GOLEM AND THE SUFI

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Not Long After My Arrival in Lahore, Pakistan,¹ Australian printmaker Damon Kowarsky sent me jpegs of new work, prints he had created during a recent residency at the university where I had come to lecture. In those cityscapes, I saw a monster. Startled, I wrote straight off, "Is this figure Golem?"

Kowarsky replied, "Yes, and you are the first person to name the monster."²

By any name, Golem is terror, terror personified. In folklore, Golem is identified as a monster, not-quite human, made of clay and clotted blood,³ in Hasidic folk tales, Golem is a symbol of knowledge improperly used.⁴ The story is an old one, a tale folklorists trace back to the time of the Babylonians or even to the Indus Valley civilization, the lands of Iraq and Pakistan today.⁵

Golem thrives in Pakistan, a nearly failed state having nuclear weapons. Over the last ten years, perhaps as many as 40,000 people in Pakistan have been killed in the "American war on terror," as Pakistan's press inevitably terms it⁶

By the end of 2009 when I left Lahore,⁷ on average there were six terrorist attacks *weekly*,⁸ attacks attributed variously to one or the other of, at last count, 21 different terrorist groups operating in the country.⁹ (*Taliban* is a collective term, from *Talib*, an Arabic word meaning "student.")¹⁰

The four artists whose work is examined in my paper know the dangers of daily life in Lahore, a city with a population of 7-10million. Theirs is an art of protest. They protest a world of manufactured, deliberate death, whatever the ideological reason. They and others of Lahore's artists and artisans are heirs to the city's old tradition of Sufism.

Sufis are mystics, ascetics, nominally Muslims. The Sufis' authority derives from their own knowledge of sacred truths, a knowledge found in the natural world. Throughout the subcontinent of India, Sufis have traditionally been storytellers, dancers, poets, artists. Today, living or dead, Sufis are primary targets of the Taliban. The Taliban blow up the graves of Sufi saints, too¹¹

David Alesworth, age 54, is the oldest of the four artists. Born in the UK, Alesworth earned his BA in sculpture from the Wimbledon School of Art in 1980 in England. In 1988, he moved to Karachi, Pakistan. Alesworth's work has been shown in India, Pakistan, Australia, Japan, and the UK.

Ahsan Nadeem Sheikn, age 34, earned a BFA in miniature painting at the National College of Arts in 2000. He then spent five years in apprenticeship to a Sufi master. His paintings have been shown in Norway and Pakistan. The artist is a multi-lingual poet, writing in five languages,¹² as well, a gifted dancer of the classical Kathak repertoire.

Huma Mulji, born in Pakistan, age 41, earned a BA in sculpture and printmaking from the Indus Valley School of Art and Architecture in Karachi in the 1990s. Her work has been exhibited throughout Asia, the UK, and New York City. In 2009, her sculpture "High Rise" was part of the Asia Society's exhibition "Hanging Fire: Contemporary Art from Pakistan," curated by Salima Hashmi.

Lastly, printmaker Damon Kowarsky, age 38. Born in Australia, Kowarsky earned his BFA ten years ago at the Victorian College of the Arts in Melbourne. The artist then began wandering the world. He has worked as an archaeological illustrator in Egypt and Australia, taught printmaking workshops in Mexico and Pakistan, and exhibited his work in all of these places, plus the US, Turkey, Japan, and Tasmania.

DAVID ALESWORTH

In recent years, two subjects have emerged in David Alesworth's work-the nuclear pile built in the Manhattan Project of WWII, and the pile weave of oriental carpets. Alesworth worries about the bomb, and for good reason. Pakistan has the bomb. So does India. Moreover, Pakistan with Chinese help, "...is rapidly expanding its nuclear infrastructure."¹³

In 2009, Alesworth exhibited 12.2.42, a site-specific sculpture constructed of 180 blackened steel boxes installed in the gallery of the National College of Art. The title refers to the date of the first nuclear chain reaction initiated in 1942.

As a "pile," the historicism of 12.2.42 was plain to see in its safe, secure NCA art gallery setting. The boxes¹⁴ of cyanide-washed steel polished with a Japanese lacquer were hand-built by the artist—each box the same dimensions as those used in the pile constructed by Enrico Fermi at the University of Chicago in 1942.

When the NCA exhibition ended, David Alesworth took his work home, crowding it somehow into the living room. Now renamed *Domestic Displacement*, the sculpture is realized, the artist, the artist writes, as the "…ideological displacement of an individual's living space in an increasingly theocratic society."¹⁵ Its immediacy is terrifying.

What to do? Maybe it is time to take a walk in the park. Clear one's head. Think about flying carpets, gardens, city planning, making things better.

In Alesworth's *Hyde Park Kashan*, 1862, we see the lingering flavour of the British Raj. The carpet itself is a Kashan, one woven in the mid-nineteenth century. Alesworth purchased the carpet in tatters, then had it restored in Lahore, reworking the rug and adding to it an overlaid embroidered design.¹⁶ The design is one the artist adapted from a line drawing of a map of Hyde Park, dated 1862. Hence, the artist's title *Hyde Park Kashan*, 1862.

David Alesworth's re-worked carpet alludes to the start of the Indo-British colonial infrastructure in the subcontinent. In 1859 Sir Robert Montgomery arrived in Lahore to take up office as lieutenant-governor of the Punjab. Sir Robert's first order of the day appears to have been an enthusiastic run at civic renewal because he set right to work designing English gardens, parks, and even universities for Lahore, that ancient Mughal imperial city.¹⁷ Much of

the Indo-British colonial infrastructure survives to this day, including the National College of Art.

AHSAN NADEEM SHEIKH

Like David Alesworth, Ahsan Nadeem Sheikh works with a fraught sense of local history. Sheikh's medium is miniature painting, paintings as complex meditations, presented on handmade paper–specifically, *prepared wasli paper*.¹⁸ Artists working with *wasli* describe its long hours of preparation as a necessary part of their artistic process. The work reveals itself, slowly.

In the 1999 series *Towards Ambiguity*, Ahsan Nadeem Sheikh uses an austere geometry to analyse the narrative of dance movement. The artist writes: "...an apparent-known-form is gradually lost in stages of three."¹⁹ He, himself, is the dancer.²⁰ A tension of old and new is argued throughout the series. One work is descriptively entitled "parallel & intersecting lines. The latter form a new space whilst the former carry the same space."

The paintings are small, each no larger than 14" x 19".

In an earlier work from his student days, the artist locates the exalted National College of Art in the cityscape of Lahore. All of the school's important features are shown here, including the men's room. The map, the artist writes, is "...the route I used to take from my room in our old house, along a sewer channel lined with banana trees, all the way through a cemetery...round Choburji roundabout, and finally the NCA with a cannon in front... ."²¹ (The cannon is "Kim's cannon," the very weapon Rudyard Kipling described so effectively. Kipling's father was the first director of the Lahore Museum located across the street.)

In 2008, the structures of atom and oyster became poignant metaphors of heartache and laceration in a new series of miniatures by Ahsan Nadeem Sheikh. Entitled

Interference, a word the artist borrows from physics,²² the series consists of 13 small paintings, each 10.5" x 13.5." In these miniatures, the rectangle is a metaphor for belief, its straight lines "...direction dictated by belief."²³ Curved lines represent the "...constant making and breaking of the belief"²⁴ as the artist writes. Again, in this work we see the tension of the ideal and the actual.

Shifting direction, shifting belief is hard. Is anything worth so much heartache? Ahsan Nadeem Sheikh's answer seems hopeful. The painting entitled "oyster interfered" is followed by another entitled "pearls releasing pain."

HUMA MULJI

In their work, David Alesworth and Ahsan Nadeem Sheikh employ an ideal geometry of straight lines and angles to question systems of power and control, both theocratic power and military. In Akbar's time,²⁵ war elephants could parade in straight lines, and people of every faith were welcome at court. The glory days of the Mughal Empire are long gone. Earthquakes break. Wars explode. Elephants trumpet alarms and stampede.

Artist Huma Mulji opens her front door and looks down the road. In her installations, dumb

cows-actually, water buffalo-get stuck in devices not of their own making: one on top a steel electricity pylon (the sculpture entitled *Heavenly Heights*), the other, poor creature, stuck in a length of concrete sewer pipe (a work entitled *Suburban Dream*). Both sculptures date from 2009.

The animals the artist uses in *Heavenly Heights* and *Suburban Dream* were once alive, and standing in a pasture. The artist purchased their hides from a Lahore abbatoir and , with the help of the kindly taxidermist at the City's zoo, stuffed and arranged the ensembles we see here presented as sculpture.

One year earlier, Mulji stuffed a camel-a real camel, dead to be sure-into a suitcase, as best, that is, as a taxidermy-stuffed camel could be jammed into a suitcase. Entitled *Arabian Delight*, the work was commissioned by the Pakistan Pavillion for the 2008 Art Dubai fair. No sooner had Mulji's sculpture been installed in the pavillion, when the Sultan of Dubai declared the artist's work to be "an insult to Arab culture." He ordered *Arabian Delight* removed. It was.²⁶ The story has a happy ending. *Arabian Delight* was purchased by the Saatchi Collection.

Camels do have their dignity; nonetheless, the camel itself was not the problem²⁷ presented by the sculpture. The artist meant the work as insult, or, at best, as a critical comment concerning Arab culture. Her specific complaint? The export of Arab culture under the label "religion," specifically, the Wahabi and Salafi Sunni interpretations of Islam, the source of many of Pakistan's problems.²⁸

Mulji cites as evidence²⁹ of the "Arabisation" of Pakistan, a particularly pernicious trend in ordinary conversation. *Khuda Hafiz*—the simple "goodbye"--is now the Muslim-specific *Allah Hafiz*. In some quarters, the word "Allah" is privileged language, a name whose mere utterance is forbidden to non-Muslims.

Pakistan's terrorist groups, in the main, are driven by variations of Sunni Wahabi and Salafi doctrines.³⁰ The *Shahid*, or "suicide bombers," and their supporters believe they do God's will.³¹ Some estimate as many as 700-800,000 people have been trained in terrorist strategies and tactics over the last 20years in the region.³²

Crystal Palace, a small sculpture of mirrored glass, was completed by Huma Mulji in 2010. There had been a brutal bombing only five months earlier 500m from her own home in Lahore. The sculpture is built on a model of Mulji's own home rendered in glass–all of it glass. The sculpture is fragile. That is the artist's intent: we all live in glass houses.

Who are the targets of the terrorists' attacks in Pakistan? Very many people, really nearly everyone. Non-Sunni Muslims are always targets—the Ahmadhi, the Shi'a, always the Sufis. So, too, Christians, foreigners from any state, police, the army, UN personnel, the ISI one week, but maybe not the next, and so forth.

One's household guards, staff, or status are not always adequate protection. Salman Taseer, liberal governor of the Punjab was assassinated in January 2011 by his own bodyguard who pumped dozens of bullets into Taseer's body and no one, not any of the other armed guards, made a move to stop the assassin. Taseer's own son was abducted in downtown Lahore August 26, 2011. American Warren Weinstein was seized from his bed in Lahore, August 13. 2011.

No surprise then, among the wealthy, the use of bulletproof cars increases.³³

DAMON KOWARSKY

Damon Kowarsky's subject matter is the city, the city seen from on high, a cityscape with the point-of-view of an aviator, a military aviator, helicopter, fighter jet. What cities? Chicago, New York, Canberra. So, too, Cairo, Rawalpindi, Aminabad, Bab al Yaman, and others. So many others.

The cities of Kowarsky's cityscapes are cities with rooftops, places where people sleep in the heat of summer; cities whose satellite dishes bring in the latest soap opera or breaking news. Cities where the muezzin's call to prayer is typically an invocation delivered y loudspeaker. Every one of these cities is a town vulnerable to attack by air. Any city then or now could be a locus for Golem's viciousness. Inerrant religious belief does not admit of error or wrongdoing.

I wrote each of the four artists of my study, asking: "Where were you when you heard of the attack on the World Trade Center in New York? What were your first thoughts? Your second?"

All replied, writing of their own felt initial amazement, grief, and fear. The artists' second thoughts, as they recollected them, were, however, more nuanced. For Ahsan Nadeem Sheikh, the World Trade Center attacks were, he wrote, the first time he realized, "…we are all part of the whole."³⁴ Huma Mulji noted feeling "immense grief," as well as what she termed "sick satisfaction" because "…America is finding out what it means to be helpless when attacked by a power you can't compete with."³⁵ David Alesworth's anxious thoughts were of India, Pakistan, and "…the nuclearization and weaponsization of the sub-continent."³⁶

Recently, however, the artist has shifted directions. Damon Kowarsky has begun working collaboratively with Japanese artist Kyoko Imazu. Each artist draws part of the scene, then hands it to the other. The artists repeat the process until both are satisfied with their jointly built composition.

The imagery the artists are producing in this manner appear to be unfinished narratives, fairy tales, scenarios with mythic way stations: In their compositions, the viewer may see a plane pulling a cloud as well as a seal or a horseback rider (minus horse), or a bird's nest, and so forth. The artists' imagery appears benign; the relationships suggested cheerful, cooperative. Where is Golem ? Not to be seen in these compositions.

CONCLUSION

Half the world's population lives in cities today. We are all of us, trying to get from here to there. Too often, we make a mess of it. Worse We turn the other into Golem.

Whatever any of us might do to encourage artists to work and travel internationally can only be for the good. Not only does the work of artists enable the rest of us to see further, the work of artists of different cultures might enable us to see more of the whole. If we are, everyone of us, in Carl Sagan's words, "made of star stuff," the sufi, as well as golem, are in our DNA, too.

AFTERWORD

Pakistan today has a population of more than 177 million, a 400% growth since 1947 when the nation became an independent state. Nearly 40% of the population is under the age of 14. Optimistic estimates put literacy at 55%.³⁸

Why is Pakistan so stressed? The country is richly endowed with every useful natural resource. Why is there never enough food, clean water, medical care, electricity, schooling? Pakistanis typically blame others, outside forces, forces always beyond their control. As if corruption were not systemic and endemic at every level of society; as if the rich were not so very rich, and the poor so very poor, As if. Cyril Almeida, a much respected Pakistani journalist, puts it this way: "For Pakistanis, it is easy to connect the dots. 9/11 happened, America invaded Afghanistan, and Pakistan went to hell. That's the most common narrative offered."³⁹

Another explanation often heard among the chattering classes is this: America wants Pakistan's bomb.⁴⁰ What else would one expect from the unholy trinity of Israel, India, and the United States. As for the attack on the World Trade Center? The towers, more than a few educated Pakistanis will claim, were attacked by the CIA or by Mossad, not by Muslims.⁴¹

All of these tales are absurd. So, too, the sad, sad statement recorded by a Pakistani television news crew, and rebroadcast September 16 by Omni News, CTV, Toronto. The news item was this: a mosque in the town of Lower Dir, Pakistan had been attacked by the Taliban. Many were killed. A day later the funeral procession itself was bombed. Even more were killed in this second attack–forty in total–as well as many others injured. "Who did this?" asked the Pakistani news reporter of the dazed survivor. Answered the man, "It must have been a foreigner; no Muslim could do this."⁴²

THE GOLEM AND THE SUFI

LIST OF ARTISTS' WORK PRESENTED

DAVID ALESWORTH

1.	2009	12.2.42, 180 stacked steel boxes, each h.35.6cm x 35.6cm x
		71cm, piled into a form, h.4.26m x 2.84m x3.56m
2.	2009	Domestic Displacement, HDR Archival C-Print, 76.2cm x
		114.3cm
3.	2010-11	Hyde Park Kashan, 1862, restored, hand-knotted carpet with dyed
		wool embroidery, 3.50m x 2.38m
4.	2011-12	Trellis Cone, riveted copper, one of a set of five prototypes,
		h.213.4cm x 61cm x61cm

DAMON KOWARSKY

1.	2005	<i>City I</i> , etching and aquatint from 2 copper plates, 21cm x 20cm
2.	2007	insurgentes, etching from 7 copper plates, 22.5cm x 55cm
3.	2008	at the bab al-yaman, etching and aquatint from 2 copper plates,
		32cm x 35cm
4.	2008	Jahangir's Tomb, etching from 2 copper plates, 12.5cm x50cm
5.	2008	cities and the sky I, etching, 30cm x35cm
6.	2008	Rawalpindi IV, etching and aquatint from 6 copper plates, 40cm x
		64cm
7.	2008	aminabad II, etching and aquatint from 2 copper plates, 19cm x
		30cm
8.	2009	damascus III, etching and aquatint from 6 copper plates, 22.5cm x
		46cm
9.	2009	aermacchi mb, etching, 19cm x 30cm
10.	2009.	UH I [huey], etching, 19cm x 30cm
11.	2010	cairo II, etching and aquatint from 2 copper plates, 13cm x 19cm
12.	2010	<u>david</u> , etching and aquatint from 2 copper plates, 16cm x 25cm
13.	2010	chicago, etching and aquatint from 2 copper plates, 22.5cm x
		54cm
14.	2010	nyc 1, etching and aquatint from 2 copper plates, 25cm x 29cm
15.	2010	cairo looking west, etching and aquatint from 2 copper plates,
		22cm x 32cm
16.	2010	khiva I, etching and aquatint from 2 copper plates, 25cm x 40cm
17.	2011	b 57 canberra, etching, 22.5cm x 65cm
18.	2011	f 104, etching and aquatint from 2 copper plates, 19cm x 30cm

DAMON KOWARSKY AND KYOKO IMAZU

1.	2010	# 2, copper plate etching, 13cm x 19cm
2.	2010	nest, copper plate etching, 15cm x 22.5cm
3.	2010	rider, copper plate etching, 15cm x 22.5cm
4.	2010	space seal, copper plate etching, 15cm x 22.5cm

HUMA MULJI

1.	2008	Arabian Delight, taxidermic camel, metal rods, cotton wool, fabric,
		rexine suitcase, h. 105cm x 144cm x155cm
2.	2008	White Cement and Marble Dust, C-Print, edition of 6, 74cm x 115cm
3.	2009	High Rise, taxidermic water buffalo, steel rods, fiberglass, henna, faux
		marble paint, h. 350cm x 210cm x 68cm
4.	2009	Heavenly Heights, taxidermic water buffalo, metal rods, powder- coated
		steel, cotton wool, ceramic and cable, h. 434.3cm x 188cm x 300cm
1.	2009	Her Suburban Dream, taxidermic water buffalo, metal rods, Duco
		paint, welded sheet metal, cotton wool, h.76.2cm x 99cm x 330.2cm
5.	2010	<i>Crystal Palace</i> , MDF board, adhesives, mirror, and glass, h. 35cm
		x 76cm x 76cm

AHSAN NADEEM SHEIKH

1.	1998	map of NCA, mixed media on tea-stained prepared wasli paper,
		41.9cm x 33cm
2.	1999	Towards Ambiguity, a series of 10 miniatures, paintings on
		prepared wasli paper, each miniature, 48.2cm x 35.5cm: "an
		apparent known form;" parallel and intersecting lines"
3.	2008	Interference, a series of 13 miniatures, paintings on prepared wasli
		paper, each miniature 34.2cm x 26.6cm: "directions dictated by belief;"
		oyster interfered;" and "pearls releasing pain"

NOTES

- 1. January 2008, I was appointed Associate Professor, History of Art, Architecture, and Design, at Beaconhouse National University, Lahore, Pakistan. I held this position until March 2010.
- 2. Damon Kowarsky, personal communication, e-mails 2008.
- 3. The word itself is Hebrew, meaning literally "a shapeless matter, like mud, clay, or clotted blood, brought to life as a living-dead sort of monster by invocation of divine secret names," according to Barbara Walker, *The Woman's Dictionary of Symbols & Sacred Objects* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), p.254. See also discussion of golem in *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1972), p.459. In *The Lord of the Rings*, J.R.R. Tolkein's Gollum, a murderous creature, a hobbit gone wrong, has its origin in tales of golem; so, too, Golem, the Pokemon figure. The latter, a gaming character, uses explosions, blowing itself up again and again as it travels from mountain to mountain. www.http://bulbapedia.bulbagarden.net//wiki/Golem(Pok%C3%A9mon).
- 4. In 1818, Mary Shelley took the story of the Golem and rewrote it as the tale of Dr. Frankenstein's experiment-the experiment gone horribly wrong.
- 5. Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, *Penguin Dictionary of Symbols* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), pp.444-45.
- 6. "Ten years on," Dawn,11.9.11 http://www.dawn.com/2011/09/11/ten-years-on.htm1/print. This figure includes 3,000 Pakistani soldiers killed in combat (Pakistanis in denial 10 years after 9/11," Dawn, 25.8.11, http://www.dawn.com/2011/09.11/) as well as all those murdered in suicide bombing attacks-more than 290 such attacks in the last ten years, "...killing at least 4,600 people and injuring 10,000." Alex Rodriguez, "In Pakistan, they say every day is 9/11," The Ottawa Citizen,10.11.11, p.B-3.
- 7. December 2009. The last attack , of which I had direct knowledge, took 62 lives in a Lahore market where I had been only 2 days earlier. On the road out to the airport the night I left, rows and rows of military stood guarding the highway. There were no attacks that night, but there had been rumours; hence, the heavy car my driver arranged, plus two other men to accompany us—one an armed security guard from the university.
- 8. As cited by Gary Bernstein, interviewed in "Truth & Lies," *The Fifth Estate*, CBC, broadcast 11.9.11.
- 9. Bernstein, *ibid*.
- 10. Kathy Gannon, I is for Infidel, J is for Jihad, K is for Kalashnikov: From Holy War to Holy Terror in Afghanistan (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), p.31.
- 11. Sufi poet Baba Rehman's grave, a popular shrine in Peshawar, especially with Pashtun women, was bombed early in 2008; in Lahore, the Data Darbar shrine, one popular with all, especially the poor, was blasted July 1, 2010. Every month or so, the press reports yet another Sufi gravesite attacked.
- 12. English, French, German, Persian, and Urdu.
- 13. "Pakistan may now have between 70 and 120 usable nuclear devices—and may be unusually ready to use them... Nobody doubts that Pakistan, in the midst of its anxiety over India, is trying hard to

get more. Its nuclear warheads use an implosion design with a solid core of 15-20 kilograms of highly enriched uranium. The country produces about 100 kilograms of that a year, but is rapidly expanding its nuclear infrastructure with Chinese help." *The Economist*, "A rivalry that threatens the world, " 21.5.11, pp.47-48.

- 14. Each box measures h.14" x 14" x 28".
- 15. David Alesworth, "Domestic Displacements"--artist's statement, http://www.davidalesworth.com/viewimage.aspx?albumimageid=20.
- 16. David Alesworth credits the craft of Jamil Ahmed, Abbas Ali, and Naseer Ahmed of Eastern Carpets, Lahore, in the restoration of *Hyde Park Kashan*, 1862, 2011 (138" x 94"), personal communication, e-mail, April 25, 2011.
- 17. Muhammed Baqir, Lahore: Past and Present (Delhi: Low Price Publishers, 1952), pp.224-226.
- 18. *Wasli* is a paper medium used in the subcontinent for centuries. The paper is prepared in layers, glued, stained, polished, then the same procedure is repeated again and again. Polishing the paper is highly ritualized. Some artists use a stone, others a seashell. Ahsan Nadeem Sheikh uses a seashell. Sheikh, personal communication, e-mail, September 17, 2011.
- 19. Ahsan Nadeem Sheikh, "Towards Ambiguity," artist's statement, 1999.
- 20. Ahsan Nadeem Sheikh has studied Kathak dance for more than a decade.
- 21. Sheikh, Ibid., September 17, 2011.
- 22. Sheikh, artist's statement, 2008: "...the term 'Interference' has been borrowed from the physical phenomena of 'Interference of waves (physics), and is being used in that sense than its meaning in the English language otherwise."
- 23. Ibid.
- 24. Ibid.
- 25. Akbar, one of the great Mughal emperors, ruled from 1542–1605. His reign was notable for religious tolerance. His cities were centres of scholarship, science, and the arts.
- 26. Salima Hashmi, personal communication, April 2008. Hashmi was curator of the Pakistan Pavilion's 2008 exhibition, *Desperately Seeking Paradise*, featuring Huma Mulji's installation *Arabian Delight*.
- 27. Huma Mulji purchased the camel's skin during Eid-ul-Aqsa, a festival commemorating Ibahim's willingness to sacrifice his son. From the Muslim point-of-view, that child is Ishmael, the firstborn, the son of Hagar. From the Jewish point-of-view, the child chosen is Sarah's son Isaac. Neither boy is killed. Ibrahim sacrifices the sheep produced by an angel. Today, in preparation for the annual festival of Eid-ul-Aqsa, animals are brought into town from the countryside and sold to families throughout the month preceding Eid. Typically, a family buys a sheep or a goat, whatever is affordable. Families might chip in together to purchase an animal for all to share. Camels are very expensive. Once purchased, the animal is kept in the family's backyard, fed, and petted by all the children who are encouraged to treat the animal nicely. Then the slaughter begins. After the animal has been killed, all the relatives are invited in for barbeque. The left-overs are distributed to the poor, and the hide sold for tanning and leathercraft.
- 28. Since Partition 1947, and particularly since the time of General Zia-ul Haq (1976–1988), Arabexported Salafi and Wahabist readings of Qur'anic belief and practice have flourished in Pakistan. One of the best discussions of the relationship between belief and the formation of terrorist cells in the region may be found in Kathy Gannon's study, *I is for Infidel, ibid..., Chapter* 8, "The Hidden Face of Pakistan's Military," pp.127-148.
- 29. Huma Mulji, artist's statement, May 2011.
- 30. "The Taliban-who hail from the hard-line Deobandi sect of Islam, close to the Wahabism espoused by Osama bin Ladin-stoked the mainstream resurgence... Anti-American sentiment, in turn, provides the excuse for the government and army not to do more...". "The crumbling centre: Pakistan's fight against the Taliban," *The Economist*, January 15, 2011, p.45.
- 31. "Before 9/11, Pakistan had suffered just one suicide bombing-a 1995 attack on t, he Egyptian Embassy in the capital, Islamabad, that killed 15 people. In the last decade, suicide bombers have struck Pakistani targets more than 290 times, killing at least 4,600 people and injuring 10,000." Rodriguez, Ibid.

- 32. Bernstein, Ibid.
- 33. "Bulletproof vehicles use on the rise," Dawn, 6.9.11, http://www.dawn.com/2011/09/06
- 34. Ahsan Nadeem Sheik, personal communication, e-mail, September 16, 2011.
- 35. Huma Mulji, personal communication, e-mail, September 13, 2011.
- 36. David Alesworth, personal communication, e-mail, September 8, 2011.
- 37. Damon Kowarsky, personal communication, e-mail, September 6, 2011.
- 38. ¹"Punjab's 3.8m illiterate kids mock literacy day," *Dawn*, 8.9.11 http://www.dawn.com/2011/09/08/
- 39. Quoted in Rodriguez, Ibid.
- 40. Ibid.
- 41. Irfan Hussain, "Debunking 9/11 conspiracy theories," *Dawn*, 5.9.11. http://www.dawn.com/2011/09/05/
- 42. Omni News, CTV, Toronto, broadcast 16.9.11