. 2013), 1-23; Pratip Kumar Mitra, "Rediscovering Gaur: Source Material in the Public Collections of the United Kingdom," *Journal of Bengal Art* 15 (2010), 171-200.

⁶² Sen, 2-3.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Mitra, 11. See also, Catherine B. Asher, "Inventory of Key Monuments," *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*, George Mitchell, ed. (Paris: UNESCO, 1984), 65.

Bangladesh) in the months that followed, as can be seen in this present-day map of Gaur and the Indo-Bangladeshi border [Fig. 2.38].

That partition in 1947 effected the arbitrary division of Gaur and its monuments between India and East Pakistan, carving a once cohesive heritage site into two, is not the only perversity at stake within this particular archaeological site. A truly maddening situation arose in the months immediately following the implementation of the Radcliffe Award in Bengal as the Archaeological Survey of India and Pakistan's new Department of Archaeology began to re-assess the site and solidify their respective jurisdictions over extant monuments at Gaur. In 1948, J.H.S. Waddington, a British official with the Archaeological Survey of India, then serving as Superintendent of the Eastern Circle in Calcutta, wrote to Director-General N.P. Chakravarti explaining a particularly trying scenario that had archaeological officials in both India and East Pakistan a bit befuddled, in the wake of the division of Bengal. It involved the aforementioned monuments at Gaur in West Bengal and the site of Bhitagarh [Fig. 2.39], an ancient fort city dating to the sixth and seventh centuries and located near the Indian city of Jalpaigiri that was conferred to East Pakistan at partition. In this letter, Waddington explained that Gaur, an heritage site with a series of "predominantly Moslem" monuments dating to the fifteenth century, was very difficult for his department to access and, in turn, protect "except through Eastern Pakistan."⁶⁵ Importantly according to Waddington, a similar situation had developed at Bhitagarh for archaeological officials with East Pakistan's new Department of Archaeology. Waddington further reported to Chakravarti in this regard that his Pakistani colleagues were experiencing tantamount difficulties in accessing and,

⁶⁵ J.H.S. Waddington to N.P. Chakravarti, Letter dated 9 August 1948, File No. 33/63/47/1947, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

in turn, protecting a Hindu monument at Bhitagarh because the site was “almost impossible to get to except through West Bengal.”⁶⁶

In other words, what unfolded at Gaur and Bhitagarh in the aftermath of partition was an absurd knot, a complex series of entanglements, layered one on top of the other, where the division, preservation, and protection of cultural monuments amounted to no less than a feat of cartographic gymnastics for archaeological officials of both nations. That the Islamic monuments in India could only be accessed through East Pakistan, and the Hindu monument in East Pakistan could only be accessed through India is another biting irony of this scenario that should not be overlooked. For in the end, these entanglements taken together lay bare the real problems, stakes, and ramifications of dividing cultural monuments and other forms of cultural patrimony between India and Pakistan at partition. They unfold the “madness” of this process—the absurd and maddening paradox of India and Pakistan grappling with the material reality of a shared cultural history, precisely at a moment when the demands of nation-building necessitated they disavow such interconnection.

Importantly, this element of “madness” is also reflected in the literature of the period, and in particular the work of Urdu writer Saadat Hasan Manto. Manto’s “master text of Partition,” his short story “Toba Tek Singh,” for instance, not only brings into focus partition’s broader territorial implications for the subcontinent, it interrogates the “shifting borders of madness and insanity in a world that has come unhinged,” as literary scholar Aamir Mufti has argued in his book *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish*

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture.⁶⁷ Originally published in 1955, “Toba Tek Singh” narrates the fate of Bishan Singh, a Sikh inmate confined to an insane asylum in Lahore, when the Governments of India and Pakistan decide some two or three years after partition in 1947 that, along with prisoners, they should also divide and exchange Muslim, Sikh, and Hindu lunatics—with Muslim lunatics in India in the end being conferred to Pakistan, and Sikh and Hindu lunatics in Pakistan being consigned to India. The story begins on a frenzied note with word of this exchange spreading to the Lahore asylum where Bishan Singh has been confined for the past fifteen years. Few in the asylum react particularly well to the news. Some inmates are confused as to what “Pakistan” is, or what kind of place it is in comparison to “Hindustan.”⁶⁸ Some question the communal logic of the exchange. Others lament the relations that the exchange will force them to forsake. A few even descend into violence over perceived political differences, made all the more contrived against the canvas of their lunacy, while others still become so overwhelmed by the “India-Pakistan-Pakistan-India rigmarole,”⁶⁹—unable to decipher one from the other—that they plunge further into their “madness,” refusing in the end to live in either place. In the course of the story, Bishan Singh too becomes enraptured by these discussions taking place around India, Pakistan, and the impending exchange of lunatics. Once a prosperous landlord from a place called Toba

⁶⁷ Aamir R. Mufti, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2007), 201.

⁶⁸ “Hindustan” is the Urdu word for India. In this regard, it can be used to describe the geography of the Indian subcontinent broadly, or the present-day Republic of India. While the term has historically been used in a geographic sense to describe the Indo-Gangetic Plain in north India, today it carries communal connotations as well, and can be used to reference India’s Hindu majority population (in comparison to Pakistan), and the recent rise of Hindu nationalist politics. Manto’s use of “Hindustan” powerfully plays on both meanings of the term in the course of his story.

⁶⁹ Sadaat Hasan Manto, “Toba Tek Singh,” *Mottled Dawn: Fifty Sketches and Stories of Partition*, translated by Khalid Hasan (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1997), 3.

Tek Singh, after which the story takes its name, he becomes consumed moreover with ascertaining the precise location of his native home. Bishan Singh, who himself is called “Toba Tek Singh” by everyone in the asylum, a powerful play on words by Manto that further conflates place with Bishan Singh’s sense of self, is unable to speak but in strange and rambling sentences that, while a mix of Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi, and English phrases, proves indecipherable to most that hear them. For instance, upon being asked his opinion on the matter of partition and the impending exchange, Bishan Singh responds, “Uper the gur gur the annexe the bay dhayana the mung the dal of the Government of Pakistan,”⁷⁰ what Mufti has further described as “a sort of Punjabi Jabberwocky.”⁷¹ Nonetheless, Bishan Singh pursues his inquiry, asking everyone from fellow lunatics to the asylum guards to his friend Fazal Din, who pays him a farewell visit, where Toba Tek Singh is situated. No one, however, is able to answer him with certainty, alluding to the persistent uncertainty around partition and the location of India and Pakistan’s new national borders, even two to three years later. Manto’s story ends on the night of the exchange, with Bishan Singh at the Wagah Border between Lahore and Amritsar. Unwilling to cross over into India, for fear of leaving Toba Tek Singh behind in Pakistan, he collapses between the two nations, on a piece of earth with no name at all.

That Bishan Singh’s “confused and seemingly insane queries” into the location of his native village emerge by the end of the story to be the most salient and revealing questions one could ask of oneself in such “inhuman times” is, according to Mufti, what makes him a “figure for the writer.”⁷² Manto, through Bishan Singh’s plight, not only

⁷⁰ Manto, 5.

⁷¹ Mufti, 201.

⁷² Ibid.

lays bare the madness and inhumanity of what partition ultimately asked of the self—of having to suddenly reconfigure one’s identity on account of contrived and uncertain boundaries—he does so through Bishan Singh’s “not quite nonsensical statements,”⁷³ the fragmentation of language itself. For as Mufti contends, the great achievement of Manto’s partition writing is “to have asked how language itself is partitioned.”⁷⁴

Significantly, this motif of “madness,” central to the division of cultural monuments between India and Pakistan, and emerging literature on partition in the mid-twentieth century, also proves emblematic of what came with the division of museums and museum collections. Not surprisingly, the latter proved an infuriating process. It began in 1948, and centered on the collections of the Lahore Museum, only to carry on through the 1960s. As with the division of cultural monuments, the stakes were high when it came to the division of museological institutions. Not only was the care and preservation of cultural artifacts on the line for both India and Pakistan, but, as my analysis demonstrates in the next section, so was the future of South Asian art history itself.

IV. Dividing Museums, Controlling Histories

The division of the Lahore Museum’s collections at partition was a layered and prolonged affair. It took place over the course of two decades (with key activity occurring between 1947-52), and mirrored the administrative “madness” of the splitting of the assets and liabilities of the central imperial government.⁷⁵ It was also somewhat violent in

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 202.

⁷⁵ Anwasha Sengupta, “Of Men and Things: The Administrative Consequences of Partition of British India,” *Refugee Watch* 39-40 (Dec. 2012): 3.

character, and in certain cases led to the disassembling, destruction, and dispersion of precious artifacts.

The administrative complexity of the process arose in large part from the multiple and overlapping jurisdictions at play within the Lahore Museum at the time of partition. A provincial institution, the Lahore Museum technically belonged to the united Government of Punjab. This meant that at partition the fate of its permanent collections (including its painting, sculpture, textiles, and decorative arts sections) fell upon the new Governments of East and West Punjab.⁷⁶ This was not the case, however, for a portion of the museum's archaeological section. At 1947, in addition to its provincial responsibilities, the Lahore Museum was operating as a central storehouse for archaeological material from Mohenjodaro, Harappa, and Taxila, at the behest of Mortimer Wheeler and the Archaeological Survey of India, as explored in Chapter 1. These collections required a separate arrangement at partition, as property of the Central Archaeological Department, and ultimately came under the purview of the Partition Council and its Arbitral Tribunal.

To fully appreciate the administrative complexity of this specific case, it is useful at this juncture to briefly recall the “machinery of partition,” to which the Lahore Museum and its collections were ultimately subjected in the 1940s and 1950s.⁷⁷ As historian Anwesha Sengupta reminds us:

“Dividing Bengal and India meant demarcation of boundaries, splitting up of the armed forces, dividing the staff, organization and records of the civil departments, financial settlements, marking the jurisdiction of the high court's and federal

⁷⁶ N.P. Chakravarti, “Memorandum: Proposed Reply to Lal Raj Kanwar, Parliament of India,” File No. 13/2/1950, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁷⁷ H.M. Patel, *Rites of Passage: A Civil Servant Remembers* (New Delhi: Rupa, 2005).

courts, charting out domicile politics and, of course, dividing the assets and liabilities of the imperial government.”⁷⁸

The entirety of the process thus required no less than a “multi-faceted bureaucratic apparatus,”⁷⁹ one moreover working to separate the administrative, financial, and judicial structures of the British Raj at both central and provincial levels of government.⁸⁰

The Partition Council, the committee established on June 26, 1947 to supervise the immense task of dividing British India into two dominions, essentially headed said apparatus on both the central and provincial levels of government.⁸¹ It replaced an earlier Partition Committee formed on June 12, 1947 and, in its final form, comprised of five key representatives to ensure the fair and timely division of government assets and liabilities.⁸² The last Viceroy of India, Lord Louis Mountbatten, served as the Partition Council’s “neutral” Chairman, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Rajendra Prasad stood in for India and the Congress party, and Liaquat Ali Khan and Muhammad Ali Jinnah represented Pakistan and the Muslim League. To aid the Partition Council in this enormous endeavor at the central level, ten Expert Committees and a Steering Committee, with equal representation of Muslim and non-Muslim officers, were also established, along with an Arbitral Tribunal for inter-dominion disputes.

⁷⁸ Sengupta, “Of Men and Things,” 3.

⁷⁹ Anwesha Sengupta, “Breaking up: Dividing assets between India and Pakistan in times of Partition,” *India Economic Social History Review* 51.4 (2014): 531.

⁸⁰ Sengupta, “Of Men and Things,” 2.

⁸¹ Sengupta, “Breaking up,” 530-531; for a detailed overview of the work of the Partition Council, see Patel, *Rites of Passage*, 225-237.

⁸² It is important to remember that the division of assets and liabilities of the central imperial government took place in seventy two days, an extremely short period of time considering the immensity of the task assigned; Patel, *Rites of Passage*, 171.

The Expert Committees were essentially charged with the “endless nitty-gritty of the transfer process”⁸³ in place of the members of the Partition Council, India and Pakistan’s foremost political leaders who had little time to spare for such detailed work. In this regard, the Expert Committees gave crucial shape to the dominions to be. They covered a wide range of subjects and governmental departments, including Records, Organizations and Personnel, Assets and Liabilities, Central and Miscellaneous Revenues, Currency, Coinage and Exchange, Contracts, Economic Relations, Foreign Relations, and the Armed Forces, and forged critical agreements on the allocation of assets and liabilities, then subject to the verification and final approval by the Partition Council.⁸⁴ The Steering Committee, led by senior bureaucrats H.M. Patel and Muhammad Ali, served as the primary liaising force between the Partition Council and the Expert Committees. In this regard, it was the job of the Steering Committee to “help the process towards agreement.”⁸⁵ In practice, this entailed meeting regularly with members of the various Expert Committees, placing matters before the Partition Council in a suitable and constructive manner, and forging solutions where either the Expert Committees or the Partition Council got stuck.⁸⁶ For matters in which no agreement or compromise could be brokered between representatives of the two dominions, there was the Arbitral Tribunal. In his memoir *Rites of Passage*, H.M. Patel describes this judicial forum as a last resort, one that members of the Partition Council avoided using to the

⁸³ Sengupta, “Breaking up,” 530.

⁸⁴ For a detailed overview of the work of the Expert Committees, see Patel, *Rites of Passage*, 173-224.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 162-163, 172-173.

greatest possible extent, lest too many matters be pronounced upon the Tribunal leading to the collapse of the entire partition process.⁸⁷

On the provincial level, similar bureaucratic committees and structures were put in place to effect a fair and timely division of the known assets and liabilities of the provincial governments of Punjab and Bengal. Departmental Committees, like the Expert Committees operating at the central level, worked across an array of important subjects and governmental departments to allocate the assets and liabilities of the provincial governments. This often entailed collaboration with a Main Committee. Like the Steering Committee at the central level, the Main Committee brokered compromises between dissenting parties, filtered and revised the reports of the Departmental Committees with their own recommendations for allocation, and liaised with a larger supervising body, namely the Separation Council, to ensure a smooth transition of power.⁸⁸ The Separation Council, like its counterpart on the central level, oversaw the entire division process and, of course, had final approval in all matters.

Given the various jurisdictions at play within the Lahore Museum, courtesy of its divergent collections and its new position as a central storehouse for the subcontinent's archeological collections, the machinery of partition entered the museum at full force. While the Governments of East and West Punjab in conjunction with a Provincial Partition Committee agreed on a straight 60:40 ratio for the division of the Lahore Museum's permanent exhibits in accordance with the proportional division of land between India and Pakistan along the western border, with 60% of the collections set to

⁸⁷ Ibid., 172.

⁸⁸ Sengupta, "Breaking up," 530-531.

stay in West Punjab, and the remaining 40% designated for East Punjab,⁸⁹ the Partition Council took a slightly more multi-faceted approach in its decision regarding the collections and assets of the Central Government museums, including those archaeological items stored at the Lahore Museum. On October 29, 1947, the Partition Council, under the advisement of its Steering Committee, resolved to divide Central Government museums and their assets on a “territorial basis subject to the return to original museums of exhibits removed therefrom after 1st January 1947 solely for the purpose of temporary display at another place.”⁹⁰ In other words, museums located in India would pass on to the Government of India, and museums located in Pakistan would pass on to the Pakistan Government, along with all their existing assets. Exceptions would only be granted in the case of museum exhibits given out on “temporary loan” after January 1, 1947. These exhibits would be returned to the corresponding government of their originating museums.

In the months that followed, this agreement saw the site museums of Sarnath and Nalanda go to India, and the site museums at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Taxila, and the Lahore Fort go to Pakistan. It gave ownership of two sets of Harappa exhibits, removed from the Harappa Museum to India in July and September 1946, to the Government of

⁸⁹ P.N. Kirpal to Department of Education, Government of East Punjab, Simla, Letter dated 14 June 1949, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi; N.P. Chakravarti, “Proposed Reply to Lal Raj Kanwar, Parliament of India,” Memo dated 28 January 1950, File No. 13/2/1950, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi; M.S. Randhawa to P.N. Kirpal, Letter dated 18 April 1967, File No. 1621, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁹⁰ Ram Lal to N.P. Chakravarti, Letter dated 24 January 1950, File No. 13/2/1950, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

India.⁹¹ It gave ownership of a third series of Harappa exhibits, removed from the Harappa Museum to India in May 1947 and “consisting mostly of unimportant duplicates,” to the Government of Pakistan.⁹² To Pakistan, this agreement also promised the return of a series of Taxila exhibits then located in India.⁹³ With regards to the Lahore Museum collections, however, this decision gave rise to serious conflict. In January 1947, a large selection of Mohenjodaro artifacts had been transferred from the Lahore Museum to New Delhi on the occasion of the Inter-Asian Relations Conference, and corresponding Inter-Asian Exhibition of Art and Archaeology.⁹⁴ Following partition, the nature of this transfer became a point of severe contention between India and Pakistan, with the rights to the objects effectively up for grabs in accordance with the Partition Council’s provision for “temporary loans” made after January 1, 1947. Eventually, this ballooned into a critical battle for ownership in 1948 with serious implications for the

⁹¹ “Minutes of the Proceedings of the Museum Committee set up by the Inter-Dominion Conference to Discuss the Division of Museum Exhibits between India and Pakistan,” Memorandum dated 5 January 1949, File No. 28/15/1949, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁹² It is unclear whether these Harappa exhibits were ever actually returned to the Government of Pakistan. While records of the Inter-Dominion Museum Committee in January 1949 suggest that Pakistan was granted ownership of “four sets of type collections” from a series of Harappa exhibits that were removed from the Harappa Museum to India in May 1947, N.P. Chakravarti later tells Lal Raj Kanwar of the Parliament of India in 1950 that: “No exhibits from Harappa which were brought to India were returned to Pakistan.” See, “Minutes of the Proceedings of the Museum Committee set up by the Inter-Dominion Conference to Discuss the Division of Museum Exhibits between India and Pakistan,” Memorandum dated 5 January 1949, File No. 28/15/1949, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi. See also, N.P. Chakravarti, “Memorandum: Proposed Reply to Lal Raj Kanwar, Parliament of India,” File No. 13/2/1950, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁹³ N.P. Chakravarti, “Memorandum: Proposed Reply to Lal Raj Kanwar, Parliament of India,” File No. 13/2/1950, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁹⁴ The Inter-Asian Exhibition of Art and Archaeology was also part of a broader effort to revitalize the Central Asian Antiquities Museum after a five-year period of suspended activity due to military operations relating to WWII. Exhibits for the show were assembled in Delhi from places and museums across the subcontinent including museums at Calcutta, Patna, Nalanda, Sarnath, Benares, Lucknow, Mathura, Lahore, Taxila, Bombay, Madras, and Nepal. Exhibits were also loaned from the Kabul Museum and the French School of Far Eastern Studies in Hanoi. Among those who visited the exhibition were Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, and Lord and Lady Mountbatten; V.S. Agrawala, “Annual Report of the Museums Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1946-47,” dated 8 August 1947, File No. 28/12/47/1947 IV, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

status of the Lahore Museum. As archaeological historian Nayanjot Lahiri has observed, the discrepancy revolved primarily around “the question of intention about the future disposal of the objects in a central national museum.”⁹⁵ In addition, it underscored the precarious position of the Lahore Museum at partition, and the conflicting ideologies—colonial, regional, and national—that had come to define its administrative and curatorial infrastructure.

In a series of meetings of the Museum Committee,⁹⁶ held in December 1948 to broker a compromise between India and Pakistan on the question of museums and museum collections, officials from India argued that the transfer of Mohenjodaro collections from the Lahore Museum to Delhi in January 1947 was meant as a permanent shift from Lahore, in anticipation of the establishment of a central, national museum at New Delhi and that the Mohenjodaro collections, therefore, belonged to India. Giving added credence to their case, Indian officials denigrated the Lahore Museum’s claims to the collections by subordinating the institution as a temporary layover for the exhibits, “a substitute for keeping the Mohenjo-Daro objects until their removal for the National Museum” in Delhi.⁹⁷ Officials from Pakistan, by contrast, contended the exhibits had been transferred from the Lahore Museum to Delhi on a temporary basis for the purposes of the Inter-Asian Exhibition and were thus subject to return to Lahore. In support of their

⁹⁵ Lahiri, “Partitioning the Past,” 308.

⁹⁶ This Museum Committee was convened on December 6, 1948 by the Inter-Dominion Conference at New Delhi to recommend the procedure for the division of museum exhibits in accordance with the Partition Council’s October 1947 decision. It met three times on December 7, 11, and 12, 1948, and consisted of five Indian officials, and three Pakistani officials. Representatives for India included Tara Chand, N.P. Chakravarti, V.S. Agrawala, Ram Lal, and K.N. Puri. Representatives for Pakistan included Khan Bahadur Mohd Ismail, S.M. Sharif, and Q.M. Moneer. See, “Minutes of the Proceedings of the Museum Committee set up by the Inter-Dominion Conference to discuss the division of museum exhibits between India and Pakistan,” File No 28/15/1949, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

claim, they highlighted the ways in which the Lahore Museum had become “the most suitable place to exhibit the Indus Valley collection.”⁹⁸ Pakistani officials also emphasized territorial jurisdiction in their claims over the exhibits, and their new proprietary rights over the site of Mohenjodaro and its assets, courtesy of the same Partition Council decision of October 27, 1947.⁹⁹ In this regard, they inscribed the disputed collections, first and foremost, as property of the site of Mohenjodaro itself, which deferred to Pakistan at partition, and further brought into question the Central Archaeological Department’s (and by extension India’s) proprietary claims over the exhibits.

That both sides were unwilling to compromise on the proportional mechanics of the split should not come as a complete surprise. A lot was at stake in the division of the Lahore Museum’s collections and especially in owning the collections from Mohenjodaro, the least of which was the magnitude of its size and value at approximately 12,000 artifacts.¹⁰⁰ Both India and Pakistan were reeling from the “extraordinary irony” of partition that gave Pakistan primary control over the archaeological sites of the Indus civilization and India primary control over the subcontinent’s Islamic heritage.¹⁰¹ Ownership of these collections thus carried with it important implications for the development of Indian and Pakistani museums in the twentieth century, national identity,

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ This number refers to the quantity of Mohenjodaro exhibits transferred from the Lahore Museum to Delhi in January 1947. It does not include the representative type collection of 2049 Mohenjodaro exhibits that were left behind in the Lahore Museum in 1947, and also therefore subject to division during partition. See, “Minutes of the Proceedings of the Museum Committee set up by the Inter-Dominion Conference to discuss the division of museum exhibits between India and Pakistan,” File No 28/15/1949, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁰¹ Lahiri, “Partitioning the Past,” 295.

and the writing of history within the region—art or otherwise. With both sides failing to reach a timely settlement and even threatening the use of delay tactics, the issue was turned over to the Arbitral Tribunal. The Tribunal, as an addendum to the Partition Council’s original terms of division, called for a 50:50 split of the Mohenjodaro exhibits in New Delhi and the Lahore Museum.¹⁰² This addendum was ratified by representatives of both Dominions at the Inter-Dominion Conference held at New Delhi in April 1949, on the further condition that: (1) archaeological collections from Chanhudaro, another Indus site just south of Mohenjodaro in Sindh, Pakistan, also be subject to a 50:50 split between India and Pakistan;¹⁰³ (2) a “comprehensive duplicate collection as possible of objects from Taxila,” including pottery, ornaments, and coins, be given to India by Pakistan, with the list of items to be prepared jointly by officials from both Dominions;¹⁰⁴ and (3) Pakistan “[waive] all claim to any share of the skeletal material from Mohenjodaro and Harappa.”¹⁰⁵ It was also agreed at this time that “casts or other reproductions of unique and important specimens in the share of each Dominion” would be made available to the other within a year of the date of the actual handing over of the respective antiquities, and that the question of any “further exchange of specimens on the basis of mutual cultural approach” would be left open to the National Museums of India and Pakistan, going forward.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² N.P. Chakravarti, “Memorandum: Proposed Reply to Lal Raj Kanwar, Parliament of India,” File No. 13/2/1950, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁰³ P.N. Kirpal to High Commissioner for India in London, Letter dated 12 July 1949, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁰⁴ “Section IV of Indian Items and Item 7 of Pakistan Items, Division of Museum Exhibits,” Memorandum dated 7 April 1949, Bundle 21, SL No. 424, File No. CM 6/3, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Bhubaneswar.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

The complexity of this process of division did not end with the Arbitral Tribunal's decision in 1949, or the crystallization of the proportional mechanics of the split of the Lahore Museum collections. If anything, it was compounded further by the physical division of objects, which effectively ushered the chaos and violence of partition into the hallowed halls of the Lahore Museum. This process took place in waves over the subsequent two decades, though chiefly between 1948-52, and was carried out primarily by members of the Lahore Museum staff, and officials of the Departments of Archaeology in India and Pakistan. In accordance with the various jurisdictions at play within the museum, as I show in the next section, the division of the museum's permanent exhibits took place separately from its archaeological section.

V. The Lahore Museum and its Fragments

The division of the Lahore Museum's permanent exhibits took place first on April 4, 1948.¹⁰⁷ S.N. Gupta, an artist and scholar who had served as Principal of the Mayo School of Art from 1929-42, and sporadically as Curator of the Lahore Museum from 1920-42,¹⁰⁸ was selected by the East Punjab government to carry out the division on their behalf, and choose the paintings and other objects to be transferred to India as part of

¹⁰⁷ M.S. Randhawa to P.N. Kirpal, Letter dated 18 April 1967, File No. 1621, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁰⁸ See, S.N. Gupta, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1920-21* (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1921), Lahore Museum, Lahore; S.N. Gupta, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1923-24* (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1924), Lahore Museum, Lahore; S.N. Gupta, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1924-25* (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1925), Lahore Museum, Lahore; S.N. Gupta, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1926-27* (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1927), Lahore Museum, Lahore; S.N. Gupta, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1934-35* (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1935), Lahore Museum, Lahore; K.N. Sita Ram, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1935-36* (Lahore: Government Printing, 1937), Lahore Museum, Lahore; W.H.F. Armstrong, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1941-42* (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1943), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

East Punjab's promised share of the Lahore Museum's collections.¹⁰⁹ Gupta was a fitting choice for the job. He had catalogued the museum's painting section from 1912-22,¹¹⁰ supervised the expansion of the museum's collections in collaboration with his colleague K.N. Sita Ram in the 1930s and 1940s,¹¹¹ and thus knew the museum's collections intimately when he returned to Lahore in 1948. Among those items selected by him for transfer to East Punjab were more than 600 pieces of Gandharan sculpture [Fig. 2.40],¹¹² and 447 miniature paintings of the Mughal, Basohli, and Kangra schools [Fig. 2.41].¹¹³ Also transferred to East Punjab, but seldom acknowledged in scholarship today, were a selection of terracotta sculptures from the archaeological site of Akhnoor in Jammu,¹¹⁴ a mixture of Buddhist bronze sculptures from Tibet and South India, a collection of Phulkari textiles from the Punjab Hills, an assortment of Persian calligraphy, including illuminated folios of the Quran, an array of decorative arts, including metal work from Hyderabad, a set of eighteen modern paintings [See Figs. 2.42-2.47],¹¹⁵ executed mostly

¹⁰⁹ Saifur Rahman Dar, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Lahore Museum Vol. I: Mughal & Rajasthani Schools* (Lahore: Punjab Government, 1976), 93-100.

¹¹⁰ This work was begun in 1912 and finished as early as 1920. Due to various delays, on account of museum administration and lack of funding, however, S.N. Gupta's catalogue was not published by the Lahore Museum until 1922; S.N. Gupta, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Central Museum, Lahore* (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1922). See also, Lionel Heath, *Report of the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1912-1913* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1913), Lahore Museum, Lahore; Lionel Heath, *Report of the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1919-20* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1920), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹¹¹ Shaila Bhatti, *Translating Museums: A Counterhistory of South Asian Museology* (Walnut Creek: CA: Left Coast Press, 2012), 77.

¹¹² D.C. Bhattacharyya, ed. *Gandhara Sculpture in the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh* (Chandigarh: Government Museum and Art Gallery, 2002), 1.

¹¹³ Museum Catalogue, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, India.

¹¹⁴ S.N. Gupta had acquired these sculptures for the Lahore Museum in the year 1934-35, praising them for their "perfect state of preservation" and the "peculiar mannerism" of their modeling, which was unlike any sculptures or stucco works of the same period. See, S.N. Gupta, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1934-35* (Lahore: Government Printing, 1935), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹¹⁵ The nucleus of the Lahore Museum's collection of modern paintings began in 1914-15, under the curatorship of Lionel Heath, when Abanindranath Tagore presented a picture of the enlightenment of

in the style of the Bengal school, as well as a set of musical instruments.¹¹⁶ Gupta was not without restriction in his choice of objects for East Punjab. Off limits to him were apparently sculptures and paintings reproduced in books prior to partition, exhibits which were presumably deemed sufficiently accessible to both nations and thus retained by the Pakistan Government in the course of the division process.¹¹⁷

The division of the Lahore Museum's archaeological section took place between May and November 1949, following the Inter-Dominion Conference at New Delhi in March 1949, and primarily involved the museum's Mohenjodaro antiquities, amounting to 2049 artifacts.¹¹⁸ Mortimer Wheeler, then serving as Archaeological Advisor to Pakistan and N.P. Chakravarti, the newly-appointed Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India and Wheeler's successor within the department, carried out the division of unique objects within the collections.¹¹⁹ Importantly, several of these "unique" items were neither in Lahore nor Delhi in 1949, but had been sent to London for inclusion in an exhibition sponsored by the Royal Academy of Arts, to be discussed in further detail in my next section. V.S. Agrawala, the Superintendent of the Central Asian Antiquities Museum in New Delhi, and F.A. Khan, a former Curator of the Mohenjodaro

Buddha to the museum, following an exhibition of the "New School of Calcutta Painting" (known today as the Bengal School of Painting) at the Mayo School of Art. This was followed by S.N. Gupta's gift of one of his own paintings to the Lahore Museum the same year, which was completed in a similar style as Tagore's. See, Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1913-14* (Lahore: Government Printing, Punjab, 1915), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

¹¹⁶ Museum Catalogue, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, India.

¹¹⁷ S.D. Sharma, "Museum and Art Gallery—Chandigarh," *Roopa-Lekha* XXXVIII, No 1-2 (1967), 249.

¹¹⁸ P.N. Kirpal to High Commissioner for India in London, Letter dated 12 July 1949, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Museum and Delhi Fort Museum then acting on behalf of the new Department of Archaeology in Pakistan, carried out the division of the rest.¹²⁰

As Wheeler's correspondence reveals, the process of dividing the Lahore Museum's archaeological collections was hardly seamless. On one hand, it was plagued by a series of administrative delays. These delays were often facilitated by a lack of coordination and communication between key officials involved in the process.¹²¹ They were also, however, the product of the larger societal demands placed on archaeological officials during this period, as they struggled to balance their administrative responsibilities against the pressures that partition also placed on their personal lives. This was especially the case for archaeological officials who opted to move from India to Pakistan. In such instances, officials were not only confronted with the realities of establishing an Archaeological Department from scratch, with very little extant infrastructure upon which to rely; they also had to re-establish their homes, families, and careers amidst uncertain and, at times, violent conditions.¹²²

Such was the case for F.A. Khan, who had worked as a scholar and curator for the Archaeological Survey of India at the Hyderabad Deccan Museum, the Delhi Fort Museum, the Lahore Museum, and the Mohenjodaro Museum between 1938-46, before becoming a leading archaeological official for Pakistan in 1947.¹²³ Khan is often

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ "India Papers," File No. E/2/9, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

¹²² "Application Received from Government Servants who Opted for Pakistan," File No. 2G/23/47/1947, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹²³ F.A. Khan to V.S. Agrawala, Letter dated 18 February 1946, Bundle 41, SL. No. 825, File No. CM-108, National Archives of India, Bhubaneswar.

described in Wheeler's correspondence as being "withdrawn"¹²⁴ or absent at various points in the division process at Lahore and Delhi, the implication being that he was in part responsible for bringing about a "standstill" in the division of Mohenjodaro antiquities.¹²⁵ As later correspondence from Shamsuddin Ahmed clarifies, however, this was a gross mischaracterization of Khan who proved a committed and efficient administrator throughout his career in both India and Pakistan. Ahmed writes, moreover, that Khan's absences during the division process at Lahore and Delhi were brief, and were taken with the express permission of Pakistan's new Archaeological Department to allow Khan to address the growing avalanche of intra-governmental procedures that had begun to crop up in the course of his duties, as Pakistan solidified its governmental structures and policies. Among these obligatory procedures was, for instance, Khan's having to suddenly "appear before the Public Service Commission at Karachi in connection with his candidature for the post of Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology."¹²⁶

On another hand, the process of dividing the Lahore Museum's archaeological collections became destructive and, in certain cases, led to the tragic ruin of several artifacts by the very people whose job it had been to protect and preserve them. As Nayanjot Lahiri has shown, Wheeler was anxious to ensure an "equitable" division of the collections and, in this spirit, proposed the actual fragmentation of unique objects seen as

¹²⁴ R.E.M. Wheeler to Shamsuddin Ahmed, Letter dated 31 May 1949, File No. F/2/3, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

¹²⁵ Shamsuddin Ahmed to R.E.M. Wheeler, Letter dated 7 June 1949, File No. F/2/3, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

too desirable to be given whole to either India or Pakistan.¹²⁷ Thus two gold necklaces from Taxila, a carnelian and copper girdle of Mohenjodaro, and a Mohenjodaro necklace of jade beads, gold discs, and semi-precious stones came to be disassembled and dispersed “equitably” between India and Pakistan.¹²⁸ A note, written by Wheeler on this occasion, specifies down to the number of beads, discs, and stones how these items were to be divided:

“The exhibits are to be divided as follows: India and Pakistan should receive equal share of the two terminals, 42 elongated carnelian beads, 72 globular beads and six spacers of the copper and carnelian girdle from Mohenjodaro (item 8 of list IA, Royal Academy Catalogue No. 29). The Mohenjodaro necklace (item No. 9 of list IA, Royal Academy Catalogue 23) consists of 10 jade beads, 55 spacers of gold disk, 7 pendants, and 10 semi-precious stones. Out of it India’s share should consist of 5 jade beads, 27 spacers of gold disk, 4 pendants and 5 semi-precious stones. India should be allotted 4 pendants out of 7, since in dividing Taxila gold necklace No. 8885 Sirkap only 12 beads and a terminal were given to India as against 13 beads and one terminal to Pakistan. The two gold necklaces from Taxila (Items 5 and 15 of List II) are to be divided equally.”¹²⁹

The note is unnerving to say the least, pragmatic and logical in its tone to such an extreme extent, especially for an experienced archeologist like Wheeler highly trained in methods of preservation and conservation. It shows no regard for the ramifications such a process may have on the integrity of the objects in question, or that preserving their integrity was a matter of importance at all.¹³⁰

It is important to emphasize at this juncture that Wheeler was not the only propagator of this “equitable” method of division. N.P. Chakravarti too appeared committed to this approach, offering his own suggestions on the fragmentation of these

¹²⁷ Lahiri, “Partitioning the Past,” 309.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 310.

¹²⁹ R.E.M. Wheeler, “Division of Antiquities between the Two Dominions,” Note dated 9 November 1949, File No. 33/21/49, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi; see also, Lahiri, “Partitioning the Past,” 310.

¹³⁰ Lahiri, “Partitioning the Past,” 310.

“unique” objects in the course of the division process and in his collaboration with Wheeler. In a letter to Wheeler dated November 10, 1949, for instance, Chakravarti addresses the asymmetry of the two necklaces from Taxila being divided between India and Pakistan. That there are an odd number of pendants in each of the necklaces appears to be a source of anxiety for Chakravarti who, in recognizing the asymmetry of the objects, foresees the potential for conflict between India and Pakistan, something both Chakravarti and Wheeler worked to forestall at all costs. In anticipation of this conflict, Chakravarti searches for an “equitable” solution to the problem at hand and proposes the following compromise:

“I find that in the two Taxila necklaces there are 15 pendants in one and 11 in another. Perhaps it would be acceptable to both the Governments if in these cases either Govt. gets the odd piece from each.”¹³¹

The note is similar in spirit to that by Wheeler, previously discussed. It not only speaks to the manner in which museum exhibits were broken down and fragmented to effect an “equitable” division of cultural assets between India and Pakistan, it again demonstrates the extremity of both Wheeler and Chakravarti’s mindset—that is, their willingness to overlook the integrity of objects as a whole in favor of both equity and efficiency. In this way, I think it is again critical to understand Wheeler and Chakravarti’s actions and the entirety of this process of dividing the Lahore Museum’s collections within the larger machinery of partition and, moreover, the spirit of (hyper) objectivity it demanded of its agents.¹³²

¹³¹ N.P. Chakravarti to R.E.M. Wheeler, Letter dated 10 November 1949, File No. E/2/9, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

¹³² Patel, *Rites of Passage*, 185-186.

Evidence of the destructive nature of this process of division goes beyond the archaeological record of the split. My archival work in both Lahore and Chandigarh has shown that paintings and manuscripts were also subject to this kind of fragmentation and dispersion in the name of equity. Perhaps the most famous case involved the Lahore-Chandigarh *Chandayan* manuscript [Fig. 2.48], an illustration of the adventures, and romance of princess Chanda and the hero Laurak, from a poem composed by Maulana Daud in 1379-80.¹³³ Only 24 folios remain of the massive work of art, which likely consisted of over 250 folios when first commissioned in the sixteenth century.¹³⁴ These folios, acquired by the Lahore Museum prior to the division of British India in 1947, were dispersed at partition in much the same way as unique objects from Mohenjodaro and Taxila. They now exist in isolated groups across museums in Chandigarh, Lahore, and Karachi,¹³⁵ with little regard for the integrity of the manuscript as a whole. This has presented serious issues for scholars today seeking to place the manuscript within broader histories of literature, painting, and patronage, its haphazard dispersion across the contentious Indo-Pakistani border an impediment to the manuscript's conservation and concerted study.¹³⁶

The manuscript's treatment during the division process could very well have been a fault of its own making. A recent study of the manuscript by V.H. Bedekar, that brings together the Lahore and Chandigarh folios in print for the first time since partition, notes the difficulty in ascribing any kind of sequence to the Chandigarh folios because of the

¹³³ Qamar Adamjee, "Strategies for Visual Narration in the Illustrated *Chandayan* Manuscripts," Ph.D. thesis, New York University, 2001, 1.

¹³⁴ V.H. Bedekar, *Chandigarh Museum Laur-Chanda: A Study in Styles* (Chandigarh: Government Museum and Art Gallery, 2006), 9-10.

¹³⁵ Adamjee, 111.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 111-113.

absence of pagination. Bedekar also remarks on the discrepancy between the manuscript's illustrations and its text. Though each folio pairs an illustration with at least ten lines of Persian text on its obverse, he argues there is often little correspondence between the two, adding to the difficulties in establishing a sequence among the extant folios.¹³⁷ That S.N. Gupta, with his expertise in the subcontinent's painting traditions, treated the *Chandayan* folios as anything less than parts of a single manuscript during the division of the Lahore Museum's permanent collections, however, is highly unlikely given their stylistic unification. As Qamar Adamjee has argued in her recent study of the *Chandayan* manuscript, the Lahore-Chandigarh folios are united by a vibrant color palette of red, blue, white, and black, a robust and animated treatment of figures, and a distinctive use of landscape and architecture that not only breathes new life into Daud's poetry, but distinguishes them as a unique and cohesive set.¹³⁸

VI. A British Coordinate

Exhibits in the care of the Royal Academy of Arts in London represented another critical coordinate in the division processes I have discussed above and, moreover, present a critical opportunity to rethink their geographical reach. These exhibits had been sent from Bombay to London between July and August 1947,¹³⁹ in preparation for the Royal Academy of Arts' now-canonical "Exhibition of Art, Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan," held at Burlington House from November 29, 1947 to February 29, 1948.

¹³⁷ Bedekar, 9.

¹³⁸ Adamjee, 113-117.

¹³⁹ R. Winstedt, "Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Indian Art 1947-1948," 7 July 1947, File No. RAA/PC/6/13/12, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

Conceived on the heels of the Royal Academy's earlier pre-war shows on Persian and Chinese art in 1931 and 1935, respectively, the 1947-48 exhibition of Indian and Pakistani art was part of a continuing effort on behalf of the Royal Academy to expose the British public to the "typical masterpieces of the art and culture of the great civilizations of the world."¹⁴⁰ It was also, in part, a timely political gesture. Proposed with the support of the British government and "almost wholly in the interest of [the Indian] government" to mark the eve of Indian Independence, the 1947-48 exhibition was meant to "bring before the West, by means of a grand collection of examples of the visual arts, concrete evidence of the beauty of India's artistic greatness, its genius, its culture, and the supreme part it has played in building up the civilization of the East."¹⁴¹ To this end and as detailed in the exhibition's 1947 catalogue, the show brought together a vast array of exhibits from public and private collections in India, Pakistan, Britain, Europe, and the United States, spanning an extraordinary historical chronology that began with the Indus Valley civilization and ended with the British colonial and modern periods of Indian and Pakistani history. More specifically, the exhibition featured archaeological material from Mohenjodaro and Harappa, early and medieval Indian sculpture from the Mauryan, Kushan, and Gupta empires, as well as Buddhist antiquities from Bharhut and Gandhara. It showcased South Indian bronzes and ivories and a miscellaneous selection of textiles and Indian folk art traditions. Mughal, Rajasthani, Pahari, Deccani, and modern Indian painting were also a highlight of the exhibition, spanning six of the show's sixteen total

¹⁴⁰ H. G. Rawlinson, "Introduction," in *Exhibition of Art, Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan, Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, London, 1947-1948* (London: Royal Academy, 1947), ix.

¹⁴¹ Percy Brown, "Note on the Proposed Exhibition of Indian Art, London 1947-48," 30 November 1946, Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

galleries.¹⁴² To honor its location in London, and the contributions of British collections to the exhibition, attention was also given to the trappings of the British East India Company and the artistic achievements of British artists in India in a contentious gallery added to the exhibition's curatorial program in the final stages of preparations.¹⁴³

The Royal Academy exhibition was not the first of its kind in London. It was preceded in 1931 by a large exhibition of Indian art sponsored by the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London. This show had similarly brought together in London significant works of Indian art in both British and Indian collections, and in the process played a significant role, as art historian Brinda Kumar has argued, in elucidating the critical “nodal points” around which a canon of Indian art would eventually be woven in the twentieth century.¹⁴⁴ But while this 1931 exhibition had generally proven to be “a crucial eye-opener about Indian art” in Britain, the Royal Academy's 1947-48 exhibition by comparison marked the “arrival” of Indian art in the West on a new and unprecedented scale, as art historian Tapati Guha-Thakurta has argued in her book, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*.¹⁴⁵

There were a number of elements that helped to distinguish the Royal Academy exhibition from its predecessor in this way. On one hand, having brought together in

¹⁴² *Exhibition of Art, Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan, Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, London, 1947-1948* (London: Royal Academy, 1947), xx-xxi.

¹⁴³ Sir David Monteath to Sir Walter Lamb, Letter dated 10 September 1947, Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Art, London; Sir Richard Winstedt, “Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Indian Art 1947-1948,” 22 September 1947, File No. RAA/PC/6/13/12, Royal Academy of Arts, London; Sir Richard Winstedt, “Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Indian Art 1947-1948,” 13 October 1947, File No. RAA/PC/6/13/12, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁴⁴ Brinda Kumar, “The Other Burlington Exhibition,” Paper presented at *Showing, Telling, Seeing: Exhibiting South Asia in Britain, 1900-Now*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and Asia Art Archive in collaboration with Tate Modern, London, 1 July 2016.

¹⁴⁵ Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India* (New York: Columbia University, 2004), 177.

London an unprecedented number of monumental sculptural works from collections based in India and Pakistan, the 1947-48 exhibition gave greater emphasis to the display of early Indian sculpture, where the crux of the 1931 show had consisted primarily of Mughal, Rajput, and Pahari miniature paintings.¹⁴⁶ This not only made remote sculptural works from India accessible to the British public in an exceptional manner, providing visitors of the show a rare “firsthand encounter with the objects, in all their splendor.”¹⁴⁷ It was in keeping with a new definition of the “masterpiece” in Indian art proffered by the exhibition and its organizers to “hoist high the flag of autonomy and uniqueness in Indian art history,” one that equated “masterpiece” with the achievements of early Indian sculpture, as Guha-Thakurta has argued.¹⁴⁸ On another, the timing of the Royal Academy exhibition in November 1947 proved crucial. With the exhibition set to open just three months after India and Pakistan won independence from the British Raj, the timing and duration of the show gave its “gesture of cultural empathy and appreciation” added potency.¹⁴⁹ That is to say, the transfer of power in British India loomed large over the exhibition.

In this sense, the Royal Academy exhibition came together under quite extraordinary circumstances. What began in 1945 as a proposal for a “national Indian exhibition” of art in London, meant to signal a new beginning for the Indian subcontinent

¹⁴⁶ The 1931 exhibition featured a few sculptural works, but on a much smaller scale than what was seen in 1947-48 at the Royal Academy of Arts. On display in this earlier show were, for example, a selection of 99 artifacts from recent excavations of Mohenjodaro and Harappa (primarily seals), as well as a set of Gandharan heads. The 1931 show did, however, mark the first time Indus civilization artifacts were displayed outside of India; Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 177; B. Kumar, “The Other Burlington Exhibition” (2016).

¹⁴⁷ Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 177.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

and create in the process “an atmosphere of mutual understanding and appreciation” in England and India at what promised to be a difficult moment in their political history,¹⁵⁰ had to be reformulated in its final hour to accommodate the announcement of the 3rd June Plan in 1947 and the decision to partition British India into two separate dominions. For the most part, this reformulation occurred only in name, when in September 1947 the Royal Academy resolved to change the exhibition’s title from “Exhibition of Indian Art” to “Exhibition of Art, Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan.”¹⁵¹ A compromise brokered by Lord Mountbatten to honor the cartographic and political changes that came to the subcontinent in 1947, the adjustment to the exhibition’s title came at the behest of Jawaharlal Nehru, India’s first Prime Minister, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan’s first Governor-General, and Sarojini Naidu, the Chair of the Indian Executive Committee in Bombay, after Jinnah refused to accept the Royal Academy’s invitation to be an Honorary President of the Exhibition lest Pakistan’s contributions to the exhibition be acknowledged in some way.¹⁵² As Guha-Thakurta has shown, however, few changes were made to the Royal Academy exhibition itself, its arrangement or curatorial story in light of partition. Upon its opening in November 1947, the Royal Academy exhibition maintained a “complete, unfragmented sense of what would

¹⁵⁰ “Summary and Proposal for an Exhibition of Indian Art in London,” N.D., Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁵¹ The exhibition’s title went through a series of changes in the weeks leading up to its inauguration. It was first changed from its original iteration “Exhibition of Indian Art” to “Exhibition of Art from the Dominions of India and Pakistan” at the suggestion of Lord Mountbatten, Jawaharlal Nehru, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and Sarojini Naidu. This was then altered slightly by officials of the Royal Academy to reach the exhibition’s final title “Exhibition of Art, Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan.” This final alteration was to ensure that both India and Pakistan’s contributions to the exhibition were adequately acknowledged, as well as the contributions made by British, European, and American collections. Draft Correspondence to Sir Paul J. Patrick, N.D., Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁵² Sir Paul Patrick to Sir Walter Lamb, Letter dated 8 September 1947, Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

henceforth be territorially divided as the art of India and Pakistan”¹⁵³ and, moreover, did little to “displace the centrality of India as the main repository and custodian” of the exhibits on display.¹⁵⁴ This point is also made crystal clear by the Exhibition’s illustrated catalogue, in which Leigh Ashton, the Exhibition’s Director, proclaims, “The purpose of the Exhibition is to illustrate the Fine Arts of India.”¹⁵⁵

That partition was not addressed more directly throughout the 1947-48 exhibition’s final display is perhaps not all that surprising. For one, partition seemed to have had little effect over the selection of exhibits to be featured in the Royal Academy show, which took place in February and March 1947, when Richard Winstedt, Kenneth de Burgh Codrington, and Basil Gray, three representatives of the Royal Academy of Arts and the British Executive Committee, were sent to New Delhi to collaborate with their counterparts on the Indian Executive Committee on various matters relating to the then forthcoming exhibition.¹⁵⁶ While independence was certainly imminent at this time, the selection of exhibits admittedly occurred well before partition was announced. Neither did partition appear to have much impact over the transportation of exhibits (primarily) from Bombay to London, which took place a few months later between July and August 1947, with the arrangement of galleries and the hanging of objects at the

¹⁵³ Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 177.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 178.

¹⁵⁵ Leigh Ashton, “Preface,” *Illustrated Catalogue for the Exhibition of Art Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1947-48, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁵⁶ Sir Richard Winstedt, “Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Indian Art 1947-1948,” 8 January 1947, File No. RAA/PC/6/13/12, Royal Academy of Arts, London; Sir Richard Winstedt, “Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Indian Art 1947-1948,” 19 February 1947, File No. RAA/PC/6/13/12, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

Royal Academy scheduled for October 1947.¹⁵⁷ Correspondence between members of the British and Indian Executive Committees indicates there were some delays that occurred in the packing of exhibits from the Indian Museum in Calcutta, a large contributor to the Royal Academy exhibition. K.N. Puri, Secretary to the Indian Executive Committee noted, for instance, that engineering firms were “reluctant to take up the work for which disturbed conditions prevalent in Calcutta [were] also responsible to a very great extent.”¹⁵⁸ But apart from this, the packing and transport of exhibits from Bombay largely went as planned in India.¹⁵⁹ This is truly remarkable in light of the political, economic, and social chaos that had otherwise engulfed the Indian subcontinent by this time in response to the transfer of power.

More remarkable still, however, was that no one on either the British or Indian Executive Committees appears to have questioned the removal of exhibits from Bombay to London, and specifically whether exhibits *should* be removed to London for an exhibition of any kind in light of the decision to partition the subcontinent. The transport of exhibits from Bombay to London in 1947 for the Royal Academy show involved a mass exodus of cultural property (approximately 1500 objects)¹⁶⁰ from India to Britain at

¹⁵⁷ *Annual Report from the Council of the Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians and Associates for the year 1947* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1948), 12-13, Royal Academy of Arts, London; Sir Richard Winstedt, “Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Indian Art 1947-1948,” 7 July 1947, File No. RAA/PC/6/13/12, Royal Academy of Arts, London; Sir Richard Winstedt, “Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Indian Art 1947-1948,” 22 September 1947, File No. RAA/PC/6/13/12, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁵⁸ K.N. Puri to John Irwin, Memo dated 17 May 1947, Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁵⁹ Two to three exhibits were seriously damaged after arriving in England, when one of the eight lorries transporting exhibits from Plymouth to London overturned on route. Sir Richard Winstedt, “Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Indian Art 1947-1948,” 22 September 1947, File No. RAA/PC/6/13/12, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁶⁰ Sir Richard Winstedt, “Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Indian Art 1947-1948,” 24 March 1947, File No. RAA/PC/6/13/12, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

an extremely sensitive political, economic, and social moment for both countries. It also countered the logic of the colonial archaeological project that had for so long prioritized the retention of archaeological relics within India, and valorized museological institutions near or adjacent to the artifacts' original territorial locations.¹⁶¹ While there had been a sense within the Royal Academy that an exhibition of such grandeur and magnitude would not be possible without the support or involvement of the British Government to guarantee the safe transport and return of exhibits,¹⁶² that partition itself might have grave consequences for the exhibits in question did not seem to register as a concern, even later down the line when the Indian Executive Committee had become virtually unreachable in the days leading up to the exhibition's opening, due to "political preoccupations."¹⁶³ In other words, there was a demonstrable lack of foresight shown on part of the exhibition and its organizers both in England and India, as to what partition's implications would be for the region's art, heritage, and cultural property, or if it would have any impact at all. This, of course, only reinforces what historian Yasmin Khan and others have shown about the reality of partition and the long process of division that followed: that it was a messy and disorderly process with large human and administrative consequences; that it "threatened the very existence of" India and Pakistan as they came into being; and that the very meanings of partition and Pakistan were uncertain and ambiguous to everyone on the ground, even as the transfer of power occurred.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 199.

¹⁶² "Summary and Proposal for an Exhibition of Indian Art in London," N.D., Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁶³ Sir Richard Winstedt, "Meeting Minutes of the Executive Committee for the Exhibition of Indian Art 1947-1948," 13 October 1947, File No. RAA/PC/6/13/12, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁶⁴ Khan, 4-5.

Nonetheless, partition's effects were felt deeply by the Royal Academy upon the conclusion of the 1947-48 exhibition. The Royal Academy, having sought "so comprehensive a collection [of Indian art as had] never before been brought together under a single roof,"¹⁶⁵ had collaborated with an Indian Executive Committee based out of Bombay as early as January 1947 to source exhibits from a variety of government and provincial museums across British India, as well as a number of private and princely collections. Early drafts of the exhibition's collection lists indicate that the Royal Academy collaborated with public and private collections in Bankipur, Baroda, Benares, Bombay, Calcutta, Chamba, Datia, Delhi, Guler, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Karachi, Lahore, Mathura, Patna, Peshawar, Rampur, and Sarnath, among others.¹⁶⁶ Importantly, these included the Lahore Museum, the Peshawar Museum, and the Victoria Museum in Karachi, institutions that went to the dominion of Pakistan following the partition of 1947 and subsequent implementation of the Radcliffe Award. The difficulty for the Royal Academy thus arose quite organically upon the conclusion of the exhibition in February 1948, when confronted with the task of returning exhibits to their "home" or "originating" collections. Prior to partition, this would have entailed returning Indian exhibits to Bombay, to the hands of the Indian Executive Committee, who would have then supervised the return and redistribution of exhibits to their respective institutions and collections across British India. Due to partition, however, this was no longer a feasible

¹⁶⁵ H. G. Rawlinson, "Introduction," in *Exhibition of Art, Chiefly from the Dominions of India and Pakistan, Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, London, 1947-1948* (London: Royal Academy, 1947), x.

¹⁶⁶ Basil Gray, "Outline Sketch of Collections from which Miniature Paintings and MSS would be drawn for Royal Academy Exhibition of Indian Art, 1947-48," 20 May 1946, Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, London; "Skeleton Selection of Early Sculpture for Indian Exhibition 1947-48," N.D., Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Art, London.

plan.¹⁶⁷ British India had, of course, splintered into two independent dominions while the exhibition had been in place in London. As much as it was then a question of returning objects to their “home” collections, returning exhibits in the hands of the Royal Academy thus became a matter of international and cultural jurisdiction, for which there was no historical precedent.

Like the division of the Lahore Museum’s collections, the division of exhibits in the possession of the Royal Academy of Arts proved a prolonged process. This was in large part due to the great sense of confusion around the best course of action for the Royal Academy at this time. Representatives of India and Pakistan in London, along with the organizers of the Royal Academy exhibition, were unsure if or how the Partition Council decision of October 1947 applied to the exhibits in the hands of the Royal Academy. As a result, there was discussion of simply turning the whole issue over to English courts, to in a sense remove the Royal Academy of Arts from the complexities of the situation. However, this course of action wholly depended on the Governments of India and Pakistan consenting to the jurisdiction of international courts in their moment of arrival, which officials of the Royal Academy agreed seemed unlikely to happen.¹⁶⁸ So, responsibility for the exhibits remained with the officials of the Royal Academy, who were above all anxious to resolve the issue in a timely manner.

The Royal Academy’s initial plan to return exhibits to India and Pakistan took shape on or about May 19, 1948 after a meeting in London with key officials from the

¹⁶⁷ According to Mortimer Wheeler, the Indian Executive Committee was no longer functioning as of June 1949, when matters relating to the return of exhibits in the hands of the Royal Academy were being addressed under his supervision in London; R.E.M. Wheeler to M.A. Latif, Letter dated 20 June 1949, File No. F/2/3, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

¹⁶⁸ Francis Sapte to Walter Lamb, Letter dated 28 May 1948, Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

British and Indian Executive Committees. For the most part, it followed the “territorial” logic guiding the Partition Council’s October 1947 provision regarding the division of museum and museum collections. According to this initial proposal, exhibits in the possession of the Royal Academy were classified according to three categories. “Category 1” referred to exhibits from public museums in Karachi, Lahore, and Peshawar, institutions situated within the territorial jurisdiction of the Dominion of Pakistan. “Category 2” extended to exhibits from museums and other collections situated within the territorial jurisdiction of the Dominion of India, and “Category 3” was comprised of disputed exhibits. These mainly referred to objects “claimed by the Government of Pakistan to be the property of museums within the jurisdiction of [the Pakistan] Government, but to have been on loan to the Central Asian Antiquities Museum in Delhi before they were shipped to London from Bombay for the purposes of the [Royal Academy] Exhibition.”¹⁶⁹ On the basis of these categories, the Royal Academy then recommended that exhibits in “Category 1” be sent directly to the Government of Pakistan at Karachi on the condition that the Government of India raised no objections to this course of action. This was in compliance with an early request made by the High Commissioner for Pakistan in London, who claimed exhibits in “Category 1” as property of the Pakistan Government. With regards to exhibits in “Category 2,” the Royal Academy recommended that these items be returned directly to the Indian Executive Committee in Bombay via the S.S. Mozaffari, which was to set sail from London to Bombay on or about May 27, 1948.¹⁷⁰ As to exhibits in “Category 3,” the Royal

¹⁶⁹ Wilde, Sapte & Co to Dhiren Mitra, Letter dated 19 May 1948, Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

Academy offered to retain these works of art in London, until which time a proper settlement could be reached between the Governments of India and Pakistan as to their ownership. This again was in deference to a request made by the High Commissioner for Pakistan in London, on the condition that an early decision in the matter was expected from both governments.¹⁷¹

The Royal Academy's plan to divide exhibits between India and Pakistan was generally well received among Pakistani officials. Like their counterparts in London and New Delhi, they were simply anxious to see the question of the division of museums and museum exhibits between India and Pakistan resolved as quickly as possible. In response to the Royal Academy's proposal, their primary concern was to convince the Government of India to issue a joint directive along with the Government of Pakistan, allowing the Royal Academy to retain exhibits, particularly those in "Category 3," until the case of disputed ownership could be properly addressed.¹⁷² Pakistani officials feared that in the absence of such a directive the Royal Academy would "naturally" send all exhibits in their possession to India, a move that would certainly delay the matter of division between India and Pakistan, if not also jeopardize Pakistan's future claims to the exhibits in their entirety.¹⁷³

By contrast, the Royal Academy's plan fostered mixed reactions among Indian officials, once notice of the Royal Academy's intentions to divide the exhibits in their

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² S. Dutt to G.S. Bajpai, Letter dated 6 August 1948, File. No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India; S. Turabali (Office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India) to T.B. Crossley (Government of India), Letter dated 12 June 1948, File. No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁷³ Khan Bahadur Mohammed Ismail to Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Letter dated 31 July 1948, File. No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

possession had reached New Delhi.¹⁷⁴ Interestingly, N.P. Chakravarti raised no objections to exhibits in “Category 1” going directly to Pakistan, likely in light of the Partition Council’s October 1947 directive. He admitted to P.N. Kirpal, then Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, that there was “no dispute regarding these exhibits which [could] be easily identified.”¹⁷⁵ With regards to “[a]ll other exhibits which were loaned by the Indian Committee,” to the Royal Academy, however, namely items in “Category 2” and “Category 3,” Chakravarti claimed these works unequivocally for India, and advised they be “returned forthwith” to the Indian Executive Committee in Bombay for re-distribution, as he saw “no grounds for detaining [them] in London.”¹⁷⁶ Most Indian officials, however, objected to the Royal Academy’s plan in its entirety, fearing that the Indian Government would open itself to legal action by the Indian Executive Committee, if exhibits in the possession of the Royal Academy were not returned first to India. Some argued in this regard that “[n]either the Government of Pakistan nor of the Indian Union should receive the exhibits directly,” and that the Royal Academy should, instead, return all exhibits to the Indian Executive Committee in Bombay, to ensure the Committee and its members could fully “discharge” their charter and responsibility “to return exhibits to the persons or museums from which they borrowed them.”¹⁷⁷ Others still, like Dharma Vira, took their objections one step further and opposed any action by the Royal Academy in this matter on the grounds of

¹⁷⁴ Dhiren Mitra to Foreign Department, Government of India, Telegram Grade “C” dated 20 May 1948, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁷⁵ P.N. Kirpal, Letter dated 13 August 1948, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ R. Prasad to P.N. Kirpal, Note dated 14 August 1948, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

incompetence. Vira, then serving as Joint Secretary to the Indian Cabinet, argued at a very early stage in the process that the Royal Academy was simply “not competent to divide the exhibits between India and Pakistan,” and that the only appropriate solution to the problem of exhibits still in London by 1948 was, therefore, to return all exhibits to India, the only place where “[t]he question of [the] return of exhibits belonging to Pakistan” could in Vira’s view be considered fully and by a body or person “competent to do so.”¹⁷⁸

The Government of India ultimately stood firm in its objections to the Royal Academy’s proposal of May 1948, and dismissed Pakistan’s request to issue a joint directive at this early stage.¹⁷⁹ Instead, Dhiren Mitra, the legal advisor to the High Commissioner of India in London, communicated to the Royal Academy as early as June 24, 1948 that the Government of India and the Indian Executive Committee “strongly object[ed] to the return of the Exhibits to any authority other than the India Committee.”¹⁸⁰ To convince the Royal Academy of their stance, it appears Indian officials even considered going as far as to offer the Royal Academy indemnity “against all claims and demands of the Pakistan Government in relation to the exhibits”¹⁸¹ in the event the Royal Academy decided on the “correct view,”¹⁸² to honor India’s request and return all the exhibits directly to the Indian Executive Committee in Bombay. India’s

¹⁷⁸ Dharma Vira to Krishna Menon, Telegram Grade “C” from Foreign Department dated 1 April 1948, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁷⁹ S. Dutt to M. Ismail, Letter dated 20 August 1948, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁸⁰ D.M. Mitra to Sir Walter Lamb, Letter dated 24 June 1948, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁸¹ Krishna Menon to G.S. Bajpai, Telegram dated 17 August 1948, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁸² D.M. Mitra to Sir Walter Lamb, Letter dated 24 June 1948, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

unwillingness to budge on the issue at this stage essentially placed the Royal Academy and many of the exhibits in their possession in a state of limbo. Exhibits in “Category 2,” as to which “there [was] no dispute,” were returned to India as early as August 1948,¹⁸³ where they were retained for a time in New Delhi for public display in a national exhibition that, as Guha-Thakurta has detailed elsewhere, built on the curatorial framework of the Royal Academy exhibition in London in a number of powerful ways to mark the birth of the Indian nation to the world-stage.¹⁸⁴ However, exhibits in “Category 1” and “Category 3” were retained by the Royal Academy in London pending further guidance from the Partition Council, which did not arrive until the Inter-Dominion Conference of April 1949.

As previously discussed, the dispute over archaeological collections in museums in Delhi and Lahore was resolved during the Inter-Dominion Conference in April 1949. The Arbitral Tribunal of the Partition Council ruled that the Mohenjodaro and Chanhu-daro collections in Delhi and Lahore should be divided between India and Pakistan on a 50:50 basis and that a comprehensive duplicate-collection as possible of objects from Taxila should be given to India by Pakistan. As per this agreement, the Partition Council also instructed the Royal Academy to hand over exhibits in their possession to the representatives of the appropriate Dominions in London, absolving the Indian Executive Committee of any responsibility in the matter.¹⁸⁵ To aid the Royal Academy in the process, eight lists of exhibits were jointly prepared by representatives of the

¹⁸³ Wilde, Sapte & Co to Dhiren Mitra, Letter dated 19 May 1948, Exhibition Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, London.

¹⁸⁴ Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories*, 179.

¹⁸⁵ P.N. Kirpal to the High Commissioner for India in London, Express Letter (Secret) dated 12 July 1949, File No. 31-132/48-O.S.-V, Ministry of External Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

Governments of India and Pakistan as a guide for the division process. Three of these lists detailed the exhibits loaned from Mohenjodaro, Taxila, and Harappa that were to go to the Dominion of India, while five lists specified the exhibits loaned from Mohenjodaro and Taxila, as well as the Lahore, Peshawar, and Victoria Museums that were to be returned to the Dominion of Pakistan in the course of the division.¹⁸⁶

These lists are themselves fascinating documents to consider. On the one hand, they speak to the “equitable” framework to which the division of museums and museum collections between India and Pakistan aspired. Four objects, for instance, are listed as being divided in “half” between India and Pakistan, the four objects being the two gold necklaces from Taxila, the carnelian and copper girdle of Mohenjodaro, and the Mohenjodaro necklace of jade beads, gold discs, and semi-precious stones previously discussed.¹⁸⁷ Moving beyond these instances of object fragmentation, these lists also shed light on the character of negotiations that went on between India and Pakistan over museums and museum exhibits. By comparing lists IA and IB side-by-side, for instance, which taken together detail objects on loan to the Royal Academy from Mohenjodaro to be returned to Pakistan and India, it appears efforts were made to evenly distribute “types” of objects between India and Pakistan. For almost every seal from Mohenjodaro issued to Pakistan, India received one as well. Materiality of the objects in question also appears to have been of some concern to both dominions. While Pakistan received more exhibits made from metals like copper in the course of negotiations, India received items in shell, terracotta, and gold. Such observations raise questions as to other considerations

¹⁸⁶ High Commissioner for Pakistan to Sir Walter Lamb, Letter dated c. April 1949, File. No. F/2/3, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

made by officials in the course of the negotiation process. Was size and shape a factor?
What of projected financial value?

A letter from V.S. Agrawala to Mortimer Wheeler dated July 15, 1949, relating to a separate division scenario involving the archaeological collections from Taxila, of which India was promised a comprehensive duplicate collection, provides some insight into these questions around the Royal Academy lists and the broader negotiation process. In the course of his letter, Agrawala asks Wheeler to reconsider the allotment of copper jar No. 6062 to India, which has a “hole on one side.”¹⁸⁸ He asks Wheeler, instead, to be allotted the jar’s duplicate, No. 3036, which appears to be in better condition. In support of his request, Agrawala further cites a prior instance in the division process in which India compromised on the question of three silver goblets from Mohenjodaro for the sake of Pakistan. He writes:

“I am also enclosing photographs of three copper jars from Taxila, one of which No. SK. 211 is in the Taxila Museum (Photo IV). The other two are here [in Delhi]. I had requested you in my letter No. CM 6/3-1337, dated 21st April 1949 (copy enclosed) to allot No. 3036 to India (Photo V) and you were good enough to recommend it favourably for us. I am now informed by Mr. Khan (copy of his note enclosed) that instead of No. 3036, No. 6062 (Photo IV, neg. 749/49) which has a hole on one side can be given to us. I submit this for your reconsideration. The jars in Photo Nos. IV and V are duplicates and on that basis, one as recommended by you should be given to India. I am asking for one against two that will be left for the Taxila Museum. In the case of the three silver goblets from Mohenjodaro you agreed to allot one big in size to India against two to Pakistan. On the same analogy I request that jar No. 3036 (Photo V) may kindly be allotted to us. These suggestions emanate in the spirit in which the whole question of museum partition has been tackled and I hope that a fair decision will be arrived at.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ V.S. Agrawala to R.E.M. Wheeler, Letter dated 15 July 1949, Bundle 21, SL No. 424, File No. CM 6/3, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Bhubaneswar.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

The last few lines of Agrawala's request for jar No. 3036 are especially telling of the potential nuances of this process of division, and not only suggest that size and shape were, indeed, critical negotiating factors for archaeological officials involved in the division process, but so too was the presence of physical defects on the objects in question. Ultimately, how the Royal Academy lists were arrived at remains unclear in lieu of more detailed meeting minutes of the negotiation process. However, like Agrawala's brief letter to Wheeler, they nonetheless provide a sense in which every aspect of museum exhibits was potentially fodder for debate—from type, to material, to size, shape, and design.

In the end, with the aforementioned Royal Academy lists as guide, it was Mortimer Wheeler, acting simultaneously on behalf of the Indian and Pakistani governments, who effected the final division of objects still in the hands of the Royal Academy of Arts by November 1949. N.P. Chakravarti was supposed to have taken part in the process as well, as the primary representative for the Indian Government, while Wheeler in turn safeguarded the interests of the Pakistan Government. Chakravarti had even traveled to London expressly for this purpose in October 1949. However, due to continued administrative delays, ironically on account of the Indian Government, Chakravarti was forced to relinquish the job entirely to Wheeler, after being forced to leave London to attend to other pressing duties in New Delhi and Bombay.¹⁹⁰

The inaction of the Indian Government had admittedly been a source of great anxiety for Wheeler and other officials in London in the months leading up to the

¹⁹⁰ N.P. Chakravarti to R.E.M. Wheeler, Letter dated 10 November 1949, File No. E/2/9, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

division of the Royal Academy exhibits. In a letter to V.S. Agrawala dated September 30, 1949, Wheeler lamented:

“At the present moment there is the difficulty that your Government has, if I may say so, most inadvisably refrained from carrying out the agreement of the Inter-Dominion Conference in April in regard to the dispersal of the collection still held here by the Royal Academy. There is, or should be, no difficulty whatsoever in this matter since every detail was agreed by your Director General and his Government and was equally accepted by Karachi. On one specious excuse or another your High Commissioner here, presumably on instructions from Delhi, has refrained from giving the ‘release’, although the Pakistan Government has in this case acted promptly and properly in the matter.”¹⁹¹

But, as Wheeler’s correspondence also reveals, the inaction of the Indian Government was not entirely without reason. Rather, it had become a matter of unspoken political strategy, a way for Indian officials to ensure the efficient and timely division of museum exhibits then still in the hands of the Lahore Museum by October 1949. As V.S. Agrawala explains in a reply to Wheeler on October 13, 1949, the reason for delay on part of the Indian Government as regards the Royal Academy exhibits was likely linked to the West Punjab Government’s “not making over the Lahore Museum objects as required by the Inter-Dominion Agreement” of April 1949.¹⁹² That is to say, India’s “release” of the Royal Academy exhibits to Pakistan had deliberately become a form of leverage against Pakistan’s “release” of the remaining Lahore exhibits to India.

By and large, it appears that Wheeler and Chakravarti were “in complete accord in the whole matter” of the division of the Royal Academy exhibits.¹⁹³ So in November 1949, when Wheeler finally received the necessary authorizations from both the Indian

¹⁹¹ R.E.M. Wheeler to V.S. Agrawala, Letter dated 30 September 1949, File No. E/2/9, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

¹⁹² V.S. Agrawala to R.E.M. Wheeler, Letter dated 13 October 1949, File No. E/2/9, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

¹⁹³ R.E.M. Wheeler to V.S. Agrawala, Letter dated 31 October 1949, File No. E/2/9, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

and Pakistani Governments to release exhibits in the care of the Royal Academy to their respective dominions, which by that point largely consisted of Wheeler cross-checking the lists provided to him by the Governments of India and Pakistan, he was able to do so “smoothly and easily,” even in the absence of his Indian colleague.¹⁹⁴ Nonetheless, Wheeler’s unique position in this process of division, as a representative of both India and Pakistan, deserves further consideration. For one, Wheeler’s accounts of the final days of the division process in London differ according to his audience in a way that opens up new avenues for thinking about the critical stakes of this process of division. In a letter to N.P. Chakravarti dated November 18, 1949, for instance, Wheeler recounted:

“On Tuesday, the 14th, we completed the partition of the Royal Academy collections and on Wednesday squared everything with the customs authorities. There should be no further difficulty. Thank heavens for that!

Mitra turned up on behalf of India, and everything went very smoothly and easily. As usual, India won the toss on the two occasions when we had to toss for odd things. You seem to have won all down the line!”¹⁹⁵

Wheeler’s use of a sporting analogy to describe how last minute decisions were made in London is perhaps the most striking aspect of this passage. It not only inscribes the Royal Academy outcome as a victory for Indian officials, in a way that further reconfigures the division process as a kind of game. It also runs counter to the picture of anxiety around adhering to the “arithmetic of division”¹⁹⁶ prevalent in his earlier notes and, moreover, suggests that certain decisions about exhibits may have been left to chance or taken in a casual manner. By contrast, to his colleague M.A. Latif at the Ministry of Education in Pakistan, Wheeler wrote of the process’s conclusion in London:

¹⁹⁴ R.E.M. Wheeler to N.P. Chakravarti, Letter dated 18 November 1949, File No. E/2/9, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Lahiri, *Marshalling the Past*, 158.

“I feel that Pakistan, in the very difficult circumstances of the case, has come quite well out of the whole matter. We have now got a number of exceedingly important things which might well have been grabbed by India, including the finest piece of sculpture from Mohenjo-daro, which I was glad to see in Pakistani hands yesterday!”¹⁹⁷

Here too, Wheeler describes the division of the Royal Academy exhibits as a win, but in this version of events the victory is declared for Pakistani officials, who in staving off their Indian counterparts apparently managed to covet a few treasured items for themselves. While the discrepancies in Wheeler’s accounts of the division process could easily be attributed to his diplomatic responsibilities, they also powerfully raise questions as to his biases throughout—that is, how his own sense of ego and identity as a central player in this “new and peculiarly bizarre political experiment,” as Wheeler, himself, described partition in the “Pakistan Postscript” of his autobiography, *Still Digging: Interleaves from an Antiquary’s Notebook*, inadvertently came to frame the division of museum collections between India and Pakistan.¹⁹⁸

Indeed, of his position in the division process, Wheeler further reflected in his autobiography:

“It is easy to regret—and geographers must regret—the political fragmentation of so exceptionally tidy and seemly a slice of the map as the Indian subcontinent beneath its Himalayan frame. But the living contest of ideology *versus* geography on so vast a scale is enthralling and significant drama to any humanist, and a ring-side seat was a privilege of a memorable kind. Focused, as I saw it more than once, in the periodical battle of wits across the Indo-Pakistan conference-table, alternately at New Delhi and Karachi, the theme was not unworthy of an Eastern version of the *Dynasts*. Spread abroad, in the squalid, disease-ridden refugee camps and in perennial and diabolical frontier outrages, it was a sordid commentary on the unredeemed bestiality of mankind. In this environment, the salvaging of the vestiges of past achievement was often enough a thankless and

¹⁹⁷ R.E.M. Wheeler to M.A. Latif, Deputy Secretary to the Government of Pakistan, Letter dated 16 November 1949, File No. F/2/3, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections, London.

¹⁹⁸ R.E.M. Wheeler, *Still Digging: Interleaves from an Antiquary’s Notebook* (London: Readers Union, 1956), 227.

indeed irrelevant task. And yet, every now and then the fog broke for a moment and let through a faint ray of sensibility. Persistent attempts to make Pakistan aware of a past, to root its present hopes and sufferings in some sort of traditional and confident subsoil, were not altogether without effect.”¹⁹⁹

It is clear from this passage, and his earlier correspondence, that Wheeler was extremely conscious of his historical position, and moreover struggled to reconcile his “trivial” role in the division process with the broader humanitarian crisis concomitant to partition. While he admits to having felt “irrelevant” at times, especially when reflecting on the scale of human suffering that also characterized this period, he also finds a sense of accomplishment in his contributions to the “Indo-Pakistan conference table,”²⁰⁰ when reframing his involvement retrospectively, as vital to Pakistan’s future ideological stability. Important to keep in mind at this juncture is the fact that Wheeler, by this point in his illustrious career, had taken up the temporary position of Archaeological Advisor to the Government of Pakistan. In this position, Wheeler was not only entrusted with the responsibility of implementing the division of museum exhibits on behalf of the Pakistan Government, he was charged with “training, travelling, writing, excavating, and finally instituting the ‘National Museum of Pakistan’ at Karachi.”²⁰¹ In other words, at stake in this division process was not simply the “salvaging of the vestiges of past achievement,”²⁰² but also the future of entire cultural institutions then under Wheeler’s care. These included Pakistan’s new Department of Archaeology and, perhaps more importantly, the National Museum, Karachi, institutions of high symbolic and political value for a nation-state in its infancy.

¹⁹⁹ Wheeler, *Still Digging*, 227.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

VII. An Unfinished Process

By way of conclusion, it is important to note that the process of dividing museum exhibits between India and Pakistan did not end in October 1949, when the division of archaeological collections in Lahore and Delhi came to a “happy conclusion,” in the words of V.S. Agrawala.²⁰³ Nor did it end the following month, when all remaining exhibits in London for the Royal Academy of Arts exhibition were finally returned to their respective dominions in November 1949. The division process actually remained pending on several counts over the course of the next several decades, mirroring in a way the continued uncertainty and controversy around India and Pakistan’s national borders.

One issue complicating the process, for example, was a set of antiquities in the care of the Archeological Survey of India’s Archaeological Chemist in Dehradun. The exhibits included 1062 antiquities sent from Mohenjodaro on May 15, 1947 and 2 antiquities sent from Taxila on December 19, 1946. In a letter dated January 15, 1948, the Director of Archaeology in Pakistan explained that these objects had been “removed for purely chemical treatment and not for temporary display at any exhibition” prior to partition and were thus the subject of some uncertainty following partition.²⁰⁴ He, therefore, endeavored to claim them for Pakistan. Given that the exhibits had been transferred to Dehradun for the purposes of conservation and not for display, he believed the return of these objects should “take place independently of the implication of the Steering Committee’s decision regarding the return of Museum objects removed for

²⁰³ V.S. Agrawala to R.E.M. Wheeler, Letter dated 5 October 1949, E/2/9, Wheeler Archives, UCL Special Collections.

²⁰⁴ Director of Archaeology, Pakistan, Karachi to the Director-General of Archaeology, New Delhi, Letter No. 723/K dated 15 January 1948, Bundle 23, SL No. 480, File No. CM 6/3, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Bhubaneswar.

exhibition purposes after January 1947,²⁰⁵ and moreover that all of the objects should be returned to Pakistan. It is unclear what became of these antiquities; if they in the end engendered their own provision along the lines envisioned by the Director of Archaeology in Pakistan, or if they ultimately fell under the jurisdiction of the Partition Council's October 1947 decision. It appears, however, that the objects were a source of contention between India and Pakistan, as both V.S. Agrawala and Mortimer Wheeler, serving in the capacity of Archaeological Advisor for Pakistan, were still considering the matter in January 1949.²⁰⁶

Items belonging to the Lahore Museum's permanent collections were also apparently the subject of prolonged dispute. In a letter dated April 24, 1952, M.R. Sachdev, Chief Secretary to the Government of Punjab, India, informed the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India that several exhibits allocated to the East Punjab government as part of India's share of the Lahore Museum's collections at partition remained in Pakistan, in spite of the Arbitral Tribunal decision in April 1949 and subsequent instructions to finalize the transfer of exhibits between East and West Punjab in a timely manner.²⁰⁷ Sachdev wrote that the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab (India) had visited Lahore in January 1952 to address the situation and, on this trip, was able to secure possession of 127 paintings belonging to India. However, Sachdev noted that this official was not able to actually secure the paintings' transfer across the border to India and, for the time being, the exhibits were consigned to "the custody of [India's]

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ M.R. Sachdev, Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab to the Under Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Letter dated 24 April 1952, File No. 33/48/1952, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

Deputy High Commissioner at Lahore” while the necessary arrangements could be made for their removal to India.²⁰⁸ Importantly for Sachdev, these 127 paintings were but the tip of the iceberg, for in the end they represented merely a fraction of objects belonging to India that remained in Pakistan in 1952. According to his letter, 742 paintings of India’s share of the Lahore Museum’s collections still resided with the museum’s authorities, while more surprisingly the division of the Lahore Museum’s slide, coin, and library book collections between India and Pakistan had yet to be initiated at all, as “their very division [was] being disputed by the [West] Punjab (P) Government.”²⁰⁹ Sachdev added that the Director of Public Instruction, Punjab would be visiting Lahore again in May 1952 “when arrangements for the removal of paintings, slides, etc., not in dispute” would be finalized.²¹⁰ The “question relating to coins and library books” under dispute would also be discussed with the West Punjab government during this forthcoming visit.²¹¹

It seems, however, the matter of the Lahore Museum’s slide, coin, and library book collections were not resolved until the 1960s, if at all.²¹² That India had yet to receive their share of the Lahore Museum’s invaluable coin collection, at the very least, was an issue raised by W.G. Archer, Keeper of Indian Art for the Victoria and Albert Museum, in his “Report on the Punjab Museum, Patiala” in March 1960.²¹³ It

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² It is unclear whether the Lahore Museum’s slide and library book collections were ever fully divided between India and Pakistan.

²¹³ W.G. Archer, “Report on the Punjab Museum, Patiala,” 25 March 1960, W.G. Archer Correspondence, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

subsequently became a major concern of M.S. Randhawa, an eminent Indian bureaucrat and key player in the development of the Government Museum and Art Gallery in Chandigarh. Randhawa, in a meeting held in Chandigarh to discuss the “Reorganisation of the State Museum at Patiala” on April 18, 1960, argued, “the [East] Punjab government share of coins from the Lahore Museum should be secured without further delay,” presumably so the development of the unfolding Punjab Museum did not suffer any disadvantage going forward.²¹⁴ The matter, according to V.S. Suri, the Keeper of Records for Punjab, had actually been pending since 1954 with the Partition Council and officials agreed that, given a collection of nearly 8000 coins was a stake, it was time to secure a resolution.²¹⁵

I end my discussion here, with these last few loose cases of division, not only as a way to reiterate the madness of the process of dividing museum collections between India and Pakistan in the twentieth century, or its messy and protracted nature, what has been a central thread of my analysis of the Lahore Museum’s experience during partition throughout the course of this chapter. I also seek to emphasize the *unfinished* nature of this division process, and the ways in which it actually remains pending or ongoing today. Embracing this idea of irresolution is critical for a number of reasons, notwithstanding the important implications it has for the writing of South Asian art history in the present. First, it exposes the limits of recent scholarship on partition and visual culture in South Asia that, in an attempt to settle and/or resolve the persistent tensions of this historiography, has raised the idea of reconciliation. By reconciliation, I

²¹⁴ C.D. Kapur, Secretary to Government, Punjab, “Proceedings of the Meeting Held at Chandigarh on the Reorganisation of the State Museum at Patiala,” 18 April 1960, File No. 1468, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

mean the prospect of reunifying India and Pakistan’s fractured heritage either through exhibitions, publications, or strategic loans, as a means to “overcome [the] political rifts” undergirding India and Pakistan’s separate claims to sovereignty in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and “restore some integrity to those objects and collections” that bore the violence of partition in their own right.²¹⁶ While the question of reconciliation provides, in some ways, a productive pathway into thinking about the ethical dimensions of this historical experience, it does so in a way that—whether consciously or not—also inscribes partition and the division of cultural patrimony between India and Pakistan, as having reached a conclusion, a bitter but finite end. This is an understanding of the division process that dangerously fails to acknowledge the gross entanglements between monuments, museums, and museum collections that persist between India and Pakistan into the present. Indeed, it is precisely these entanglements that today attest to the impossibility of the task set forth by the Partition Council in 1947 of dividing a shared culture into two mutually exclusive and/or nationalistic domains. Second, this notion of irresolution or “unfinished” powerfully destabilizes the relationship between the museum and the nation-state in South Asia, a relationship within the broader historiography on museums that has for so long been difficult to think against. It does so precisely by foregrounding these entanglements between monuments, museums, and museum collections in India and Pakistan that carve out a new cartography for art and culture across the subcontinent, one born of the interconnections of India and Pakistan’s art worlds, their overlapping ideologies, and shared experiences, as will be explored further in Chapter 3.

²¹⁶ For example, see Lahiri, “Partitioning the Past,” 310-311.

CHAPTER 3

In Search of a Home: The Lahore Collections in India, 1948-68

Established in 1968, the Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh (hereafter Chandigarh Museum) is presently located in the city's Sector 10, tucked between the Government Arts School and Chandigarh's famed Leisure Valley. Together with the Science Museum and the Chandigarh Architecture Museum, it caps off a large cultural compound situated a few blocks down from the city's Capitol Complex and Nek Chand's Rock Garden, one that is further home to a small open air amphitheater, a fountain, a sound and light show, and a range of artistic and archival collections. Designed by French-Swiss architect Le Corbusier, along with his colleagues Pierre Jeanneret, M.N. Sharma, and S.D. Sharma, the Chandigarh Museum [Fig. 3.1], like many of the city's most iconic landmarks, embodies a grand sculptural gesture, born of a raw, functional, brutalist aesthetic. Reminiscent of Le Corbusier's earlier work at the Villa Savoye in France, moreover, it combines a simple, exterior façade of concrete and red brick, with a monumental colonnade at its entrance hall that unveils the museum's open, rectilinear floor plan with a poetic interaction of interior and exterior space. This fluidity between inside and outside is further accentuated by the museum's collections of monumental sculpture, which spill out from its entrance hall into the museum's courtyard [See Figs. 3.2-3.3], weaving visitors through a selection of medieval Indian gods and goddesses, before ushering them through the museum's curated galleries that traverse a total of three interspersed levels. The Chandigarh Museum holds approximately 12,000 objects in its extensive collections, among which is an eclectic range of textiles, decorative arts, sculptures, paintings, and manuscripts that further spans the

subcontinent's ancient, medieval, pre-modern, and modern histories [See Figs. 3.4-3.7]. In spite of this encyclopedic reach, however, a forceful juxtaposition between the museum's antiquities collections and contemporary Indian art holdings anchor its curatorial program, whose overall effect leaves visitors assured of India's arrival within the global cultural arena today.

If the Chandigarh Museum presents a stark architectural contrast to its counterpart across the border in Lahore, whose Indo-Saracenic frame transports visitors back to an earlier colonial moment in the subcontinent's history, it also proves emblematic of the wider aesthetic project of the city of Chandigarh on the whole, its hopes for a new beginning in the wake of independence in the mid-twentieth century, as well as its disjunctures as an unequivocal response to partition in 1947. Chandigarh was the pet-project of India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru [Fig. 3.8].¹ Nehru believed that construction of a new and modern capital city in India's East Punjab (hereafter Punjab) would inaugurate a new future for a province and nation ravaged by the violence of partition, the exchange of populations with Pakistan, and the loss of its prized city at Lahore. While Chandigarh, with its modern, utopic architecture authored by Le Corbusier, would in time manifest a critical expression of Nehru's aspirations for the post-colonial Indian nation-state—his faith in the principles of modernization, industrialization, and technological advancement—it would also become an important index of the ruptures of society and culture that continued to plague the Indian

¹ For more on Chandigarh and its architecture, see Tracy Bonfitto, "The Rock Garden: A Study of Memory, Place-Making, and Community in Chandigarh, India," Ph.D. diss (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2017); Norma Evenson, *Chandigarh* (Berkeley: University of California, 1966); Ravi Kalia, *The Making of an Indian City* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1999); Vikramaditya Prakash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2002).

subcontinent as a whole in the wake of partition. Indeed, even as Chandigarh was touted as a new beginning for Punjab, an answer to the aura of disorder and uncertainty created by partition, it grew from a series of violent displacements that paradoxically deepened the city's relationship to the very legacy of violence and trauma it was meant to mollify, if not erase. Where, for instance, the city's founding involved the dislocation of 24 villages and 9,000 residents who inhabited the area prior to its selection in spring 1948 as the site of Punjab's new capital city,² the Chandigarh Museum, the cultural heart of the city, was established in the 1960s largely in response to the displacement of the Lahore Museum's collections two decades earlier.

This chapter tells the story of how India's share of the Lahore collections came to be acquired by the Chandigarh Museum in the 1960s to interrogate partition's ramifications for these objects of art and heritage and elucidate the abnormal and difficult conditions in which the Lahore collections, as a whole, have been made national in India and Pakistan. This narrative is further divided into five parts. In the first section, I explore the direct effects of the division process on the Lahore Museum, and the collections that remained in place in Pakistan following independence and partition. My analysis details the physical changes that came to the museum and its curatorial program between 1949-73, as it grappled with its new identity as a national institution for Pakistan, in addition to the ideological hurdles that the institution faced in the course of this long transformation. I argue that the Lahore Museum, in spite of its purported arrival as a national or "pseudo-national"³ institution by 1973 with the installation of the Freedom Movement Gallery,

² Evenson, 7; V. Prakash, 7.

³ Shaila Bhatti, *Translating Museums: A Counter-History of South Asian Museology* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2012), 102.

inhabits a continued unease in its new national guise, one that not only points to its difficult becoming in the mid-twentieth-century, but exposes continued fissures in the institution's relationship to the Pakistani nation-state today.

My second section and, indeed, the remainder of this chapter looks across the Indo-Pakistani border to trace the fate of those objects in the Lahore Museum's permanent collections that were transferred to India following the division process. In this regard, my analysis recounts the long and winding journey of the Lahore collections in India, as they traveled between various cities and museums across the Punjab in search of a new and permanent home. My primary objective is to clarify the chronology of the Lahore collections' travels in India: where they went after their arrival in Amritsar in 1948-49, who cared for them while in India, and what kinds of institutions they constituted on their way to Chandigarh. My second aim is to bring forth the Lahore collections' sense of displacement in India, in other words the unease they, too, came to embody in the face of new national ownership. Of central concern to my analysis in this regard is the figure of M.S. Randhawa, an eminent Indian civil servant, botanist, and later art historian, who became a key advocate for the Lahore collections in India and a major proponent of their settlement in Chandigarh. In particular, I trace how Randhawa became involved with the Lahore collections, and what steps he took to ensure they arrived safely in Chandigarh by the 1960s.

The third part of this chapter distills the language of both criminality and homelessness that came to encapsulate the Lahore collections in India in the two decades preceding their settlement in Chandigarh. My primary objective in this section is to demonstrate how this language, anchored by such terms as "fugitive" and "homeless,"

brought into question the Lahore collections' sense of belonging in India *then*, and speaks to the fact of their displacement *today*—their continued placelessness in India, even as they appear settled as foundational acquisitions of the Chandigarh Museum. I further argue that this vocabulary, in contrast to the nationalist narratives of art and architecture that the Lahore collections are made to signify in the present, denaturalizes the relationship between the museum and the nation-state in South Asia in powerful ways, firstly by foregrounding continued ties between Lahore and Chandigarh Museums, and secondly by placing the division of art and culture between India and Pakistan in direct conversation with the partition's larger humanitarian crises of migration and dispossession.

In an effort to better understand how and why this language of criminality and homelessness came to be applied to the Lahore collections in India, my fourth section contextualizes Randhawa's use of the term "homeless" against his long and distinguished career in the Indian civil service. I argue that Randhawa's view of the Lahore collections as "homeless," and his subsequent drive to rehabilitate them as the base collection of a new museum at Chandigarh, grew out of a broader web of concern for the unsettled condition of Indian cities in the wake of partition, and can be tied moreover to his wider efforts to cultivate civil prosperity in Delhi and Punjab in the mid-twentieth century. In this respect, my analysis provides an overview of Randhawa's rehabilitation work resettling partition refugees in the 1940s and 1950s, including his controversial tenure as Deputy Commissioner of Delhi from 1946-48. I also draw attention to Randhawa's efforts, in his capacity as an Indian civil servant, to beautify Indian cities through the

proliferation of various landscaping initiatives and cultural institutions, namely art museums.

In my final section, I provide a detailed history of the Chandigarh Museum's development between 1954-68, with an eye towards Randhawa's involvement in the project, to spotlight the difficulties Randhawa faced in his efforts to both rehabilitate the Lahore collections as Indian national patrimony, and provide them with a permanent home. The convolutions of this narrative resist linear or chronological frameworks in a manner that reinforces the Lahore collections' history of dispossession in India. This section is, therefore, structured loosely along three entangled, historical axes. In this regard, I trace how the histories of three distinct institutions overlap and ultimately coalesce at the hands of M.S. Randhawa over the course of the 1950s and 1960s to give shape to the Chandigarh Museum by 1968. These institutions include the Punjab state's Museum and Central Records office in Simla, the Punjab State Museum at Patiala, and Le Corbusier's unrealized Museum of Knowledge project for Chandigarh. My analysis in this section also thus details Randhawa's initial aspirations for an art gallery in Chandigarh in 1954, his continued advocacy for the project even after the Lahore collections were moved to Patiala in 1959, and his fierce debates with French-Swiss architect Le Corbusier over the development of a Museum of Knowledge at Chandigarh in 1960. I further demonstrate how Randhawa's advocacy for a museum at Chandigarh in these two decades was shaped by his burgeoning interest in Kangra art and history, his friendship with W.G. Archer, a British scholar of Indian art history, as well as the very real threat of future partitions in Punjab.

I. The Crisis in Lahore

In many ways, the division process marked only the beginning of the physical and ideological upheaval that the Lahore Museum and its collections would endure because of partition, and the dislocation of political and cultural boundaries that ensued across the Indian subcontinent in the mid-twentieth century. For one, following the physical division of its collections, the Lahore Museum faced a major crisis of identity in place. As we have seen in the course of this dissertation, the Lahore Museum for most of its institutional history toggled between colonial, provincial, and national orientations (Chapter 1). But, at partition, “physically decapitated and ideologically marred”⁴ by the loss of 40% of its permanent collections and 50% of its archaeological collections, it was suddenly thrust into a new national framework, shackled to a geography considerably smaller than its earlier provincial reach, and to a foreign identitarian logic “imagined around an Islamic nation with a secular Muslim society.”⁵

Aside from the relocation of archaeological material to the Lahore Museum between 1944-46, other changes had been afoot within the institution in the early-1940s that could have conceivably lessened the blow of this sudden upheaval. These changes reflected the subcontinent’s shifting political landscape in the twentieth century, if not just the rapid turnover in leadership and curatorial vision that saw S.N. Gupta, Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, M.I. Chaudhari, and C.L. Fabri,⁶ key members of the

⁴ Bhatti, 100.

⁵ Bhatti, 85.

⁶ C.L. Fabri, an Hungarian archeologist, art historian, and critic, served as an “Officer on Special Duty” in the Lahore Museum from September 1936 to May 1940, during which time he became intimately acquainted with the institution’s collections. Initially, Fabri was appointed to implement the suggestions made by S.F. Markham and H. Hargreaves in their 1935 survey of *The Museums of India* to improve the Lahore Museum and its facilities. In this capacity, Fabri was charged with cleaning, cataloguing,

museum's curatorial staff, each take over the curatorship between 1940-45. For instance, the Lahore Museum's *Annual Reports* reveal a building anxiety around the "extremely poor" condition of the museum's gallery of "Islamic Arts and Crafts in India" during this time, which eventually leads to proposals for its reorganization and expansion as early as 1942-43.⁷ Of primary concern to the curatorial staff in this regard was the lack of objects in the museum's collections representing Muslim culture and civilization in India; so inadequate were the museum's displays in the eyes of Zafar Hasan, for instance, that he went as far as to describe the gallery's name of "Islamic Arts and Crafts in India" to be "misleading" in his report published in 1943.⁸ To rectify this perceived imbalance in the museum's collections and overall curatorial program, Zafar Hasan recommended the immediate acquisition of "Muslim antiquities," such as specimens of calligraphy, *farmans*, *nishans*, *parvanas*, and *sanads*, to which the Lahore Museum's subsequent acquisition registers appear to conform.⁹ But, in retrospect, this hardly constituted enough change to the museum and its curatorial objectives to accommodate the demands of a nation in its infancy in 1947, or compensate for the palpable void at the heart of the museum's collections by 1949.

rearranging, and labeling exhibits in the Prehistoric, Brahmanic and Jaina galleries. He would later serve as Curator of the Lahore Museum from 1945-1948, during which time he oversaw Wheeler's relocation of archaeological material to Lahore, and subsequent changes to the museum's Prehistoric displays. He would leave for Delhi in 1948, prior to the completion of the division process, which became the responsibility of his successor M.I. Chaudhari. See, W.H.F. Armstrong, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1936-37* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1937), Lahore Museum, Lahore. See also, Bhatti, 92.

⁷ Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1942-43* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1943), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hasan, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1942-43* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1943), Lahore Museum, Lahore; M.I. Chaudhari, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1943-44* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1944), Lahore Museum, Lahore.

The decade immediately following partition was, indeed, among the most despondent years in the Lahore Museum's institutional history, marked by an unrelenting sense of chaos and disorder—both physical and conceptual. Shaila Bhatti attributes this disarray within the museum to a number of different factors. First, she argues that the dearth of museum professionals in Pakistan at this time, who were both capable of caring for the institution, and seeing it through this crucial physical and ideological transition, ensured that several colonial records were either lost or destroyed, and that the museum's galleries and collections fell into a state of disuse and disrepair.¹⁰ Indeed, while M.I. Chaudhari was the first to hold the curatorship after partition from 1948-52, his short tenure was followed by that of Malik Shams and Syed M. Taqi, former school inspectors with little, if any, museum experience under their belts.¹¹ Second, Bhatti demonstrates that the process of nationalizing the Lahore Museum for Pakistan required much more than a quick “cosmetic facelift.”¹² It involved great conceptual labor that could not be undertaken by just anyone, let-alone a curator with inadequate vision or experience. This labor included a concerted “decolonization” of the museum's collections and displays, then still arranged according to colonial policies and agendas. It also involved a re-framing of the institution's heterogeneous collections, which taken together more readily proffered a pluralistic ancestry of the Pakistani nation-state, rather than one necessarily of Islamic origins.¹³

¹⁰ Bhatti, 93.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., 94.

¹³ Ibid., 102.

Not surprisingly, efforts to revitalize and reconfigure the Lahore Museum, as a post-colonial institution, did not take shape until several years after partition in 1965, when an Advisory Committee was finally constituted to pull the museum from its disarray. This Committee was formed under the auspices of B.A. Kureshi, a government official then working in the Planning Department of the Government of West Pakistan, who would serve the Lahore Museum for nearly three decades as the Chairman of its Board of Governors, and later be credited with saving the institution from near “extinction.”¹⁴ In this leadership role, Kureshi inaugurated a long (and ongoing) process of renovation and reorganization within the Lahore Museum. Of primary concern to Kureshi and the Advisory Committee in 1965 was the refurbishment of the museum’s building and galleries. No physical harm had come to the Lahore Museum’s building on account of partition and independence. While some government officials had feared that the transfer of museum exhibits from Lahore to East Punjab, if “unnecessarily hurried,” might incite “ugly incidents” in Lahore, the Lahore Museum never came under attack during partition.¹⁵ At most, its doors were closed to the public for a few days to protect the museum’s holdings, a protocol established during the communal disturbances of April 1919.¹⁶ The museum did, however, suffer from general neglect in the decade that followed. Its refurbishment in the 1960s thus entailed everything from the re-plastering of

¹⁴ Saifdur Rahman Dar, *Repositories of Our Cultural Heritage: A Handbook of Museums in Pakistan* (Lahore: Newfine Printing, 1979), 8.

¹⁵ “Note on the Punjab Partition Items (Appendix II),” Note dated c. 1948, File No. 51/248/IV/48-Public, Ministry of Home Affairs, National Archives of India, Delhi.

¹⁶ For more on the precedent for this protocol, see Lionel Heath, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1919-20* (Lahore: Superintendent Government Printing, Punjab, 1920), Lahore Museum, Lahore. See also, Bhatti, 98.

its walls and the re-laying of its floors, to the installation of artificial lighting.¹⁷ Kureshi's revitalization campaign also, however, targeted the museum's conceptual infrastructure, and involved the complete resorting of exhibits, as well as the addition of new galleries, among which was a new "Islamic Gallery."¹⁸

Introduced into the Lahore Museum between 1966-67, this Islamic Gallery was likely formed by coalescing objects formerly exhibited in the museum's gallery of "Islamic Arts and Crafts of India," with other items in the museum's remaining collections that loosely conformed to the theme of Muslim culture and civilization, as no new acquisitions had been made to the Lahore Museum in the period between 1947 and the institution's re-structuring two decades later.¹⁹ The resulting mix of exhibits, as can be seen in the gallery today, included brocaded, embroidered, and other traditional fabrics, Kashmir shawls, footwear, ivory, mother of pearl, and other shell artifacts, jewelry, glazed pottery, engraved metal work, wood carvings and paintings, musical instruments, hookahs, carpets manufactured during the reign of Shah Jahan, arms and armor, as well as specimens of Islamic calligraphy and manuscripts that have since been moved to their own gallery²⁰—in other words, "vestiges made under/for/about Muslim patronage/rule."²¹ The gallery's primary objective was, accordingly, to rectify the historic deficiencies within the museum's curatorial layout surrounding the display of Muslim arts and culture, and indeed the integration of the gallery into the museum's broader

¹⁷ Bhatti, 93.

¹⁸ Anjum Rehmani, *Masterpieces of the Lahore Museum* (Lahore: Lahore Museum and UNESCO, 1999), 3.

¹⁹ Bhatti, 104.

²⁰ Liaquat Ali Khan Niazi, *Lahore Museum: A Gallery of Our Culture, A Guide* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 2004), 30-33.

²¹ Bhatti, 105.

curatorial plan was celebrated at this time as an “historic event in the life of the Museum,” one “truly reflective of the Muslim Art and genius.”²²

While the installation of the Islamic Gallery in 1967 would then seem to signify the arrival of the Lahore Museum as a national institution for Pakistan, Bhatti cautions against prematurely reading the gallery as such, as a complete articulation necessarily of national ideology.²³ In this regard, she points to a palpable discrepancy that (in many ways still) exists between the intention of the Islamic Gallery and its displays, by which a heterogeneous collection of art and craft, superficially unified in their association to Muslim patronage and rule, was “made to doubly signify the rhetoric of Pakistan.”²⁴ She argues, instead, that the Islamic Gallery more readily “exemplifies the conflict that emanates from the convergence of two stages of the Lahore Museum—colonial and national.”²⁵ It attests, in other words, to the institution’s continued unease in the wake of partition. Bhatti likens the restructuring of the Islamic Gallery in 1966-67, moreover, to other exhibitions of Islamic heritage taking place in Pakistan in the late-1950s and 1960s, including the *International Exhibition of Muslim Art and Culture* held in the Lahore Fort from 1957-58, which were part of a broader and gradual process of “recoding” heritage with meaning pertinent to a post-colonial Pakistani society.²⁶

The “subtle recoding” of the museum’s new Islamic Gallery, indeed, proved a striking contrast to the overt, nationalist rhetoric of the museum’s Freedom Movement

²² *Working Report on the Lahore Museum for the Year 1968-69*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan, quoted in Anjum Rehmani, “The Islamic Gallery of Lahore Museum,” *Lahore Museum Heritage*, Anjum Rehmani, ed. (Lahore: Lahore Museum, 1994), 137. See also, Bhatti, 104.

²³ Bhatti, 104.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 104-105.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 104.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 104, 255.

Gallery, installed some years later in 1973.²⁷ As previously discussed in Chapter 1, this gallery combined an array of paintings, photographs, newspaper cuttings, poetry, songs, explanatory sheets in both English and Urdu, among other miscellaneous items, to narrate the political struggle for Pakistan in the twentieth century. In the years since its installation, it has given way to a very rigid, didactic viewing experience that overwhelms visitors of the Lahore Museum with the faces, personalities, personal effects, ideas, and achievements of the critical Muslim scholars, artists, and politicians who had a formidable impact on the Pakistan Freedom Movement. These include Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the Islamist reformist and philosopher who coined the term “two-nation theory,” Allama Iqbal, the Urdu poet, philosopher, and politician whose rousing presidential address to the All-India Muslim League in December 1930 marked a critical juncture in the fight for a separate Muslim state in British India, and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan’s first Governor-General.²⁸ As Shaila Bhatti has demonstrated, the overall effect of the Freedom Movement Gallery has been essentially to naturalize the emergence of Muslim nationalism in the twentieth century and, in turn, the creation of Pakistan by reconfiguring independence and partition in 1947 as the natural climax of a Muslim national consciousness dating as far back as the eighteenth century.²⁹

The juxtaposition of the two galleries within the Lahore Museum’s curatorial program is still very jarring today, with the more tentative Islamic Gallery still located at the museum’s entrance, and the more aggressive Freedom Movement Gallery sprawled

²⁷ Bhatti, 104.

²⁸ Muhammad Iqbal, “Presidential Address to the Muslim League in 1930,” *Foundations for Pakistan*, Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed. (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1970), 153-171.

²⁹ Bhatti, 106-107.

across the museum's first floor. While the Islamic Gallery struggles to nationalize the Lahore Museum from within by reckoning with the institution's past—the encyclopedic logic of its colonial foundations—the Freedom Movement Gallery endeavors to subvert it entirely. It bends the institution towards official national discourse by inserting itself upon the institution from the outside.³⁰ In many ways, this curatorial disconnect between the “subtle recoding” of the former and the overt propaganda of the latter stands as a powerful relic of the museum's difficult becoming in the twentieth-century, indicative moreover of the ongoing struggle the institution faces in its embrace of its national duty in the present.

While the collections in Lahore struggled to make a new home of an old one in the aftermath of the division process then, the 40% of the Lahore Museum's permanent exhibits transferred to India faced a different kind of unease. Physically and ideologically displaced, the collections embarked on a long sojourn towards resettlement that carried them, at times aimlessly, between cities and museums in India for several years, before they were acquired for the Chandigarh Museum in the 1960s. In what follows, I trace the intricacies of this long and winding journey of the Lahore collections in India to expose the character of this unease, as well as its implications for both the exhibits and the cultural institutions they shaped along the way to Chandigarh.

³⁰ Ibid.

II. Displaced Across Punjab

The Lahore collections first arrived in Lal Kothi at Amritsar between 1948-49.³¹ After a brief stay, they were removed to Simla, the de-facto capital of the Indian state of Punjab after partition, where they were then temporarily stored in the basement of St. Andrew's Church,³² and its adjoining building called "the Manse."³³ In Simla, efforts were made to establish a museum to care for the Lahore collections, and in 1952 Ujjal Singh, the Minister for Finance and Rehabilitation for Punjab, inaugurated a temporary institution for this purpose.³⁴ Joined with the Punjab State Record office, this temporary museum essentially combined the Lahore collections with the state's archival records. It was supervised by V.S. Suri, an archivist and historian then serving as the Keeper of Records for Punjab, and was variously referred to as the East Punjab Government Museum, the State Museum, or simply the Punjab Museum in official correspondence. These latter designations are important to keep in mind in view of the larger history of

³¹ As discussed in Chapter 2, there is some discrepancy as to when the Lahore collections arrived in India. While a majority of sources suggest that India's share of the Lahore Museum's permanent exhibits arrived between 1948-49, it is possible that some of these objects were transferred at a later date, and possibly as late as the 1960s. See, Museum Catalogue, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, India; M.S. Randhawa to P.N. Kirpal, Letter dated 18 April 1967, File No. 1621, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; S.D. Sharma, "Museum and Art Gallery—Chandigarh," *Roopa-Lekha* XXXVIII, No 1-2 (1967), 249.

³² Built in 1915, St. Andrew's Church is a brick building located on the Mall at Simla, near the General Post Office, and the city's famous Christ Church. When the Lahore collections transferred to Simla, the building was no longer used as a religious facility, though M.S. Randhawa continued to refer to it as a church in official correspondence throughout the 1950s. The congregation of St. Andrew's Church vacated this building for another, sometime after independence in 1947. Newspaper records indicate that the vacated church was transformed into a State Record office for East Punjab, as early as 1948, before then also being used as a museum from 1952-59. Today, this brick structure has acquired heritage status, and operates a wing of the Himachal State Library. See, V.S. Suri to Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh, Letter dated 19 July 1954, File No. 1462, pp. 126, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; "Historical Finds in E. Punjab," *Hindustan Times*, dated 23 October 1948, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Delhi.

³³ See, M.S. Randhawa to P.N. Kirpal, Letter dated 18 April 1967, File No. 1621, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; Sharma, 250.

³⁴ Sharma, 250.

museums in post-colonial Punjab. They locate this temporary museum in Simla within the larger institutional genealogy of the Punjab State Museum, an institution with vicissitudes at Simla, Patiala, and Chandigarh that was meant in its various forms to both compensate for the loss of the Lahore Museum to Pakistan in the wake of partition, and in time rival other state museums in India.³⁵

While the Lahore collections settled in Simla, the capital of Punjab shifted to the new and unfolding city of Chandigarh in 1954. The plan, at this time, was to move the Lahore collections from Simla to Chandigarh as well. M.S. Randhawa, then serving as the Development Commissioner of Punjab, envisioned them as the base collection for a new museum and art gallery located at the state's capital.³⁶ As early as 1950, Randhawa had begun to supplement the Lahore collections with additions of his own, traveling across the Punjab Hills in search of private collectors of Pahari and Kangra miniature paintings willing to donate or sell their artworks to the future museum project at Chandigarh.³⁷ Unfortunately, proper accommodation could not be found in Chandigarh for the Lahore collections at this time, as plans for the construction of a museum and art gallery at Chandigarh had been deferred due to lack of funds, among other reasons to be

³⁵ J.S. Bhowmagary to M.S. Randhawa, Letter dated 27 October 1955, File No. 1457, pp. 43, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; C.D. Chadhe, Letter dated 24 November 1959, File No. 1525, pp. 44-45, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; B.S. Manchanda, Letter dated 12 June 1958, File No. 1468, pp. 119, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; "Proceedings of the Meeting held at Chandigarh on Reorganisation of the State Museum at Patiala," dated 18 April 1960, File No. 1468, pp. 337-344, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

³⁶ M.S. Randhawa, Letter dated 29 June 1954, File No. 1462, pp. 78, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

³⁷ By 1968, Randhawa's efforts amassed 2348 additional miniature paintings for the Chandigarh Museum. See, Sushil Sarkar, "Brief History," N.D., File No. 1626, pp. 546-549, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh. For more on Randhawa's travels and collecting efforts in Kangra, see also M.S. Randhawa to P.N. Kirpal, Letter dated 18 April 1967, File No. 1621, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

elaborated on in the course of this chapter.³⁸ So, the collections remained in Simla for a few years more, until declining conditions in the Punjab Museum and State Record office at Simla forced their relocation to Patiala in 1959,³⁹ where the Punjab Government intended to establish a more permanent Punjab State Museum.⁴⁰

Upon their arrival to Patiala, the Lahore collections were housed across two locations: the Qila Mubarak [Fig. 3.9], an eighteenth century Sikh palace complex located in the heart of the city, and the old Moti Bagh Palace [Fig. 3.10], the principal residence of the Maharaja of Patiala and his family prior to partition.⁴¹ In Patiala, the Lahore collections joined a set of exhibits that had been stored in the Qila Mubarak since 1950, also awaiting transfer to a proper museum. These included the collections of the dissolved PEPSU Museum⁴²—a valuable set of arms and armor amassed by the rulers of Patiala over the preceding century and a half—and a number of independent

³⁸ Dharam Ravi, Letter dated 8 April 1958, File No. 1525, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; D. Phaye, Letter dated 9 April 1958, File No. 1525, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

³⁹ There is some discrepancy as to when the Lahore collections were moved to Patiala. Sushil Sarkar claims, for instance, that the collections were moved to Patiala as early as 1956. While it is possible that the decision to relocate the Lahore collections to Patiala was made in 1956, I think the later date is more likely for their actual transfer, especially given that the Punjab Government's purchase of the Moti Bagh Palace was not finalized before 1957. See, Sushil Sarkar, "Brief History," N.D., File No. 1626, pp. 546-549, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh. See also, S.S. Talwar to B.K. Thapur, Letter dated 5 December 1968, File No. 11/1/6/68-M/1968/Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁴⁰ S.S. Talwar to B.K. Thapur, Letter dated 5 December 1968, File No. 11/1/6/68-M/1968/Monuments, ASI, NAI; Memo on Museum and Picture Art Gallery, Chandigarh, N.D., File No. 1533, pp. 139-140, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; S. Hukam Singh, Letter dated 24 June 1957, File No. 1525, pp. 275-276, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁴¹ Sushil Sarkar, "Remarks: Brief History of the Chandigarh Museum." N.D., File No. 1621, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; N.P.S. Randhawa, Director of Tourism, Museums, and Archives, Government of Punjab, conversation with author, 25 May 2016.

⁴² The Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) was a state of India from 1948-56. It united eight formerly princely territories into one, including Patiala, Jind, Kapurthala, Nabha, Faridkot, Malerkotla, Kalsia, and Nalagarh. PEPSU eventually merged with the Indian state of Punjab, following the passage of the States Reorganisation Act in 1956.

acquisitions.⁴³ Together at Patiala, the Lahore collections, along with this hodge-podge of exhibits, thus marked the beginnings of a new Punjab State Museum that was earmarked for the old Moti Bagh Palace. The Punjab Government had acquired the old Moti Bagh Palace as early as 1957,⁴⁴ with the intention of using the former residence and its grounds to establish a permanent Punjab State Museum at Patiala. Nonetheless, records suggest that the Lahore collections were never displayed in Patiala, as part of this new museum.⁴⁵ At most, I can confirm that V.S. Suri catalogued the Lahore collections for the Punjab State Museum, Patiala, in this period. This is evinced by W.G. Archer's report on the Moti Bagh Palace in 1960, and by acquisition seals still visible on many of the Lahore exhibits in India [**Fig. 3.11**], which brand them as both having come from Lahore, and as property of the "Punjab Government Museum, Patiala."⁴⁶

The Lahore collections' move to Patiala was not their last in India. In 1961, the Punjab Government retracted their purchase of the old Moti Bagh Palace, and resold it to the Government of India, who instead transformed the east wing of the palace and its campus into a National Institute for Sports.⁴⁷ This decision on part of the Punjab

⁴³ W.G. Archer, "Report on the Punjab Museum, Patiala," 25 March 1960, Art File (1966-68), Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; Email correspondence with Brinda Kumar, Assistant Curator, The MET Breuer, 16 May 2016.

⁴⁴ "Museum of Knowledge," N.D., File No. 1525, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁴⁵ W.G. Archer, "Report on the Punjab Museum, Patiala," 25 March 1960, Art File (1966-68), Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; "Proceedings of the Meeting held at Chandigarh on Reorganisation of the State Museum at Patiala," dated 18 April 1960, File No. 1468, pp. 337-344, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁴⁶ Museum Catalogue, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, India; W.G. Archer, "Report on the Punjab Museum, Patiala," 25 March 1960, Art File (1966-68), Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁴⁷ "Proceedings of the Meeting held under the Chairmanship of Chief Minister to discuss the scheme for setting up of a Zoological Park on the land appurtenant to the Moti Bagh Palace," 6 January 1961, File No. 1525, pp. 128-130, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

Government to resell the old Moti Bagh Palace essentially displaced the unfolding Punjab State Museum, along with the Lahore collections, for the fourth time in the span of twelve years. It left the institution and its collections scrambling to find an alternative home. While a selection of the Punjab State Museum's collections would in time find refuge in the Qila Mubarak,⁴⁸ and a small portion of the old Moti Bagh Palace called the Sheesh Mahal [Fig. 3.12],⁴⁹ the Lahore collections were separated out at this time, and finally removed to Chandigarh. This was largely on account of Randhawa himself, who intervened on behalf of the Lahore collections after winning approval and the necessary funds to build a fine arts museum at Chandigarh in 1961.⁵⁰

The transfer of the Lahore collections from Patiala to Chandigarh occurred in two phases between 1962-67, as space became available at Chandigarh.⁵¹ The Mughal, Basohli, and Kangra miniature paintings and Gandharan sculpture, together considered the most prized exhibits in the Lahore collections, were transferred to Chandigarh first in

⁴⁸ Today, the Qila Mubarak is one of several major historical attractions in Patiala, known for its monumental architecture. Its Durbar Hall is home to the Punjab State Museum's Arms and Chandelier Gallery, and in this regard boasts a large display of arms, armor, portraits, machinery and transport, as well as a unique collection of chandeliers.

⁴⁹ Built in 1847 by Maharaja Narinder Singh, the Sheesh Mahal is currently home to the Punjab State Museum's Art and Medal Gallery, and its Animal and Birds Gallery. In this regard, it maintains an eclectic display of sculptures, paintings, manuscripts, decorative arts, medals, and natural history specimens. Its interior walls are also adorned with murals commissioned by Maharaja Narinder Singh. They exemplify the Sikh provincial styles of the nineteenth century and were painted by artists from Kangra and Rajasthan. See, W.G. Archer, "Report on the Punjab Museum, Patiala," 25 March 1960, Art File (1966-68), Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; Email correspondence with Brinda Kumar, Assistant Curator, the MET Breuer, 16 May 2016.

⁵⁰ "Proposal for the Construction of the Museum of Evolution of Life in the Leisure Valley, Chandigarh" 23 October 1960, File No. 1525, pp. 119-127, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; "Minutes from the High Level Advisory Committee Meeting held to discuss the Museum of Knowledge" 25 March 1961, File No. 1525, pp. 159-160, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁵¹ Sushil Sarkar to V.S. Suri, Letter dated 11 May 1967, File No. 1524, pp. 204, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

December 1962.⁵² For a time, while the museum complex at Chandigarh remained under construction in Sector 10, these items were stored in the neighboring Government Arts School, where a selection were also placed on display in an “improvised” installation, across “some studio space, a corridor and a verandah” of the newly built Arts School.⁵³ This is the first record we have of any of the Lahore collections being properly displayed in India. Dr. Grace Morley, an American curator then serving as an Adviser on Museums to the Government of India,⁵⁴ described this interim installation further in her report on the Chandigarh museum complex in 1967:

“Under somewhat difficult conditions, the material is exhibited with old gallery furniture specifically designed for the Moti Bagh Palace, quite out of scale and now representing outmoded exhibition ideas. Nonetheless, the material, because of its quality, makes an attractive impression and serves the educational and cultural purposes by being accessible to scholars, students and public. This temporary ‘museum’ is supervised by the Principal of the Art College and is served by a minimum staff, which must be commended for doing excellent work with limited facilities and under somewhat restricting conditions.”⁵⁵

The rest of the Lahore collections at Patiala were not transferred to Chandigarh until May 1967, when construction on the Chandigarh Museum was completed.⁵⁶ It was, therefore, not before 1967, nearly two decades after their arrival in India, that the Lahore collections finally ended their sojourn across Punjab, and were permanently settled in one place, having finally been acquired and settled by Randhawa for the new Chandigarh Museum.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Grace Morley, “The Chandigarh Museum: Report on Visit to Chandigarh,” 23-25 February 1967, Art File (1966-68), Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁵⁴ For more on Grace Morley and her impact on the development of museums in India, see Kristy Phillips, “Grace McCann Morley and the National Museum of India,” *No Touching, No Spitting, No Praying: The Museum in South Asia*, Saloni Mathur and Kavita Singh, eds. (London: Routledge, 2015), 132-147.

⁵⁵ Grace Morley, “The Chandigarh Museum: Report on Visit to Chandigarh,” 23-25 February 1967, Art File (1966-68), Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁵⁶ Sushil Sarkar to V.S. Suri, Letter dated 11 May 1967, File No. 1524, pp. 204, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

Not surprisingly, this long and winding journey had enormous implications for the Lahore collections and the institutions that accommodated them along their way to Chandigarh. With regards to the Punjab State Museum, for instance, the Lahore collections' constant shuffling from place to place across Punjab both certified the institution's post-partition rehabilitation, and its later decline. In December 1968, S.S. Talwar, an official in the Archaeology and Museums Department in Patiala, described the museum's rollercoaster transformation between 1948-68 in a letter to B.K. Thapur, then the Director of Explorations for the Archaeological Survey of India. Talwar asserted that while the Punjab State Museum had been fully "rehabilitated after the partition of the country in 1947"⁵⁷ following the addition of India's share of the Lahore exhibits to its collections in the 1950s, the subsequent relocation of these exhibits from Patiala to Chandigarh in the 1960s had essentially banished the institution to its earlier state of languish—"deprived of most of its important collections"⁵⁸ and unable to fulfill its educational charter. Talwar further lamented:

"Moreover, the present Punjab State does not have any such archaeological sites or monuments which may yield sculptures for its museum. Thus neither the newly set up State Archaeological Department nor the Museum has sculptures for comparative study purpose or display for the benefit of the public, scholars and employees of the department."⁵⁹

While it is entirely possible that Talwar exaggerated the plight of the Punjab State Museum, Patiala in this letter for the purposes of securing surplus antiquities from the Archaeological Survey of India for display in Punjab, his intimation that the relocation of

⁵⁷ S.S. Talwar to B.K. Thapur, Letter dated December 12, 1968, File No. 11/1/6/68-M/1968/Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India, National Archives of India, Delhi.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

the Lahore collections from Patiala left some kind of void within or mark on the institution seems more than reasonable, firstly given the size and value of India's share of the Lahore collections, and secondly given the enormous effect their relocation already had on the Lahore Museum. In what follows, I explore the impact of this long sojourn across Punjab on the Lahore collections themselves. More specifically, I unearth the language of both homelessness and criminality that was used by various government officials and art scholars in India to describe their meandering condition in the 1960s, as a way to further expose the fact of the Lahore collections' displacement in India both then and now, and probe its implications for the writing of South Asian art history today.

III. A Language of Homelessness

In the period between their arrival in India and their acquisition at Chandigarh, the Lahore collections were described in two different, albeit related ways. The first term used to describe the Lahore collections and their meandering in India was "fugitive." B.N. Goswamy, an eminent Indian art historian of Pahari and Indian miniature painting, and later colleague of Randhawa, employed the term in an article on the history of the Chandigarh Museum for the *Tribune* in October 1967. Reflecting on the institution's origins, Goswamy wrote:

"The nucleus of the collection of the [Chandigarh] Museum was formed by the share that fell to the Indian Punjab out of the rich collection that had belonged to the Central Museum at Lahore. It was difficult to find a house for this small but important collection in 1947, and like a *fugitive* it lurked in many corners for several years."⁶⁰

⁶⁰ B.N. Goswamy, "The Chandigarh Museum," *Tribune*, c. October 1967, File No. 1524, pp. 302, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh. [Emphasis added]

This image of the “fugitive” Lahore collections “lurking” about in India after partition is a powerful one, and presents a stark contrast to the assertions of belonging concomitant to the nationalist canons of art and architecture that they are made to anchor today, as foundational acquisitions of the Chandigarh Museum. By definition, a fugitive is a figure who has evaded arrest or persecution, and as a consequence is constantly on the run, forced to flee from place to place in search of a relief or sense of safety that never comes. A fugitive exists, in other words, outside of the law, outside of the parameters of civil society having violated its sacrosanct codes, and is thus banished to an unsettled life, perpetually out of place. Goswamy’s use of the term “fugitive” to describe the Lahore collections at this time not only then brings into question their sense of belonging to Punjab, and to a nation that had otherwise just vociferously claimed them as their own (Chapter 2). It lends the Lahore collections, and their sense of displacement in India a “criminal” sensibility, one that powerfully reconfigures their wandering presence in India as a violation of or challenge to the legal architecture of the newly built Indian state. Importantly, this language parallels that used to describe homeless refugees in Delhi in 1947-48, whose aimless wandering about the city in search of shelter was similarly inscribed by government officials as a threat to civil prosperity in the post-partition climate, when blamed for inciting violence across the city.⁶¹

The second term used to describe the Lahore collections in India, perhaps more consistently than “fugitive,” was “homeless,” or the phrase “in search of a home.” The latter can be found, for instance, in an English-medium newspaper article written in the 1960s, when the Lahore collections were still temporarily being stored in the Government

⁶¹ Vazira F-Y Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia: Refugees, Boundaries, Histories* (New York: Columbia University, 2007), 32, 91.

Arts School in Chandigarh, awaiting transfer to the finished Chandigarh Museum building. In this iteration, the author, identified only as the paper's "special representative in Punjab,"⁶² capitalizes on this language of homelessness to draw additional attention to the manner in which the Lahore collections, here conflated as the "Punjab Museum," "drifted" from place to place after arriving in India:

"The Punjab Museum had a humble beginning. In fact, it is still to find a home of its own. After the partition it *drifted* from one place to another *in search of a home*—from Lal Kothi at Amritsar to The Manse at Simla, then to the Moti Bagh Palace at Patiala. It is now housed temporarily at the Government Arts School in Chandigarh."⁶³

Similarly, a description of the Lahore collections as "homeless" can be found in a set of remarks written by Sushil Sarkar, an eminent Indian artist and the first Principal of the Government Arts School, Chandigarh. In this document, likely prepared in anticipation of the Chandigarh Museum's inauguration in 1968, Sarkar too recounts a brief history of the Chandigarh Museum:

"In 1949, Punjab Government received its share of 40% of art objects from the Central Museum at Lahore. The art objects in the first instance were kept for some time in Amritsar and then moved to Simla, where they were displayed in a small building called Manse. During the year 1956 these objects were removed to Patiala where they were intended to be permanently housed in the Moti Bagh Palace. However, after some time the palace was acquired for housing the National Institute of Sports. The Museum again became *homeless*. It was at this stage that the idea of the providing a suitable building at Chandigarh was mooted and a decision was taken that the Museum will be located in the Leisure Valley, close to the College of Arts and Crafts, as originally envisaged in the Chandigarh Capital Project Scheme."⁶⁴

⁶² "Chandigarh Museum," Newspaper clipping, c. 1967, File No. 1621, pp. 16-21, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁶³ Ibid. [Emphasis added]

⁶⁴ Sushil Sarkar, "Brief History," N.D., File No. 1626, pp. 546-549, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh. [Emphasis added]

Sarkar's remarks are striking because they not only frame the Lahore collections as "homeless" like the previous newspaper article; they take this vocabulary one step further. When he asserts, "The Museum *again* became homeless,"⁶⁵ Sarkar portrays the Lahore exhibits as having experienced homelessness more than once in India, in other words as having gone in and out of a state of homelessness. He inscribes their condition, moreover, as a manufacture not simply of partition, but in a way as a manufacture of the Punjab Government, or rather the Punjab Government's inability in the years since partition to provide a permanent venue for their display. This is a powerful, if implicit indictment of the Punjab Government that, like Goswamy's use of the term "fugitive," places the Lahore collections at odds with the Indian nation-state, or at the very least suggests the complicity of the Indian nation-state in both creating and sustaining their condition of displacement in these intervening years.

M.S. Randhawa also deploys this rhetoric of homelessness to describe the Lahore collections in India as early as 1962, when he wrote a letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab, Shri Partap Singh Kairon, soliciting his support in regards to the construction of the Chandigarh Museum. At this time, war had just broken out between India and China, plunging Punjab into a state of emergency in which all non-essential construction work at Chandigarh was brought to an indefinite halt. Among the construction projects affected by this decision was the unfolding Chandigarh Museum, which the Punjab Government decided at this time not simply to halt, but to abandon in its entirety in an effort to further conserve and consolidate resources. In a bid to save the institution, Randhawa wrote a pleading letter to Kairon, in which he not only proclaimed the Chandigarh Museum's

⁶⁵ Ibid. [Emphasis added]

importance and cultural value to Punjab, but also asserted its necessity. In this regard, he drew attention to the Lahore collections' long history of displacement in India, inscribing the Chandigarh Museum project in a way as their only hope for "rehabilitation" as Indian national patrimony.

"This letter deals with [the] projected Punjab Museum of Arts and Crafts. Since the partition this project has passed through many vicissitudes. Though all other institutions have been rehabilitated and many new ones have been established, this institution is still *homeless*. After being moved from Simla, it was temporarily located in [the] Moti Bagh Palace, Patiala. Some time ago the Palace was sold to the All India Sports Organisation at a handsome price. Then a decision was taken by the Punjab Government that the Punjab Museum of Arts and Crafts will be located at Chandigarh in the Leisure Valley close to the Government School of Arts as originally envisaged in [the] Chandigarh Capital Project Scheme. Accordingly this project was included in the Third Five Year Plan of the Capital Project Scheme. The plan for the building was designed by M. Corbusier and was finally approved by the Museum Advisory Committee at one of its meetings. At the meeting of the Museum Advisory Committee, held on 9th November, 1962, it was stated by the representatives of the Capital Project Organisation that the work of laying foundations has been let out to Messrs Mackinnon Mackenzie and Co., who are taking steps to drive the piles. For this a contract of Rs. 2.5 lakhs has been signed and the work is in progress. It is now learnt that the project is likely to suffer at this stage. This would be a grave loss to the cultural life of Punjab in general and Chandigarh in particular."⁶⁶

Randhawa's letter, like Sarkar's remarks, emphasizes the repeated displacement of the Lahore collections in India, again conflated here as the "Punjab Museum of Arts and Crafts."⁶⁷ He frames their time in India, moreover, as one of many starts and stops, in which the Lahore collections are always on the verge of finding a permanent home, but never quite successful in their pursuit—first with the Moti Bagh Palace turning back over to the All India Sports Organisation, and then with the Chandigarh Museum, itself, being terminated mid-construction in 1962.

⁶⁶ M.S. Randhawa to S. Partap Singh Kairon, Letter dated 13 November 1962, File No. 1621, pp. 577-578, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh. [Emphasis added]

⁶⁷ Ibid.

What distinguishes Randhawa's use of the term "homeless" from the previous passages discussed in this section, however, is how he then supplements this rhetoric of homelessness with a vocabulary of rehabilitation, which in the broader context of partition has very specific connotations relating to the resettlement of refugees. When he states, "Though all other institutions have been rehabilitated and many new ones have been established, this institution is still homeless,"⁶⁸ he not only asserts the homelessness of the Lahore collections, he speaks of institutions—cultural or otherwise—as if they, too, were partition refugees in dire need of a resettlement solution all their own. Randhawa, thus, more so than either Goswamy or Sarkar, places the displacement of the Lahore collections in direct conversation with partition's broader humanitarian crises of migration and dispossession (Chapter 2), lending the exhibits moreover a "migrant" or "exilic" sensibility that reinforces their tensions with the Indian nation-state in new directions. This kind of connection is, however, perhaps to be expected of Randhawa, who spent a majority of his career with the Indian Civil Service up until this point rehabilitating partition refugees in Delhi and Punjab, as will be discussed further.

The implications of this language of criminality and homelessness for how we then understand the experience of the Lahore collections in India, and their status in the Chandigarh Museum today are thus wide and varied. While it remains unclear the extent to which the general Indian public viewed the Lahore collections as either "fugitive" or "homeless," that the government officials and art professionals closest to the objects in India adopted this vocabulary to describe their condition is significant. In combination with the physicality of the objects' sojourn across Punjab in the 1950s and 1960s, this

⁶⁸ Ibid.

vocabulary works to expose the Lahore collections' sense of unease in India following the division process—their discomfort, their placelessness, their resistance to their new national frame. In so doing, it quite powerfully denaturalizes the marriage of the museum and the nation-state in prevailing historiography on museums in South Asia. Specifically, it makes visible the continued ties between the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums today—the physical and ideological entanglements that emerge between the two institutions through the history of the Lahore collections, their separation and displacement in the mid-twentieth century. By opening the history of the Lahore collections in India to the forms of subjectivity produced by migration and displacement, this language of criminality and homelessness also points to the “critical” potential of the Lahore collections today.⁶⁹ By this, I mean the ability of the exhibits' “social lives”⁷⁰ and their history of mobility in both India and Pakistan to uproot the orthodoxies of society that in post-colonial South Asia has often taken the form of nationalist and repressive regimes of meaning.⁷¹

Put another way, the history of the Lahore collections in India and Pakistan contains the disruptive possibilities of Edward Said's “secular criticism.”⁷² In the introduction of his book *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, Said tells us that secular criticism embodies a crucial alternative to the dominant forms of literary criticism that, in the late-twentieth century, have disavowed the “worldliness” of texts in favor of their

⁶⁹ Saloni Mathur, “Introduction,” *The Migrant's Time: Rethinking Art History and Diaspora*, Saloni Mathur, ed. (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2011), vii-xix.

⁷⁰ Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1996).

⁷¹ Mathur, *The Migrant's Time*, vii-xix.

⁷² Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1983), 1-30.

“textuality,” and in the process contained the work of criticism to a “cult of professional expertise,” dangerously isolated from the realities of the historical and social world.⁷³ By taking seriously the “worldliness” of texts, and individual consciousness itself, secular criticism seeks to intervene against dominant forms of culture that “[reinforce] the known at the expense of the knowable,” by making visible the processes of differentiation that ensure their continued hegemony over state and society.⁷⁴ Importantly for Said, secular criticism can only be achieved “outside and beyond the consensus ruling the art today,”⁷⁵ or from “the marginalized perspective of minority,” as Aamir Mufti has argued extensively.⁷⁶ It is born, moreover, of a consciousness that inhabits a dialectical relationship to the contours of the majoritarian culture.⁷⁷ While the Lahore collections do not possess a consciousness of their own, their history of displacement both in India, and to an extent in Pakistan as well, opens a space within the nationalist canons of art and architecture they have come to signify in the years since partition from which to grasp and, in turn, uproot the conditions underlying their transformation from fragments of a shared cultural imagination to patrimony of rival nation-states. It foregrounds, in other words, the dialectics of non-belonging and nationalization that entangle India and Pakistan into the present.

⁷³ Ibid., 2.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 23.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 5.

⁷⁶ Aamir R. Mufti, “Auerbach in Istanbul: Edward Said, Secular Criticism, and the Question of Minority Culture,” *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Autumn, 1998): 112. See also, Aamir R. Mufti, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2007).

⁷⁷ Mufti, “Auerbach in Istanbul,” 111.

IV. Resettling Indian Cities: M.S. Randhawa, 1934-68

To fully appreciate the critical potential of the Lahore collections in India, it is important to contextualize the emergence of this language of criminality and homelessness against Randhawa's long career in the Indian Civil Service. As will be discussed in this section, Randhawa was heavily involved in the resettlement of partition refugees both in Delhi and Punjab, work that over time cultivated a broader set of concerns regarding India's post-partition social and urban fabric. I argue, moreover, that Randhawa's view of the Lahore collections as "homeless" was not simply a function of the objects' physical dislocation in India. It was entwined with Randhawa's wider role in the rehabilitation of Indian society in the mid-twentieth century, and therefore cannot be divorced from his efforts to settle Indian cities both physically and culturally in the wake of partition.

Randhawa joined the Indian Civil Service (ICS) in September 1934, after earning his B.Sc. and M.Sc. in Botany from the Government College, Lahore in 1929 and 1930, respectively. His initial assignment took him from Punjab to Uttar Pradesh, where he held a variety of administrative positions between 1934-45, and rose quickly through the ranks. In this time, he served as Assistant Magistrate for Saharanpur (1934-36), Joint Magistrate for Fyzabad (1936-38) and Almora (1938-40), District Magistrate and Collector for Agra (1939-41), and Deputy Commissioner for Rae Bareli (1942-45), building a strong and diverse record of local administration that would prepare him for his later appointments in Delhi and Punjab.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ M.S. Randhawa, "Biodata and Bibliography," c. 1964, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

Randhawa rose to prominence in November 1946, when he became the first Indian to serve as Deputy Commissioner of Delhi. He arrived to the position in a time of great social and political instability for the Delhi administration, when a growing record of violent disturbances had plunged Delhi, a once vibrant city, into a period of social and economic desolation. Randhawa's primary concern as Deputy Commissioner was to bring peace to a city embittered by communal tensions, violence, and a growing sense of lawlessness, conditions facilitated and exacerbated by the impending partition of India, and exchange of populations with Pakistan.

To this end, Randhawa undertook a number of responsibilities as Deputy Commissioner of Delhi. He was charged, for instance, with the resettlement and rehabilitation of partition refugees, and worked alongside Chief Commissioner Sahibzada Khurshid Ahmed Khan to find solutions to the city's growing housing crisis. The results of this work were mixed. Randhawa had a tenuous working relationship with his superior,⁷⁹ and as Vazira Zamindar has demonstrated, Randhawa was ultimately complicit in the making of a bureaucratic discourse that held Muslims, specifically returning Muslim refugees into India, as a problem of governance.⁸⁰ In this regard, he advocated for the dissolution of Muslim zones within Delhi, designated safe areas for Muslims that had been set up during the violence of September 1947, demonizing them as "miniature Pakistans."⁸¹ According to Randhawa, these areas contained empty houses

⁷⁹ For more on Randhawa's controversial tenure as Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, and his tenuous working relationship with Khurshid Ahmed Khan, see Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, *India Wins Freedom* (New Delhi: Orient Longman, 1988), 231. See also, Zamindar, 31-32, 89-92.

⁸⁰ Zamindar, 91.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 90-91.

that could be used to settle Hindu or Sikh refugees, if not for the communal restriction.⁸² As a matter of security, Randhawa also called for the establishment of Quarantine Camps for returning Muslim refugees into India, a policy that inscribed Muslims as a “menace” to law and order or social saboteurs, in need of additional surveillance.⁸³

Randhawa’s responsibilities as Deputy Commissioner of Delhi also entailed a number of cultural initiatives, which proved much less controversial than his resettlement efforts and more importantly served as a critical precedent for his later work in Punjab. For example, Randhawa, concerned for Delhi’s outward appearance, implemented a number of environmental projects aimed at beautifying the city’s landscape. In this regard, he organized a tree plantation week in 1947, and a number of “clean-up” days throughout the course of his tenure to engender a more harmonious social atmosphere. Randhawa also began to turn his attention to the development of cultural institutions, an interest he would cultivate further while intermittently assigned to the Punjab between 1948-68. As Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, he established libraries, organized a number of art and photography exhibitions, and eventually became involved with the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society (AIFACS).⁸⁴ From 1947-49, Randhawa even served as AIFACS Chairman, the first of many leadership positions he would hold within the arts group.⁸⁵

In 1948, Randhawa was transferred from Delhi to Punjab, where he would spend the remainder of his distinguished career with the ICS, and in time exert his greatest

⁸² Ibid., 90-91.

⁸³ Ibid., 91-92.

⁸⁴ M.S. Randhawa, “Delhi 1946-1948,” Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

influence as both an administrator and an enthusiast for the arts in India. In his first few appointments, serving as Deputy Commissioner of Ambala (1948-49), Director General of Rural Rehabilitation for Punjab (1949-51), and Development Commissioner for Punjab (1953-55), Randhawa oversaw the rehabilitation of rural refugees in Ambala, Jullundur, and the Punjab hill districts, building on his administrative experience in Delhi. His primary responsibilities in this capacity were the temporary allotment of evacuee property to displaced farmers, the development of more permanent rural housing schemes, and the restoration of the state's rural economy.⁸⁶ It is in this capacity that Randhawa began to develop his expertise in farming and agricultural development that became crucial to his later work with the Institute for Agricultural Research and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture from 1955-65.⁸⁷

Randhawa's work in Punjab in these initial years saw him travel across the state, and frequently to the Kangra Valley. There, he developed an interest in the region's local art traditions and began searching for extant collections of Kangra-style miniature paintings, that which also comprised the bulk of India's share of the Lahore collections. His local inquiries unearthed a large network of formerly royal families still living in the Kangra Valley, who had preserved large collections of paintings as heirlooms. They also opened new avenues for art historical research, much of which Randhawa took upon

⁸⁶ M.S. Randhawa, *Out of the Ashes* (Bombay: New Jack Printing Works, Ltd., 1954).

⁸⁷ For more on Randhawa's agricultural research, see M.S. Randhawa, ed., *Developing Village India: Studies in Village Problems* (Bombay: Orient, 1951); M.S. Randhawa, *Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Agricultural Research, 1958); M.S. Randhawa, *A History of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, 1929-1979* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Agricultural Research, 1979); M.S. Randhawa, *A History of Agriculture in India (Vol. I-IV)* (New Delhi: Indian Council of Agricultural Research, 1980).

himself alongside his official rehabilitation work in the 1950s.⁸⁸ In the course of his travels in Kangra, Randhawa began investigating genealogies of Kangra artists and their patron families, in an effort to better understand the origins of Kangra painting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the region's stylistic development. His research brought him into close contact with scholars like W.G. Archer, then Keeper of Indian Art for the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Archer's scholarship on the Kangra Valley, like Randhawa's own discoveries, later advanced the field's seminal thesis that Kangra art originated in the courts at Guler.⁸⁹

Following a brief reprieve, during which he worked for the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in Delhi, Randhawa returned to Punjab in 1966 to serve as Chief Commissioner for the new Chandigarh Union Territory administration. Randhawa supervised a number of projects in his time as Chief Commissioner that had enormous impact on the city's transition to an independent Union Territory, and shared capital of Punjab and Haryana. Among Randhawa's first tasks as Chief Commissioner, for instance, was the division of the city's administrative architecture between the new governments of Punjab and Haryana. His intimate knowledge of the Capitol Complex, and many discussions with Le Corbusier on aspects of the Museum of Knowledge and the Chandigarh Museum proved critical in this respect.

Perhaps his most significant contribution to the development of Chandigarh, however, was his initiation of the second phase in the city's construction, which

⁸⁸ For select examples of Randhawa's early art writing, see M.S. Randhawa, *Kangra Valley Painting* (New Delhi: Publications Division, 1954); M.S. Randhawa, *The Krishna Legend in Pahari Painting* (New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi, 1956); M.S. Randhawa, *Basohli Painting* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India, 1959); M.S. Randhawa, *Kangra Paintings of the Bhagavata Purana* (New Delhi: National Museum of India, 1960).

⁸⁹ W.G. Archer, *Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1952).

expanded the city beyond its original twenty-six sectors to accommodate an additional population of 3.5 lakhs. In this expansion, Randhawa maintained Le Corbusier's original principles of organization, as they pertained to circulation and population density, but looked to incorporate more communal-driven spaces within the city's urban plan, including playgrounds for young families, public parks, tandoors, and a variety of new commercial shops. Parallel to this expansion of the city was the attention Randhawa gave to the development of new housing schemes. He initiated work on the city's "Defence Colony," the largest housing scheme for military personnel and their families in Northern India, as well as housing for lower income residents and the "guardian classes," specialists in the field of engineering, medicine, art, architecture, literature, and science who Randhawa deemed essential to the future development of Chandigarh and a healthy Indian nation. In his time as Chief Commissioner, Randhawa also maintained his interest in landscaping and oversaw the development of a number of public gardens in Chandigarh, including a National Mango Garden in Rajendra Park, a Leisure Valley in Sector 9, and a 22-acre rose garden in Sector 16, which even today stands as Asia's largest.⁹⁰

Randhawa's greatest legacy as Chief Commissioner of Chandigarh, however, was his development of cultural institutions. He gave life to a number of museums in his efforts to revitalize art and culture within Punjab, including the Chandigarh Museum and the Museum of Science [**Fig. 3.13**], which today bracket a large museum complex in Sector 10, along with the Chandigarh Architecture Museum established in 1997 [**Fig. 3.14**]. He also proposed the development of several "miniature art galleries" across the

⁹⁰ M.S. Randhawa, "A Brief Review of Work Done in Chandigarh since November 1, 1966," N.D., File No. 1543, pp. 90-99, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

city, in an effort to expand the reach of art and culture beyond the expanse of the museum complex. In this regard, he established exhibition spaces in the Post Graduate Medical Research Institute, Government College for Women, College of Architecture, Government Arts College, and the D.A.V. College in the 1960s.⁹¹

V. A Museum for Chandigarh

The Chandigarh Museum, as it exists today, was not part of Le Corbusier's initial plans for Chandigarh. This institution was constructed in the 1960s, largely on account of M.S. Randhawa and his tireless efforts over the course of nearly two decades to have an art gallery built at Chandigarh to house the state's burgeoning collections of art and sculpture by the 1950s, the core of which was India's share of the Lahore Museum. In the remainder of the chapter, I detail how the Chandigarh Museum came to be developed over the course of the 1950s and 1960s. My analysis underscores the difficulties Randhawa faced in "rehabilitating" the Lahore collections for Punjab, the abnormal conditions in which the Lahore collections ultimately came to signify the Indian nation-state, and the continued unease that the Lahore collections embody as Indian national patrimony. This convoluted narrative unfolds, moreover, across three entangled, historical axes. In this respect, I detail how the establishment of Chandigarh Museum grew out of the fissures and disjunctures of a network of museum and archival institutions in post-partition Punjab, including the Punjab State Record Office in Simla, the Punjab State Museum in Patiala, and Le Corbusier's abandoned Museum of Knowledge project for Chandigarh.

⁹¹ Ibid.

An Art Gallery for Chandigarh, 1954-57

Randhawa became seriously involved in the development of the Chandigarh Museum as early as June 1954, when after amassing a large collection of Kangra paintings for the Punjab Government, in supplement to the Lahore collections then being stored at Simla, he wrote to the Chief Administrator of the Capital Project, Chandigarh to request that any plans for building an art gallery at Chandigarh be expedited. In this letter, he explained that his collection of Kangra paintings, together with India's share of the Lahore collections, constituted the largest representative collection of Kangra art in the world, and thus deserved a permanent venue for their display at the state's capital. This proposed gallery, he added, would give additional importance to the unfolding city of Chandigarh in a number of significant ways. It would draw tourist traffic to the city, and place Chandigarh "on the world map of Art Galleries."⁹² It would also serve as an important educational center, where school-aged and college-aged students from all over Punjab could familiarize themselves with the cultural heritage of the region, of which Kangra art formed a crucial part.

Randhawa was among the first to push for the construction of an independent art gallery at Chandigarh. Plans for a museum at Chandigarh had until then been primarily tethered to the fate of the state's Central Records office, and its relocation from Simla to Chandigarh in the 1950s. Shortly after the Punjab Government had shifted from its temporary administrative base at Simla, to the new capital at Chandigarh in 1954, a proposal was put forth on behalf of the Department of Public Instruction, Punjab to transfer the state's combined Museum and Central Records office, established at Simla in

⁹² M.S. Randhawa, Letter dated 29 June 1954, File No. 1462, pp. 78, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

1952, to Chandigarh too. This proposal offered to keep the Museum and Central Records office together at Chandigarh, and house the two institutions in a single building, maintaining how they were historically organized at Simla in the Manse. There was brief discussion at this time of dividing the Museum and Central Records office into separate buildings at Chandigarh. In July 1954, the Director of Public Instruction, Dr. Trilochan Singh, inquired as to the possibility of allocating an “exclusive building” for the sole use of the Central Records office, one located near the Government College and the Punjab University, Chandigarh.⁹³ But, this inquiry was ultimately dismissed by the Chief Engineer for the Capital, P.L. Verma, in March 1955, who intimated that a separate building for the Central Records office at Chandigarh could not be accommodated without substantial outside monetary provision from the Department of Public Instruction, so restricted was the Capital Project budget. Moreover, Verma believed that the entwined function of the Museum and Central Records office made it impossible to separate the two institutions, and that it was in fact more logical to keep the state’s museum and archives combined in a single building at Chandigarh.⁹⁴

Randhawa’s interest in establishing an independent art gallery at Chandigarh in part stemmed from his own cultural pursuits in Punjab. As previously mentioned, Randhawa’s frequent visits to the Kangra Valley between 1948-54 left him with a great enthusiasm for Kangra-style painting, and laid a critical foundation for his later contributions to the field of Indian painting. Importantly, Randhawa’s interest in Kangra art and history also blossomed into a passion for collecting, and with the support of a

⁹³ Dr. Trilochan Singh to Secretary, Capital Project, Letter dated 29 July 1954, File No. 1525, pp. 277, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁹⁴ “Construction of a Building for PG Govt Record Office,” Memo dated 24 June 1957, File No. 1525, pp. 11-12, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

recurring annual endowment of Rs. 60,000, he accumulated a large collection of Kangra paintings on behalf of the Punjab Government. These paintings were to be displayed, along side the Lahore collections, at Chandigarh upon completion of the Governor's Palace at the Capitol Complex, and a permanent museum and art gallery.⁹⁵

Randhawa's interest in building an art gallery at Chandigarh also coincided with his emerging ideas for urban development and town planning in India and Punjab in the 1950s, in which museums played an increasing and important role. Randhawa believed the time had come to "reconsider the organization of museums, and their place in educational systems" in India.⁹⁶ They were, in his view, a valuable method to educate Indian citizens in the "idea of universal history and the world as a whole,"⁹⁷ that had yet to reach their full edifying potential in India, where he maintained that museums had retained their colonial airs, and functioned more often than not as "purposeless collections of curios and antiquities."⁹⁸ He envisioned them, moreover, at the heart of a new education system that immersed the Indian people from a young age in the essential facts of science, art, and culture, and in the process produced a generation of "rationally minded citizens" wary of the "religious dogmas, superstitions, and misconceptions" that had wrecked havoc on Indian society in the 1940s, by way of partition.⁹⁹

In spite of Randhawa's early advocacy, progress was slow towards building a museum and art gallery at Chandigarh to house India's share of the Lahore collections

⁹⁵ M.S. Randhawa to S.R. Sen, Letter dated 2 March 1965, File No. 1475, pp. 26, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

⁹⁶ M.S. Randhawa, *Beautifying India* (Delhi: Rajkamal Publications, 1950), 108.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 109-110.

and the Punjab Government's burgeoning collection of Kangra art in the 1950s. While a new scheme for the construction of a "Museum and Picture Gallery" and a new School of Arts at Chandigarh, with a budgetary provision of Rs. 6.5 lakhs, had been proposed and provisionally approved by February 1957,¹⁰⁰ marking a significant change in terms of how a museum was being conceived for the capital city, physical construction of the museum's building had been indefinitely stalled. Financial stringency was partially to blame for this delay in the museum's development, as were deferrals in the design process. By 1957, Le Corbusier, the Architectural Advisor for Chandigarh, had yet to complete designs for the museum's building or decide on a site for its construction within the city's new urban plan, a task he had been assigned as early as 1956.¹⁰¹

An Interim Solution for Simla, 1957

Serious strides were not made towards establishing a museum and art gallery at Chandigarh before April 1957, when V.S. Suri brought to light the dilapidating conditions of the Museum and Central Records office at Simla, namely the issues of capacity and climate that had overwhelmed the Simla office in the five years since its founding. In a memo dated April 23, 1957, Suri informed the Department of Public Instruction, Punjab that the task of consolidating further collections at Simla had become "fought with danger" and he cautioned against retaining the state's most important "documents, manuscripts, paintings, pictures and prints which illustrate the past of the

¹⁰⁰ "File Relating to the Construction of Raj Bhawan, and the Museum and Art Gallery" 26 February 1957, File No. 1525, pp. 5, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁰¹ D. Phaye, Memo dated 9 April 1958, File No. 1525, pp. 28-29, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

State of Simla” there for an “indefinite period,” lest they suffer “grave consequences.”¹⁰²

On one hand, Suri bemoaned the lack of storage space at Simla. He claimed that the Simla office had been acquiring collections of administrative records and historical material at a rate it could not physically accommodate, and over the years this had jeopardized his ability to provide exhibits with proper care and lodging. On another, Suri lamented the region’s adverse humidity, the “menace” of a protracted rainy season at Simla.¹⁰³ He observed that, in spite of every precaution taken to keep them aired and dry, exhibits at Simla remained extremely vulnerable to the influence of excessive moisture, and in a few cases were already showing signs of severe deterioration.¹⁰⁴

Suri’s memo generated serious concern among government officials in Punjab regarding the care and status of museum articles “lying packed” at Simla, and for those articles, in particular, which had come from Lahore between 1948-49.¹⁰⁵ In a meeting at Raj Bhawan on July 30, 1957, it was decided to relocate these exhibits to a temporary residence at Chandigarh, where they could be properly stored, conserved, and displayed, and more comfortably await the construction of a permanent home at Chandigarh.¹⁰⁶ A number of high-profile locations were considered for this temporary museum and art gallery at Chandigarh, including the Chief Minister’s residence, the Red Cross Building, and the office portion of Guest House No. 1 of the Governor’s residence, but none of these proved quite adequate upon closer examination. The Chief Minister’s residence, for

¹⁰² V.S. Suri, Memo dated 23 April 1957, File No. 1525, pp. 278-279, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ H.S. Sharma, “Reference Para 5 of the Minutes of Meeting Held in Raj Bhawan,” 2 August 1957, File No. 1525, pp. 14-15, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

one, had been rented out as a club by July 1957, and was no longer available for use as an art gallery. The Chief Medical Officer had been approached regarding the Red Cross Building, but no decision was taken in the matter, and Governor C.P.N. Singh, himself, discarded the idea of using Guest House No. 1 of his residence, as not a “very happy solution.”¹⁰⁷ The Governor’s primary concern, in this regard, was that Guest House No. 1 was in fact too small, and too inaccessible to the public to serve even temporarily, as a satisfactory museum and art gallery, again signaling a shift in how a museum was being conceived for Chandigarh. Eventually, officials settled on using the library building at the Town Hall in Sector 17 for the purposes of an interim museum and art gallery at Chandigarh. The library was a large and spacious alternative to Guest House No. 1, with ample scope to unpack, house, and even display the museum exhibits at Chandigarh. Moreover, it was located at the commercial heart of the new city, and at the time was only a few months away from completion.¹⁰⁸

The Question of Patiala, 1957-58

Before this decision to relocate museum exhibits to Chandigarh could be fully implemented, however, plans for a museum and art gallery at Chandigarh in all its forms came to an abrupt halt in April 1958. For months, rumors had been circulating at the capital that the Punjab Government had purchased the Moti Bagh Palace at Patiala with the explicit intention of establishing a permanent Punjab State Museum and Archive

¹⁰⁷ S. Vohra, “Reference Para 5 of the Minutes of Meeting Held in Raj Bhawan,” 24 August 1957, File No. 1525, pp. 16, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

there.¹⁰⁹ Once confirmed in 1958, the purchase and subsequent decision to locate the state museum and archive to Patiala raised the simple, but powerful question of whether a museum and art gallery at Chandigarh was still a necessity for the city, with such a similar institution being established such a short distance away.

Following the purchase of the Moti Bagh Palace, many government officials in fact seized the opportunity to sideline the unfolding museum project at Chandigarh, casting it as a profligate venture in an era of financial stringency. Among them was Le Corbusier, himself, who at one point is said to have inscribed the prospect of an additional museum and art gallery at Chandigarh as a “manifestation of complete decadence.”¹¹⁰ Others, like Randhawa, maintained personal support for the project, believing that such an institution would in the long run have more utility if located at the capital, rather than some distance away.¹¹¹ While others still conceded that, in light of the heavy sum spent by the Punjab Government to acquire the Moti Bagh Palace, it would simply be more economical to relocate exhibits at Simla permanently to Patiala, and if necessary to make renovations and additions to the existing structure of the palace for the purposes of housing a Punjab State Museum and Archive, rather than incur even greater expenditure by building a museum anew at Chandigarh.¹¹² Importantly, this latter plan had the potential to free up funds in the Capital Project budget to address other pressing

¹⁰⁹ C.D. Chadhe, Memo dated 9 April 1958, File No. 1525, pp. 26-27, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹¹⁰ Le Corbusier to S. Vohra, Letter dated 19 September 1957, File No. 1525, pp. 287, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹¹¹ Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, et. al, Memo No. 2106-SWG-II(C)-59/12399, dated 29 June 1959, File No. 1525, pp. 37-38, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹¹² Ibid.

concerns, notably the growing housing crisis at Chandigarh.¹¹³ It was also noted by an official that Chandigarh could do without a museum for at least ten years.¹¹⁴

Ultimately, this debate surrounding the necessity of a museum and art gallery at Chandigarh was settled quite expeditiously, when in April 1958 Governor C.P.N. Singh ordered the construction of a museum at Chandigarh to be permanently deferred. At this juncture, he proclaimed that a museum at Chandigarh was simply no longer an “imperative necessity,” in light of developments at Patiala and that arrangements should be made in consultation with the Keeper of Records at Simla to transfer the preserves of the Museum and Central Records office to Patiala. Ironically, the Governor’s decision came just days after Le Corbusier had presented “sketch plans” for the museum project at Chandigarh in a meeting of the Technical Committee of the Capital Control Board.¹¹⁵ It thus echoed the dramatic loss in support the Chandigarh Museum project had endured following the purchase of the Moti Bagh Palace at Patiala.

The Moti Bagh Palace, 1960-61

Not surprisingly, Randhawa vehemently disapproved of this decision to establish a Punjab State Museum and Archive at Patiala, at the expense of the museum project at Chandigarh. Even after learning the Governor’s decision, he remained adamant that a museum and art gallery should, first and foremost, be established at the state’s capital. In the next two years, while serving as Vice President for the Institute of Agricultural

¹¹³ D. Phaye, Memo dated 9 April 1958, File No. 1525, pp. 28-29, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹¹⁴ Katar Singh, Memo dated 18 April 1958, File No. 1525, pp. 29-30, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹¹⁵ D. Phaye, Memo dated 9 April 1958, File No. 1525, pp. 28-29, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

Research in Delhi, Randhawa worked to convince government officials of the necessity and viability of a museum and art gallery at Chandigarh, and in turn to have the collections of the state's Museum and Central Records office moved to the capital city as well. To this end, Randhawa enlisted the help and expertise of his colleague W.G. Archer to conduct a study on the "problem of organizing the Punjab Museum at Patiala."¹¹⁶ At Randhawa's request, Archer visited Patiala in March 1960, during which time he was granted access to the interior of the Moti Bagh Palace and engaged in detailed discussions with V.S. Suri concerning the possible adaptation of the palace into a museum. Their discussions ranged in topics from "the kind of show-cases and lay-out which would be required to other administrative problems arising from its constitution."¹¹⁷ In response, Archer compiled a 14-page report on the Moti Bagh Palace regarding its suitability as a state museum, as well as his suggestions for the structure's improvement and expansion.¹¹⁸

Archer's assessment of the Moti Bagh Palace as an overall tourist attraction was largely favorable, and he began his report to this effect, with a few positive words on the site's architecture and grounds. For instance, he described the palace as "one of the finest buildings in Punjab" with "magnificent grounds" and a "commanding presence," with the potential to become one of the "most popular show places in the State."¹¹⁹ Archer further noted that the Sheesh Mahal, the only portion of the palace open to the public at the time of his visit, had already attracted a number of visitors, which he further interpreted as a

¹¹⁶ W.G. Archer, "Report on the Punjab Museum, Patiala," 25 March 1960, File No. 1807, pp. 35-48, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

testament to the building's grandeur and potential for success as a tourist destination.

This initial appreciation of the site, however, was simply prelude to critique.

Indeed, from a "Museum point of view," Archer was less certain about the Moti Bagh Palace.¹²⁰ After inspecting the museum's collections, then spread across the Sheesh Mahal, the Qila Mubarak, and the office of the Curator, V.S. Suri, he argued that the Moti Bagh Palace had a number of serious disadvantages in this regard. Its location, for one, was not ideal in Archer's view for a state museum. Not only was the palace divorced from the state's capital at Chandigarh, it was situated moreover on the outskirts of the city of Patiala, nearly three miles away from the nearest railway station, making it extremely inaccessible to visitors—both local residents and tourists. As regards the palace's interior, Archer lamented its excess of doors, windows, alcoves, and recesses, which he argued together contributed to a severe lack of "unbroken wall space" within the palace—to him, the most basic requirement of a museum, necessary for the display of exhibits.¹²¹ Other impediments to proper display that made the Moti Bagh Palace a questionable site for the Punjab State Museum, in Archer's observation, included the palace's inconsistent paint job, its outdated lighting system, its lack of security, and what he observed to be an infestation of insects.

Archer conceded that many of these disadvantages could "within limits" be overcome to make the Moti Bagh Palace into a "useful and important museum" for Patiala, but not without "somewhat high cost" to the Punjab Government, in other words

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

a series of extensive renovations to the palace.¹²² Indeed, Archer's suggested renovation scheme—the changes he deemed necessary to transform the palace into an “attractive museum”¹²³—included converting one or more of the palace's out-buildings into a rest house, a move that would make the institution and its collections more available to tourists, scholars, and students alike. It entailed transforming a portion of the palace grounds into a zoo, a suggestion intended to ensure the popularity of the site with the public. It also included converting the ground-floor rooms in the palace's main block into proper museum galleries, which Archer explained could be achieved by blocking up certain windows, doors, recesses, and alcoves, removing certain paneling and fireplaces, replacing the current lighting system with modern-fluorescent lighting, repainting the palace's interior wood-work a white or cream color, reducing to a minimum the number of palace entrances, and installing iron grills on all the ground-floor windows to shore up security.

In spite of the Moti Bagh Palace's potential for renovation, Archer ultimately remained skeptical about the suitability of the site as a state museum, and in the remainder of his report foregrounded a deeper set of concerns he had about the Punjab State Museum in its present condition at Patiala. Archer noted, for instance, that the museum, apart from being spread haphazardly across several buildings, was severely understaffed, and moreover lacked the needed expertise to properly document, display, and care for the museum's collections, which otherwise were in “the process of becoming

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid.

world-famous.”¹²⁴ In this regard, he observed that among the museum’s current staff, only one official was trained as a museum specialist. He further pointed out that even V.S. Suri, though unfailingly devoted to museum work, was primarily a historian and archivist by training, not a curator. For Archer then, the problem of organizing a state museum at Patiala became in the course of his inspection more than just a matter of the Moti Bagh Palace and its inadequacies; it also became a matter of efficiency, knowledge, and expertise. He advised accordingly that urgent steps be taken, first and foremost, to ensure the continuity in museum work and expertise at Patiala. Specifically, he recommended that the Punjab Government focus on hiring museum staff trained in curatorial studies, methods of conservation, and required research languages. But, even these suggestions could not overcome the dismissive effect of Archer’s report on the whole, which while vaguely optimistic in tone amounted to no less than an overwhelming list of hurdles facing the Punjab Government, should they choose to retain the Punjab State Museum at Patiala.

Not surprisingly, given its overall tone, Archer’s report set off a firestorm of debate around where to locate the Punjab State Museum and its collections, which by 1960 was comprised primarily of India’s share of the Lahore collections, the collections of the dissolved PEPSU museum, and a number of independent acquisitions, some of which had been made by Randhawa, as previously discussed. This firestorm culminated in a meeting on April 18, 1960 on the “Reorganisation of the State Museum at Patiala.”¹²⁵

Among those present at this meeting were W.G. Archer, M.S. Randhawa, and V.S. Suri,

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ “Proceedings of the Meeting held at Chandigarh on Reorganisation of the State Museum at Patiala,” dated 18 April 1960, File No. 1468, pp. 337-344, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

along with Amarnath Vidyalkar,¹²⁶ the Education and Labor Minister in the role of Chairman, D.C. Sharma, the Chief Engineer of Chandigarh, and C.D. Kapur, the Deputy Secretary to the Punjab Government, Education Ministry.

Both Archer and Randhawa used this meeting as a platform to advocate for the development of a museum and art gallery at Chandigarh. In this respect, Archer contended that the Punjab State Museum's painting and sculpture collections—what he termed the institution's "Art Gallery"—were simply wasting away at Patiala.¹²⁷ Specifically, he was of the opinion that the "[p]lacing of paintings and sculptures at Moti Bagh really amounted to putting them into store."¹²⁸ As such, Archer argued that the only reasonable solution was to shift the painting and sculpture collections to Chandigarh, where they could be more fully appreciated. Such a move would not only instantly increase the accessibility of the collections to students and scholars alike, and contribute to tourism in Chandigarh in productive ways; it would also ensure the proper care and use of the exhibits. Importantly, in Archer's vision, relocating the Punjab State Museum's "Art Gallery" to Chandigarh would not leave Patiala empty-handed. He clarified that splitting the "Art Gallery" from the collections of the Punjab State Museum would only entail moving the Lahore collections, and a select number of independent acquisitions to Chandigarh. The Punjab State Museum's remaining collections of textiles, stuffed birds, musical instruments, weapons, armor, medals, handicrafts, and large portraits of Sikh

¹²⁶ M.S. Randhawa to S. Partap Singh Kairon, Letter dated 23 April 1960, File No. 1468, pp. 329, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹²⁷ "Proceedings of the Meeting held at Chandigarh on Reorganisation of the State Museum at Patiala," dated 18 April 1960, File No. 1468, pp. 337-344, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

rulers, items which largely comprised the collections of the old PEPSU Museum, would remain in Patiala, for display in the Moti Bagh Palace.¹²⁹

Randhawa supported Archer's proposal wholeheartedly. He further contended in this meeting that shifting the Punjab State Museum's "Art Gallery" to Chandigarh in this way would be a critical opportunity to realize in India, "a Museum of the same stature and importance as the Museum at Lahore."¹³⁰ For according to Randhawa, not only was Archer's plan in line with present concepts of Museology, which in his understanding saw a museum of art as comprised only of paintings and sculpture. It would also prevent the overcrowding of exhibits in both Patiala and Chandigarh, what Randhawa identified as a leading ailment among Indian museums in the twentieth century. In Randhawa's view, therefore, relocating the Punjab State Museum's "Art Gallery" from Patiala to Chandigarh constituted an opportunity to liberate the exhibits and allow them to reach their full potential as fine arts, which for him also meant that they would finally be free and able to showcase "the social and cultural evolution of [the Indian] nation."¹³¹

Ultimately, Archer and Randhawa's arguments fell on deaf ears. In the course of the meeting, Amarnath Vidyalkar saw no reason to separate the "Art Gallery" from the rest of the Punjab State Museum, and advised moreover that the museum's extant collections remain together at Patiala in light of the heavy investment made by the Punjab Government to acquire the palace for the museum in the first place. He agreed, however, to place the matter before the Chief Minister of Punjab and the Cabinet, who would ultimately have final say in the matter.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

Interestingly, Vidyalankar's decision did not stop Randhawa from trying once again to convince state officials of supporting his and Archer's proposal, if anything it fueled his determination further. After the meeting on the "Reorganisation of the State Museum at Patiala" concluded, Randhawa wrote to Chief Minister Shri Partap Singh Kairon directly to convey a summary of the meeting's discussions and debates, and ultimately to solicit Kairon's support. Randhawa wrote:

"Mr. Archer and I had a very useful meeting with Shri Amarnath Vidyalankar, the Minister for Education regarding the Museum and Picture Art Gallery. Our considered opinion was that the Picture Gallery should be isolated from the Museum and located at Chandigarh. During the last seven years I have collected for the Punjab Government a large collection of the finest miniature paintings from various parts of the country. It is very necessary that this collection of paintings should be seen by the people of Punjab and this could only be possible if they are located in Chandigarh instead of being buried in a corner of Moti Bagh Palace. It would be desirable if the Punjab Government themselves build a Picture Gallery."¹³²

Importantly, in the course of this correspondence, Randhawa made it clear that should Kairon or the Punjab Government be unwilling or unable to fund the relocation of the "Art Gallery" to Chandigarh, he already had a backup plan in place, underscoring how desperate he was, or how far he was willing to go to see the project to completion. Randhawa noted that he had in fact spoken with Dr. A.C. Joshi of Punjab University to develop a temporary solution to the problem of funds. Randhawa wrote:

"If, however, it is not possible due to financial reasons, Dr. A.C. Joshi has suggested a solution. He is ready to put up a building costing about Rs. 6 lakhs in the University Campus to which public will have free access. This collection of paintings can be seen by the tourists, the people of Punjab and students of the University as well as of the Government Arts College."¹³³

¹³² M.S. Randhawa to S. Partap Singh Kairon, Letter dated 23 April 1960, File No. 1468, pp. 329, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹³³ Ibid.

In spite of Randhawa's tireless efforts, however, the Punjab State Museum ultimately stayed in Patiala until 1961, when as previously discussed the Punjab Government forced the institution and a majority of its collections out, by opting to sell the Moti Bagh Palace back to the Indian Government and the National Organisation for Sports. In many ways thus, it was not until the Punjab State Museum's relocation became a matter of absolute necessity that Randhawa got what he wanted.

The Museum of Knowledge, 1958-61

Though Governor C.P.N. Singh's decision to relocate the Punjab state's Museum and Central Records office to Patiala in April 1958 effectively saw all plans to construct a museum and art gallery at Chandigarh abandoned, the idea of a museum at Chandigarh was not all lost at this juncture. It emerged again in 1959 in a slightly different form, when Le Corbusier proposed a "Museum of Knowledge" for Chandigarh's Capitol Complex [Fig. 3.15].

Space at the Capitol Complex became available in April 1958, when plans for a Governor's Palace were suddenly abandoned. Governor C.P.N. Singh decided not to go forward with construction of a Governor's Palace at Chandigarh due to lack of funds, and mounting public criticism of the project that cast the prospective residence as "wasteful" expenditure unbecoming of a newly democratic country.¹³⁴ Le Corbusier had been greatly "perturbed" by this decision.¹³⁵ The Governor's Palace was intended as the fourth building for the Capitol Complex, along side the High Court [Fig. 3.16], the Assembly

¹³⁴ "Proposal for the Construction of the Museum of Evolution of Life in the Leisure Valley, Chandigarh" 23 October 1960, File No. 1524, pp. 119-127, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

[Fig. 3.17], and the Secretariat [Fig. 3.18], and was in his mind essential to the site's architectural composition. Indeed, he likened the absence of a fourth building at the Capitol Complex to leaving the site "beheaded."¹³⁶ Anxious to complete the Capitol Complex in accordance with his original vision of four buildings then, Le Corbusier proposed the construction of a Museum of Knowledge on April 6, 1959, to be built at the site originally reserved for the Governor's Palace.¹³⁷

Le Corbusier's design for the Museum of Knowledge was unlike any museum that had been proposed for the city to date. Drawing inspiration from his design for the Phillips Pavilion at the World's Fair in Brussels in 1958 [Fig. 3.19],¹³⁸ he described the Museum of Knowledge as a "high organism of explanation of the new modern time in its economic, technical, aesthetic, and ethical aspects."¹³⁹ It would employ the latest advancements in technology to enrich the outlook of the citizens of Punjab,¹⁴⁰ and endow the state government "with a Scientific Tool of Investigation, Reply, Explanation and Expression."¹⁴¹ Le Corbusier's scheme for the Museum of Knowledge relied heavily on the use of audio-visual technology, what he called "Round Books," to make visible "the big problems, the serious problems, the unseizable problems of the present times, and of India in particular."¹⁴² Highly conceptual, if not also slightly vague in its design, Le

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Dharam Ravi, Memo dated 24 November 1959, File No. 1525, pp. 42-44, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁴⁰ M.S. Randhawa, "Museum of Knowledge," 15 November 1960, File No. 1525, pp. 105-109, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁴¹ Le Corbusier to M.S. Randhawa, Letter dated 29 December 1960, File No. 1525, pp. 153-156, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁴² Ibid.

Corbusier's idea was essentially to create a museum at Chandigarh that would offer "pre-digested knowledge" to government and public audiences in a world of growing complexity.¹⁴³ He saw the museum moreover as a tool, a way to better equip Indian society to perceive, explain, and in time also solve the great social and political problems of modern times.¹⁴⁴

The matter of a Museum of Knowledge was first considered at a meeting of Chandigarh's High Level Advisory Committee on April 26, 1959. At this time, it was felt that Le Corbusier's proposal for a Museum of Knowledge lacked clarity, and was therefore unfit to be placed before Chandigarh's Capitol Control Board. As a result, he was asked to prepare a more concrete scheme of the Museum of Knowledge in consultation with Shri K.C. Neogy, Chairman of the Finance Commission of India, for the next meeting of the High Level Advisory Committee in December 1959, one that better detailed the financial implications involved in the construction of the museum.¹⁴⁵

Le Corbusier, however, failed to produce a satisfactory scheme for his Museum of Knowledge by this next meeting of the High Level Advisory Committee. Officials deemed his revised proposal outside the purview of the Capital Project. They were wary of the "highly complicated" nature of the electronic exhibits central to his vision, which in addition to being expensive, were seen as "not capable of being prepared in India."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ B.B. Vohra, "Reference pp. U.C. I-III along with CM's Orders" 9 February 1961, File No. 1525, pp. 131-139, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁴⁴ Le Corbusier to M.S. Randhawa, Letter dated 29 December 1960, File No. 1525, pp. 153-156, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁴⁵ B.B. Vohra, "Reference pp. U.C. I-III along with CM's Orders" 9 February 1961, File No. 1525, pp. 131-139, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

Indeed, the following observations were made on Le Corbusier's proposal during this meeting:

“The report of Mons. Le Corbusier on the Museum of Knowledge was considered. It was felt that while the scheme seemed to be attractive, great practical difficulties were likely to arise in implementing it. This was particularly so because while the construction of the building was a comparatively simple affair the preparation of the electronic exhibits was a highly complicated matter for which there was at present no machinery in the whole country, let alone the State. In fact, as was admitted by the Architectural Advisor, M. Le Corbusier, that there is no Museum of Knowledge of this kind anywhere in the world.”¹⁴⁷

Accordingly, Le Corbusier was asked to go into the matter further, and again prepare a more detailed scheme of the Museum of Knowledge that gave a better picture of the project's financial implications.¹⁴⁸

In April 1960, Le Corbusier met with the Secretary Capital to discuss his scheme for the Museum of Knowledge for a third time. In this meeting, it was decided that an electronic Museum of Knowledge was not a practical proposition for Chandigarh in the near future, and that a fourth building capable of housing government offices on its first three floors, and a State Reception and Banqueting hall on its top most floor should be built at the Capitol Complex instead, and as a matter of priority. The bureaucracy at Chandigarh had proliferated in recent months, and additional office space had become a matter of great urgency. This decision was confirmed by the High Level Advisory Committee, and placed before the city's Capital Control Board for final approval shortly thereafter. On July 18, 1960, the Capital Control Board approved plans for this fourth building at the Capitol Complex, but amended the recommendation of the High Level

¹⁴⁷ “Proposal for the Construction of the Museum of Evolution of Life in the Leisure Valley, Chandigarh” 23 October 1960, File No. 1525, pp. 119-127, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁴⁸ B.B. Vohra, “Reference pp. U.C. I-III along with CM's Orders” 9 February 1961, File No. 1525, pp. 131-139, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

Advisory Committee slightly to leave open the possibility of its housing a Museum of Knowledge at Chandigarh down the line. They recommended that Le Corbusier design and construct a fourth building for the Capitol Complex that “may ultimately be capable of housing a ‘Museum of Knowledge’ and Picture Gallery,” at Chandigarh, but would immediately provide for 50,000 square feet of office accommodation.¹⁴⁹

In November 1960, M.S. Randhawa intervened against the Capitol Control Board’s decision, and essentially reopened the matter of a Museum of Knowledge at Chandigarh for further discussion and debate. Randhawa vehemently disapproved of the Museum of Knowledge, even temporarily, being used as an “annexe for the Secretariat.”¹⁵⁰ He firmly believed that “museums in proximity with offices end as casualties,”¹⁵¹ and that if a museum were to be built at the Capitol Complex, it should be built from the outset with the sole purpose of being a museum. Accordingly, Randhawa urged the Chief Minister to recommend, in opposition to the Capital Control Board’s decision, that the new building for the Capitol Complex be straightaway designed as a museum, and not be used to accommodate government offices.¹⁵²

At this juncture, the nature of this museum also came up for debate at Randhawa’s request. Randhawa opposed Le Corbusier’s overreliance on electronic devices in his design for the Museum of Knowledge, and in response proposed a counter-

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ M.S. Randhawa, “Museum of Knowledge,” 15 November 1960, File No. 1525, pp. 105-109, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁵¹ “Proposal for the Construction of the Museum of Evolution of Life in the Leisure Valley, Chandigarh” 23 October 1960, File No. 1524, pp. 119-127, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁵² M.S. Randhawa, “Museum of Knowledge,” 15 November 1960, File No. 1525, pp. 105-109, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

design for the institution in November 1960. In contrast to Le Corbusier, Randhawa envisioned a museum of “the ordinary visual kind” for Chandigarh, equipped with pictures, diagrams, and exhibits.¹⁵³ His “Museum of Knowledge” was a “place where inorganic and organic evolution [was] shown in time sequence.”¹⁵⁴ It had at least six levels that progressed from displays on the structure of matter, and the evolution of the planetary system, to the development of unicellular plants, invertebrates, amphibians, reptiles, and eventually mammals. It had floors devoted to the “march of humanity” from its earliest stages of hunting and gathering to the rise of capitalism.¹⁵⁵ The evolution of India was also an integral part of Randhawa’s curatorial program, which was further designed to take visitors on a journey from the early stages of the Dravidian and Aryan passes, through to the Buddhist, Muslim, and British periods of Indian history. The partition of India was a highlight of this historical progression in Randhawa’s vision, along with developments made in Punjab under each of the Five Year Plans.¹⁵⁶

Randhawa’s intervention into the Museum of Knowledge project was not taken lightly, and resulted moreover in a fierce debate with Le Corbusier over the role of electronic devices in the design for the museum. This debate largely unfolded across a series of letters between the two men beginning in December 1960. In this correspondence, Le Corbusier explained that the Museum of Knowledge that Randhawa envisioned, with its core reflections on “the [mechanism] of the world and all its

¹⁵³ B.B. Vohra, “Reference pp. U.C. I-III along with CM’s Orders” 9 February 1961, File No. 1525, pp. 131-139, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁵⁴ M.S. Randhawa, “Museum of Knowledge,” 15 November 1960, File No. 1525, pp. 105-109, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

consequences throughout the ages of the human race,” could not be realized “by means of photographs, drawings and various diagrams” alone.¹⁵⁷ Such an institution, with its precedents at the “Palais de la Decouverte” and the “Musee de L’Homme” in Paris, would require “extremely scientific initiatives and a series of programmes prepared by specialists for a public—which [was] not the public of Chandigarh,”—knowledge and techniques that Le Corbusier firmly believed were not at their disposal in Punjab.¹⁵⁸ He argued, instead, that such a museum “could only find its true means of realization by the use of electronic devices.”¹⁵⁹ And while Le Corbusier then attempted to persuade Randhawa that an embrace of the electronic was the only way for mankind to “broach the synthetical problem of the modern conjecture,” in the end he was advocating for little more than the use of magnetic tape recordings and audio-visual films within the design of museum.¹⁶⁰ Regardless, Randhawa did not take kindly to Le Corbusier’s argumentation. He responded, almost a month later, in January 1961, asserting:

“The Museum which I had suggested should show the evolution of life from the earliest stages to the present; from the inorganic to the organic matter and its development to man. A Museum of this nature does not exist in any part of the world. It is not a natural history museum in which all types of animals are collected together but a Museum in which, with the aid of audio-visual media, the progress of life is to be shown. In the process, the historical progress is also visualized. This will be extremely educative particularly to students from all over the State who can come according to an arranged programme. In fact, it will become the most important visual aid which will affect the outlook of the people. I do not think electronic devices can show all that I had outlined in detail in my paper on the subject. The type of display I had in view was as in Hayden

¹⁵⁷ Le Corbusier to M.S. Randhawa, Letter dated 29 December 1960, File No. 1525, pp. 153-156, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

Planetarium, New York minus the projector in the middle.”¹⁶¹

On the subject of Le Corbusier’s electronic devices, Randhawa was even more dismissive. He further wrote:

“The ‘Round Books’ which you have explained do not exist anywhere and Punjab is not the place where an experiment of this nature can be made. It is better to work on a concept which is well defined and clear in its objectives so that we make progress with the building.”

Over the course of their correspondence, it thus became quite clear that neither official was willing to compromise on their vision for the Museum of Knowledge, with Le Corbusier intent on the use of technology in the institution’s design, and Randhawa intent on the use of more conventional exhibitivite techniques. To make matters more difficult, support within the Indian government was also split between the two plans.

Jawaharlal Nehru, himself, intervened on the issue when approached for advice by Chief Minister Kairon on February 27, 1961. Nehru liked the idea of having a Museum of Knowledge at the summit of the Capitol Complex at Chandigarh, and in particular found Le Corbusier’s proposal for a “special type of museum” at Chandigarh, premised on a “display of scientific progress” and “electronic devices,” an attractive and unique plan that would give audiences an inspiring “glimpse of the future.”¹⁶² He also acknowledged, however, that little else could be said about Le Corbusier’s museum at this stage, without a more detailed picture of the project’s design and financial implications.¹⁶³ Randhawa’s plan for the Museum of Knowledge was clearly more

¹⁶¹ M.S. Randhawa to Le Corbusier, Letter dated 25 January 1961, File No. 1525, pp. 158, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁶² Jawaharlal Nehru to S. Partap Singh Kairon, Letter dated 25 February 1961, File No. 1525, pp. 141, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

developed in this sense, but Nehru did not take well to Randhawa's vision, noting, "There is nothing special about it."¹⁶⁴ He found Randhawa's Museum of Knowledge to be too similar to the National Museum of India in Delhi [Fig. 3.20], which he described as "the old block type" of museum, with "big rooms for display," one that many people had since criticized.¹⁶⁵ He thus urged Chief Minister Kairon to take his time with the Museum of Knowledge project, to consider the matter further, to wait for a fuller picture of Le Corbusier's plan before rejecting it, and to consider perhaps combining Le Corbusier's ideas with Randhawa's before proceeding with construction.¹⁶⁶

Compromise on the design of the Museum of Knowledge, however, could not be reached and at a meeting of the High Level Advisory Committee held on March 25, 1961 at which Randhawa presided and officials P.L. Verma, Le Corbusier, P. Jeanneret, G.R. Nangea, and B.B. Vohra were present, it was recommended that a separate building for a museum of a conventional type be built near the School of Arts in Sector 10, and a separate building for the Museum of Knowledge be built at the Capitol Complex. This effectively green-lit the establishment of two museums at Chandigarh: Randhawa's art gallery, and Le Corbusier's Museum of Knowledge.¹⁶⁷ In time, of course, only the former would ever be fully realized at Chandigarh.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ "Proposal for the Construction of the Museum of Evolution of Life in the Leisure Valley, Chandigarh" 23 October 1960, File No. 1524, pp. 119-127, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

Threats of War and Partition, 1961-68

As can be gleaned from the many convolutions already at the center of this historical narrative, the construction of an art museum at Chandigarh was hardly smooth sailing. This was the case even after Randhawa received the explicit approval of the city's High Level Advisory Committee in March 1961 to see the project to completion. Indeed, in the subsequent seven years leading up to the Chandigarh Museum's inauguration in 1968, he faced two major impediments to the museum's completion, both of which are critical to fully understanding the difficulties Randhawa experienced in his efforts to finally settle this institution at Chandigarh, along with the Lahore collections. The first was the outbreak of war between India and China in 1962, which, as previously discussed, plunged Punjab into a sudden state of emergency that brought all non-essential construction work at Chandigarh to a screeching halt. This included construction on the unfolding Chandigarh Museum, which was all but abandoned *again* by the Punjab Government in this moment of emergency. Randhawa, however, was able to intervene on the institution's behalf by writing to Chief Minister Kairon, who heeded Randhawa's concerns and rekindled support for the project by 1963.¹⁶⁸ The second, more critical impediment to the completion of the Chandigarh Museum in these final intervening years was the reorganization of Punjab in 1966.

On June 9, 1966, the Government of India decided to partition the Indian state of Punjab along linguistic lines, bowing to the call, as early as 1948, to create a Punjabi-*suba*, or a Punjabi speaking majority province. This process of reorganization came in response to decades of growing tensions between Punjabi-speaking and Hindi-speaking

¹⁶⁸ "Notes on the Museum of Knowledge," Memo dated September 1963, File No. 1525, pp. 224-226, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

communities in Punjab that sought representation as separate states in post-colonial India. It also marked the failure of a series of efforts on part of the new Government of India in the years since independence and partition to suffuse a one-state solution within Punjab.¹⁶⁹

The passage of the *Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966* on September 18, 1966 created the new state of Haryana, and reshaped the existing states of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh [**Fig. 3.21**].¹⁷⁰ The new, admittedly smaller Punjab amounted to one-seventh the size of undivided Punjab, under the British.¹⁷¹ In its new form, this Punjab comprised key districts of Amritsar, Guradspur, and Jullundur, the city of Patiala, and a few other Punjabi-speaking majority areas, historically ruled by *rajās* or princely rulers. It also boasted a Sikh-majority population. Haryana, carved from the southern portion of the Punjab province, resembled the old British Ambala division.¹⁷² It united the districts of Hissar, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Karnal, Mahendragarh, and select *tehsils* from the Sangrur

¹⁶⁹ In 1949, for example, to address demands for a Punjabi-*Suba*, the Chief Minister of Punjab, Shri Bhimsen Sacchar, divided the state into two parts: a Punjabi area and a Hindi area. According to this plan, known as the “Sacchar Formula,” Punjabi would be the official language of the Punjabi area, and Hindi would be the official language of the Hindi area. This plan, however, proved unpopular throughout the state, and quickly dissolved. In 1953, the Government of India established a commission under the chairmanship of Syed Fiazal Ali to explore the question of reorganizing states according to language and culture. The Commission considered the creation of a Punjabi-*Suba*, and a Hindi-speaking majority Haryana, but the proposal did not pass at this time. In 1956, the Government of India attempted to address the issue of a Punjabi-Suba again by declaring Punjab a dual-language state, but this too failed at suppressing calls for a two-state solution, paving the way for the state’s reorganization in 1966. See, S.C. Bhatt and Gopal K. Bhargava, ed. *Haryana* (Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2006), 87-93.

¹⁷⁰ The 1961 census was used to establish Punjabi and Hindi-speaking majority areas, and demarcate new state lines; see, “Linguistic Divisions of Punjab,” *Tribune* (Ambala), 25 August 1966, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Delhi.

¹⁷¹ Rajmohan Gandhi, *Punjab: A History from Aurangzeb to Mountbatten* (New Delhi: Aleph Book Company, 2013), 380.

¹⁷² Gandhi, 380.

and Ambala districts, extending down towards Delhi.¹⁷³ In contrast to the new Punjab, it comprised a Hindu and Hindi-speaking majority populace.¹⁷⁴ Himachal Pradesh expanded its borders westward in the trifurcation. In 1966, it acquired Simla and several of the Punjab hill districts, including Kangra, Kulu, and Lahaul-Spiti.¹⁷⁵

The *Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966* had major and unique ramifications for the new city of Chandigarh, as well. Located on the border between the new states of Punjab and Haryana, Chandigarh quickly became a contested territory in the reorganization process, with both Punjab and Haryana clamoring for control over the “coveted crown of construction.”¹⁷⁶ The Shah Commission, the body formed in April 1966 to determine the new boundaries of Punjab and Haryana, recommended in its majority report to the Government of India that Chandigarh, along with the whole of the neighboring Kharar *tehsil*, be awarded to the new state of Haryana in the reorganization process. The Government of India, however, ultimately rejected this suggestion, fearing political pushback from supporters of the Punjabi-*suba*, and in an unconventional move departed from the report in favor of a more “equitable” solution. On October 2, 1966, the Government of India gave the Punjabi-speaking areas of the Kharar *tehsil* to Punjab, the Hindi-speaking areas of the Kharar *tehsil* to Haryana, and declared the “bilingual” city of

¹⁷³ *Tehsil* is an administrative division of India, used to demarcate a sub-district typically smaller than a province or state, but larger than a city, town, and village.

¹⁷⁴ Government of India, *The Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966*, 18 September 1966.

¹⁷⁵ Government of India, *The Punjab Reorganisation Act, 1966*, 18 September 1966; M.S. Randhawa, “Chandigarh Union Territory—Proposed Organisation,” Memo dated c. 1966, File No. 1533, pp. 174-185, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁷⁶ Zail Singh Giani, President, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee, to Y.B. Chavan, Union Home Minister, New Delhi, Confidential Letter dated 19 September 1967, File No. 1543, pp. 75-80, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

Chandigarh a Union Territory, to be administered by an independent authority, and shared as a common capital by both Punjab and Haryana.¹⁷⁷

The reorganization of Punjab in 1966 was thus a highly involved, and messy process of division not unlike the partition of India in 1947. Though happening on a smaller scale, it too involved territorial uncertainties, an exchange and displacement of populations, and the division of shared infrastructure, as new state boundaries were brought to life to codify differences in linguistic, regional, and communal identities. Chandigarh bore the brunt of this division process, the burden of its new status as a shared capital. Notably in 1966, the city's administrative architecture was split between Punjab and Haryana to provide separate accommodation for each state's respective government at Chandigarh. A newspaper article published in *Tribune* on October 26, 1966, describing the division of the Secretariat building, gives a fuller sense of this burden, if not also the "stupendousness" of movement the division process entailed:¹⁷⁸

"The Secretariat building has been divided between the two States almost vertically. The ground floor housing the post office, telephone exchange, security staff, public canteen and receptionists and the cafeteria on floor XI and the kitchen on floor X have been retained as common links between the two States. Floors II and III go to Punjab as also Blocks I, II, III and IV on Floors V to VII. On Floors VIII and IV, it gets Blocks I, II, and III. On Floor IX only Block I goes to Punjab. The rest of the building—consisting of Blocks IV, V, and VI of Floors IV and VIII, Blocks V and VI of Floors V, VI and VII and Blocks II to VI of Floor IX—goes to Haryana. The 12 rooms designed for Ministers are in Blocks IV of Floors II, IV, VI, and VIII. Six of the rooms on Floor IV and VIII go to Haryana and the rest six to Punjab. Haryana gets the Cabinet meetings' room. Each floor has six Blocks beginning from north. The 30-bay building in Sector

¹⁷⁷ "No Change in Haryana, Punjab Boundaries," *Tribune* (Chandigarh), 5 December 1966, File No. 1849, pp. 77, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh; "Kharar Tehsil's Division," *The Times of India* (New Delhi), 6 December 1966, File No. 1849, pp. 91, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁷⁸ Special Correspondent, "Nov. 1 Declared a Public Holiday – Transfer of Offices to Two States Begins Tomorrow," *Tribune* (Lahore, Ambala, Chandigarh), 27 October 1966, File. No. R-6523, Newspapers and Periodicals, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Delhi.

17, housing the Directorate offices, will go to Haryana and the 17-bay building as also the shop-cum-flats to Punjab.”¹⁷⁹

In addition to prominent landmarks like the Secretariat and Assembly buildings at Le Corbusier’s Capitol Complex, residential accommodation constructed for use by Ministers and Deputy Ministers in Sectors 2, 3, and 7, and office accommodation built in Sector 17 were also divided between the Governments of Punjab and Haryana.

The division of Chandigarh was not, however, beholden to Le Corbusier’s Capitol Complex, or the city’s administrative architecture. The question of dividing Chandigarh, its infrastructure and assets, between Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh also for a time extended to the city’s cultural heritage, namely the Chandigarh Museum and its unfolding collections. On April 17, 1967, a little over a year prior to the inauguration of the Chandigarh Museum, the Government of Himachal Pradesh wrote to the Government of India claiming partial ownership of the Chandigarh Museum’s collections, in light of the state’s recent acquisition of the Punjab hill districts. They requested that the Central Government consider allocating a portion of the museum’s valuable collections to Himachal Pradesh, as part of the reorganization scheme of 1966, so as to enable the state to constitute its own museum apart from Chandigarh, which again had been designated a Union Territory, and the shared capital of Punjab and Haryana, to the exclusion of Himachal Pradesh. Importantly, their claims of partial ownership also extended to the collections of the museum and archives at the Moti Bagh Palace in Patiala.¹⁸⁰ As previously discussed, a portion of the Moti Bagh Palace continued to house and display a

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ K.R. Prabhu, Joint Secretary to the Government of India, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Himachal Pradesh, “Share of Collections at Chandigarh and Patiala Museums,” Letter dated 9 June 1967, File No. 1621, pp. 9, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

selection of objects owned by Punjab, and the State Records office in the 1960s. These objects, in contrast to the collections of the Chandigarh Museum by 1967, however, were primarily of an anthropological nature, and had been deemed unfit for display in the new Chandigarh Museum, which Randhawa had envisioned as a “fine arts” institution.

Himachal Pradesh’s request to divide the Chandigarh Museum’s collections did not come as a complete surprise to Randhawa in April 1967. He had discussed the possibility of the museum’s division among Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh as early as July 1966, when W.G. Archer raised the issue in correspondence. Upon hearing the news of Randhawa’s appointment as Chief Commissioner of the new Chandigarh Union Territory administration in 1966, Archer wrote to convey his congratulations to his dear friend and colleague, and to express his relief that the Government of India had decided to keep Chandigarh a “neutral” zone, as opposed to allocating it solely to Haryana as initially recommended by the Shah Commission.¹⁸¹ In this letter, Archer raised his concern for the Chandigarh Museum as well, unsure what the reorganization scheme had in store for its world-class collections. He lamented the possibility of the museum’s division “into three parts” and probed Randhawa for reassurance that such a tragedy would not befall the institution and its cultural assets, which Randhawa had spent years building and consolidating into a significant cultural landmark for the Punjab.¹⁸²

Archer wrote:

“Does the division of the Punjab affect the Museum’s collections or will you be able to keep the Museum as [a] sort of federal responsibility for the whole region? It would be tragic if after building up such a marvelously integrated collection,

¹⁸¹ W.G. Archer to M.S. Randhawa, Letter dated 16 July 1966, File No. 1499, pp. 256, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh

¹⁸² Ibid.

you saw it broken up into three parts—I suppose if there were to be a division, Himachal Pradesh would claim a share too. I feel sure that you have already foreseen these appalling possibilities but I would like you to re-assure me that everything is going to be well.”¹⁸³

At this early stage in the reorganization of Punjab, Randhawa did not see any reason for Archer’s concern. As Chief Commissioner of Chandigarh, he had been charged with finalizing the proposals and procedures for dividing the city, its assets and infrastructure, between the governments of Punjab and Haryana, none of which by July 1966 had touched on the subject of the museum, and its collections. In August 1966, Randhawa thus responded to Archer affirming his belief that the museum and its collections would ultimately remain unscathed by the reorganization scheme, and resulting division process. Moreover, his reply retained a hopeful air, and revealed his plans for the museum’s continued development under the new Chandigarh Union Territory administration.

“With the Union Territory, I believe the collection in the Museum is safe. During the coming winter, I will ask the Architects to arrange the exhibits. One of the Architects, Sharma, has a feeling for this type of work and I hope he will be able to make an attractive display. I am glad that came just in time to be of some use of Chandigarh. I find this work exceedingly interesting and feeling intoxicated with the joy of it.”¹⁸⁴

This was not Randhawa’s only letter on the subject. On October 31, 1966, the eve of Chandigarh’s becoming a Union Territory, he dismissed the possibility of dividing the museum’s collections for a second time while in correspondence with Archer. He further wrote, “The Museum is nearing completion. It will be with the Union Territory and thus the danger of division has been staved off.”¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ M.S. Randhawa to W.G. Archer, Letter dated 22 August 1966, File No. 1499, pp. 258, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

¹⁸⁵ M.S. Randhawa to W.G. Archer, Letter dated 31 October 1966, File No. 1499, pp. 260-261, Randhawa Papers, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh.

Randhawa's optimism seems to grow from a conception of the Chandigarh Museum as a protector or shield for the Lahore collections, one that is invulnerable to the effects of the reorganization scheme and resulting division process—a vision of the art institution he himself builds up over the course of his tenure in Punjab, by repeatedly reframing the museum, its collections, and their cultural significance in terms of the institution's rootedness in Chandigarh. Nonetheless when he learned of Himachal Pradesh's plans to claim partial ownership of the Chandigarh Museum's collections in 1967, he leapt into immediate action to thwart the calamity of such a division. On April 18, 1967, Randhawa wrote a pleading letter to P.N. Kirpal, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education, in defense of the museum at Chandigarh and its precious holdings. The letter is long and detailed, a work of art in itself, and in many ways proves quite the testament to Randhawa's investment in seeing the Lahore collections permanently settled with the Chandigarh Museum in the 1960s.

For the purposes of this chapter, and by way of conclusion, I will highlight only a small portion of this letter, in which Randhawa addressed forthright the calamity that a division of the Chandigarh Museum's collections would facilitate. The passage arguably represents a melodramatic turn in Randhawa's intervention on behalf of the Lahore collections in India, one that nonetheless offers powerful commentary on the difficulties Randhawa faced in his efforts to rehabilitate the wandering exhibits with the persistent threat of partition still looming large in Punjab. On the potential division of the Chandigarh Museum and, in turn, the Lahore collections between Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh, he wrote:

“If it happens it would be an unpardonable crime for which we would not be forgiven. The art of a people is to be considered unified and indivisible and any

thinking of the contrary does not take into account the realities of the aesthetic situation. A collection like this is not like furniture or goods, which should be distributed among the successors of the erstwhile Punjab State. Paintings and sculptures are of significance to people who understand them and appreciate them, and much more so for scholars who study them. A collection of this magnitude and quality acquires significance by the mass of material collected together at one place for reference and research. It loses its point almost completely if it is fragmented and scattered over different parts. The enormous difficulty which arises for the scholars to consult a complete collection of paintings, for instance, can be illustrated with reference to the incompleteness of research in several directions, because the unified collections got spread over vast geographical distances. The collection of the Chandigarh museum attracts scholars of eminence and repute from all over the world and distinguished scholars like W.G. Archer, Robert Skelton, Milo Beach and many others have had access to the finest material of Pahari Painting at Chandigarh only because the collection was unified and housed at one place. The dispersal or division of the collection of the Chandigarh Museum can therefore be described only as a calamity for the art world. Our effort should be to avoid it, lest posterity also includes us in the black list of destroyers of art and culture.”¹⁸⁶

Not surprisingly, Randhawa’s words are couched in urgency. He describes the proposed division and dispersal of the Lahore collections in India as an “unpardonable crime,” a “calamity for the art world,” that would place all those involved on “a black list of destroyers of art and culture,” an assertion that also reads a bit ironic given the very collection he speaks of is itself already the product of such a “calamity.”¹⁸⁷ Beneath the melodrama of his vocabulary, however, are also powerful ideas about art, museums, and the importance of place that work in this moment to expose the paradoxical condition of the Lahore collections in India by this juncture. On the one hand, Randhawa’s letter really gives the Lahore collections a sense of rootedness at Chandigarh. By equating the fragmentation and dispersal of the Lahore collections in 1966 with their destruction, he powerfully ties their sense of purpose, meaning, and survival to their settlement in

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

Chandigarh—an argument that ultimately wins over state officials by 1967 and sees to the inauguration of the Chandigarh Museum in 1968, with its collections whole and undivided between Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. On another hand, Randhawa's letter also and perhaps inadvertently admits to the impossibility of the Lahore collections ever truly belonging to Chandigarh, or India more broadly. For as the product of the partition of 1947, as fragments in and of themselves of a collection once beholden to Lahore and a province and homeland that no longer exists in its original iteration, they have lost their "point" and significance. They have, in other words, entered into a state of displacement, dispossession, and exile from which, as Randhawa asserts himself, there is no return. Although settled with the Chandigarh Museum, the Lahore collections thus remain very much in search of a home.

EPILOGUE

Cultural Dispossession and the Making of the Postcolonial World

This dissertation has revisited the history of the Lahore Museum in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to interrogate the impact of the partition of India in 1947 on the development of art, art institutions, and aesthetic discourse in the twentieth century. By tracing the trials, tribulations, and travels of the institution's collections in India and Pakistan, moreover, this study has intervened into the cultural field between objects and nations in South Asia to make visible the difficult conditions in which art and heritage were made national in the twentieth century; the crucial role museums have played in negotiating partition's legacy of violence and trauma cross the Indian subcontinent; and, the critical dialectics of non-belonging and nationalization that entangle India and Pakistan into the present. While this study has foregrounded repressed art histories of displacement, dispossession, and homelessness, as a means to unravel the solidity of nationalist historiographies of art in South Asia, it has in equal measure posited an understanding of partition as an unfinished process of cultural fragmentation. In the final pages of this dissertation, I bring my analysis forward into the contemporary moment to offer a few brief reflections on how this study of the Lahore Museum also contributes to the new discursive frontiers posited by recent artistic and curatorial work in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the South Asian diaspora, and specifically the questions it raises for the writing of South Asian art history going forward.

In the two decades since the fiftieth anniversary of partition in 1997, the field of contemporary South Asian art has been inundated with meaningful artistic engagements around partition history, responding in part to the legacies of communal strife in

Ayodhya, Gujarat, Kargil, Kashmir, and Mumbai (to name a few) that have kept the memory of partition violence very much alive in the minds and hearts of communities across the region. These engagements have ranged from an onslaught of partition films, a manifestation of what film historian Bhaskar Sarkar has identified as a wider “Partition industry;”¹ to more critical and understated meditations on the Indo-Pakistani border, such as Zarina Hashmi’s woodcut print *Dividing Line* (2001) [Fig. 4.1]. The latter is an abstracted rendering of the Indo-Pakistani border that places the cartography of the Indian subcontinent onto “paper like skin,”² bringing partition’s violent territorial shifts in conversation with ruptures of mind, body, and identity. More recently, such engagements have fuelled an entire museum, namely the Partition Museum in Amritsar, which was launched by The Arts and Cultural Heritage Trust (TAACHT) in the course of my archival research in India (2015-16), and aims to become a repository of histories and artifacts of the partition.³

Equally significant has been the rise of multi-year, multi-media cross-border collaborations, among which are artists like Shilpa Gupta and Huma Mulji, and their lively project, *AarPaar* (2000-05). Responding in part to the regional and global uproar around India and Pakistan’s nuclear tests in 1998, each of *AarPaar*’s three iterations have worked to entangle the streets of Karachi and Mumbai through a series of public art installations, premised in acts of exchange between artists in India and Pakistan that undermine the authority of the territorial boundaries separating them. These artistic

¹ Bhaskar Sarkar, *Mourning the Nation* (Durham: Duke University, 2009), 259-260.

² Allegra Pesenti, *Zarina: Paper Like Skin* (Munich: DelMonico Books and Prestel, 2012).

³ For more on the Partition Museum and its self-proclaimed objectives, see <http://www.partitionmuseum.org/museum/>. See also, Alice Correia and Natasha Eaton, “Partitions Special Issue: Introduction,” *Third Text*, Vol. 31, No. 2-3 (2017): 10-12.

projects have involved a display of art objects that travelled across the Indo-Pakistani border, the production and dissemination of posters and handouts through a series of cross-border email exchanges, and several short videos and interactive performances.⁴ Among these was Gupta's seminal work *Blame* (2002-04) [See Figs. 4.2-4.4], which congeals around vials of simulated blood that recall histories of communal violence while blurring the national, cultural and religious divides that typically underlie them. These vials are further distributed, displayed, and inscribed in English, Hindi, and Urdu with the words: "Blaming you makes / me feel so good / So I blame you for what / You Cannot Control / Your Religion / Your Nationality / I want to blame you / It makes me feel good."⁵

Taken together, this field of creative energy has sought to problematize official narratives of partition as an "event" or "glitch" in India and Pakistan's otherwise seamless transition from colonial state to post-colonial nations by foregrounding the numerous temporal and spatial dilemmas that emanate from partition's larger socio-political legacy.⁶ In line with Vazira Zamindar's book, *The Long Partition*, this work has reframed partition as an extended process of rupture and trauma, advocating at times for a critical genealogy of communal politics and strife in South Asia that enfolds the partition of Bengal in 1905, the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971, the demolition of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya in 1992, and Gujarat riots of 2002 into the calamity of 1947. It has exposed the unprecedented nature of partition violence, and the lasting crises of history, memory, and

⁴ Hammad Nasar, "Lines of Control: Partition as a Productive Space," *Lines of Control*, Iftikhar Dadi and Hammad Nasar, eds. (London: Green Cardamom, 2012), 10.

⁵ Quotations taken from Shilpa Gupta's *Blame* (2002-04) installed for *This Night Bitten Dawn* (2016) in New Delhi, recorded by author, 6 February 2016.

⁶ Saloni Mathur, "Partition and the Visual Arts," *Third Text*, Vol. 31, No. 2-3 (2017): 3; Vazira Zamindar, *The Long Partition and the Making of Modern South Asia* (New York: Columbia University, 2007), 238.

representation that have accompanied the experience of partition in South Asia in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, alongside the work of oral history projects like the 1947 Partition Archive and the Citizens Archive of Pakistan. It has also, in the process, brought into question the solidity of national boundaries, national cultures, and national identities across South Asia by redefining the Indo-Pakistani border as a lived and unfolding reality, one that far exceeds its cartographic dimensions, and permeates every aspect of the subcontinent's social, political, and economic infrastructure.⁷

Recent curatorial interventions into partition history have offered equally probing directions for the analysis of modern and contemporary South Asian art. As I noted in the introduction to this thesis, key exhibitions have helped to galvanize many of the artworks mentioned above into productive constellations that resist more banal categorizations such as “partition art” or “partition painting,” which tend to fetishize partition history, rather than elucidate the ways it challenges the very practice of art history.⁸ In so doing, these interventions have also been instrumental in reframing 1947 as a critical “threshold” for art writing in South Asia.⁹ *My East is Your West* (2015), for example, brought together Pakistani artist Rashid Rana and Indian artist Shilpa Gupta for the 2015 Venice Biennale in a probing rejection of the national pavilion, the historic and organizing premise of the international exhibition. By intertwining Rana's immersive series *Transpositions* (2013-15) with Gupta's incisive collection *Untitled* (2014-15), both of which take the concept of lines and borders to task using a variety of media, the exhibition embraced the subcontinent's legacies of partition(s) as impetus to re-imagine

⁷ Mathur, 8.

⁸ Mathur, 4; Correia and Eaton, 7.

⁹ Zamindar, 4.

the region's cultural contours in more fluid terms of mobility, dislocation, and human perception. In the process, the exhibition proposed a new cultural cartography for the Indian subcontinent, one born of the fissures and fragilities of national divisions in South Asia, as opposed to their fictions as markers of solidity, unity, and uniformity.¹⁰

In a similar vein, *This Night Bitten Dawn* (2016), curated by Pakistani artist and scholar Salima Hashmi for the Devi Art Foundation in New Delhi in 2016, brought together a transnational group of artists from India, Pakistan, and the South Asian diaspora to “circumvent history as it is told” and to reinterpret the moment of partition in 1947 through the present.¹¹ Opening the historiography of modern and contemporary South Asian art to the region's literary traditions, the exhibition centered around Faiz Ahmed Faiz's poem “Subh-e-Azaadi” (The Dawn of Freedom), a heart wrenching response to partition that foregrounds the “contradictory, tense, and antagonistic reality” of a partitioned place, culture, identity, and self.¹² Looking to the poem as both a “memorial” to 1947 and a “critical look” into the anatomy of contemporary politics and society in South Asia,¹³ artists featured throughout the show channeled the haunting lyricism of Faiz's words to lay bare “an acceptance of partition – of fracture and rupture,

¹⁰ For more on *My East is Your West*, see Aparna Kumar, “Unsettling the National in South Asia: *My East is Your West*, Venice Biennale, and *After Midnight*, Queens Museum, New York,” *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research*, Vol. 3 (2015): 142-150; Sonal Khullar, “Everyday Partitions,” *Third Text*, Vol. 31, No. 2-3 (2017): 1-28.

¹¹ Quotations taken from wall text for *This Night Bitten Dawn*, written by curator Salima Hashmi, recorded by author, 6 February 2016.

¹² Aamir R. Mufti, *Enlightenment in the Colony* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2007), 212.

¹³ Quotations taken from wall text for *This Night Bitten Dawn*, written by curator Salima Hashmi, recorded by author, 6 February 2016.

of edginess and eruptions – as the ground of everyday life in South Asia,” as art historian Sonal Khullar has perceptively argued.¹⁴

Lines of Control (2012), by contrast, was among the first exhibitions on the partition of India in 1947 to embrace a more global and comparative approach to its dilemmas within the visual arts. Curated by Iftikhar Dadi and Hammad Nasar for Cornell University’s Johnson Museum of Art in 2012, it brought artists from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the South Asian diaspora in conversation with artists working in Syria, Tunisia, Sudan, Palestine, Israel, the Netherlands, and Ireland to transform partition into a “productive space,” by which to interrogate its ramifications for self, society, and knowledge production within and beyond South Asia.¹⁵ While the exhibition initially grew out of a desire to commemorate the partition of India in 1947, or rather to interrogate partition’s unique lack of a visual culture of commemoration in South Asia, as compared to other global catastrophes of the twentieth century, the project eventually grew into a much bigger ambition. Foregrounding partition as a post-colonial phenomenon more broadly, *Lines of Control* powerfully opened the analysis of modern and contemporary South Asian art to that of other “partitioned” regions around the world. In this sense, *Lines of Control* is indicative of a growing body of scholarship in the twenty-first century around comparative or “transnational partitions.”¹⁶ This scholarship has sought to elaborate discrete connections between “partitioned” regions around the

¹⁴ Khullar, “Everyday Partitions,” 24.

¹⁵ Nasar, 11.

¹⁶ In September 2016, I was invited to participate in a conference at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign titled “Partition and Empire: Ireland, India, Palestine and Beyond.” Embracing global, comparative, and connective frames, this conference interrogated the legacies of imperial partitions for post-colonial nation-states in the present.

world, namely India, Palestine, and Ireland,¹⁷ and has increasingly posited a genealogy of “partition” as a concept and political strategy emerging from the broader crisis of empire and decolonization in the twentieth century.¹⁸

Distilling the various forms of violence that objects of art and heritage have been forced to endure in South Asia in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries can also contribute to these broader discussions around “transnational partitions.” As we have seen in relation to monuments and museums in India and Pakistan in the course of this dissertation, this violence has taken the form of “equitable” fragmentation, sustained vandalism, and complete destruction (Chapter 2), as well as displacement, dispossession, and homelessness (Chapter 3). This array of physical and ideological uprooting has obscured historical and cultural entanglements across the region and, in some cases, even erased entire swathes of cultural history in deference to nationalist and repressive regimes of meaning. Unfortunately, it also resonates with other historical instances of iconoclasm and cultural dispossession in the colonial and postcolonial worlds. In this sense, my account of the fragmentation of the Lahore Museum in the 1940s and 1950s presents critical parallels to the destruction of the Old Summer Palace in Beijing by the British and French during the Second Opium War in 1860, the annihilation of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban in 2001, the looting of the National Museum of Iraq in 2003, and most recently the destruction of Palmyra by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

¹⁷ See, for example, Arie M. Dubnov, “Notes on the Zionist passage to India, or: The analogical imagination and its boundaries,” *Journal of Israeli History*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2016): 177-214; Pranav Jani, “Ireland, Partition, and the Indian Revolutionary Imagination,” Paper presented at *Partition and Empire: Ireland, India, Palestine and Beyond*, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 22-23 September 2016; Penny Sinanoglou, “Mapping the Future: Imperial Careers and Imagined Partitions in British Palestine,” Paper presented at *Partition and Empire: Ireland, India, Palestine and Beyond*, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 22-23 September 2016.

¹⁸ See, for example, the forthcoming volume: Arie M. Dubnov and Laura Robson, eds., *Partitions: A Transnational History of Twentieth-Century Territorial Separatism* (Stanford: Stanford University, 2019).

(ISIL) in 2015. These comparative processes raise many more questions and dilemmas around what the visual arts can uniquely contribute to the writing of partition history going forward, and represent a number of future directions for this research that I have already begun to explore. If *Lines of Control* foregrounded a new cartography for histories of global histories of modernism by offering a pathway to contextualize histories of modern and contemporary South Asian art against that of other “partitioned” regions around the world, this dissertation positions the field of South Asian art history as a critical point of departure into the crises of decolonization that continue to structure the postcolonial world.

FIGURES



Figure 0.1. *Dancing Girl*, Mohenjodaro, Sindh, Pakistan, c. 2500 BCE. Bronze, 10.5 x 5 x 2.5 cm, National Museum of India, New Delhi, Acc. No. 5721/195. Courtesy of CC0 1.0. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dancing_girl._Mohenjodaro.jpg.



Figure 0.2. *Priest King*, Mohenjodaro, Sindh, Pakistan, c. 2200-1900 BCE. White, low-fired steatite, 17.5 x 11 cm. Courtesy of CC-by-SA 1.0, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, Acc. No. 50.852. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mohenjo-daro_Priesterk%C3%B6nig.jpeg



Figure 0.3. *Monument to Priest King*, Mohenjodaro, Sindh, Pakistan, c. 2008. Courtesy of CC-by-SA 3.0, Soban, 2014. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Priest_King_Monument.jpg.



Figure 1.1. *Lahore Museum*, Lahore, Pakistan, 1893. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 2.0, 2010. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ALahore_Museum%2C_Lahore.jpg.



Figure 1.2. *Miniature Paintings Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.



Figure 1.3. *Islamic Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.



Figure 1.4. *Gandhara Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.



Figure 1.5. *Freedom Movement Gallery*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan, 1973.
Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.



Figure 1.6. *View of Freedom Movement Gallery from Pakistan Postage Stamp Gallery, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.*



Figure 1.7. “Azaadi ki Jadd-o-Jihad ke Do So Saal [200 Years of Struggle for Freedom]” Display in Freedom Movement Gallery, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan, 1973. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.



Figure 1.8. *Photographs of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in Freedom Movement Gallery, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.*



Figure 1.9. *Marble Façade*, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.

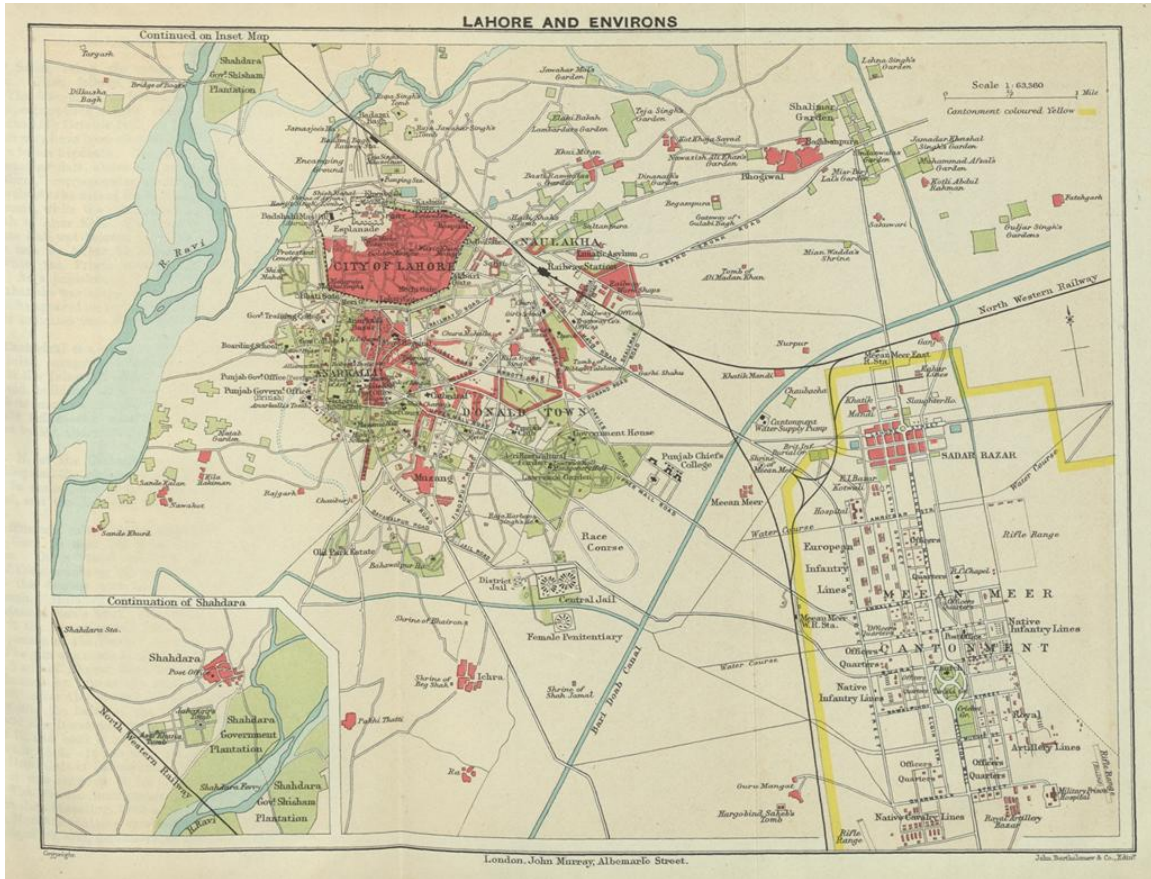


Figure 1.10. *Lahore and Environs*, c. 1900/1909. From John Murray, *Hand-Book for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon* (London: J. Murray, 1901), p.200A. Southeast Asia Visions: John M. Echols Collections, Cornell University Library. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/Cornell_Echols_1039410953.



Figure 1.11. *Wazir Khan's Baradari*, Lahore, Pakistan, c. 17th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 3.0, Aamer Ahmed, 2014. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=35708510>.



Figure 1.12. *Tollinton Market and Heritage Museum*, Lahore, Pakistan, c. 1860. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 4.0, 2016. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APakistan%2C_Tolinton_Market_%26_Heritage_Museum_Lahore_By_%40lbneazhar_-_2016_\(34\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3APakistan%2C_Tolinton_Market_%26_Heritage_Museum_Lahore_By_%40lbneazhar_-_2016_(34).jpg).

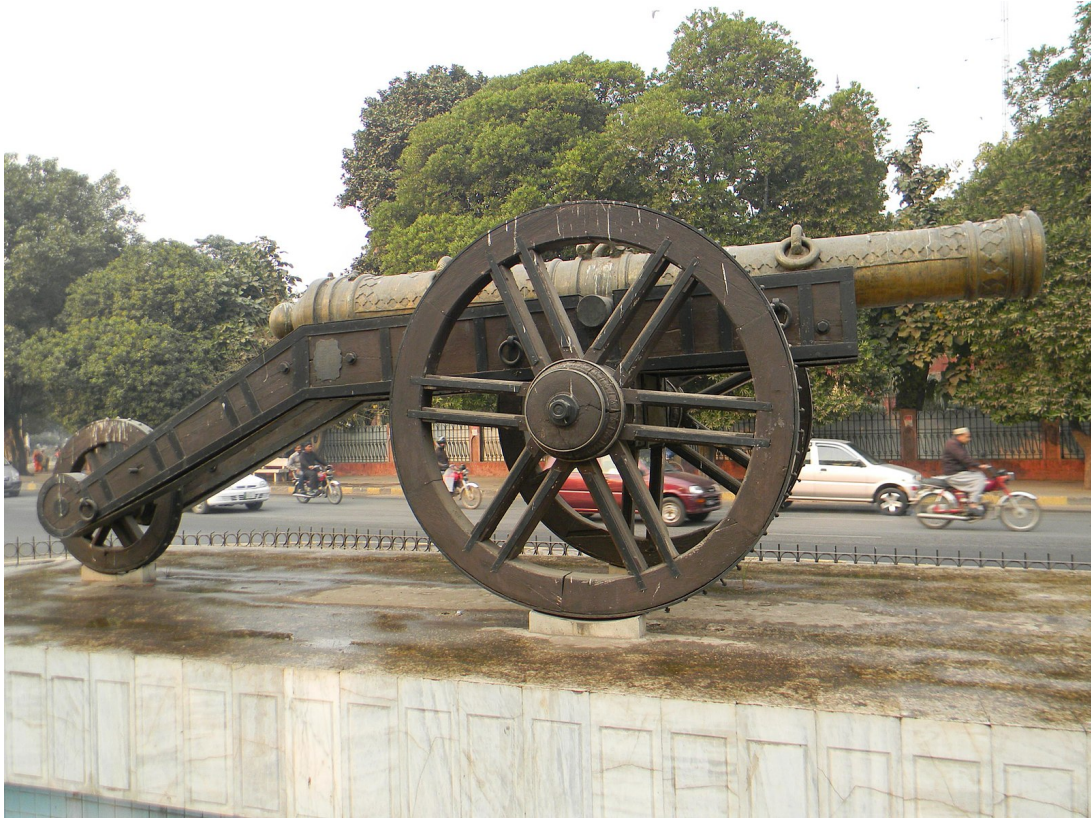


Figure 1.13. *Zamzama Gun before Lahore Museum, Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan, 1761. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 3.0, Khalid Mahmood, 2010. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AZamzama.jpg>.*



Figure 1.14. John Lockwood Kipling, *Relief for Crawford Market Depicting Trade*, Mumbai, India, c. 1860. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 2.0, Koshy Koshy, 2016. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACrawford_Market%2CMumbai_\(26136241191\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3ACrawford_Market%2CMumbai_(26136241191).jpg).



Figure 1.15. *Sikri Stupa Adorned with the Scenes of the Life of Sakyamuni Buddha*, c. 2nd century CE. Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, The Ohio State University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/HUNT_9897.



Figure 1.16. *Gandhara Gallery.* Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.

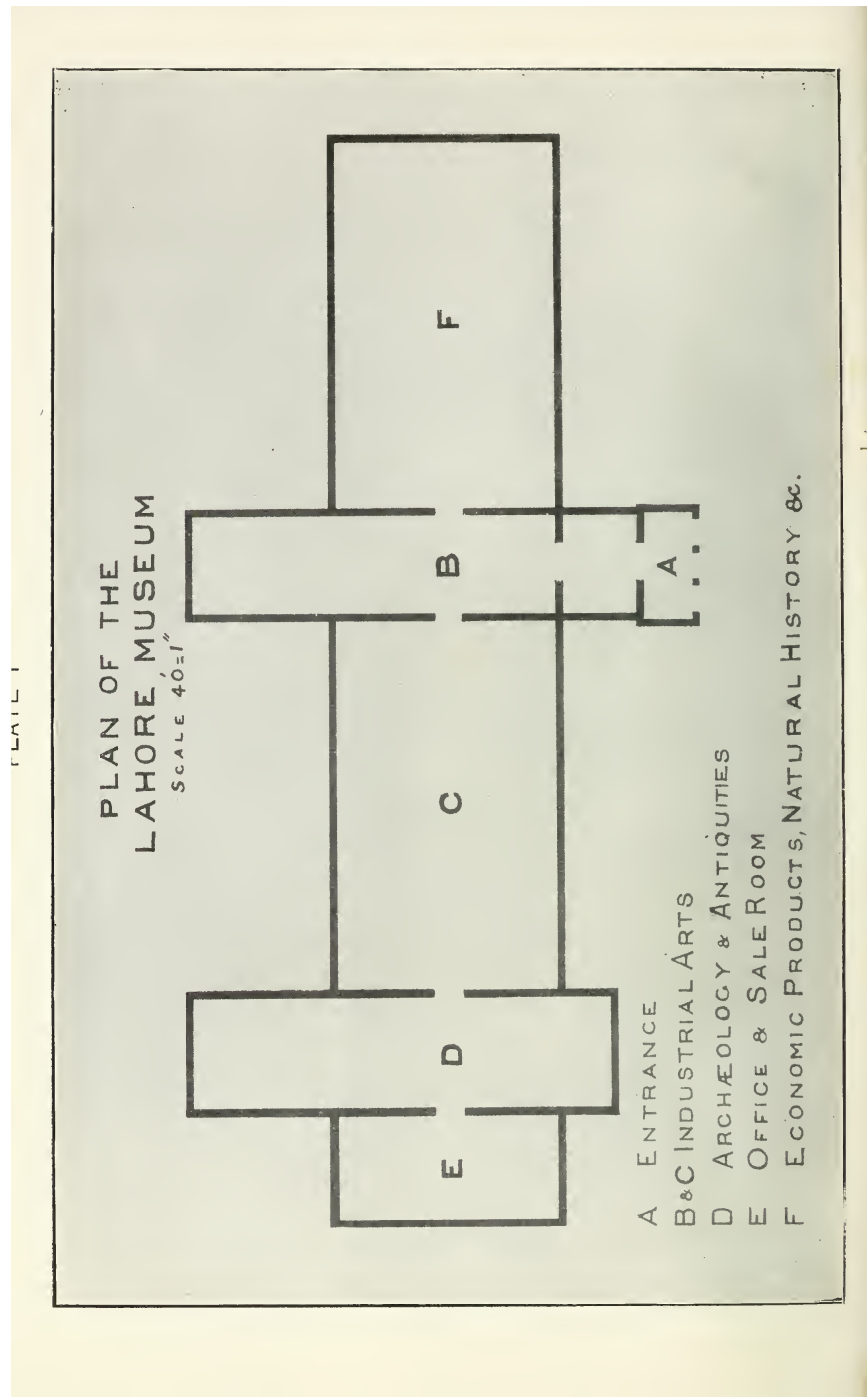


Figure 1.17. *Plan of the Lahore Museum, c. 1900.* From Percy Brown, *Lahore Museum, Punjab: A Descriptive Guide to the Departments of Archaeology and Antiquities* (Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1908), x. University of California, Los Angeles Library.



DURGA-MAHISHASURAMARDHINI.

Figure 1.18. *Durga-Mahishasuramardhini*, c. 8th-9th century CE. From, K.N. Sita Ram, *Report on the Lahore Central Museum for the Year 1930-31* (Lahore: Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab, 1931), Plate I. Lahore Museum, Lahore, Pakistan.

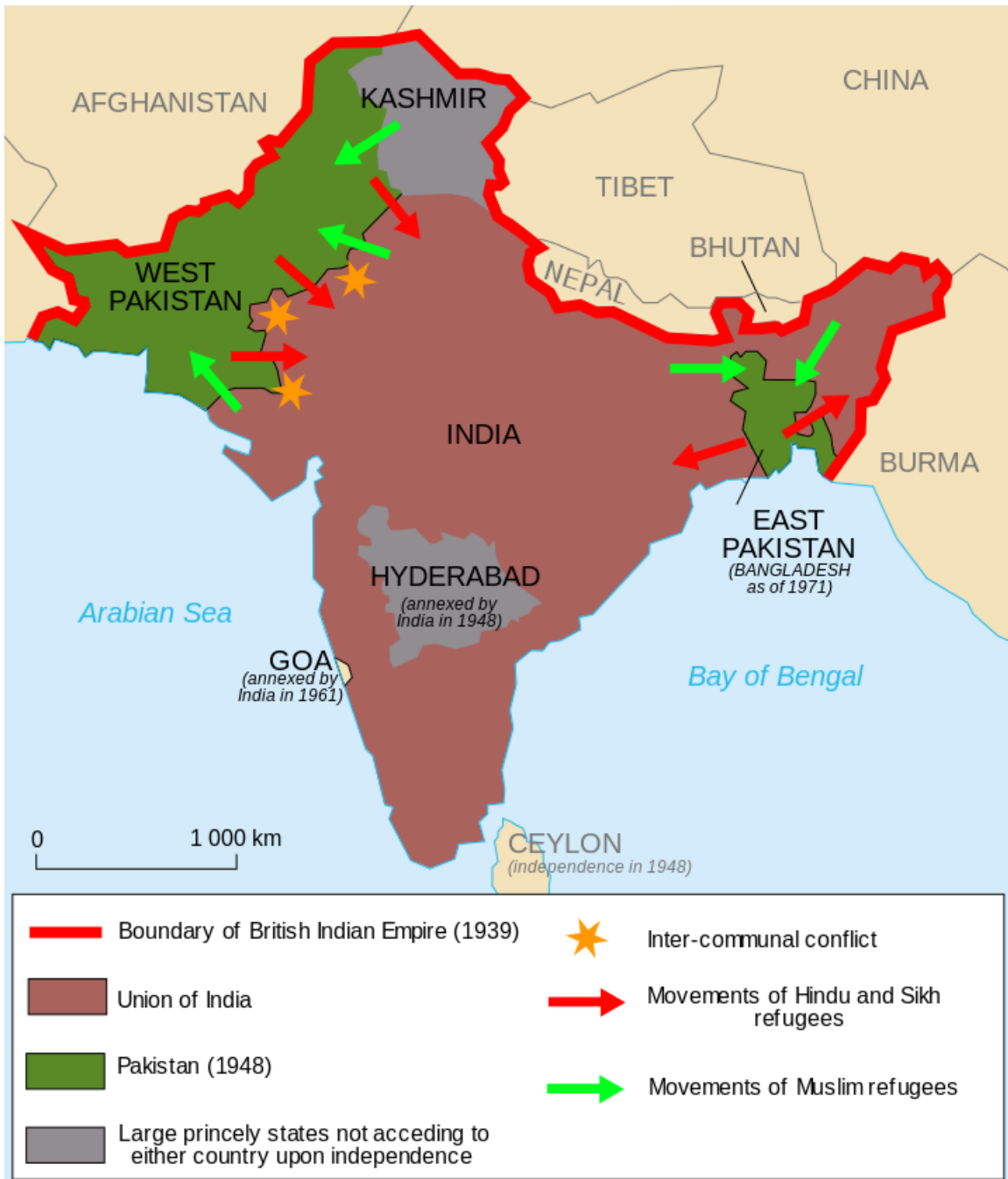


Figure 2.1. *Map of the Partition of India (1947).* Image courtesy of CC-by-SA 2.5, 2010. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Partition_of_India-en.svg.



Figure 2.2. *Archaeological Ruins of Mohenjodaro*, Sindh, Pakistan, c. 3rd century BCE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 3.0-IGO, Junhi Han, 2017. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Archaeological_Ruins_at_Moenjodaro-108221.jpg.



Figure 2.3. *Excavated Streets of Sirkap, Taxila, Pakistan, c. 1st century BCE - 2nd century CE.* Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.

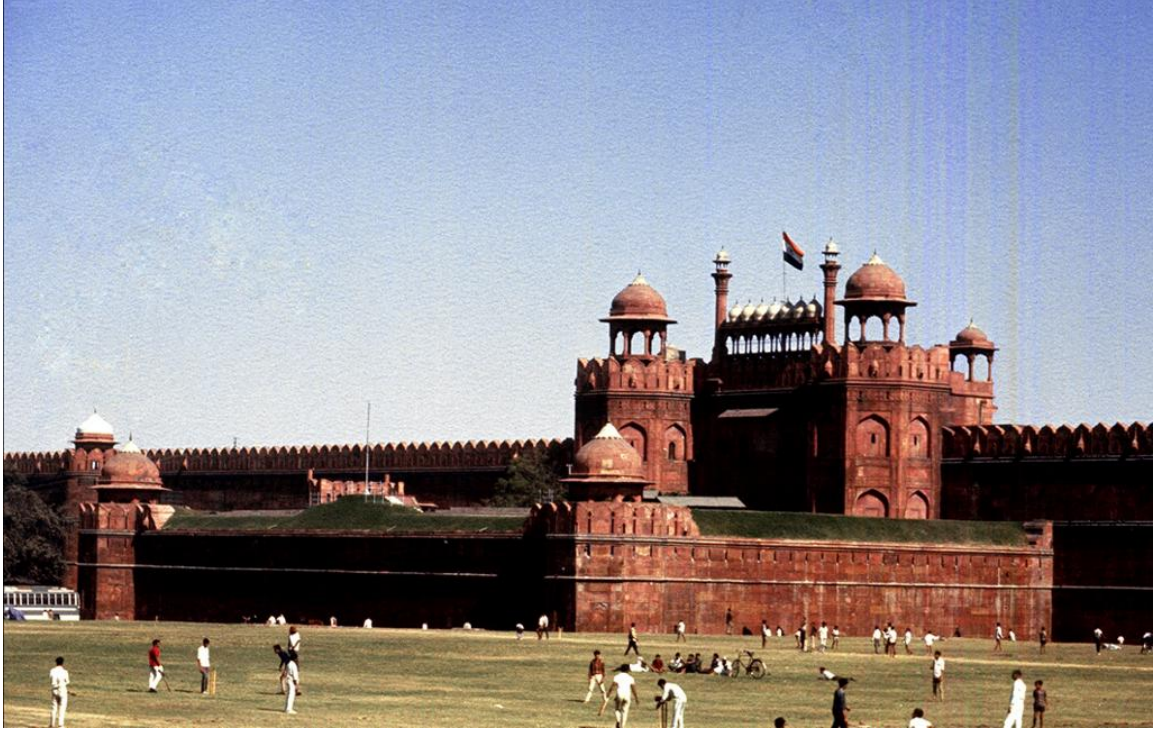


Figure 2.4. *Red Fort*, Delhi, India, c. 1638-1648 CE. The John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, The Ohio State University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/HUNT_61082.



Figure 2.5. *Jama Masjid*, Delhi, India, 1656 CE. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 2.6. *Alamgiri Gate, Lahore Fort, Lahore, Pakistan, c. 17th century CE.*
Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.



Figure 2.7. *Jahangir's Tomb*, Shahdara Bagh, Lahore, Pakistan, 1637 CE. Photograph courtesy of author, 2014.



Figure 2.8. *Fatehpur Sikri*, India, c. 1571-1585 CE. The John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, The Ohio State University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/HUNT_61107.



Figure 2.9. *Stupa III*, Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh, India, c. 2nd century BCE. American Council for Southern Asian Art Collection, University of Michigan. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/ACSAA_MICHIGAN_1039428511.



Figure 2.10. *The Bharhut Rail, Inner View of the East Gateway, Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh, India, c. 3rd century BCE. Photograph. From E.B. Havell, *Ideals of Indian Art* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1912), p. 16.*



Figure 2.11. *Taj Mahal*, Agra, Uttar Pradesh, India, 1632-1653 CE. Photograph courtesy of author, 2007.



Figure 2.12. *Tomb of Shah Alam, Wazirabad, Delhi, India, c. 14th century CE.* American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10312527478.



Figure 2.13. *Sultan Ghari's Tomb*, Delhi, India, 1231 CE. American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10312539577.



Figure 2.14. *General View of Upper Storey, Chauburji Mosque, Delhi, India, 1375 CE.* American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10312539951.



Figure 2.15. *Tomb of Fateh Jang*, Alwar, Rajasthan, India, c. 17th century. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 4.0, Aditya Vijayavargia, 2016. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fateh_Jang_Gumbad_Side_View.jpg.



Figure 2.16. *Humayun's Tomb, Nizamuddin, Delhi, India, c. 1569-70 CE. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.*



Figure 2.17. *Purana Qila*, Delhi, India, c. 1540-1550 CE. Photograph. American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10313333825.



Figure 2.18. *Isa Khan's Tomb, Nizamuddin, Delhi, India, c. 1547 CE. Photograph courtesy of author, 2015.*



Figure 2.19. *East Gate, Arab Sarai, Nizamuddin, Delhi, India, c. 16th century CE.* American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10313335489.

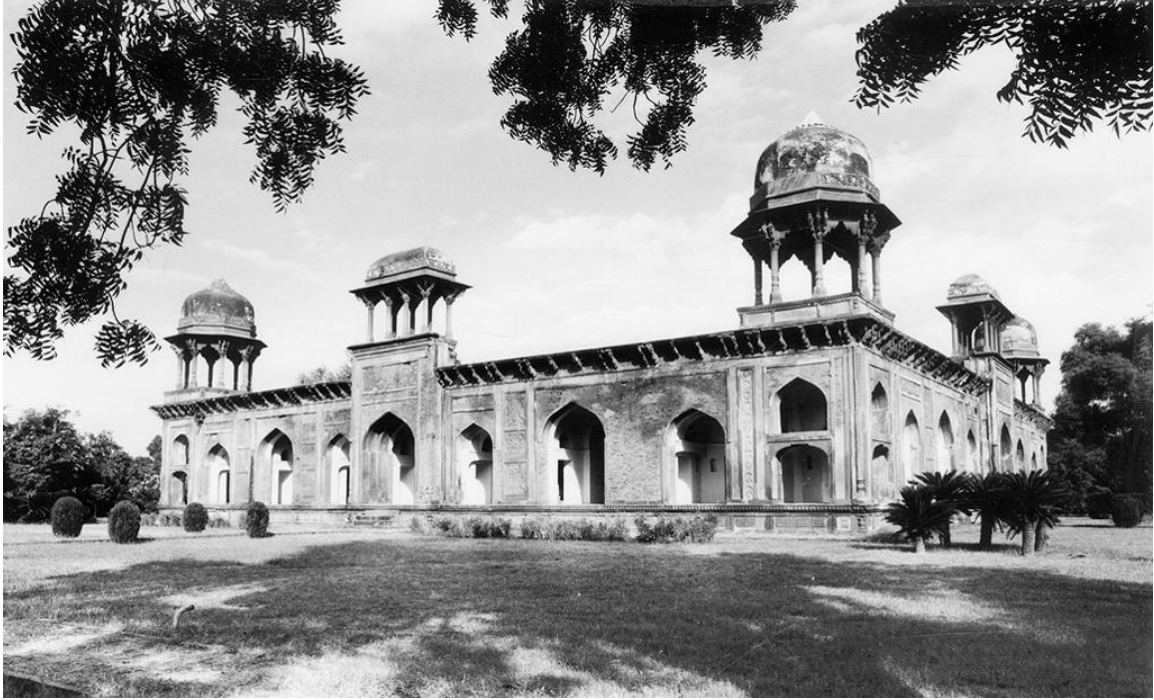


Figure 2.20. *Tomb of Mariam-uz-Zamani*, Sikandara, Uttar Pradesh, India, c. 1500-1525 CE. American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10313331754.



Figure 2.21. *Safdarjang's Tomb*, Delhi, India, c. 1753-1754 CE. American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10313340335.



Figure 2.22. *Feroz Shah Kotla*, Delhi, India, c. 1351-1388 CE. American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AIISIG_10312539944.



Figure 2.23. Map of Gaur (with Monuments in India), West Bengal, India. Image courtesy of Google Maps, 2018.



Figure 2.24. *Baruduari Masjid*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 1526 CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.25. *Kadam Rasul Masjid*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 1530 CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.26. *Tomb of Fateh Khan, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 16th century CE.* Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.27. *Firoz Minar*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.28 *Baishgazi Darwaza*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century – 16th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.29. *Dakhil Darwaza*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 16th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.30. *Gumti Darwaza*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 16th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.31. *Luckochari Darwaza*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 17th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.32. *Chamkatti Masjid*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.33. *Chika Monument*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century – 16th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.34. *Gunamanta Masjid*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.35. *Lotan Masjid*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century – 16th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.36. *Tantiपुरi Masjid*, Gaur, West Bengal, India, c. 15th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.



Figure 2.37. *Kotawali Darwaza*, Mohibodipur Border Crossing, India and Bangladesh, c. 15th century CE. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-NC-SA 4.0, 2018. Retrieved from *Sahapedia*, <https://www.sahapedia.org/gaur-and-pandua-architecture>.

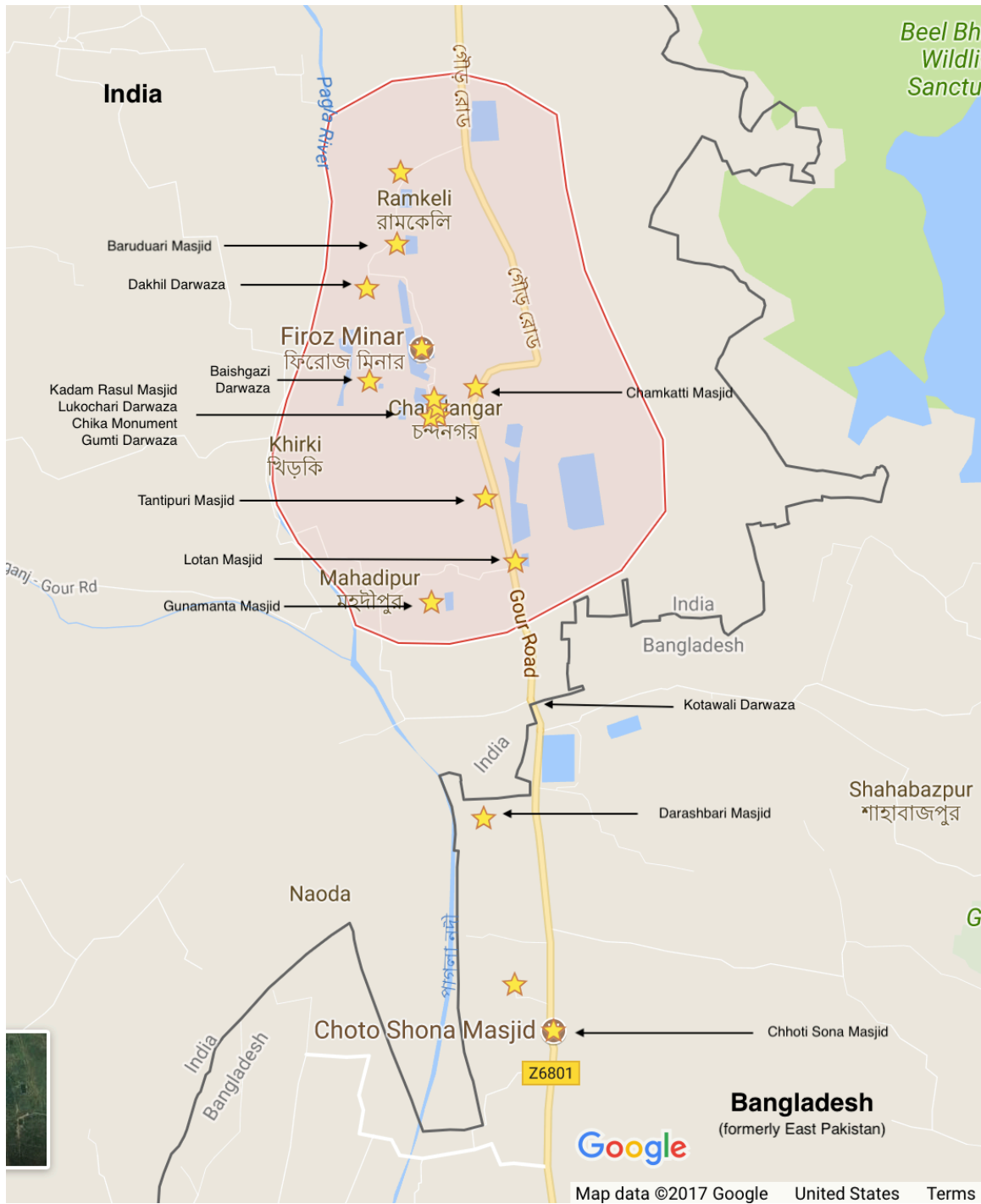


Figure 2.38. *Map of Gaur (with Monuments in India and Bangladesh), West Bengal, India and Rajshahi District, Bangladesh.* Image courtesy of Google Maps, 2018.



Figure 2.39. *Map of Bhitagarh (in relation to Indian city of Jalpaiguri), Bangladesh, c. 6th century – 7th century, CE. Image courtesy of Google Maps, 2018.*



Figure 2.40. *View of Gandhara Collections (from Lahore Museum), Chandigarh Museum, Chandigarh, Punjab, India. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.*



Figure 2.41. *Portrait of Farrukh Sirjar*, c. 18th century CE. Paper, Mughal-Style, 23.2 x 15.7 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. B-49. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 2.42. *Girl's Head*, Akhnoor, Jammu District, India, c. 1st century CE. Terracotta, 16 x 10.5 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. 02961 (C-1). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 2.43. *Buddha*, Nagapattinam, Tamil Nadu, India, c. 11th century CE. Bronze, 4.25 x 9.625 in, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. 1564 (C-1). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 2.44. *Phulkari*, Hazara, Pakistan, c. 19th century CE. Cotton and silk thread, 8.5 x 6 ft, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. 111. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 2.45. Leaf from *Illuminated Quran*, N.D. Paper, 39 x 25.7 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. N-5. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 2.46. *Huqqa*, Hyderabad, India, c. 18th century CE. Metal, 23.2 x 13.6 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. 4/984. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.

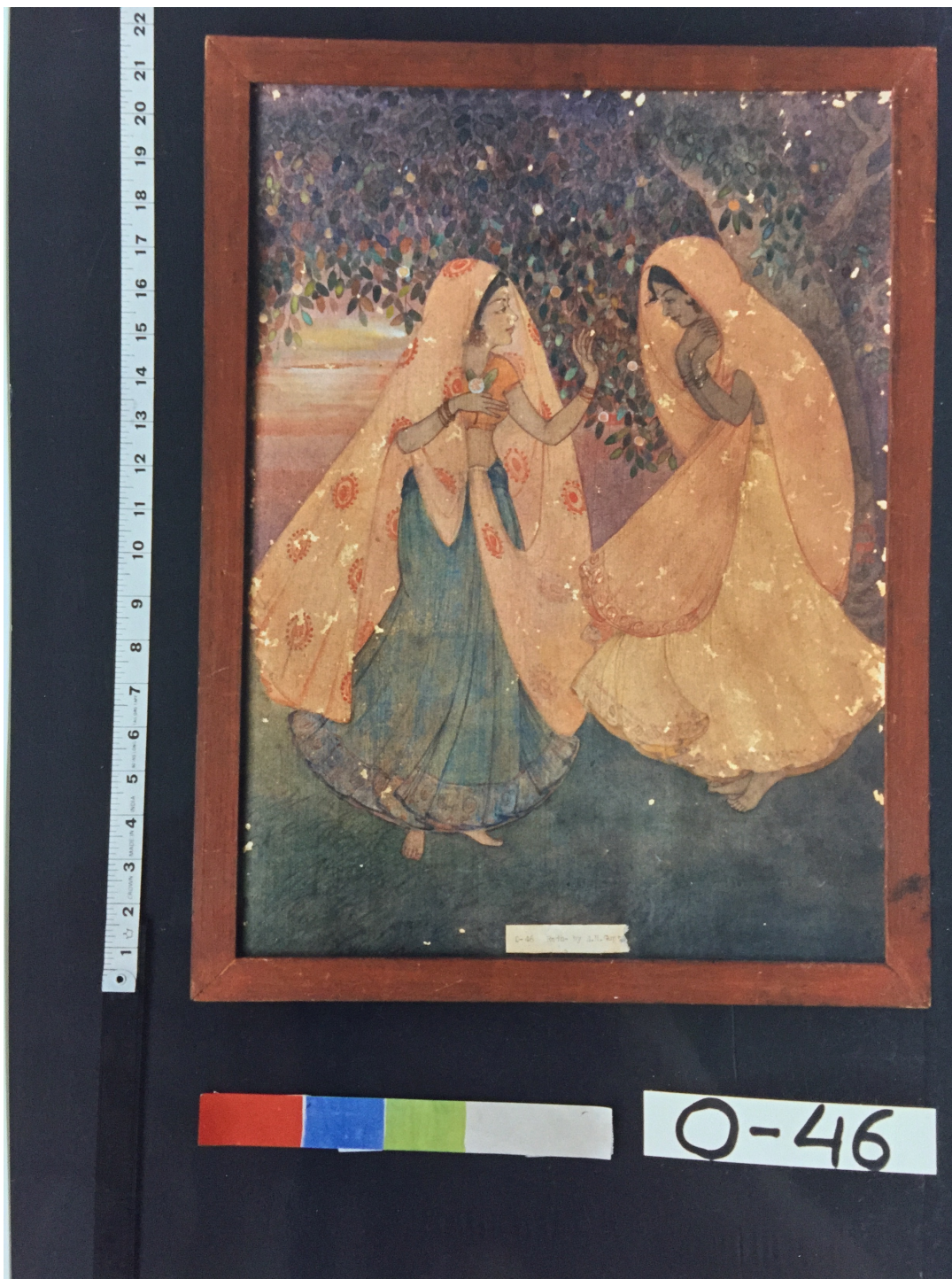


Figure 2.47. S.N. Gupta, *Radha*, c. 20th century CE. Watercolor on paper, 49.8 x 37 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. O-46. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.

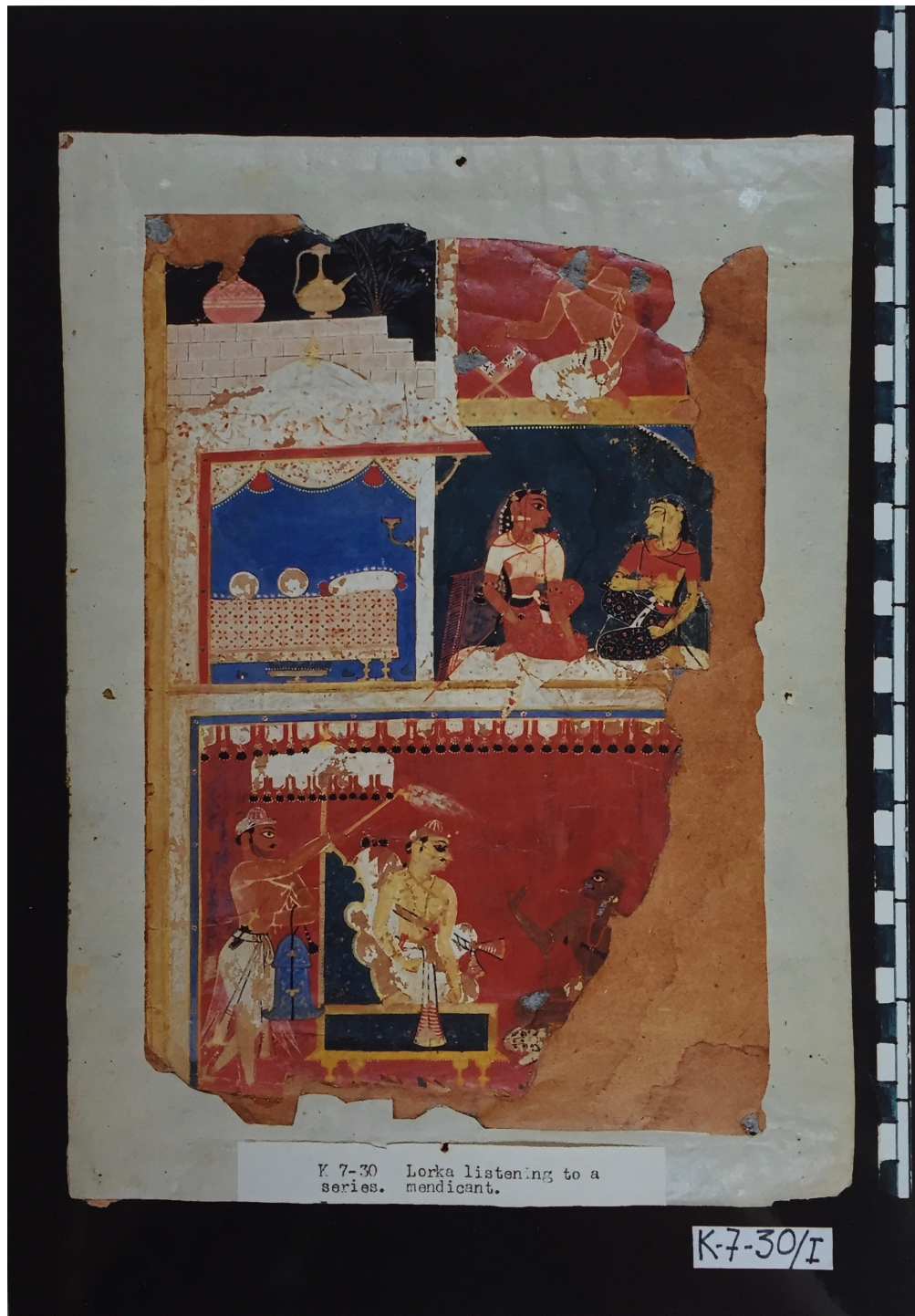


Figure 2.48. *Rupachanda's Attraction Towards Chanda* (Folio from Lahore-Chandigarh *Chandayan* Manuscript), Malwar, Central India, c. 1550 CE. Gouache on paper, 23.8 x 16.2 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. K-7-30 (i). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.1. Le Corbusier, *Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, India, 1968.* Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.2. *Exterior View of Chandigarh Museum, Chandigarh, India.* Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.3. *Exterior View of Chandigarh Museum, Chandigarh, India.* Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.4. *Interior View of Metal Sculpture Gallery, Chandigarh Museum, India.*
Photograph. Courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.5. *Interior View of Gandhara Sculpture Gallery, Chandigarh Museum, India.* Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.6. *Interior View of Indian Miniature Painting Gallery, Chandigarh Museum, India. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.*



Figure 3.7. *Interior View of Contemporary Indian Art Gallery, Chandigarh Museum, India. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.*

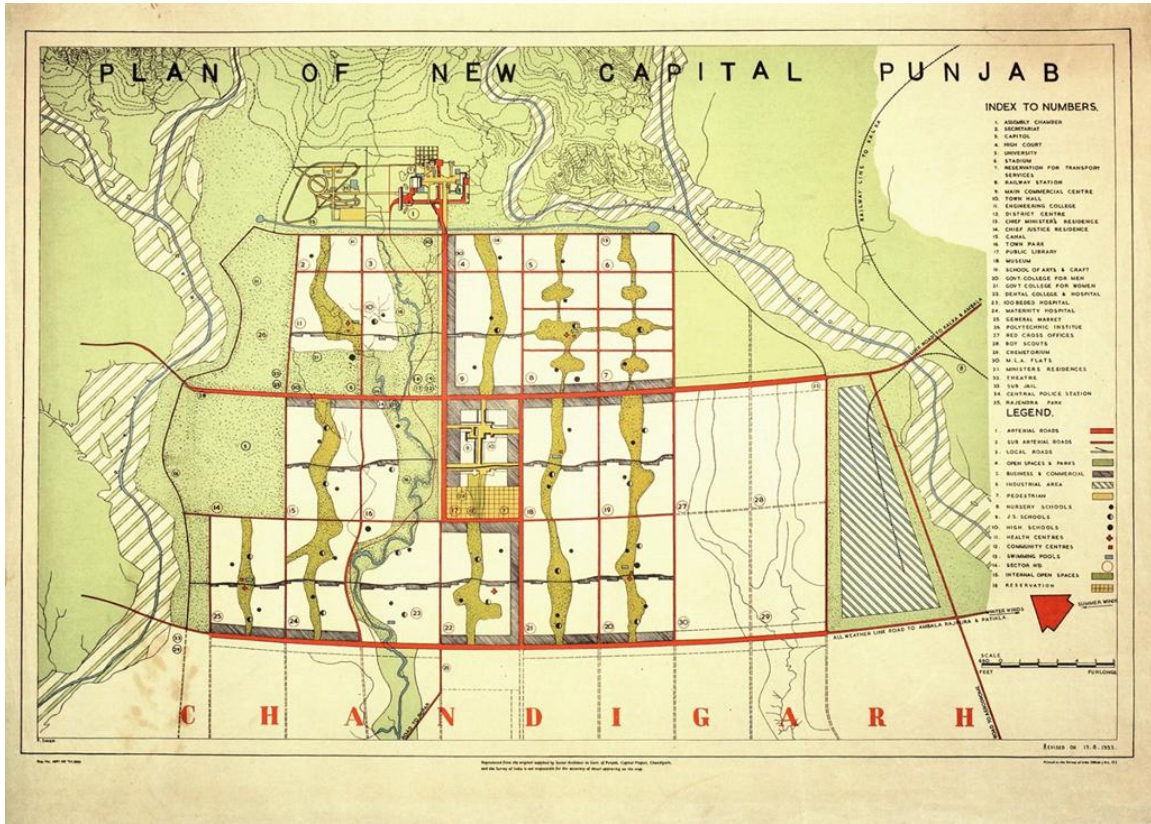


Figure 3.8. Pierre Jeanneret and Le Corbusier, *Chandigarh*, c. 1951-53. Avery/GSAPP Architectural Plans and Sections, Columbia University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_34610402.



Figure 3.9. *Darbar Hall, Qila Mubarak, Patiala, India, c. 18th century.* Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.10. *Moti Bagh Palace*, Patiala, India, c. 19th century. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.

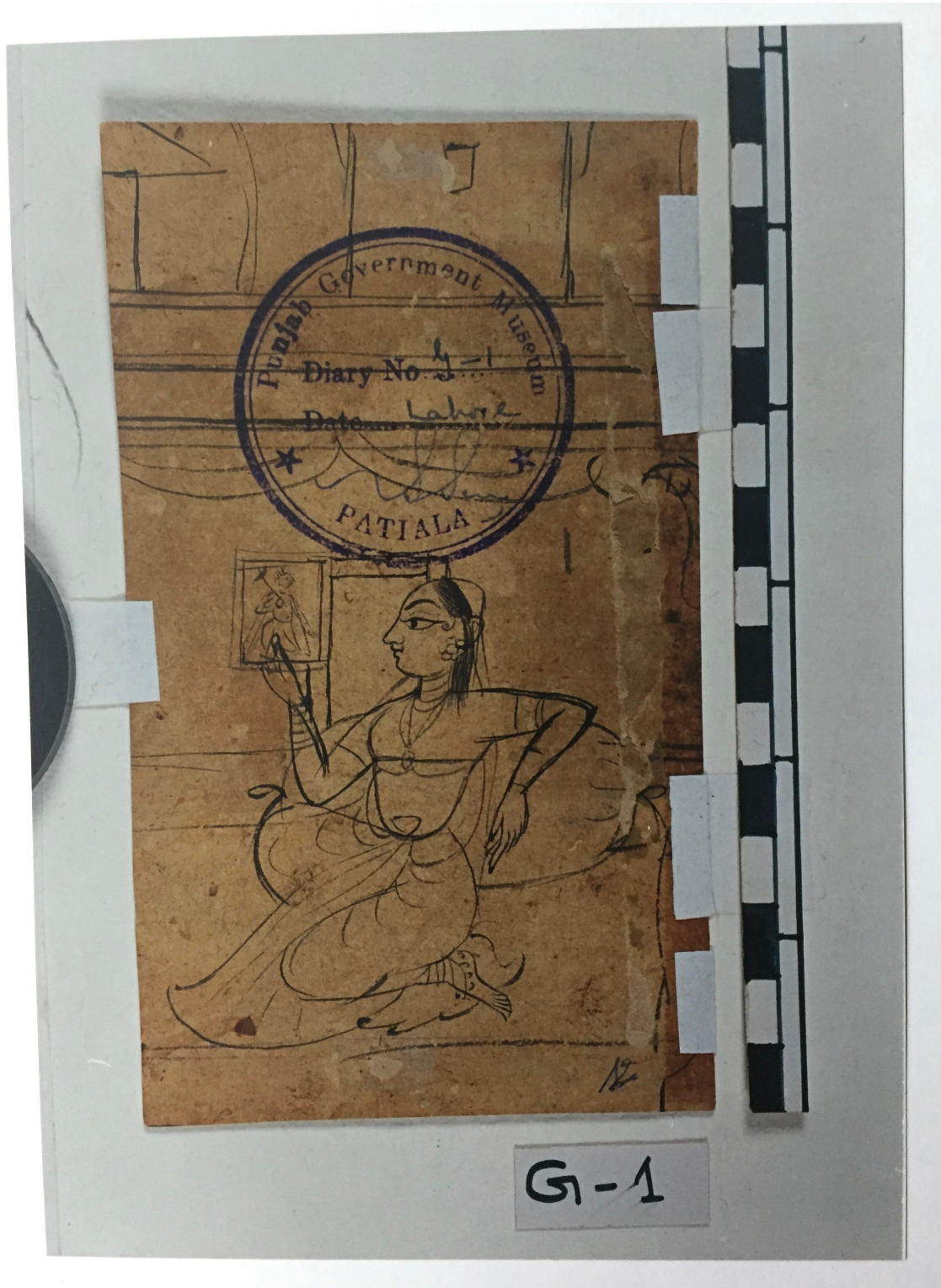


Figure 3.11. *Example of Acquisition Seal for Exhibits Acquired by Punjab State Museum, Patiala, c. 1959. Paper, Pahari-Style, 14.2 x 8.3 cm, Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh, Acc. No. G-1. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.*



Figure 3.12. *Sheesh Mahal*, Moti Bagh Palace, Patiala, India, c. 19th century. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.13. *Science Museum*, Chandigarh, India, 1973. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.14. *Chandigarh Architecture Museum*, Chandigarh, India, 1997. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.

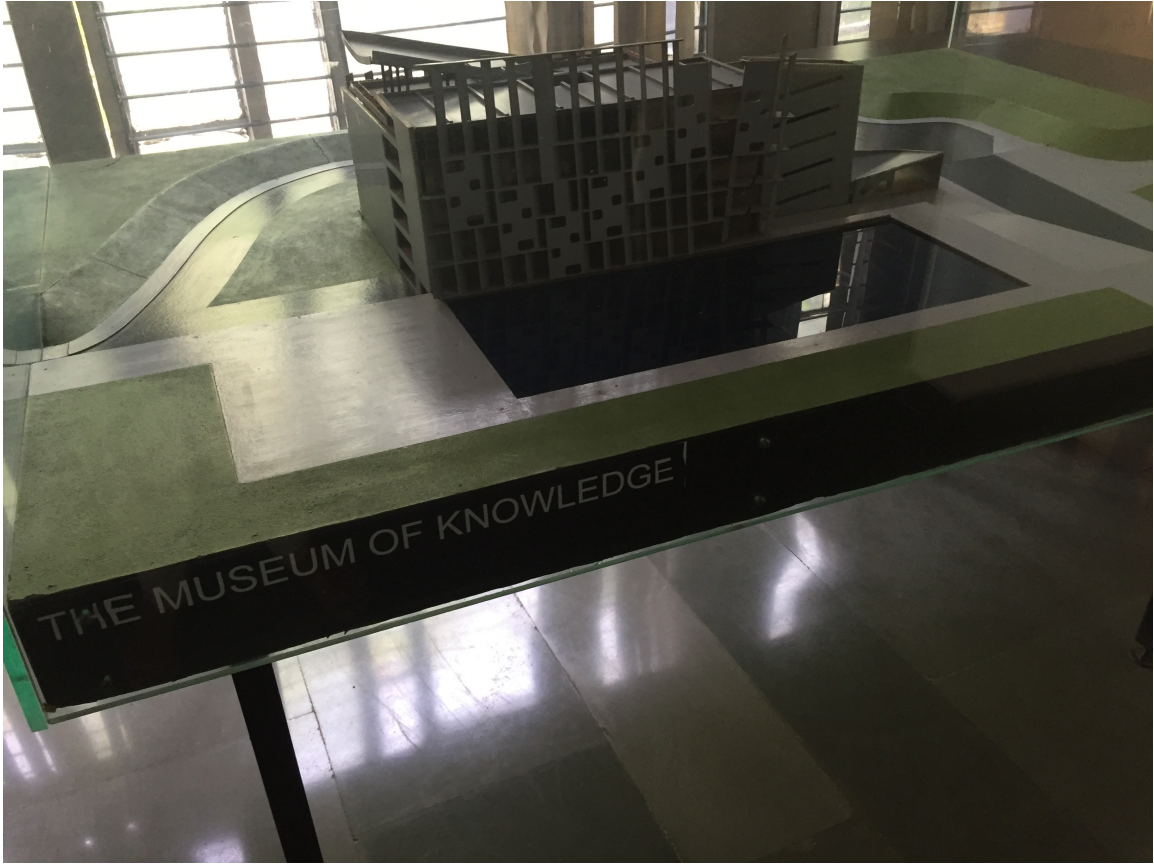


Figure 3.15. Le Corbusier, *Model for Museum of Knowledge*, City Architecture Museum, Chandigarh, India, c. 1960. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.16. Le Corbusier, *High Court*, Capitol Complex, Chandigarh, India, c. 1951-55. The John C. and Susan L. Huntington Archive of Buddhist and Related Art, The Ohio State University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/HUNT_61222.



Figure 3.17. Le Corbusier, *Palace of the Assembly*, Capitol Complex, Chandigarh, India, c. 1951-1962. Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 3.18. Le Corbusier, *Secretariat*, Capitol Complex, Chandigarh, India, c. 1951-58. Avery/GSAPP Architectural Plans and Sections, Columbia University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_34611298.

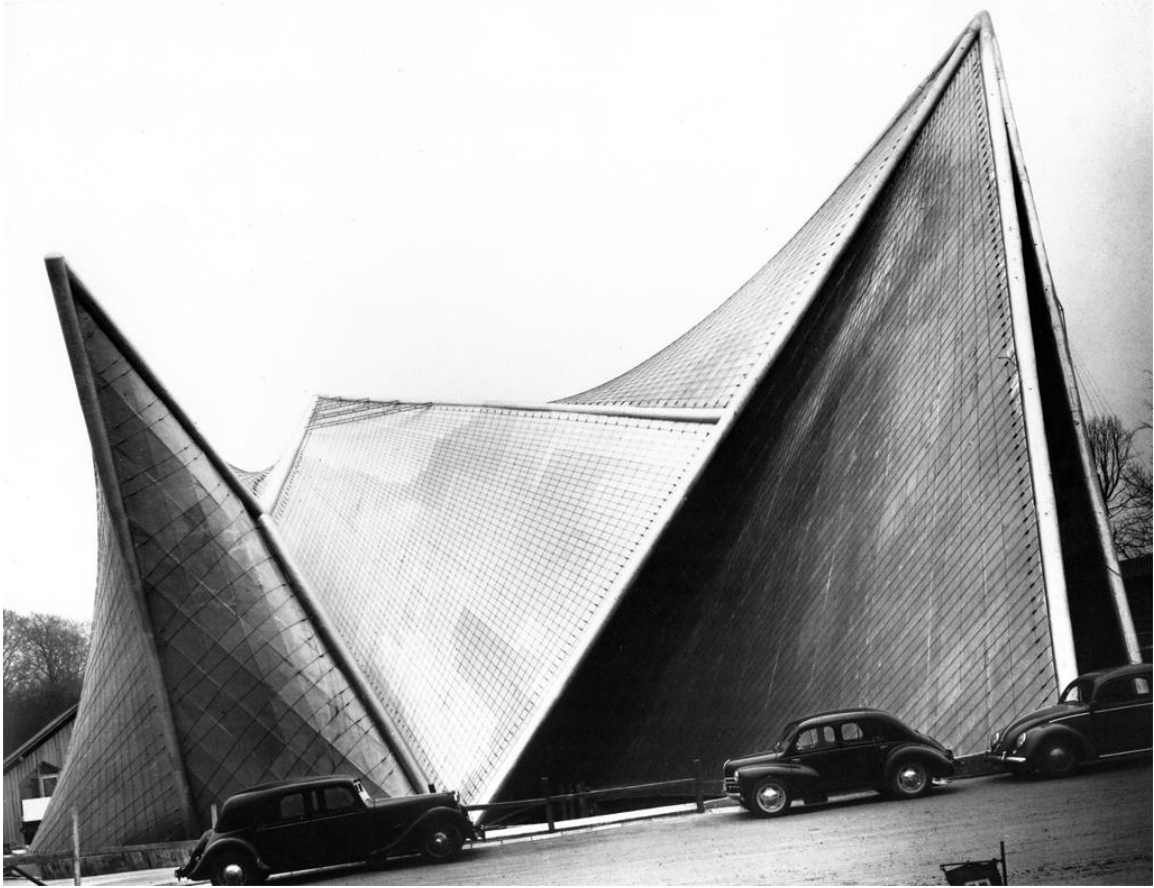


Figure 3.19. Le Corbusier, *Philips Pavilion*, World Expo, Brussels, Belgium, 1958. Avery/GSAPP Architectural Plans and Sections, Columbia University. Retrieved from ARTstor, http://library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_34611332.



Figure 3.20. *National Museum of India*, Delhi, India, c. 1948. Photograph courtesy of CC-by-SA 3.0, Miya.m, 2009. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:India_national_museum_01.jpg.

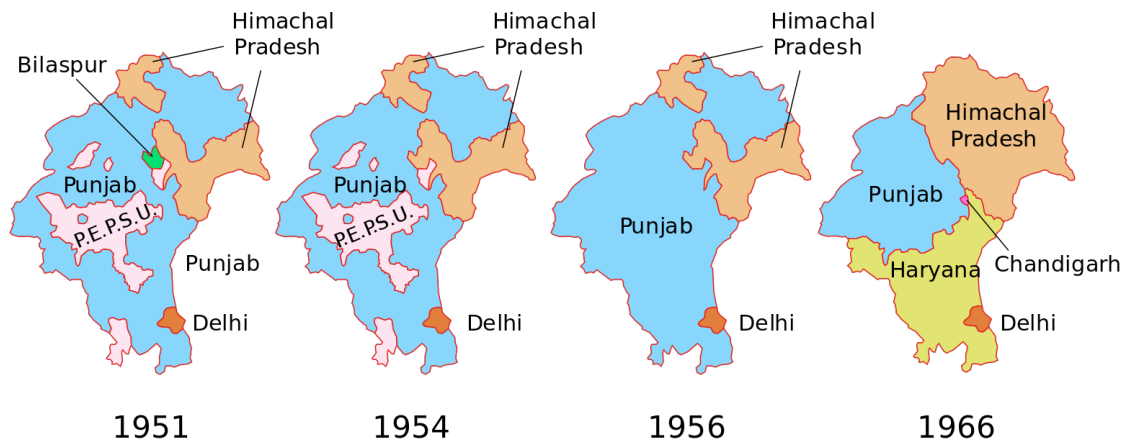


Figure 3.21. *Territorial Evolution of Punjab from 1951-1966.* Image courtesy of CC-by-SA 4.0, Furfur, 2015. Retrieved from Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Punjab_1951-66.svg.



Figure 4.1. Zarina Hashmi, *Dividing Line*, 2001. Woodcut printed in black ink on handmade Indian paper, mounted on Arches Cover white paper, Edition of 20, 25.75 x 19.75 in (sheet size), 16 x 13 in (image size). © Zarina; Image courtesy of the artist and Lühring Augustine, New York.

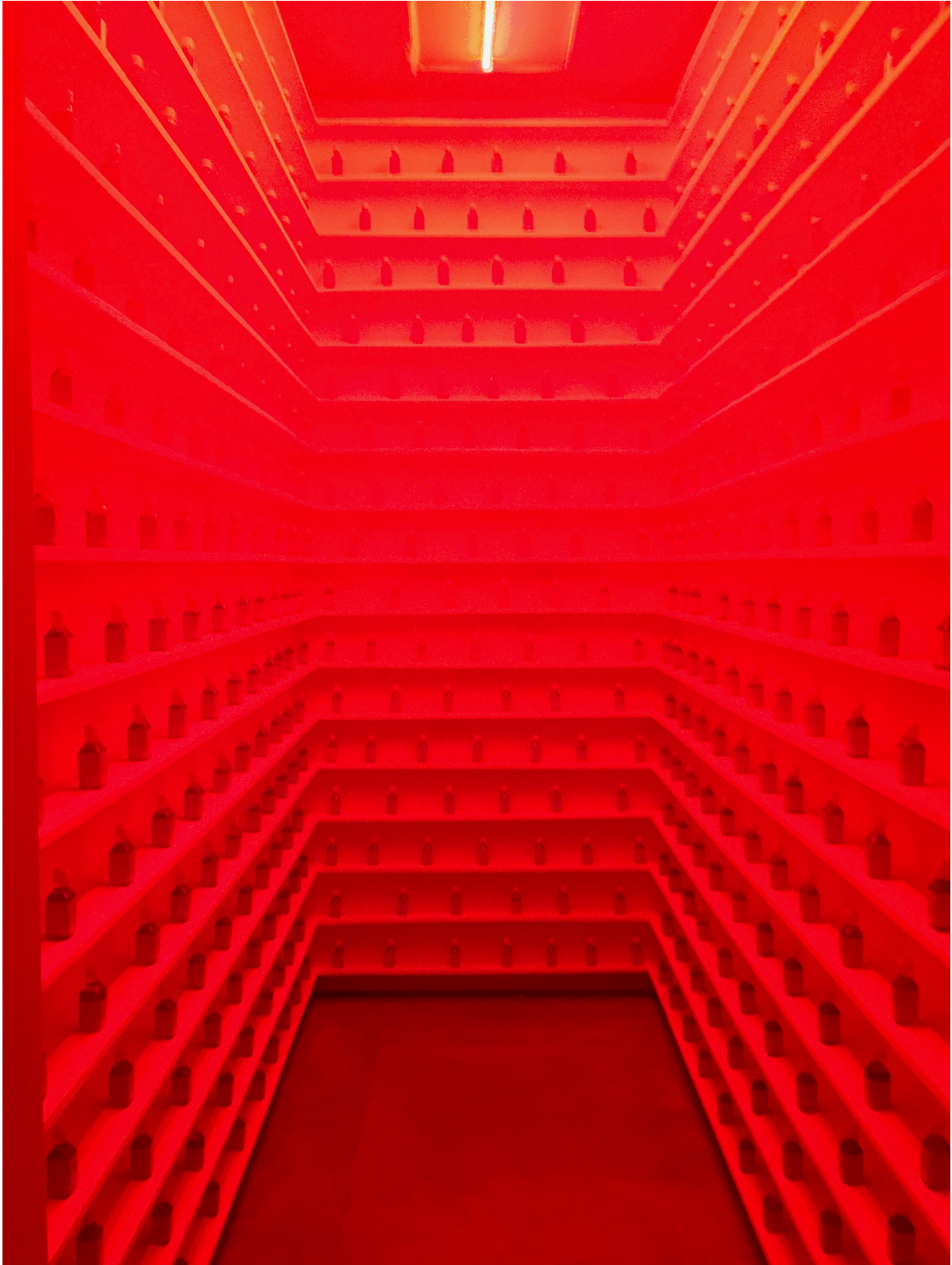


Figure 4.2. Shilpa Gupta, *Blame*, 2002-04. Simulated blood, posters, stickers, interactive performance, 2.7 x 1.1 in (bottles), 1.9 x 1.1 x 0.7 in (stickers). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 4.3. Shilpa Gupta, *Blame* (View of Bottle with English Inscription), 2002-04. Simulated blood, posters, stickers, interactive performance, 2.7 x 1.1 in (bottles), 1.9 x 1.1 x 0.7 in (stickers). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.



Figure 4.4. Shilpa Gupta, *Blame* (View of Bottle with Urdu Inscription), 2002-04. Simulated blood, posters, stickers, interactive performance, 2.7 x 1.1 in (bottles), 1.9 x 1.1 x 0.7 in (stickers). Photograph courtesy of author, 2016.

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