In spring of 2003, the new private television channel in Pakistan, Geo TV, created some controversy by telecasting with much fanfare Mariza Hadi Ruswa's early twentieth century Urdu novel, Umrao Jan Ada as its first serialized television play. Umrao, one of the most expensive TV series produced in Pakistan with lavish sets and costumes, depicts the life and times of a mid-nineteenth century courtesan in Lucknow which was the seat of power for the Nawabs of Awadh in North India. Courtesans in Lucknow were recognized as the preservers and performers of high culture of the court. Courtesans held respect within the Nawabi court and young men of noble lineage were sent to their salons to learn etiquette, polite manners, and the art of literary appreciation. Yet they also provided sexual services, albeit to specific patrons, and were, therefore, not entirely considered part of the ashrat, the Muslim respectable gentry.

The politics
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The courtesan has been a stock character in popular South Asian literature and movies. The popular Urdu novel, Umrao Jan Ada, was recently made into a lavish serialized television play in Pakistan. It raises questions about how popular television performances create a space for a discussion on gender politics in a rapidly changing cultural, social, and economic milieu of present-day Pakistan.

The narrative
Umrao, set in mid-nineteenth century northern India, is the story of a young girl who is kidnapped and sold to a kotha (lit: roof or household, the courtesan's salon) in Lucknow. Umrao grows up learning the skills of the trade with rigorous training in music, singing, dancing, poetry recitation, and the various etiquettes and idioms of courtesan life. The novel is written in the first person to create the illusion of an autobiographical narrative. This technique is retained in the TV serial by the director Raana Sheik, a veteran TV producer and ex-managing director of the state owned Pakistani TV, and the script writer Zehra Nigah, a famous poet and literary personality.

As Umrao grows up accomplished in the various skills of courtesan life, she is much sought after by many members of the elite that frequent the kotha. She is eventually "given" for the first time to a respectable Nawab who retains the exclusive right to her company and maintains her through gifts and cash. This man becomes the first of many with whom Umrao is shown to, within the parameters of Pakistan's censorship, have a sustained sexual relationship. There are many twists and turns in the story, but Umrao is always characterized as an extremely sympathetic person—a victim of circumstances beyond her control—-with whom the audience can empathize and identify. Periodically the play does remind us that Umrao is a courtesan (with its contemporary connotation of a prostitute) and hence allows for the audience to create a distance from her guilt-free sexual relationships. Yet despite the techniques that the director uses to distance us from the protagonist's ascriptive sexual practices—perhaps to satisfy the censors—the audience is constantly exposed to and remains engrossed in Umrao's various relationships.

In addition, life in the kotha itself is portrayed in extremely women friendly terms. There is camaraderie among the younger women in the household and the audience gets the sense of a caring family. The strongest person in the entire household is the chief courtesan, Khanum, who rules over the household as a de facto diplomat who has the power of coercion always at her disposal. The interesting aspect of this household is the secondary and dependent nature of the men. In traditional kothas, as depicted in the serial, men occupied the more subservient roles of servants, doormen, musicians, and instructors. Men, of course, were also wealthy patrons and benefactors. But, as Umrao discovers, they do not have all things in their realm, but remain rather distant spectators from the main action—a woman's life is much a wider vision.

Further, in contrast to Pakistani women's history of rising Islamic radicalism and the Islamization process of the Zia era, the play seeks to display a much more tolerant atmosphere not only in terms of gender relationships, but also in its depiction of Islamic authority. There is a retained in the kotha, Maulvi Saheb, who is married to the-main female...
servant in the household. Mouli Vi Saheb teaches Umrao the Quran and religion, literature, and morals. He is portrayed as a man of religion, yet accepts the lifestyle of his surroundings with ease and grace. Similarly, in one episode Umrao runs away with her paramour and ends up in an unknown village after being abandoned. Here she finds the shaykh of the local mosque who generously gives her shelter and then helps her to establish herself as a local courtesan with her own kotha and clientele. These portrayals use the mid-nineteenth century Muslim society in North India, and its imagined tolerant social space where religious leaders and courtesans could co-exist, to implicitly critique the moral and theological extremism of contemporary life.

Gender, religion, and ethnicity

The choice of Umrao Jan Ada to argue for women’s liberation and religious tolerance is an intriguing one. Historically modernist Muslim reformers of late nineteenth century opposed Nawabi culture, of which courtesan life was an integral part. Post-1857 Muslim reformers like the author Nazir Ahmed, Sayed Ahmed, the founder of Aligarh Muslim University, and the poet Altaf Husein Hali (including Deobandi religious reformers) in their writings argued against the extravaganza, impiety, and ignorance of the Nawabi era, which according to them was the cause of Muslim backwardness. In contrast they advocated the pursuit of knowledge, piety, and restraint. Describing this transformation among the late-nineteenth century Muslim middle class households, Gail Minault rightly points out that the emphasis was on being noble rather than high born. A sharif gentleman was “pious without being wasteful, educated without being pre- dantic and restrained in his expression of emotion.” This ideal was in sharp contrast to the Mughal Nawabs and the wealthy land owning aristocracy, those that are depicted in Umrao and who sustained the lifestyle of the courtesans themselves.

It appears that the female director and script writer of Umrao sought to make an implicit argument against those tendencies of Muslim reformist thought, whether secular or religious (Deobandi), that asked women to distance themselves from the realm of what was deemed superstitious, un-Islamic, and irrational. This reformism indeed aided some women to gain more rights within the emerging middle-class household. For example, literacy skills along with modes of reformed behaviour did open spaces for women to articulate their rights in marriage and property. Yet, these gains were at the cost of losing separate spheres of female activity that were consecrated by the modern reformists as the realm of the nafs, the area of lack of control and disorder. The creators of this play through their depiction of female spaces, use the mid-nineteenth century milieu to invoke this sense of disorder/sensual themes and link it to an older oral tradition of women’s narrative construction and other forms of popular performances—the arena of reformist attack—to make a more contemporary case for women’s emancipation and equity.

In invoking this past the producers present an alternative narrative of custom, traditional space, and Muslim religious practice. This move to reinvent the past as tolerant and inclusive is linked to a liberal feminist agenda in its attempt to re-interpret “tradition” and Muslim social practice in South Asia, may still be entangled in modernist and cultural politics may yet require a sensitivity toward the diverse histories of the various peoples who inhabit Pakistan.

Since Pakistan’s independence in 1947, Urdu’s dominance of the cultural center has bred a sense of exclusion among other linguistic groups (Pashtun, Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluch, among others) hindering the emergence of a national culture that democratically includes the diverse voices and languages present in Pakistani cultural spectrum. Where Geo’s Umrao Jan Ada tackles the issue of female emancipation using North Indian ashraf (respectable Muslim elite) culture, it addresses an audience that is also culturally steeped in other traditions, vernaculars, and cultural ethos. The imposition of nineteenth century high Urdu culture, though in this case ostensibly well meaning, retains within it the hegemonic aspect of centralizing state projects of cultural homogeneity which have continued to undermine the rights of the various linguistic and cultural groups that constitute Pakistan. In this sense the liberal feminist agenda in its attempt to re-interpret “tradition” and Muslim social practice in South Asia, may still be entangled in modernist projects where experiences of specific linguistic groups who have a longer urban history (as in the case with Urdu speakers) takes precedence over practices of other ethnicities. A more inclusive cultural politics may yet require a sensitivity toward the diverse histories of the various peoples who inhabit Pakistan.

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Poster from Pakistani TV Serial, Umrao Jan Ada

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In invoking this past the producers present an alternative narrative of custom, traditional space, and Muslim religious practice. This move to reinvent the past as tolerant and inclusive is linked to a liberal political agenda that is in opposition to an earlier generation of modernist thinkers. Using late-nineteenth century North India as a backdrop, this serial confronts the more homogenizing elements of Islamic politics in Pakistani society; a major political task for liberals in present day Pakistan. The play’s implicit portrayal of a more tolerant and inclusive national identity interestingly enough also relates to a recent General Musharraf’s propagated rhetoric of a modern, moderate, and Muslim Pakistan. This resonance perhaps allows liberal intellectuals the space to use media outlets to promote agendas of linguistic and cultural groups that constitute Pakistan. In this sense the liberal feminist agenda in its attempt to re-interpret “tradition” and Muslim social practice in South Asia, may still be entangled in modernist projects where experiences of specific linguistic groups who have a longer urban history (as in the case with Urdu speakers) takes precedence over practices of other ethnicities. A more inclusive cultural politics may yet require a sensitivity toward the diverse histories of the various peoples who inhabit Pakistan.

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