

The Pennsylvania State University
The Graduate School
Department of Recreation, Park and Tourism Management

REPRESENTATIVE DISSONANCE IN HERITAGE TOURISM IN INDIA

A Thesis in
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by
Ranjan Bandyopadhyay

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The thesis of Ranjan Bandyopadhyay was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Garry E. Chick
Professor of Recreation, Park & Tourism Management
Thesis Adviser
Chair of Committee

Duarte B. Morais
Associate Professor of Recreation, Park & Tourism Management

Harry C. Zinn
Associate Professor of Recreation, Park & Tourism Management

Jeffrey H. Cohen
Associate Professor of Anthropology

Linda L. Caldwell
Professor of Recreation, Park & Tourism Management
Professor-in-Charge of Graduate Programs in Leisure Studies

*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School.

ABSTRACT

The debate surrounding the role of tourism in the renegotiation of history has gained much importance recently. Several scholars have argued that heritage tourism may be important in creating national identity. As ethnically diverse societies have the tendency for fragmentation, heritage tourism has arguably emerged as a privileged tool for states to disseminate a shared cultural identity with their citizens. The increasing popularity of heritage creates conflicts over its representation. So, there are disputes over whose heritage should be preserved and made available for touristic consumption. Thus, heritage tourism is highly political in which dominant narratives of history, culture and identity are always disputed.

Since India's independence in 1947 from Britain, the Governments of the country have tried to build a sense of 'nation' by uniting the diverse groups of the country. However, identity in India has centered around smaller groups based on religion, culture and language, of which, religion is the most prominent. Although several scholars have claimed that the representation of heritage encompasses several agents who interact to co-construct a representation of the past, with a few valuable exceptions, scholars have only considered one voice in investigations of tourism representations. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore: 1) What heritage of six major religions (i.e., Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain) in India is represented to domestic tourists by the three Indian tourism representations (i.e., Indian Government, Indian Trade, and Indian Public)? and 2) What are the differences, if they exist? A three year time frame from March 2002 – June 2005 was selected for this study. The data were examined using content analysis.

The study produced several insights into how tourism is interconnected with socio-political dynamics governing India's contemporary state and society. There were four similarities in the three representations. First, all representations celebrated India's glorious past as a Hindu "Golden Age." Second, the blend of different religions was heavily emphasized. Third, all representations portrayed the suffering from Muslim tyranny. Fourth, all representations highlighted atrocities of Colonial rulers. However, there was one difference in the three representations. The Indian Government resisted the Colonial influence but the other two representations did not.

The Indian Government and Indian Tourism Industry harmoniously represented the heritage of India. As there was no significant difference in the three representations, it can be argued that the mythmaking by the Indian Government promotes dominant nationalist ideologies, which are well accepted by the tourism industry that needs these myths to sell heritage attractions. This study revealed that the Indian government's efforts to build an Indian national identity are inextricably linked to a Hindu national identity. Thus, it can be argued that political identity building in the name of religion is more important in India than national identity building.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

National Identity and Ethnic Conflicts

In today's world, disputes regarding 'national identity' are widespread. Ethnic conflicts, nationalist violence and the subsequent loss of human lives globally have focused renewed attention of the international community to an unprecedented level. Williams (1994: 50) mentioned that since World War II, half of the world's states have experienced major ethnic conflict. Although approximating the number of deaths from ethnic violence is tentative, according to Williams' (1994: 50) estimation, deaths from ethnic violence since 1945 are as high as 20 million. A growing number of scholars have claimed that one of the important reasons of ethnic conflicts is due to the desire of people to belong and loyal to a particular identity, for instance, Kashmiris and Nagas in India, ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia, and the Kurds of Turkey and Iraq. "A national identity is thus a very personal concept as individual's draw upon the differing identities available to them in order to construct their own sense of who they are and how they fit in" (Palmer 1999: 314). Levitt (1983) argued that there is now a "global village" of millions of consumers who share common needs and lifestyle. Questions like 'what is our identity?' has become one of life's essentials (Basu 2004; Giddens 1991; Palmer 1999; Sarup 1996). Thus, it is no surprise then that scholars have paid rapidly increasing attention to these remarkable phenomenon, and that the issues of identity and ethnic conflict are so common in both academic and popular discourse. As Brubaker and Laitin (1998: 424) suggested, "ethnic violence warrants our attention

because it is appalling, not because it is ubiquitous.” In an age when ethnic conflicts and nationalist violence continue in different parts of the world, it is in India where some of the tumultuous ethnic turmoils have been taking place (Baruah 1999; Varshney 2001). In one of these turmoils, Pakistan was formed. Also, India suffers from militant nationalist movements in Kashmir, Punjab, and the seven Northeast states apart from the frequent Hindu-Muslim clashes.

National Identities in India

Although the governments of India attempted to construct a sense of ‘nationhood’ in the country since independence in 1947 from Britain, it has been difficult to unite diverse ethnic groups. Since independence, caste and religious violence in India have undermined the dream of making the country truly “secular.” Moreover, the separation of Pakistan from India just one day before India’s independence on 15 August 1947 gave rise to a communal massacre which took the lives of hundreds of thousands of innocent victims. Since then, India has relentlessly suffered political turmoil due to ethno-religious conflicts, especially between Hindus and Muslims.

Williams (1994: 49) argued that “States are major actors in creating, accentuating or diminishing ethnic identities.” For example, several scholars have established that in China the state controls how minority identities are defined and represented to the public (Baranovitch 2001; Diamond 1995; Gladney 1994; Harrell 1990). India faces conflicts characterized by ongoing tribal, ethnic and left wing movements. The main reasons for these conflicts are due to the proxy war in Kashmir conducted by Pakistan, and various ethnic groups in India demanding independent homelands. These conflicts

have also resulted in much violence in the country. Moreover, in recent years, right-wing movements have increased considerably. One of the most obvious is the *Hindutva* movement which wants to make India into a Hindu nation-state.

The Role of Heritage Tourism in Constructing National Identity in India

According to Palmer (2003: 428), “National identity is a combination of elements such as religion, political ideology, historic memories, myths, symbols, and traditions.” Among these different elements, heritage is very important. As Walsh (1992 cited in Palmer 2003: 428) opined, the primary rationale of heritage tourism is the selection and presentation of attractions that are designed to promote an idea of a nation. However, governments of multicultural countries, and also countries with colonial histories, for example, India, Singapore, Malaysia, etc., find it difficult to bring together diverse groups and different identities. Thus, heritage becomes a highly political arena where there is always conflict in making decisions about its conservation and presentation (Johnson 1995, 1999; Lowenthal 2005; Timothy and Prideaux 2004; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). Also, governments of nation states have been criticized for moulding heritage in their political exploitation (Johnson 1995, 1999; Lowenthal 2005; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). In the words of Peleggi (1996: 441), “the promotional literature of National Tourism Boards is nothing but a variation of the narratives that in the same countries articulate hegemonic versions of history, culture and identity.”

Recently, several scholars have emphasized on the role of heritage tourism in constructing national identities (Ashworth 1994; Henderson 2001, 2002, 2003b; Johnson 1995, 1999; Light 2001; O’Connor 1993; Palmer 1999; Peleggi 1996; Pretes

2003; Timothy and Prideaux 2004). For example, like Malaysia, Singapore, Burma and Thailand, India has also given importance to heritage tourism. India is a uniquely interesting case for the study of heritage tourism and national identity, and especially for an analysis of the role of the state in marketing the country's heritage to its ethnic population as it has a multifaceted and colorful social diversity. The sheer size of India - more than 1 billion people with a relatively affluent middle class of approximately 250 million whose size approximates the population of the USA or the European Union, 28 states and 7 union territories, 6 major religions and 16 official languages makes the nation-building task of the country truly Herculean.

India has an expanding tourism industry with 2.75 million inbound tourists and 230 million domestic tourists in 2003 (Nichani 2004). The Indian government has recently become active in selling the country to international and domestic tourists, the thrust of which is pointed towards marketing the country, to create a new brand identity (Kant 2003). For this, the Indian government is promoting the country in the Western World with the campaign – “Incredible India,” and to the Non Resident Indians (NRIs) and domestic tourists - “Discover India, discover yourself!” Heritage tourism has an important role to play in India's national identity-building efforts as it is “an important factor of the process by which a country can seek to project a particular self-image to ‘internal’ audiences” (Light 2001). Heath and Wall (1992) stated that domestic tourists comprise the majority of all tourists in developing countries. Thus, “ethnic relations and boundary constructions in most plural societies are not about strangers, but about adjacent and familiar ‘others’” (Barth 1994: 13 cited in Wood 1998: 220).

Justification for the Study

“Religion makes itself appear as a habit of the heart, the hard core of a community’s identity, as a thing that cannot change and is nonnegotiable... [and]... religious discourse tries to deny historical change and derives its power to an important degree from its success at doing so. Indeed, in that sense, religion is ideology, but it does not hide class dominance; it hides its own history, its own dependence on social movements, institutions, and political economy”

van der Veer (1996: 269).

“All of us - as individuals, as nations, as ethnic and other entities – adapt the past to our presumed advantage. Such acts undeniably deform history for heritage aims; and heritage is further corrupted by being popularized, commoditized, and politicized”

Lowenthal (2005: 87).

According to MacCannell (1992: 1), “Tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs.” The debate surrounding the role of tourism in the renegotiation and dissemination of history has gained much importance recently due to the increased realization that contested identities account for the world’s most critical national and international conflicts. Though several scholars (Hewison 1987; Walsh 1990) have undermined the importance of heritage tourism and argued that heritage is a kind of “bogus history;” recently, others (Ashworth 1994; Johnson 1995; O’Connor 1993; Palmer 1999; Peleggi 1996; Pretes 2003) have argued that heritage tourism may be important in creating national identity. As ethnically diverse societies have the tendency for fragmentation, and as traditional tools of socio-political socialization (e.g., education, ethnic policy) have gradually lost effectiveness, heritage tourism has arguably emerged as a privileged tool for states to disseminate a shared cultural identity with their citizens (Graburn 1997). For example, Bossen (2000) reported that governments of newly independent nations

like Singapore, and Malaysia have used touristic representations to foster nationalism. Several scholars (Johnson 1995; Light 2001; Palmer 1999; Pretes 2003) have mentioned that the promotion of heritage sites is important in the construction of a national identity as the viewing of heritage sites by domestic tourists offer glimpses of a nation's past. While visiting these heritage sites, people of that nation understand "who they are and where they have come from" (Palmer 1999: 315). Garcia Canclini (1995: 108) suggested that heritage "has to be preserved, not discussed or analyzed." But in the contemporary world, the growing worth of heritage intensifies conflicts over its representation. So, there are disputes over whose heritage should be preserved and made available for touristic consumption (Light 2001; Timothy and Boyd 2003). Some authors even have argued that "conflict is endemic to heritage" (Lowenthal 2005: 234). Thus, heritage tourism is highly political in which dominant narratives of history, culture and identity are always disputed. According to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 8), "the concept of heritage is culturally constructed, thus there is an almost infinite variety of possible heritages, and each shaped for the requirements of specific consumer groups." Although recently some researchers have investigated the politics of heritage in tourism (Bruner 1996; Edensor 1998; Hall 1994, 1996, 1997; Johnson 1999; Peleggi 1996; Philip and Mercer 1999; Pretes 2003; Richter 1989, 1999; Timothy and Boyd 2003), majority of tourism research have focused on "non-critical, inventory, and physical conservation approaches to heritage" (Pearson and Sullivan 1995 cited in Hall 1996: 497).

India is currently experiencing critical divisions in national identity and a major growth in domestic tourism. Since India achieved independence in 1947 from Britain,

the Governments of the country have tried to build a sense of 'nation' by uniting the diverse groups of the country. However, identity in India "has centered around smaller groups based on religious, cultural and linguistic identity" (Sabhlok 2002: 25). Among these, religious identity is the most prominent in India. India's culture, which is believed to be over 5000 years, has been enriched by consecutive influence of migration which was absorbed into the Indian way of life. As a result, the country's heritage is inextricably related to six major religious identities (i.e., Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, Jain and Sikh). The cultural past of these religious identities in India is reflected in their cultural heritage and architectural splendor. Moreover, religious heritage sites are the major tourist attractions that are intensely visited and incessantly promoted. In India, religion is an integral part of the nation, and religion pervades every aspect of life - from daily chores to education and politics. Religion plays a vital role in the politics of India. For example, a political party's support in India, to a great extent depends upon the religion the group recognizes (Chandra 2004). Various scholars (Brass 2003; Chandra 2004; Kothari 2002; Ludden 1996a, 1996b) have argued that India's politicians increasingly exploit religious sentiments for short-term political gain, for example, to win elections, regardless of their longer-term social consequences to 'religious fundamentalism' that their campaigns create. Kumar (2002: 17) nicely described this fact:

"Religious fundamentalism manifests itself as a strategy by which beleaguered believers attempt to preserve their distinctive group identity with the selective retrievals of doctrines, beliefs and practices from a sacred past. This selection is carefully done so that it is not only appealing to the audience but also readily acceptable. These retrieved fundamentals are refined, modified and sanctioned in a spirit of pragmatism; they are to serve as a bulwark against the encroachment of outsiders who threaten to draw the believers into a syncretistic religious or irreligious cultural milieu."

As many scholars (Brass 2003; Chandra 2004; Kothari 2002; Varshney 2001) noted, the impact of this religious fundamentalism on public life in India has been one of the greatest challenges to the Indian governments since independence. For example, in 1992, the Hindu nationalists destroyed the disputed Babri Masjid mosque in Ayodhya in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Muslims believe that Babri Masjid was built in the 16th century by the first Mughal Emperor in India - *Babar*. However, according to the Hindus, Ayodhya is the birthplace of Lord Ram, and is thus a very holy place for them for pilgrimage. The demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992 caused nationwide (also in Bangladesh and Pakistan) riots between Hindus and Muslims that killed more than 2,000 people and injured another several thousands. Ludden (1996b: 1) while justifying the importance of religion in the nationalism of India commented on the event:

“Supporters justify the action at Ayodhya as the liberation of a Hindu sacred space to unify the Indian nation. Critics call it violence against Muslims; they decry such communalism - the antagonistic mobilization of one religious community against another as an attack on Indian civil society.”

Since the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992, several Hindu-Muslim riots have taken place in India, of which the riot in the state of Gujarat in 2002 is the most horrific as 2,000 people (mostly Muslims) were killed in just few months (Anand 2005: 203). In Pinch’s (1996: 158) opinion, in India,

“... as nationalist sentiments began to spread among the urban middle classes in the late nineteenth century, religion became for many the basis of political identity and, consequently, communalist violence.”

Thus, religion is one of the most important facets of Indian history and contemporary life. Religion, until today is “one of the principal sources of identity” (Nagata 1987 cited in Henderson 2003b: 74). Several nineteenth-century sociologists predicted that

the demise of religion was inevitable. Also, few decades back, eminent sociologist Gerhard Lenski (1966 cited in Ray and Das 2004: 1) opined that religion was bound to lose its importance with modernization, industrialization and general enlightenment of people. However, this did not happen. Religion has remained one of the fundamentally important sources of identity, and “persists as a vital force in the world” (Kurtz 1995: 5). As argued by these authors (Kurtz 1995; Nagata 1987), religion is not only one of the fundamentally important sources of identity but also is the major factor behind ethnic conflicts relating to national identity in not only India but also in Sudan, Sri Lanka, Tibet, China, Israel, Nigeria, Lebanon, Northern Ireland, etc. Kurtz (1995: 1) elaborately described how religious arguments are used to justify violence in this global world.

“In early 1994, an Israeli doctor entered a mosque in Hebron at the Cave of the Patriarchs, where Abraham is supposed to be buried, and murdered over thirty Muslims at prayer. He in turn was beaten to death, and violence broke out again between Jews and Muslims throughout the region. In India, Hindus and Muslims have been killing each other in a flare-up of a centuries-old conflict, now focused on the destruction of a Muslim mosque by Hindu nationalists at a disputed site in Ayodhya. Catholics and Protestants have been fighting one another viciously in Northern Ireland, and Muslim militants have targeted “officials, police officers, Christians and occasionally tourists” in an effort to replace the secular Egyptian government with a more traditional Islamic theocracy (Ibrahim 1994). The Ku Klux Klan still marches in the United States, using religious arguments to denounce African Americans, Jews, and others. In the former Yugoslavia, Serbian Orthodox Christians have been engaged in a campaign of “ethnic cleansing” of Muslims that involves wholesale slaughter.”

According to Vukonic (1996), tourism and religion are intertwined. Religion acts “as a powerful motive for travel from the time of early pilgrimages to contemporary journeys to sacred places” (Henderson 2003a: 447). Also, several scholars (Henderson 2003a; Russell 1999; Shackley 2001) have commented on the business potential and

management of religious travel market and sites. Moreover, as Sotiropoulou (2002: 8) mentioned, “religious symbols, ritual and institutions are often used to activate aggressive nationalistic feelings for the promotion of political agendas.” Ludden (1996b) commented on the role of politics in the religious identity building in India:

“Religion seems to be a natural, populist political force, articulating people’s cultural and national identity at a level of emotive meaning more basic and fundamental than other kinds of political affiliations. Religious identities naturally take over politics when constraints on their expression are weakened.”

Although, several scholars (Barthel 1996; Chronis 2005; Graham 1998; Lowenthal 2005) have claimed that the representation of heritage encompasses several agents who interact to co-construct a representation of the past, with a few valuable exceptions; scholars have only considered one voice in investigations of tourism representations (i.e., either the Government representation or another agent’s representation). Thus, previous research has overlooked important insight from the comparison of representations of places by different agents (e.g., between governments and international representations, Bandyopadhyay and Morais 2005). Accordingly, an examination of a government’s heritage representation would not reveal whether the tourism industry embraces or resists that representation. Further, looking at tourism industry representations is also important because “heritage fabricated by the media often seems more real because it is more familiar than the original” (Lowenthal 2005: 165). Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine what heritage of six major religions in India (i.e., Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain) is represented to domestic tourists by three different tourism representations in the country (Indian Government, Indian trade and Indian public). I chose to analyze the

data in terms of how tourism may be represented differently to the six major religions in the country as religion plays a vital role in the politics of India and permeates all aspects of life in the country. Apart from every facets of life, from social to political, as Ray and Das (2004: 3) argued, religion has a profound impact in India's economy too, with an "ever-increasing number of temples, mosques, churches and places of pilgrimage." For example, "the number of places of worship in India increased from 1,782,873 in 1991 to 2,398,650 in 2001 with a growth rate of 34.54 percent" (Census 1991; Census 2001 cited in Ray and Das 2004: 3). According to Rana (2003 cited in Singh 2006: 223), "Of all domestic travel in India, over one-third is for the purpose of performing pilgrimage." Moreover, recently, several Western and Hindu scholars, such as well-known American scholars of 'Hindu-Muslim conflict in India,' Paul Brass (2003) and David Ludden (1996a, 1996b), India's Nobel Laureate in Economics, Professor Amartya Sen (2005), arguably most famous Indian historian, Professor Romila Thapar (2004) have argued that in the contemporary politics of India, the believers in the *Hindutva* movement are promoting a narrowly Hindu view of Indian history. Sen (2005: x) clarified that this promotion of a narrowly Hindu view of Indian history has permitted "unwelcome intrusions of some specific Hindu beliefs into the contemporary life of secular India." As a result, according to Ludden (1996b: 63), this promotion of a "narrowly Hinduized view of Indian history fosters the congruence of a Hindu identity with a more general Indian identity." Ludden (1996b: 63) claimed further,

"Islam is as old in India as in Turkey. Indian Islam is older than American Christianity and European Protestantism. Indian Islam is no more derivative than Chinese, Tibetan, Thai, or Japanese Buddhism. In India's historical culture and civilization, Islam has very deep roots indeed... Yet the idea that

Islam is foreign in India is axiomatic among the Hindu nationalists who destroyed the Babri Masjid; this idea is used to argue for second-class Muslim citizenship in India and even for the expulsion of Muslims from India. Making Islam appear foreign to India is part of the project of making India Hindu pursued by Hindu nationalist groups.”

Similarly, Sen (2005: 308) lamented,

“To see India just as a Hindu Country is a fairly bizarre idea in the face of that fact alone, not to mention the intermingling of Hindus and Muslims in the social and cultural life of India (in literature, music, painting, and so on). Also, Indian religious plurality extends far beyond the Hindu-Muslim division. There is a large and prominent Sikh population, and a substantial number of Christians, whose settlements go back at least to the fourth century CE... [and]... to this we have to add the millions of Jains, and practitioners of Buddhism, which had been for a long period the official religion of many of the Indian emperors (including the great Ashoka in the third century BCE, who had ruled over the largest empire in the history of the subcontinent).”

Therefore, due to the above mentioned reasons, I chose to analyze the data in terms of how tourism may be represented differently to the six major religions in the country.

Research Questions

1. What heritage of six major religions (Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain) in India is represented to domestic tourists by the three Indian tourism representations (i.e., Indian Government representations, Indian trade representations, and Indian public representations)? and
2. What are the differences, if they exist?

Limitations and Delimitations

There are two main limitations of this study.

First, different ethnicities in India have multifaceted natures. These ethnicities are not only dynamic but also heterogeneous. All ethnicities are also divided into various

sub-ethnicities based on hierarchical class positions in the society (Sen 2005; Thapar 2004). So, although the three different tourism representations discussed in this study generalized various religious ethnicities in India, the situation is actually much more complex. For example, describing something as Hindu religion is vague as there are different class systems within the Hindu religion in India.

Second, this study analyzes written text, which can be seen to be constructed with a certain perspective in mind. Thus, it is subjective. It can be argued that different people can interpret different meanings from the written texts. Moreover, as I was the main person to interpret and analyze data, and as I am a citizen of India representing the Hindu religion, I had to deal with issues of researcher bias.

Significance of the Study

Tunbridge (1998) and Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) claimed that heritage does not only refer to the materialistic aspects of a culture but also to each facet of cultural identities. According to Timothy and Boyd (2003), the terms “cultural tourism,” “heritage tourism,” and “ethnic tourism” are almost identical. Thus, this study while investigating the representation of India’s heritage related to different religious ethnicities, accentuated the importance of ethnic tourism. Wood (1998: 219) emphasized on the importance of ethnic tourism:

“... touristic ethnicity has a greater significance for ethnic identity and ethnic relations than has generally been recognized... [and] ... the study of touristic ethnicity constitutes a potentially fruitful theoretical strategy for deepening our understanding of the construction of ethnic identities and relations generally.”

Van den Berghe (1980, 1992, 1994 cited in Wood 1998: 219) in several studies, also

opined in support of ethnic tourism, “tourism often constitutes a form of ethnic relations, particularly in the Third World.” Moreover, according to Cohen (2001: 27), “ethnic tourism is the most frequently researched topic in the sociological and anthropological study of tourism in the Southeast Asian region.” Several scholars have commented on how various countries are using tourism to promote national identity. For example, Philip and Mercer (1999: 46) mentioned that tourism has been encouraged in Myanmar based on a Buddhist Burmese heritage in order to foster national unity, and “historical sites in Burma are being recycled economically through tourism, and politically recycled through mythmaking which promotes nationalist ideologies.” Similarly, Henderson (2001) opined that the Thai government uses tourism to create awareness among the Thai people of Thai heritage and identity. Also, other authors (Bossen 2000; Leong 1989) have noted that governments of newly independent nations, for example, Singapore and Malaysia, have used touristic representations to foster nationalism. In Singapore, the government’s touristic representation focused on ethnic diversity (Leong 1989), whereas, the Malaysian government used tourism to highlight the country as modern (Henderson 2003b). Also, several authors (Johnson 1999; Light 2001; Roberts 1996) have mentioned how a number of CEE countries (i.e., Romania, Croatia) uses tourism to “re-brand” those countries’ “post-socialist self-image.” In addition, Johnson (1999) commented on the role of tourism in the identity-building process of Northern Ireland. Therefore, this study, while exploring the representation of heritage of different religious ethnicities in India, highlights the importance of heritage tourism in India’s common national identity.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Nationalism

“Nationalism is one of the most powerful forces in the modern world, yet its study has until recently been relatively neglected. As an ideology and movement, nationalism exerted a strong influence in the American and French Revolutions, yet it did not become the subject of historical enquiry until the middle of the nineteenth century, nor of social scientific analysis until the early twentieth century. Sustained investigation of nationalism had to wait until after the First World War, and it is really only since the 1960s, after the spate of anti-colonial and ethnic nationalisms, that the subject has begun to be thoroughly investigated by scholars from several disciplines”

(Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 3).

Nationalism has a definitional problem, and different scholars have provided various definitions of nationalism (Anderson 1991; Gellner 1983; Renan 1882; Smith 1991; Weber 1948). For example, Hutchinson and Smith (1994: 4) observed the “important differences in ways of defining the concept, some equating it with ‘national sentiment’, others with nationalist ideology and language, others again with nationalist movements.” Nationalism, according to Pretes (2003: 126), “is the result of the conscious efforts of central rulers to make a multicultural population homogenous, and to form a single “nation” out of this diversity.”

Classical Theorists on Nationalism

The prominent figures on classical theories of nationalism have been Ernest Renan and Max Weber. There are also other influential figures who have made a contribution to the theories of nationalism, including Jean Jacques Rousseau, Johann Herder, Johann Fichte, and Giuseppe Mazzini.

Ernest Renan (1882 cited in Thom 1990: 19) provided the following definition of the nation:

“A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle. One lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form...to have common glories in the past and to have a common will in the present; to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more – these are the essential conditions for being a people.”

Thus, according to Renan’s (1882 cited in Thom 1990: 19) view:

“A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a past; it is summarized, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely, consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life.”

Another influential scholar of nationalism, Max Weber’s classic statement related to an idealist conception of the nation. Weber (1948 cited in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 21) mentioned:

“If the concept of ‘nation’ can in any way be defined unambiguously, it certainly cannot be stated in terms of empirical qualities common to those who count as members of the nation. In the sense of those using the term at a given time, the concept undoubtedly means, above all, that one may exact from certain groups of men a specific sentiment of solidarity in the face of other groups. Thus, the concept belongs in the sphere of values. Yet, there is no agreement on how these groups should be delimited or about what concerted action should result from such solidarity.”

Weber (1948 cited in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 25) further clarified:

“A nation is a community of sentiment which would adequately manifest itself in a state of its own; hence, a nation is a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own.”

Modernist Theorists on Nationalism

Elie Kedourie, Ernest Gellner, Walker Connor, Karl Deutsch, John Breuilly, Anthony Smith and Benedict Anderson are among the prominent contemporary theorists of nationalism. However, in recent years, Gellner and Anderson provided foremost mainstream views on nationalism.

Gellner in his famous book “*Nations and Nationalism*” (1983) argued that nations and nationalism are totally modern constructions, which are born of the conflicts between different cultures. Gellner’s argument concentrated on the political aspects of nationalism. According to Gellner (1983: 1), “Nationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent.” Gellner (1983) emphasized on the sociological need of nations and nationalism in today’s modern, industrialized world.

“Nationalism is logically contingent; it is not given in nature nor is it an intrinsic component of the human condition. But it is sociologically necessary in a given historical epoch, that of modernity; today, we must live in a modular, nationalist world. The reason is to be found in the type of society characteristic of modernity: an industrial, growth-oriented kind of society.”

Another prominent modern theorist of nationalism, Benedict Anderson (1991) argued that nations and nationalism are more similar to kinship or religion than to ideology. Anderson’s (1991: 6-7) study of nationalism defined the nation as “an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”:

“It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion... it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many

millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings.”

According to both Gellner and Anderson, although nation states be likely to imagine themselves as old, they are contemporary. Anderson’s argument on nationalism was different from Gellner’s in that he emphasized on “the force and persistence of national identity and sentiment” (Eriksen 1993: 100).

Ethnicity

“Words like ‘ethnic groups’, ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic conflict’ have become common terms in the English language, and they keep cropping up in the press, in TV news, in political programmes and in casual conversations. The same can be said for ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’, and it has to be conceded that the meaning of these terms frequently seems ambiguous and vague”

(Eriksen 2002: 1).

Like ‘nationalism,’ several scholars have provided various definitions of ‘ethnicity.’ Williams (1989 cited in Eriksen 2002: 11) commented, despite the fact that ethnicity scholars do not care about defining ethnicity, the number of definitions is high. In general, according to several authors, ethnicity is defined as a form of collective identity based on common culture, ancestry, language, history and religion. While some scholars have argued that ethnicities are often related to enduring kin-based and blood ties, others have disagreed that they are ‘cultural’ not ‘biological’ ties. Many scholars of ethnicity have found out that shared cultural characteristics such as language, history, descent and religion have always been important components of ethnicity. However, recently, the political aspects of ethnicity have received significant attention from social scientists (Eriksen 2002; Gellner 1983; Hutchinson and Smith 1994; Riggins 1997).

Eriksen (2002: 1) stated, “In social and cultural anthropology, ethnicity has been a main preoccupation since the late 1960s, and it remains a central focus for research after the turn of the millennium.” He further mentioned that several anthropologists have developed different theories of ethnicity. However, as several authors (Eriksen 1993; Rex 1986) have mentioned, the major theoretical distinction is drawn between “primordial” and “situational” approaches to ethnicity. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz was the proponent of the “primordial” view. He described ethnicity as “world of personal identity collectively ratified and publicly expressed” (1973: 268). According to him, “primordial” ties are something that are attributed at birth and happens on the basis of language, custom, race, religion and cultural givens, thus ethnicity is seen as something “given.”

“These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one’s kinsman, one’s neighbor, one’s fellow believer, *ipso facto*; as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself”

(Geertz 1963 cited in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 31).

In contrast to Geertz, Frederick Barth, a Norwegian anthropologist, in his famous work, “*Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*” (1969), discarded culture from the concept of ethnicity and formulated a different theory of ethnicity – “situational.” Barth rejected earlier theorists’ classification of ethnicity as a property of cultural groups, and their opinion that culture is a fixed and monolithic entity. He suggested, instead of focusing on the cultural characteristics of ethnic groups, the focus should be on relationships of cultural separation, for example, “us” and “them.” Also, he emphasized, that the important point of ethnic study should be “the ethnic boundary that defines the group,

not the cultural stuff that it encloses” (Barth 1969: 15). Barth (1969: 14) opined on the relationship between ethnic units:

“... we can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of ‘objective’ differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant... some cultural features are used by the actors as symbols and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied.”

Therefore, in Barth’s view, ethnic identity is created in the form of interaction, so culture is constantly changing rather than a fixed entity. According to Eriksen (1993: 37), “Barth’s essay was remarkable for its clarity and conciseness, and it has played a pivotal part in delineating the field of enquiry in the anthropological study of ethnicity.”

According to Cornell and Hartmann (1998: 37) although nationalism has more political dimensions, ethnicity is very much linked to the idea of nationalism. As several authors have argued, when an ‘ethnic group’ becomes a ‘nationalist group,’ “ethnonationalism” emerges. Eriksen (1993: 76) stated, “Ethnic identity becomes crucially important the moment it is perceived as threatened.” Ethnonationalism proves threatening for the nation state’s existence as it leads to ethnic conflict, for example, the religious conflicts in India. Thus, as argued by Eriksen (1993: 99):

“Nationalism are ethnic ideologies which hold that their group should dominate by a state. A nation-state is a state dominated by an ethnic group, whose markers of identity (such as language or religion) are frequently embedded in its official symbolism and legislation.”

Smith (1991: 20) mentioned that historical memories and myths are essential elements of ethnicity, which unites a group. Eriksen (1993: 72) argued about the importance of interpretations of the past in ethnic identity,

“Interpretations of the past are important to every ethnic identity, and the relationship between such interpretations and ‘objective history’ is

necessarily contestable.

Also, Levi-Strauss (1962 cited in Eriksen 1993: 72), long ago commented on the interpretations of the past in ethnic identity,

“Historical accounts include only a minute fraction of all the events that have taken place in a certain timespan, and they necessarily involve interpretation and selection.”

A Brief History of India

Prehistoric India

Several noted archaeologists and historians, both several decades back (Marshall 1931; Oppenheim 1954; Wheeler 1959) and also recently (Chakrabarti 1995; Chatterjee 2005; Kenoyer 1991; Rao 1991; Shaffer 1993), have mentioned that the Indus Valley Civilization (2800 BC - 1800 BC) thrived along the Indus river and included the major cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro, which is now parts of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Western India. It is argued that the Indus Valley Civilization is one of the world's earliest, contemporary to the Bronze Age Empires of Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt. Unfortunately, unlike the civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt who left written material which has been satisfactorily interpreted, the Indus Valley Civilization did not. For several years now, great efforts have been made to read the Indus seals, and some discoveries have been made, suggesting that “a sophisticated and technologically advanced urban culture is evident in the Indus Valley civilization” (Wikipedia 2005). In 2001, physical anthropologist Professor Andrea Cucina from the University of Missouri - Columbia discovered that the people of the Indus Valley Civilization had knowledge of medicine and dentistry (Wikipedia 2005).

Ancient India

The history of ancient India is a very controversial subject, and several scholars (both Indian as well as Western) have mentioned conflicting opinions about it.

However, the book “A History of India” written by Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund (2004) is regarded by Indian as well as Western historians as one of the most comprehensive and modern works on ancient Indian history. Due to that reason, most of the information in this chapter has been referenced from that book.

According to Basham (1967), although ancient Indian kings maintained records of important events of that time; however, unfortunately these archives are completely lost. Moreover, as Basham (1967) lamented, while the literature is rich and varied, it did not follow any definite chronological order. As a result, Chaurasia (2002) opined in his book “History of Ancient India,” as no definite date can be attributed to the various past events, these conflicting dates creates problems when constructing the history of ancient India. In the words of Basham (1967: 44), “our knowledge of the political history of ancient India is often tantalizingly vague and uncertain.” Thus, scholars attempt to construct an ancient history of India from two sources - internal and external. Internal sources refer to the following:

- ancient religious literature of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains,
- secular literature of historical books and dramas, and
- archaeological resources like
 - ✓ *Inscriptions*. They are found engraved on rocks, pillars, temples, monuments, buildings and caves. The purpose of the majority of the inscriptions was to honor a great incident or event.

✓ *Coins*. Other works of art are also important.

External sources refers to foreign sources of writings, for example,

- *Greek writings*. The accounts of Magasthenese the ambassador of Selukus at the court of Chandra Gupta is of great historical value.
- *Chinese accounts*. Chinese pilgrims who visited India in search of knowledge, like Fahein (399 - 414 AD), Hieun Tsang (629 - 645 AD), Itsing (673 - 695 AD) have left valuable information of that period.
- *Muslim writings*. Alberuni, the eminent Muslim scholar, wrote rich descriptions of India in his famous book “Tarikh-i-Hind” which was written around 1030 AD.

The Vedic Period

According to Kulke and Rothermund (2004), after the fall of the Indus Valley Civilization, the second millennium BC witnessed a major historical event in the early history of South Asia. During this time,

“... a semi-nomadic people which called itself *Arya* in its sacred hymns came down to the northwestern plains through the mountain passes of Afghanistan. In 1786, Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, made a startling discovery. He discovered the close relationship between Sanskrit, the language of these Indo-Aryans, and Greek, Latin, German and Celtic languages” (Kulke and Rothermund 2004: 31).

Later, several scholars have discovered the relationship of many other European languages. However, scholars provide conflicting opinions about the original home of the Aryans. For example, the nationalist German historians claim Germany as the original home of the Aryans, whereas Indian nationalists claim to be theirs, making it a burning issue in the contemporary Indian historiography and political scenario

(Kulke and Rothermund 2004). Kulke and Rothermund (2004: 34) commented that “the first clearly documented Historical evidence of these Vedic Aryans comes neither from Central Asia nor from India but from upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia.”

Kulke and Rothermund (2004: 32) went further to clarify on this issue:

“In recent years the ‘Aryan question’ has given rise to a heated debate among Indian historians as some of them have claimed that the Aryans and the Indo-European family of languages have originated in India and that the Indus civilization was an Aryan one.”

The Vedas are not only the most important source of information about the Vedic Aryans, but also are their greatest cultural achievement. Kulke and Rothermund (2004: 36) described the importance of the Vedas.

“The texts of the Vedas were believed to have originated by divine inspiration and, therefore, they were transmitted orally from one generation of Brahmin priests to another in a most faithful and accurate manner. These well preserved ancient texts are thus a fairly reliable source of the history of the Vedic period. This is particularly true of the Mantra texts which are regarded in the West as the Vedas” ... [and] ... “The Rigveda is thought to be the most ancient and most sacred text. It is also the best source of information on the daily life of the Vedic Aryans, their struggles and aspirations, their religious and philosophical ideas. The Rigveda contains 1,028 hymns with, altogether, 10,600 verses which are collected in ten books...”

Kulke and Rothermund (2004: 45-49) also commented on the *Mahabharata* and the *Upanishads*, which originated in the Vedic period.

“India’s great epic, the *Mahabharata*, which contains 106,000 verses and is perhaps the most voluminous single literary product of mankind, originated in this period of tribal warfare and early settlement. It depicts the struggle of the fighting cousins, the Pandavas and the Kauravas, for the control of the western Ganga-Yamuna Doab in the late Vedic age” ... [and] “These philosophical thoughts were collected in the Upanishads (secret teachings) which were added at the end to the texts of the great Vedic schools of thought. The *Upanishads*, which originated roughly around 750 to 500 BC..., document the gradual transition from the mythical world-view of the Early Vedic age and the magic thought recorded in the Brahmana texts to the mystical philosophy of individual salvation.”

The Classical Age of the Guptas

Few centuries after the rule of the Mauryas (they ruled India from 326 BC to 184 BC, and Chandragupta was the most famous Mauryan emperor), the imperial Guptas made an enduring impact on Indian history. The first ruler was Samudragupta but there is not much information about him. Thus, the first noted ruler of the Gupta dynasty was Chandragupta I (AD 320 - 335), “who introduced a new era starting with his coronation in AD 320 and he also assumed the title ‘Overlord of great kings’ (*maharaja-adhiraja*)” (Kulke and Rothermund 2004: 87). He was succeeded by his son Samudragupta (AD 335 - 375), who is considered as one of the greatest emperors of Indian history. Samudragupta left an old inscription which accounts a long list of kings subdued by him. He was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II (AD 375 - 415), who took the Gupta Empire to “its greatest glory both in terms of territorial expansion and cultural excellence” (Kulke and Rothermund 2004: 91). The Guptas were admirers of art, literature and music. Kulke and Rothermund (2004: 93) commented on the Guptas’ admiration of literature and music.

“The fame of the Guptas rests to a great extent on the flowering of classical Sanskrit literature under their patronage. It was reported in later ages that Chandragupta II had a circle of poets at his court who were known as the ‘Nine Jewels’.”

Among the three great Chinese pilgrims who visited India during 5th-7th centuries in search of knowledge, Fa-Hsien visited during the Gupta Age. Fa-Hsien provided rich information about the Gupta Age.

The Regional Kingdoms of Early Medieval India

Until approximately 500 AD, ‘north Indian history’ is considered as the ‘Indian

history' as the fascinating empires of ancient India from the Mauryas to the Guptas, were all based in North India (Kulke and Rothermund 2004: 109). Recently several scholars have discovered that there was no political unity in the regional kingdoms of central and south India, which helped in the development of various regional cultures. According to Kulke and Rothermund (2004: 109), "This absence of political unity contributed in many ways to the development of regional cultures which were interrelated and clearly demonstrated the great theme of Indian history: unity in diversity." They mentioned further that during this time,

"They consisted of networks of towns and temples, warriors, priests and Villages. There was a great deal of local autonomy, but the ritual sovereignty of the king enabled him to act as an umpire who could interfere in local conflicts and settle issues"

(Kulke and Rothermund (2004: 369).

Advent of the Mughals in Late Medieval India

According to several authors' accounts (Indian as well as Western), in 1000 AD, Mahmud of Ghazni waged a war of destruction and plunder against India, and by 1025 he had launched a total of seventeen campaigns and captured several places. In the year 1206, Chingis Khan, a Mongol chieftain united the various Mongol tribes and embarked on a campaign of conquest. During this same time, Qutb-Uddin-Aibak - a Turkish slave of the Sultan of Afghanistan, on behalf of his overlord, ruler of a large part of northwestern India - declared his independence and founded the sultanate of Delhi. A new age began with the conquest of Babar who conquered India for the Mughals.

Babar (1526-1530). Babar founded the Mughal dynasty in India. He was a Turko-Mongol conqueror and a descent from Chingis Khan. Babar combined

both strength and courage, and had a love of beauty. Babar concentrated on gaining control of northwestern India and succeeded in doing that in 1526 by defeating Ibrahim Lodi, the last Lodhi sultan (Lodhis were of Afghan origin who ruled Delhi from 1451 to 1526 CE) at the First battle of Panipat, a town north of Delhi. Babar then stayed on in India to conquer other competitors for power, mainly the Rajputs. He succeeded in achieving his goals but died shortly after that in 1530.

Humayun (1530-1556). Babar was succeeded by his son Humayun, who gave the empire its first unique features. However, Humayun was defeated by the Afghan Sher Shah and after that Humayun traveled abroad as a landless deserter, and finally went to Persia where he lived in exile for several years. After Sher Shah's death, Humayun's son, Akbar, with Persian support, re-conquered India.

Akbar (1556-1605). Akbar is considered the greatest of all Mughal rulers. He ruled from 1556 to 1605. Akbar is remembered as a tolerant ruler as he rose "himself from the position of a leader of a minority Indo-foreign group (the Muslims) to the accepted ruler of all Hindustan" (Spear 2003: 31). Akbar introduced a new faith, *Din-i-Ilahi*, by which he attempted to bring together all religions – Islam, Hinduism, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism and others. Although other Mughal rulers appointed Hindus in their administration, it was Akbar who became popular among the Hindus by naming them to important military and civil positions. Spear (2003: 34) commented that "Akbar's method was to make a deal with the Hindus and to do this through their militant representatives, the Rajputs." This was best described in BBC (2006) website:

"Akbar worked hard to win over the hearts and minds of the Hindu leaders. While this may well have been for political reasons - he married a Hindu

princess (and is said to have married several thousand wives for political and diplomatic purposes) - it was also a part of his philosophy. Akbar believed that all religions should be tolerated, and that a ruler's duty was to treat all believers equally, whatever their belief."

Jahangir (1605-1627). Akbar was succeeded by his son Salim, who took the title of Jahangir. Jahangir ruled from 1605-1627 and was an able successor of his illustrious father Akbar. Spear (2003: 54) mentioned, "Jahangir, though drunken and cruel, proved to have the ability to hold his own and extend the empire, and to possess a personality in his own right." During his rule, the courtly culture of the Mughals flourished and the Mughal painting reached its pinnacle.

Shah Jahan (1627-1658). Jahangir died in 1627, and was succeeded by his son Shah Jahan. Under his rule, the vast and rich empire that he inherited was considered as one of the greatest in the world. Shah Jahan was a connoisseur of art and architecture, and left behind an extraordinarily rich architectural legacy, which includes the Taj Mahal, the Delhi Fort, and the Jama Masjid. However, his last years of life were not peaceful. As he became ill in his later days, during that time, in 1658, a war of succession broke out between his four sons. The two principal claimants to the throne were Dara Shikoh, who was committed to the diverse policies of previous rulers, and Aurangzeb, who was inclined to turn the Mughal Empire into an Islamic state. It is Aurangzeb who triumphed. Spear (2003: 55) described Shah Jahan's later years:

"In his later years he became sensual and self-indulgent to an extent remarked upon even in that far from critical age. The sorrows of his later days were to a large extent a direct reflection of the acts of his early ones... [and]... As a ruler he governed India firmly for thirty years and left behind him a legend of magnificence, rough justice, and prosperity."

Aurangzeb (1658-1707). Aurangzeb remains a highly controversial figure in the

history of India. He is admired by many Muslims for enforcing the law of the *Sharia* (Arabic word for Islamic spiritual law, also known as the Law of Allah) and for rejecting the policies pursued by Akbar. Conversely, among Hindus, he is remembered as a Muslim fanatic and extremist. Several scholars have “contrasted his bigotry with Akbar’s tolerance, his failure against the Marathas with Akbar’s success with the Rajputs” (Spear 2003: 55). During his long rule (1658-1707), the Mughal Empire saw yet further expansion, however, by the later part of the seventeenth century the empire began to fall apart. Aurangzeb died in 1707. The Mughal Empire survived until 1857 but its rulers were, after 1803, pensioners of the East India Company (Wikipedia 2005).

The Advent of the Europeans

The Europeans’ journey to India began in 1498 when Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese explorer, arrived in Calicut (now Kozhikode, in the south Indian state of Kerala). The journey to India which initially began in the search for spices, eventually turned into a different one. In 1510, the Portuguese conquered Goa, which became the center of their both commercial and political power in India. The Portuguese had control over Goa for almost four and a half centuries from 1510 to 1961.

During this time, there was economic competition among several European countries, which led to the founding of commercial companies. Among these companies the two notable were the East India Company founded in England in 1600 and the United East India Company founded in the Netherlands in 1602, who wanted to capture the spice trade in Asia from the Portuguese control (US Federal Research Division 2005). Apart from the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and French, there were two other colonial groups that already had their presence in India - the Danish and Austrian.

However, ultimately, all non-British companies/ventures were taken over by the British (Wikipedia 2005).

British India

Initially, British merchants established themselves in new trading posts on the Indian coasts. At this time, they were not directly involved in the politics of the Indian subcontinent. From the 1750s, however, trading interests began to give way for territorial expansion. The British first established a footing in the Indian subcontinent when British soldiers led by Robert Clive defeated Nawab Siraj Ud Daulah at the Battle of Plassey in Bengal in 1757. After that, the East India Company transformed itself from a purely commercial company into a military power. Subsequently, it brought most parts of India under its control. However, in 1857, there was a huge revolt against foreign rule in India. As a result, the East India Company was abolished, and in 1858, the British government decided to place India under the direct control of the Crown, Queen Victoria, who was declared Empress of India (Wikipedia 2005).

End of the British Raj

During the start of World War II (1939-1945) an agreement was reached between the British government and the Indian leaders regarding India's independence. It was agreed by both the parties, that India would get her independence once victory was gained over the Axis Powers (Germany, Italy and Japan) in the World War II, in which India should fully co-operate in the war by sending the Indian army. As a result, "millions of Indians joined the military, which was the largest all-volunteer army in the history of the world" (Wikipedia 2005). On

14 August 1947, Pakistan, which then also included Bangladesh, was granted independence by Britain. India was granted independence by Britain the next day, on 15 August 1947.

Religions in India

India is one of the most religiously diverse nations in the world. In India, religion plays a central role in the life of the people. There are 6 major religions in India – Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism. There are also other religions in India like Zoroastrianism and Judaism but their numbers are smaller.

Hinduism

Hinduism is the largest religion in India and Hindus number around 800 million people, i.e., 81% of the total population (2001 census). It is believed that Hinduism is the oldest of the world's major religions (Wikipedia 2005). Kurtz (1995: 29) mentioned that "the wide ranging collection of beliefs and practices known as Hinduism, dates back about 3,500 years." However, scholars have different opinions about the origins of Hinduism. The *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* are both classics of Hindu literature. *Mahabharata* also includes the famous *Bhagavad Gita* (the 'Song of the Lord'). It is believed, the popular form of Indian medicine, *Ayurveda* was developed in ancient India by Vedic seers. Also, *Yoga*, an internationally-renowned system of meditation, originated as a spiritual practice in ancient India. As many scholars have argued, Hinduism is one of the most misunderstood religions in the world. Arguably, one of the main reasons is due to the plethora of Gods in Hinduism. Kurtz (1995: 30) described the Hindu Gods:

“The gods of Hinduism are highly specialized in character and function. They number, according to some estimates, about 33,000,000, and at least one god addresses each social and psychological need, whether it be safety (Vishnu), wealth (Lakshmi), or liberation from the pursuit of safety and wealth.”

Kurtz (1995: 28) criticized the stratification system of Hinduism:

“As in many other societies, however, the stratification system is also sacralized, that is, made a part of the religious belief system; the exploitation of the masses by a small number of extremely wealthy and powerful families is legitimated by the traditional Hindu worldview.”

Kurtz (1995: 29) also commented on the strengths of Hinduism:

“The strength of Hinduism has been its rich combination of highly rational with non-rational symbolism on one hand and its adaptability and theological tolerance on the other.”

The Caste System in Hinduism is severely criticized. The traditional Hindu system identifies four castes: *Brahman* - priests, teachers, and political advisors; *Kshatriya* - rulers and warriors; *Vaishya*: merchants, agriculturalists, traders; *Shudra* - servants of the other three including manual laborers, but also gardeners, musicians, and artisans. Also, outside the four castes are the *Chamars* (leather workers), *Chuhras* and *Lal Begis* (sweeper communities), scavengers and the “*Untouchables*.”

Below mentioned are some of the pilgrimage sites of the Hindus in India described by the Indian government representation.

“Ayodhya - The city of temples is believed to be the birthplace of Lord Rama, the seventh incarnation of Lord Vishnu. It is known for its many famous temples and is one of the locations for the Kumbha Mela, a Hindu sacred occasion and the largest religious gathering on Earth.

Varanasi - Varanasi, or Benaras, is one of the oldest living cities in the world. Varanasi's prominence in Hindu mythology is virtually unrivalled. Varanasi, is also known as Kashi (Derived from the root 'Kas' - to shine) or the city of spiritual light. Varanasi is also renowned for its heritage of music, arts, crafts education and silk weaving.

Chardham Yatra - The pilgrimage of the four most revered Hindu destinations of Yamunotri, Gangotri, Kedarnath and Badrinath is known as

the Char Dham Yatra. A journey to these four destinations is considered to be of great spiritual significance, according to traditional Hindu belief. The holy River Ganga, rises from the glacier at Gangotri, the River Yamuna from Yamunotri and the Mandakini and Alaknanda flow past Kedarnath and Badrinath respectively. All these four holy locations are situated in the North Indian state of Uttaranchal, which is known throughout the world for its breathtaking beauty and religious ambience. According to Hindu legends, Uttaranchal is known as Devbhoomi or land of the Gods. Pilgrims from across the world tour to Uttaranchal to undertake the Char Dham yatra.

Vaishno Devi - Every year thousands of pilgrims make the trek to the holy cave site of Vaishno Devi atop a hill near Jammu. The yatra begins at Katra at the foot of the mountain, and is a 13 km uphill climb. While most pilgrims walk up the mountain, you can also ascend by pony, be carried by porters or fly in a helicopter. The fervor with which pilgrims make the journey is because it is believed any boon that you wish for at the holy cave temple, will be granted by Mata Vaishno Devi. The legend of Vaishno Devi, tells the tale of a devotee of Lord Vishnu who defeated a demon Bhairon Nath, by taking on the form of Kali, when he tried to violate her vow of celibacy. The religious fervour of the devotees and the spectacular scenery of the Pir Panjal Mountains and of the Himalayas on a clear day, combine to make the Vaishnodevi Yatra a truly memorable spiritual journey. Tirupati - Lord Venkateswara, the presiding deity of Tirupati, is famous worldwide as the giver of boons, and people come from all over the world to pay homage at this shrine. Situated among seven hills of the Eastern Ghats, Tirupati is sought after destination for pilgrims in search of God. It is located 572 kms from Hyderabad, 240 kms from Bangalore and 150 kms from Chennai. Lord Venkateshwara is also the riches to Indian deities and the golden gopuram of his magnificent temple has to be seen to be believed”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Islam

Islam is the second-largest religion in India, with Muslims numbering around 130 million people, i.e., 13% of the total population (Census 2001). The current (since 2002) President of India, Dr. A. P. J. Abdul Kalam is a Muslim. India has the second-largest population of Muslims in the world, after Indonesia. Islam has made important contributions to Indian history, heritage and cultural life.

As argued by several authors, Islam is also one of the most misunderstood

religions in the world. As mentioned by several authors (Anand 2005; Chatterjee 1993; Hasan 1996; Van der Veer 1996), the image of Muslims in India is that of fanatic, violent, cruel and aggressive. Not only in India but also the image of Islam and Muslims in the Western World, as mentioned by a number of scholars (Huntington 1997; Ludden 1996a, 1996b; Said 1979) is of aggression, oppression, violence, intolerance, and backwardness. According to various scholars, one of the main reasons of this negative image of Muslims is due to the fact that Western media sensationalizes the alleged danger posed by Muslim fundamentalists. Ludden (1996b: 9) while discussing on the negative images of Muslims in the US media, mentioned the country specific images of Muslims, for example, “images of fanatical Muslims (Algeria, Lebanon, and Iran), Muslim terrorists (Libya, Palestine) and Muslim tyrants (Libya, Iraq, Iran) are common in the West.” As noted Muslim scholar Hasan (1996: 186-200) lamented:

“The reading of what Muslims are and the vain hope of how they ought to have been is echoed with unflinching regularity. Equally familiar are images of the Muslims and the reconstruction of their history. What is less clear is how certain images and reconstructions, having gained currency during the second half of the nineteenth century, continue to enjoy widespread appeal and acceptance... [and]... What distinguished them from others was their crusading zeal, their inclination to wage jihad against nonbelievers, and their abiding commitment to the spreading of their faith.”

Kurtz (1995: 45-46) described the Islamic faith:

“At the center of Islamic belief is a strict monotheism (the concept of *tawhid*, the unity of Allah) and the belief that God spoke to humans in the *Quran*, the Islamic scriptures... [and]... “Strict doctrinal and social boundaries are drawn around Islam and the community of believers, although conquerors have often shown considerable tolerance for others to practice their own religions. The uncompromising monotheism of Islam led to a strong condemnation of “idolatry” and the association of other deities with Allah, sometimes leading to conflict with other religious communities, as in India, where a plethora of gods is sometimes seen as competing with Allah.”

Below mentioned are some of the pilgrimage sites of the Muslims in India described by the Indian government representation.

“The Jama Masjid Mosque - The splendid mosque built by Muhammad Ali Shah in the typical Mughal style with two minarets and three domes, lies to the west of the Hussainabad Imambara and is entirely free from pseudo Italian art then in vogue in Lucknow. Mohammad Ali Shah started the construction of this splendid mosque in 1840 but his wife Begum Malika Jahan finally completed it after his death.

It is the country's largest mosque, built in 1656, where thousands of Muslims offer prayers. It lies opposite the Red Fort and is surrounded by a large number of shops, which deal in a variety of goods. The great mosque of Old Delhi is both the largest in India and the final architectural extravagance of Shah Jahan with a courtyard capable of holding 25,000 devotees.

The 54-meter high Buland Darwaza or triumphal gateway was built in 1575 to celebrate Akbar's successful Gujarat campaign, is the most stupendous architectural work of the Mughals. The gateway is approached by a steep flight of steps, which add height and majesty to the entire structure. The gateway is designed in colored stone and marble. Tomb of Muin-ud-Din Chishti

The final resting place for 'Gharib-Nawaz', Moinuddin Chishti is located in Ajmer. People of all Pilgrimages & Spiritualities visit the Dargah of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti. The Khwaja left for heavenly abode in 1256 AD after a six-day prayer in seclusion. These six days are celebrated every year as the annual Urs, which is attended by innumerable pilgrims irrespective of their faith. The shrine is considered to be a place of wish fulfilment for those who pray with devout and pure hearts. It is said that Emperor Akbar sought blessings for his son at the Dargah.

Attractions of Fatehpur Sikri

Diwan-i-Khas - (Hall of Private Audience)

The Diwan-I-Kas is also known as the "The Jewel House or The EkstambhaPrasada"(Palace of Unitary pillar). A fine taste in jewelry and knowledge of the market was an accomplishment of a Moghul gentleman. In this royal chamber for imperial gems and jewels, Akbar sat on the top of the capital to inspect precious treasures. This elegant structure with unusual interiors is composed in two stories from outside, but is single chambered with high ceiling from inside. It is surmounted by 4 kiosk and lies in the middle of a court.

Buland Darwaza - The 54-meter high Buland Darwaza or triumphal gateway was built in 1575 to celebrate Akbar's successful Gujarat campaign, is the most stupendous architectural work of the Mughals. The gateway is approached by a steep flight of steps, which add height and majesty to the entire structure. The gateway is designed in colored stone and marble.

Panch Mahal - The most intriguing building in Fatehpur Sikri is the Panch Mahal (five-tiered palace), which is a five-storied pavilion of winds. The first two floors are of equal size, while the next two are graded. On top is a single kiosk or open pavilion. Each of the floors is supported on pillars. Originally, jali screens stood between the pillars. The women of the royal household and ladies of the harem originally used the pavilion. From the top of the Panch Mahal, one can have a panoramic view of this imperial city with its buildings, palaces, and the courtyards linking them”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005)

Christianity

It is believed, there have been Christians in India from a very long time. However, as Robinson (2003) argued, Christianity had major growth in India with the advent of the Europeans and British colonization, which brought in both Catholic and Protestant missionaries. The 2001 census recorded there were over 24 million Indian Christians, comprising 2.3% of the country’s total population. According to Robinson (2003: 28), “Catholics form the largest Christian group in India, nearly half of the total population. Another 40% are Protestants, while 7% are Orthodox Christians and 6% belong to indigenous sects.” In India, the Christian populations are mainly located in South India and among tribal people in Northeast India.

Robinson (2003) mentioned that in India, Christianity is often associated with the arrival of the Europeans and British Colonial rule. However, as he argued, Christianity appeared in India several hundred years before the arrival of the British. According to popular belief, the earliest and, perhaps, best known Christian community of India, is that of the Syrian Christians of Kerala. Saint Thomas is believed to have arrived on the Malabar Coast in 52 A. D. Although literary evidence for Saint Thomas coming to India is absent, the work “Acts of Thomas” (Malayalam, the language in Kerala, version) written around the third century in Syriac, describes

his travels to India (Robinson 2003).

Robinson (2003: 42) stated that the Portuguese missionaries, who reached the Malabar Coast in the late 15th century, made contact with the St. Thomas Christians in Kerala, and sought to introduce Catholicism to them. Robinson (2003) opined that to control Asian trade routes and establish themselves in Goa, the Portuguese required the support of the local people. According to Robinson (2003), the British made mass conversions took place from the middle of the nineteenth century among the low caste groups like the ‘Untouchables,’ ‘Chamars’ (leather workers), ‘Chuhras,’ ‘Lal Begis’ (sweeper communities) and ‘tribals.’ Also, Robinson (2003) pointed out that the British provided incentives to these groups for their conversion, for example, either by protecting them from money lenders or/and also providing educational and employment opportunities.

Below mentioned are some of the pilgrimage sites of the Christians in India described by the Indian government representation.

Panaji: The capital of Goa is a heritage location with many renowned Churches and buildings constructed in Gothic style, situated on the left bank of the Mandovi river. The church dedicated to our Lady of Immaculate Conception, the Chapel of St. Sebastian and the statue of Abbe Faria are must-see stops on the itinerary of any religious tourist.

“Churches worth seeing in Himachal Pradesh are Christ Church and St Michael's Cathedral, The Catholic Church of St. Francis, St. John's Church-In-Wilderness, and the Christ Church”

“Churches worth seeing in Tamil Nadu are Christ The King Church, Kandal Cross Shrine, Luz Church, Manappad Church, Santhome Cathedral Basilica, St. Andrew's Church, St. Mary's Church In The Fort, St. Thomas Mount and Velankanni Church”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Sikhism

According to the 2001 Census, there were 20 million Sikhs in India, i.e., 2% of the total population. Sikhism is a religion based on the teachings of ten Gurus who lived in India, during two centuries - 16th and 17th. They believe in one God. The teachings of the Ten Sikh Gurus are preserved in the *Guru Granth Sahib*. “Sikhism departs sharply from certain social traditions and structures of Hinduism and Islam such as the caste system and purdah, respectively” (Wikipedia 2005).

Sikhism was founded in India’s northwestern state Punjab about 400 years ago, and Punjab is the only state in India where Sikhs form a majority (Wikipedia 2005). Also, Punjab is the richest state in India. The most famous Sikh temple is the Golden Temple, located in Amritsar, Punjab. The current (since 2004) prime minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh, is a Sikh. A large number of Sikhs live in the US, Canada and UK.

Below mentioned is the description of the Sikh beliefs by the Indian government representation.

“Goal: The goal of Sikhs is to build a close, loving relationship with God.

Deity: Sikhs believe in a single, Formless God, with many names, who can be known through meditation.

Reincarnation: They believe in the repetitive cycle of birth, life and death, the accumulated sum of one's good and bad deeds and the belief of a rebirth following death. These beliefs are similar to Hinduism.

Caste system: Sikhs have rejected the caste system of the Hindu religion. They believe that everyone has equal status in the eyes of God. This is a very important principle that permeates all Sikh beliefs, behaviors, and rituals.

Code of Conduct : During the 18th century, there were a number of attempts to prepare an accurate portrayal of Sikh customs. None received the support of most Sikhs. Sikh scholars and theologians started in 1931 to prepare the

Reht Maryada -- the Sikh code of conduct and conventions. It is "the only version authorized by the Akal Takht, the seat of supreme temporal authority for Sikhs. It's implementation has successfully achieved a high level of uniformity in the religious and social practices of Sikhism" There are a number of traditions within Sikhism. Thousands of Sikhs, both in India and worldwide, follow living gurus who have lineages traceable back to Guru Gobind Singh"

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Buddhism

According to the 2001 Census, Buddhists in India numbered around 7 million, i.e., 0.7% of the total population. Buddhism was known as *Buddha Dharma* in ancient India. Buddhism gained devotees during Buddha's lifetime. Kurtz (1995: 34) described the early life of Buddha and how he obtained Enlightenment:

“Gautama Buddha, also known as Sakyamuni and Prince Siddhartha, was born about 563 B.C.E. as the son of King Suddhodana. More interested in fathering a ruler than a monk, the king tried to keep his son bound to this world by surrounding him with luxury and shielding him from ugliness, sickness, decrepitude, and death. According to Buddhist tradition, however, Siddhartha slipped out of the palace and saw a decrepit, broken-toothed, gray-haired bent old-man, thereby learning about old age. On a second ride, he saw a body racked with illness and learned about disease. On a third ride, he encountered a corpse and learned about death. Finally, he saw a monk with a shaven head, robe, and bowl, and learned about the option of withdrawing from the world of wealth and power into which he was born. The young Siddhartha escaped the palace at night and joined the wandering holy men of the forest, studying with various teachers and following a life of strict asceticism. He found that path no more satisfying than the life of indulgence in the palace, however, so he experimented with more moderate means of seeking fulfillment. In the midst of intense meditation under the famous Bodhi tree, he obtained Enlightenment, or *bodhi*:

I thus knew and thus perceived my mind was emancipated from the asava [canker] of sensual desire, from the asava of desire for existence, and from the asava of ignorance... Ignorance was dispelled, knowledge arose. Darkness was dispelled, light arose”
(Buddha 1954: 249 cited in Kurtz 1995: 35).

Up to the 9th century, Indian followers of Buddhism numbered in the hundreds of millions. Scholars have provided different reasons to the cause of the decline of Buddhism in India. Although disputed, one of the main reasons is the “mingling of Hindu and Buddhist societies in India and the rise of Hindu Vedanta movements began to compete against Buddhism” (Wikipedia 2005). Also, another popular belief is that the Muslim rulers have caused massive destruction on Buddhist monasteries. Moreover, a large number of Buddhists migrated to Sri Lanka, Tibet, and other Asian countries. There are several magnificent Buddhist pilgrimage centers in India that have special significance for the followers of Buddhism.

Below mentioned are some of the Buddhist pilgrimage sites described by the Indian government representation.

“Sites where Buddha lived, preached his first sermon and left his spiritual wisdom for his devotees, are living shrines of Buddhism today. Some of these sites include:

Lumbini - Located in Nepal, India's northern neighbour, this place is revered by Buddhists worldwide as the place where Siddhartha Gautama later known as the Buddha was born.

Vaishali - A very special place for Buddhists as The Lord delivered his last sermon and announced his impending “Nirvana”. Sights to see here include the Ashok Pillar and the Lotus Tank.

Bodhgaya - The site where Lord Buddha attained enlightenment. Located in Bihar this site is near other holy Buddhist destinations such as Rajgir (site of the first Buddhist council), Nalanda (the site of a world famous university of Buddhist times), the holy Sapta pari cave and Venevamas.

Sarnath - The site where Lord Buddha preached his first sermon after attaining enlightenment, this is the location of the world-famous stupa. Ajanta - The Buddhist cave monuments at Ajanta date from the 1st century B.C. to the 6th century A.D. These richly decorated caves, with sculptures and frescoes on their inner walls are considered masterpieces of Buddhist religious art, and are a UNESCO World heritage site.

Dharamsala - The Dhauladhar ranges of the Himalayas form the backdrop of the hill resort of Dharamsala where His Holiness the Dalai Lama has his headquarters. Covering a wide area in the form of twin settlement, Lower Dharamsala (1380m) is a busy commercial center, while Upper

Dharamsala and its suburbs of McLeodganj and Forsytheganj, retains a British flavour and colonial charm”

(Indian Tourism Ministry 2005).

Jainism

According to the 2001 Census, there were around 4.2 million Jains in India, i.e., 0.4% of the country’s population. Despite the fact that the Jains are a small minority in India, a great majority of the Jains are affluent, and as a result, they are significantly influential in the economic spheres in the country (Wikipedia 2005).

“Jainism places great stress on compassion to all living beings... [and]... Self-control forms a central part of being a Jain” (Wikipedia 2005). According to the 2001 Census, Jains, among all religions in India, has the highest literacy rate of 94.1%.

Visiting pilgrimage centers is important to the Jains, which is popularly known as “Jain Tirth Yatra.” Below mentioned is a description of the Jain pilgrimage culture and some of the popular Jain pilgrimage centers in India by the Indian government representation.

“India is a land of spirituality where great persons were born to sing immortal songs. The places stamped by their holy feet became famous as sacred places. Idols of Tirthankara- Parmatmas, promoters of Jainisim, were installed there. India has a large number of such sacred places. They are powerful means of crossing the samsara. They provide an opportunity to cure the disease of transmigration.

Sacred places are silent but they tell immortal stories of holy selfs of Tirthankaras and other saintly beings. Picture writings and various kinds of idols convey the message of Tirthankaras. The name of sacred places tells glorious stories of its past history, its architecture, its culture, its prosperity and the mind of the masses. Visits of monks and nuns preserve the sacredness of sacred places. Sacred places are innocent places, which are free from worldly affairs. They who visit sacred places try to live an innocent life. Sacred places remind us of the holy life of Tirthankaras. Worthy people sing God's virtues and become one with God. Devotional sentiments permeate thought sacred places. Pilgrims who visit sacred places cannot but sing the virtues of God. Only sacred places promote welfare and bring happiness. Sins

are washed off, there. People who are agonised by worldly agonies get peace there. The modern man has developed hill stations but nowhere can man get the peace that sacred places offer. Hill stations cannot liberate you from sins. Sacred places make the present life and the subsequent lives happy”

“Deogarh - The Fort of the Gods, is situated on the right bank of the Betwa river at the western end of the Lalipur range of hills. The natural setting of the fort is dramatic. The fort can be entered through a gateway in the outer wall. A path has been cleared through the undergrowth, and broken statues and artifacts lie scattered about. Within the fort is a remarkable group of 31 Jain Temples.

Ellora - Dug side by side in the wall of a high basalt cliff, not far from Aurangabad, in Maharashtra, are 34 monasteries and temples, extending more than 2 kms. Ellora, with its uninterrupted sequence of monuments dating from A.D. 600 to 1000, brings the civilization of ancient India to life. Not only is the Ellora complex a unique artistic creation and a technological exploit but, with its sanctuaries devoted to Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism, it illustrates the spirit of tolerance that was characteristic of ancient India. The Ellora caves are a UNESCO World heritage site.

Mount Abu - This hilly pilgrimage site in Rajasthan is known for the famous Dilwara Temples, which have exquisite carvings in white marble.

Udaygiri Caves - Situated near the city of Bhaubaneswar, these caves are important Jain shrines as well as historically a very valuable site. The inscription on the Hathi Gumpfa or Elephant Cave provides details about King Kharavela who ruled from 16 to 153 B.C”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Religion and Pilgrimage

Several scholars have commented on the relationships between pilgrimage and tourism (Cohen 1992a; 1992b; Henderson 2003a; Jutla 2002; Din 1989; Poria, Butler and Airey 2003; Rinschede 1992; Singh 2004; Srisang 1985; Timothy and Olsen 2006; Vukonic 1996; Wall and Mathieson 2006). According to these scholars, religion plays a powerful role in people’s motivation to visit holy places. These “visits to holy places for the sake of ‘purification, redemption, fulfillment of vows, healing or something else’ are called pilgrimages” (Vukonic 1996: 117). Also, sometimes people

may visit to pilgrimages to perform some religious rituals. As the scholars mentioned, the phenomenon of pilgrimage is associated with religions and existed since ages. For example, people in ancient times visited well known shrines on religious holidays. Also, Wall and Mathieson (2006) mentioned that since ages, people have travelled to the ancient cities of Palestine, Mecca and Medina. Ritter (1975: 57 cited in Wall and Mathieson 2006: 251) described how the Persian Shiites go for pilgrimages to their sacred death place at Kandhimain in Iraq and Sunnis to Medina, which he termed as “tourism of the dead.”

Some scholars have remarked on the sacredness of a pilgrimage. Wall and Mathieson (2006) argued that the reason behind the Western Christians’ visits to Jerusalem and Damascus during Easter and the time of the Passover is ‘spiritual devotion.’ According to O’Grady (1982: 74-75 cited in Vukonic 1996: 119) “to travel a new road always means to expose one’s life to the unexpected and the sacred.” In a similar vein, Vukonic (1996: 119) opined that “the entire Christian community is always traveling, and Catholic priests express this through the title *Ecclesia Peregrinans*.”

Tourism in India dates back to ancient times, and travel for the purpose of pilgrimage have always been an integral part of this country. “Pilgrimage in India is almost as old as Indian civilization” (Singh 2004: 44). Today, pilgrim tourism in the country has reached unprecedented levels and forms an important segment of domestic tourism. Although Hinduism continues to be the major religion in the country, India has been the birthplace of various major religions like Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism. Moreover, as Sen (2005: 308) mentioned, “there have also been Jewish settlements in

India for nearly two thousand years. Parsees started moving to India twelve hundred years ago, to escape a less tolerant Iran.” In the twentieth century, with the expansion of public transportation, there has been a vast increase in the numbers of people who go on pilgrimages. For many Indians pilgrimage is still the preferred form of tourism (Jutla 2006; Singh 2004).

Pilgrimage is very important in Hinduism, as Singh (1997, 2005 cited in Jutla 2006: 206) mentioned, “more than 20 million Hindus make an annual pilgrimage to sacred rivers and mountains associated with Hindu mythology, scriptures and events.” In the Hindu religion, pilgrimages are also considered as religious duties which everyone has to perform, for example, the belief that one should undertake pilgrimage to the 4 *dhams* (4 holy places) in one’s lifetime “remains firm in the Hindu psyche” (Singh 2004: 57). There are thousands of pilgrimage sites in India. Also, apart from temples, pilgrimage centers can be rivers, mountains, and other sacred sites. These sacred sites are believed, according to the myths, to be places where the gods may have appeared or have lived. Similarly, the Muslims in India travel to their biggest pilgrimage center Ajmer Sharif, Christians to the churches in Goa, Kerala and Chennai, Sikhs to their biggest pilgrimage center to the Golden Temple in Amritsar, Buddhists and Jains to their phenomenal temples. For example, Bhatnagar (2004 cited in Jutla 2006: 207) mentioned that “on September 1, 2004, between 3 and 4 million Sikh pilgrims from all over India and from many corners of the globe visited the Golden Temple at Amritsar. This occasion marked the four hundredth anniversary of the installation of Guru Granth Sahib, the Sikh scripture, at the Golden Temple.”

Colonialist Fantasy in Tourism Representations

Representations are at the heart of tourism. Edensor (1998: 13) argued, “Symbols, images, signs, phrases and narratives provide the ideas that fuel the commodification and consumption of tourist sites.” These representations are disseminated by travel guides, guidebooks, tourist brochures, postcards, photographs, etc. As Western countries are the main originators of international tourism, global marketers, through these representations, construct destinations of developing countries as “exotic,” “timeless,” “authentic” to excite Western tourists (Britton 1979; Bruner 1991, 1996; Cohen 1993, 2001; Silver 1993). Recently, some authors (Bandyopadhyay and Morais 2005; Echtner and Prasad 2003) have argued that Western representations of developing countries are embedded with colonial discourse as they are represented timeless and primitive. Two of the major sources of these colonial representations of developing countries are travel writing and tourist brochures. Pratt (1992) in her seminal work, *Imperial Eyes*, argued that “travel writing is inherently associated to the practices of colonization,” and the “texts are often assumed to express a shared European mentality, the sentiments of a unified, conquering elite” (Stoler 1989 cited in Thomas 1994: 13). Also, the charm and power of tourist brochures to represent developing countries as ‘primitive’ and ‘timeless’ for Western tourists are unmatched. Tourist brochures sell a particular kind of dream or fantasy to the Western tourists by representing those destinations and their people as simple, natural, mystical, unspoilt, untouched “Other.”

Postcolonialism and Tourism

The concept of “postcolonialism” as a field first gained prominence with the publication of Edward Said’s seminal book *Orientalism* in 1979. Since then, several scholars have done influential works on postcolonialism. However, still there is not much consensus relating to the methods and goals of postcolonial studies (d’Hauteserre 2004).

According to Pratt (1992), “colonialism is not best understood primarily as a political or economic relationship that is legitimized or justified through ideologies of racism or progress.” Rather, as Thomas (1994: 2) argued that colonialism has always been a cultural process:

“... colonialism has always, equally importantly and deeply, been a cultural process; its discoveries and trespasses are imagined and energized through signs, metaphors and narratives; even what would seem its purest moments of profit and violence have been mediated and enframed by structures of meaning.”

Recently, Hall and Tucker (2004) also mentioned, “Indeed, the presence of colonial discourse in travel fantasy is prominent throughout the postcolonial world.”

Postcolonial theory criticizes the Western colonial representations of the Orient in tourism. For example, increasingly, several destinations are now using tourism representations as a mechanism of anticolonialism and resistance (Mellinger 1994).

Some of the influential scholars in postcolonial studies are Edward Said (*Orientalism*), Stuart Hall (*Politics of Representation*), Gayatri Spivak (*Can the Subaltern Speak?*), Homi Bhaba (*Hybridity*), Gilroy, Mercer, West and Sarup.

d’Hauteserre (2004) nicely summarized the postcolonialism perspective on tourism:

“Postmodern critique has enfeebled paradigms of positivist objective metanarratives of explanation and postcolonialism has adopted the

‘interpretive’ cultural turn, embracing discursive understandings of social, economic, and cultural developments, particularly in non-Western areas. The means may differ but scientific search remains the basis of inquiry.”

Hall and Tucker (2004: 184) emphasized on the importance of postcolonial studies in tourism:

“... tourism studies can no longer exclude postcolonial theory and criticism in its analytical framework. This is so for two main reasons: first, contemporary tourism practice is both deeply embedded in and reinforcing of postcolonial relationships, second, much of the academic commentary on tourism has echoed and thus perpetuated colonial discourse.”

Politics of Heritage Tourism Representations and National Identity Building

“All at once heritage is everywhere - in the news, in the movies, in the marketplace - in everything from galaxies to genes. It is the chief focus of patriotism and a prime lure of tourism. One can barely move without bumping into a heritage site. Every legacy is cherished. From ethnic roots to history theme parks, Hollywood to the Holocaust, the whole world is busy lauding - or lamenting - some past, be it fact or fiction. To neglect heritage is a cardinal sin, to invoke it a national duty”
(Lowenthal 1998: xiii).

“As nations try to reinvent themselves through tourism, heritage is also reinvented according to the current demand, looking at both the tourists and nations themselves. Heritage takes diverse forms, and countries that have recently undergone periods of social upheaval, political conflict and economic transformation must determine what aspects of the past and of contemporary national identity to represent to visitors”

(Bab 2005: 12).

Several scholars have commented on the phenomenal growth of heritage tourism in recent years (Hall 1996; Hanna 1993; Henderson 2002; Lowenthal 1998, 2005; Richards 1996; Timothy and Boyd 2003; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).

According to Hall (1996: 496) “heritage is now an integral component of contemporary tourism products at both attraction and destination level.” But, what is heritage

tourism? This apparently simple question is in fact very difficult to answer as heritage tourism has definitional difficulties (Garrod and Fyall 2001; Lowenthal 2005; Timothy and Boyd 2003). As a result, authors have provided various definitions of heritage tourism (Garrod and Fyall 2001; Poria *et al* 2003; Richards 1996). For example, MacCannell (1976) suggested that through heritage tourism, tourists seek meaningful and authentic experiences. Other authors (Graburn 1989; Prentice 2001; Taylor 2001) have also commented on the importance of authenticity in heritage tourism. However, according to some authors (Bruner 1996; Cohen 1988; Shackley 2001; Urry 1990), tourists do not seek only authenticity; they look for a quality experience to have fun and enjoyment.

Appadurai and Breckenridge (2001) argued that recently, there has been a craze among anthropologists, folklorists, sociologists, historians and tourism researchers in writing about the politics of heritage. From the works of these researchers emanating from various fields, it is apparent that heritage tourism is a dynamic and complex subject. Appadurai and Breckenridge (2001: 406) commented that heritage representations

“range from the problems associated with ethnicity and social identity, nostalgia, and the search for ‘museumized authenticity, to the tension between the interests states have in fixing local identities and the pressures localities exert in seeking to transform such identities.”

In tourism research, increasingly scholars are investigating the “politics of heritage” (Bruner 1996; Edensor 1998; Hall 1994, 1996, 1997; Johnson 1999; Peleggi 1996; Philip and Mercer 1999; Pretes 2003; Timothy and Boyd 2003). For example, some scholars (Hall 1994, 1996, 1997; Lowenthal 1998, 2005; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) have commented that heritage is a contested subject, and Johnson

(1999: 187) argued that “heritage tourism is not just a set of commercial transactions, but the ideological framing of history and identity.” However, Lowenthal (2005: 170) argued that no explanation can recover the past:

“no historical account can recover the totality of any past events, because their content is virtually infinite. The most detailed historical narrative incorporates only a minute fraction of even the relevant past; the sheer pastness of the past precludes its total reconstruction.”

Thus, “Ultimately, what heritage will be conserved depends on the ideological issues of those in power” (Timothy and Boyd 2003: 257).

Light (2001: 1055) argued that national identity building is a dynamic practice in which the governments of nation states constantly promote dominant narratives of history, place and identity. Some scholars (Henderson 2003; Light 2001; Palmer 1999, 2003; Timothy and Boyd 2003) have commented that a nation’s history, language or religion may be important elements in its national identity. But as Walsh (1990: 178 cited in Palmer 1999: 315) argued, it is the tourism industry that promotes particular glimpses of the past revealing “a unified phenomenon representative of *the* nation.” Some scholars (Light 2001; Palmer 1999) have emphasized on the importance of domestic tourism in national identity building. These scholars have argued that these domestic tourists, while traveling within their own country try to make a connection between themselves and the nation. In this process, they try to “understand who they are and where they have come from” (Palmer 1999: 315). According to Graburn (1997), tourism helps to build “national cultural integration.” So, through tourism representations, the governments of ethnically diverse nation states try to build national unity. Also, as Leong (1997: 72) stated, nation states can use tourism promotions as “a sense of the historical past, the revival of cultural heritage.”

CHAPTER 3

HERITAGE IN INDIAN TOURISM

The Indian Scenario – A Brief Background

India, with an area of 3.3 million sq. km, is the seventh largest country in the world, and with a population of 1 billion, is the second most populous. India has 16 major languages and around 1000 different dialects. Hindi, which is spoken by about 45 per cent of the population, is the national language. English is the language for official communication. According to the World Bank gross domestic product rankings for the year 2004, India is the 10th largest economy in the world with a GDP of \$691.876 billion after USA, Japan, Germany, UK, France, Italy, China, Spain and Canada respectively (World Bank 2005).



Figure 1. Map of India

Tourism in India - A Historical Perspective

Tourism in India is not new. Travelers from different nationalities visited India - the Greeks, the Romans, the Persians, the Portuguese, the French, the Dutch and the

British. Also, there were intellectual travelers like Marco Polo, Huen Tsang and Mark Twain, who came to India in search of knowledge and peace (Indian Tourism Ministry 2005). However, after India's independence in 1947 from Britain, while critical issues like agriculture, infrastructure and power supply received high importance, tourism received little attention, as during that time, tourism was considered a 'luxury' (Kakkar 2003). In 1955, the First Planning Commission ranked tourism 269th on their priority list of industries, and at that time, the average number of tourists who visited India was around 15,000 (Kakkar 2003). Not much has changed over the last four decades. Even in 2000, as Singh (2000) mentioned, India attracted less than 0.5 percent of world tourist arrivals and earned only 0.7 percent of world receipts. Several authors have argued that one of the main reasons of India's failure to attract tourists is the country's negative image abroad (Chaudhary 2000; Singh 2000).

Moreover, India has failed to attract around 20 million NRIs (Non Resident Indians) living outside India's borders. The Indian Diaspora is bigger than the total population of many countries, for example, Australia (19.54 million). These NRIs have a per capita income of about US\$ 50,000, and have a combined income of about \$400 billion, which is close to India's GDP (Businessworld 2003). However, India has failed to attract this segment of tourists, and has managed to get only 15% of its foreign investments from NRIs compared to 75% of China's (Businessworld 2003). According to Singh (2000), the main reason behind this has been "sluggish and ineffective product development and marketing in the Western World." Thus, it is a striking phenomenon that the tourism industry didn't thrive in India, a country which not only has a unique heritage and culture but also a wide gamut of tourism attractions to offer to the tourists.

The domestic tourism scenario in the country was even miserable. India has 250 million middle class people, and 80% of the population is below 45 years of age; still only 64 million people traveled around the country in 1990 (Indian Tourism Ministry 2005). As lamented by Singh (2000), “planners never realized that tourism as a multi-dimensional, multi-agency and multi-sectoral activity can hardly be handled by one single development agency let alone the government.” Singh (2000) proposed a “synergistic approach to policy development,” which involves joint participation by all stakeholders - the government, public-sector, private sector and local people. Unfortunately, this did not happen in India.

However, with the liberalization of the Indian economy in 1991, the tourism industry in the country burgeoned in the mid 90s. Since then, the Indian tourism industry has been marked by unprecedented growth. Earlier, majority of the domestic tourists in India traveled for pilgrimages. However, as mentioned by several authors, although pilgrimages continue to be the main reason for domestic travel in India, recently, domestic travelers began to explore their own country. In India, the last 14 years of post-liberalization saw a massive increase in the domestic tourism segment – from 66.6 million visitors in 1991 to 366.2 million in 2004 (Indian Tourism Ministry 2005). Moreover, the Indian tourism industry saw a five-fold increase in fund allocation from US\$ 122 million to US\$ 674 million (1 US\$ = 43 Indian Currency (i.e., Indian Rupees) for the tenth five-year plan (2002-2007).

Recently, according to Express Travel & Tourism (2003), the tourism ministry of India has been marketing every saleable feature of the country, and the state governments have become more proactive in building an alliance with the private

sector for promoting domestic tourism. This has become more important to tap the newly affluent Indians who are increasingly exploring countries like Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Hong Kong (Express Travel & Tourism 2003). As Varghese (2005: 1) commented, “More Indians are travelling abroad, much more than inbound travellers. During 2003, the number of Indians going abroad was 5.3 million but this grew to 6.2 million in 2004 according to provisional estimates showing a growth of 15.2 per cent.”

The tables mentioned below shows the number of International Tourist Arrivals in India (Table 1), Top 10 International Markets for India (Table 2), Foreign Exchange Earnings through Tourism (Table 3), Domestic Tourist Visits in India (Table 4), and Share (%) of Top 10 States in Domestic Tourist Visits (Table 5).

Table 1. International Tourist Arrivals in India

Year	Arrivals (Millions)	% Change
1991	1.68	-
1992	1.87	11.3
1993	1.76	- 5.5
1994	1.89	6.9
1995	2.12	12.6
1996	2.29	7.7
1997	2.37	3.8
1998	2.36	- 0.7
1999	2.48	5.2
2000	2.65	6.7
2001	2.54	- 4.2
2002	2.38	- 6.0
2003	2.75	15.3
2004	3.46	26.8

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of India 2005

Table 2. Top 10 International Markets for India in 2003

Rank	Country of Origin	Number of Arrivals	% Share to Total
1	UK	427235	15.9
2	USA	400113	14.9
3	Canada	106554	3.9
4	Sri Lanka	106364	3.9
5	France	96848	3.5
6	Japan	76411	2.8
7	Germany	74518	2.8
8	Malaysia	67440	2.5
9	Australia	56033	2.1
10	Italy	46238	1.7
	Others	1282970	46.6
	Total	2750290	100.0

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of India 2005

Table 3. Foreign Exchange Earnings through Tourism

Year	Earnings (US \$ Millions)	% Change
1991	1861	-
1992	2126	14.2
1993	2124	- 0.1
1994	2272	7.0
1995	2583	13.7
1996	2832	9.6
1997	2889	2.0
1998	2948	2.0
1999	3009	2.1
2000	3168	5.3
2001	3042	- 4.0
2002	2923	- 3.9
2003	3533	20.9
2004	4769	35.0

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of India 2005

Table 4. Domestic Tourist Visits in India

Years	Number of Domestic Tourists (Millions)	% Change
1991	66.7	-
1992	81.5	22.2
1993	105.8	29.9
1994	127.1	20.1
1995	136.6	7.5
1996	140.1	2.5
1997	159.9	14.1
1998	168.2	5.2
1999	190.7	13.4
2000	220.1	15.4
2001	236.5	7.5
2002	269.6	14.0
2003	309.0	14.6
2004	366.2	18.5

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of India 2005

Table 5. Share (%) of Top 10 States in Domestic Tourist Visits in 2002

States	Share (%)
Uttar Pradesh	27.0
Andhra Pradesh	22.3
Tamil Nadu	14.7
Uttanchal	4.4
Maharashtra	3.6
West Bengal	3.2
Karnataka	3.2
Rajasthan	3.1
Bihar	2.5
Haryana	2.4
Others	13.6
Total	100.0

Source: Department of Tourism, Government of India 2005

Thus, it can be seen from the tables above that there has been indeed an unprecedented growth in the Indian tourism scenario. For example, international tourist visits in India increased from 1.68 million in 1991 to 3.46 million in 2004 (Table 1). Moreover, there has been a phenomenal growth in the number of domestic tourists in India, from just 66.7 millions in 1991 to 366.2 millions in 2004 which saw a change of 18.5% (Table 4).

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODS

Data Collection

This research project employed three sources of evidence (Indian Government tourism representation, Indian Trade tourism representation, and Indian Public tourism representation) in investigating the research questions.

Indian Government Tourism Representation

The Indian Government uses several representations to communicate with the country's population and the tourism industry, out of which two sources of data were used in this study.

First, tourism articles related to the promotion of heritage tourism were collected from the Indian Tourism Ministry's "Newsletter" (available online since March 2002, one issue/per month) published between March 2002 to June 2005. The printed hard copy of the "Newsletter" was searched manually, one issue at a time. The "Newsletter" was selected for collecting the data as this is the main source of the tourism promotions by the government of India. In these Newsletters, all the latest developments in the Indian tourism industry are published. For example, it publishes which destinations will receive funding from different sources, how the Indian government is renovating old destinations, and various statistics of the Indian tourism industry.

Second, contents relating to India's heritage were explored from the official tourism website of India: <www.tourismofindia.com>. This is the Indian government's

main tourism website which includes detailed information on various Indian destinations. Moreover, the website provides the historical background and updated information of the most popular heritage destinations. The new name of the official tourism website of India is <www.incredibleindia.org>.

Indian Trade Tourism Representation

Featured articles related to India's heritage were collected from India's premier tourism trade magazine: "Express Travel & Tourism" (available online since 2001, one issue/per month) published between March 2002 – June 2005. The new name of "Express Travel & Tourism" magazine from December 2005 is "Express TravelWorld." This magazine was selected as "Express Travel & Tourism is India's premier and only national tabloid on the travel industry. With the readership of 50,000 every fortnight it reaches all the major travel agency all the major Travel Agents, Tour Operators, Hotel & Resort owners and Airlines" (indiainfo.com 2005). The publications in this magazine often carry tourism news that is missing in other publications in India. Moreover, this magazine publishes statements and interviews of foremost tourism personalities in the country, from both private sector (for example, Director of the Association of Domestic Tour Operators of India) as well as the Indian Tourism Ministry (such as, the Tourism Minister of India).

Indian Public Tourism Representation

Featured articles related to India's heritage were also collected from India's premier popular tourism magazine: "Outlook Traveller" (available online since 2001,

one issue/per month) published between March 2002 – June 2005. This magazine was selected as it is India's premier travel magazine representing the popular media.

“Outlook Traveller is a monthly magazine... the only significant magazine aimed at the travel reader. Every month since June 2001, Outlook Traveller has introduced readers to the wonders of unknown destinations while also encouraging travellers to take a fresh look at familiar places. Whether people are planning a holiday, or simply dreaming of one, Outlook Traveller continues to take them closer” (Outlook Traveller 2005). Travel writers from different religious backgrounds write about their travel experiences in different parts of India in each issue of this magazine. Sometimes, these travel writers travel to remote places of the country and describe the history of a temple or mosque or church which is unknown to the common people. Also, sometimes they narrate their unique experiences of visiting a place, for example, how Indian tourists visit an erstwhile English-style cottage in a hill to be “an Englishman for a day” or how the old generations in Goa miss the “relaxed and calm Portuguese way of life” and dislike the present fast Indian pace of life. Moreover, the travel writers' documents and other information in this magazine reveal how the tourism industry commodifies heritage attractions to attract tourists who are looking for recreation, fun and enjoyment. One of the most influential tourism scholars, John Urry (2001: 210) commented on this increasing privatization of the heritage industry:

“One striking feature of the recent developments has been the increased privatization of the heritage/museum industry... and these private initiatives have inspired particularly new ways of representing history, as commodifying the past.”

Timeframe for the Study

A three year timeframe from March 2002 – June 2005 was selected for this study due to several reasons. First, during this period, the Indian tourism industry has experienced unprecedented change. After the liberalization of the Indian economy in 1991, the tourism industry in the country burgeoned. According to the consulting firm Deloitte (2005 cited in H & RA 2005), in India “as the domestic market continues to expand, the escalating economy provides the rising middle classes with increased disposable income. The arrival of low cost airlines and the associated price wars have given domestic tourists more options than ever before.” Second, around 2001-2002, the Indian government’s tourism “Newsletter,” and most of the tourism magazines in the Indian tourism industry including the “Express Travel & Tourism” and “Outlook Traveller,” began publication. Third, during this period, the two major tourism promotional campaigns were launched by the Indian government. One such tourism promotional campaign was to attract the Western tourists - “Incredible India,” which was launched in 2002. Though it was launched mainly to target Western tourists, but it also had repercussions in the overall tourism industry as many attractions are the same and funding available through these initiatives was also directed in the promotion of domestic tourism in the country. “The ‘Incredible India’ destination campaign has helped the growth of many domestic markets including religious tourism” (Deloitte 2005 cited in H & RA 2005). Another tourism promotion campaign was to attract the Indian diaspora as well as the Indian domestic tourists - “Discover India, Discover Yourself,” which was launched in 2002.

To conclude, the data were collected in English. All the publications referred to,

including the popular press and official publications are in English since this is the language used by most of the working people in India.

Treatment of Data

The research questions in this study were explored empirically through qualitative means, i.e., by conducting content analysis of Indian Governments tourism representations, Indian Trade tourism representations and Indian Public tourism representations of India's heritage.

Reasons for choosing 'Content Analysis'

Content analysis was considered for this study as this method "attempts to apply a rigorous and structured analysis to what are difficult, contentious and usually subjective cultural objects" (Pritchard and Morgan 2001: 172) and can be used "for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages" (Holsti 1968: 608). Marshall and Rossman (1989 cited in Fennell 2001: 406) suggested that "content analysis is a way of asking a fixed set of questions about data in such a style as to produce countable results or quantitative descriptions." In a similar vein, Neuendorf (2002: 1) defined content analysis as "the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics." Fennell (2001: 406) went further to emphasize that content analysis "is a means by which to produce solid descriptive information or to cross-validate other research findings." Several scholars in tourism research have used content analysis of texts and images (Buck 1977; Dilley 1986; Jenkins 2003; Moeran 1983; Thurot and Thurot 1983; Uzzell 1984). Pritchard

and Morgan (2001: 172) indicated, “critical to successful content analyses are the development of appropriate classifications which are independently verifiable and reliable: this is usually resolved by using more than one coder.” In this study, the quality of the findings was enhanced as I was continuously supported by one of my dissertation committee members, who rigorously checked the codes.

Coding of Data

Indian Government Tourism Representation

Newsletter. Every printed hard copy of “Newsletter” from March 2002 to June 2005 (one issue per month) was analyzed for specific content. The criteria for selection of an article was based on the keywords: ‘heritage,’ ‘architecture,’ ‘temple,’ ‘fort,’ ‘palace,’ ‘Church,’ ‘festivals,’ ‘pilgrimage,’ ‘Hindu,’ ‘Muslim,’ ‘Christian,’ ‘Buddhist,’ ‘Jain,’ ‘Sikh,’ ‘Colonial.’ When I found any one of the keywords in a headline, I analyzed the article for its relationship to India’s heritage. Also, while reading each article, I found that there were some articles whose heading didn’t have any of the above mentioned keywords but were related to India’s heritage. I considered those articles also in my data. I made photocopies of each relevant article for further reference.

Indian Government Tourism Website. In the main page of the Indian Government’s tourism website (www.tourismofindia.com), there were 12 menu bars consecutively listed on the left. They were as following:

Adventure Sports
Cool Retreats
Deserts

EcoTourism
 MICE
 Luxury Trains
 Beaches of India
Pilgrimages & Spirituality
Royal Retreats
 Wellness
 Wildlife
Heritage Sites

Out of the above 12 menus, the 3 menus above in bold (i.e., Pilgrimages & Spirituality, Royal Retreats, and Heritage Sites) were selected for this study as they relate to India's heritage. Next, clicking on "Pilgrimages & Spirituality," a new window popped up with the heading "Religion." Under that heading, India's six major religions were listed. Clicking on each religion, a new window popped up with detailed description of the pilgrimage sites and centers of that religion. Each description of all the religions were printed and read thoroughly. So, the steps were one after another as mentioned below:

First, I clicked on "Pilgrimages & Spirituality."

Then, a new window popped up with the heading "Religion."

Under the heading "Religion," India's six major religions were listed as follows:

Hinduism
 Islam
 Christianity
 Sikhism
 Buddhism
 Jainism

Similarly, out of the 3 menus mentioned above (i.e., Pilgrimages & Spirituality, Royal Retreats, and Heritage Sites), after clicking on "Royal Retreats," a new window popped up with the heading "Palaces." Under that heading, names of India's 87 notable palaces were listed. Links to each one of these palaces were printed and read

thoroughly. As majority of these palaces represent the Hindu religion, not all were selected to serve as data. To obtain information on all the 6 major religions of India, 4 palaces representing each of the six religions, i.e., 24 palaces were finally selected.

So, the steps were one after another as mentioned below:

First, I clicked on “Royal Retreats.”

Then, a new window popped up with the heading “Palaces.”

Under the heading “Palaces,” names of India’s 87 notable palaces were listed.

However, 24 palaces were finally selected due to the reason mentioned in the above paragraph from the following list of palaces:

- Deegs Palaces
- Deogarh Mahal
- Fort Dhariyawad
- Fort Khejarla
- GhaneraoRoyal Castle
- Gol Bagh Palace
- Hotel Heritage
- Hill Fort Kesroli
- Jagat Niwas Palace
- Jaisal Castle
- Jhalawar Fort
- Jaigarh Fort
- Jagamandir Palace
- Karni Bhawan Jodhpur
- Khimsar Fort
- Lakshmangarh
- Lohagarh
- Mandawa Haveli
- Narain Niwas Palace
- Nawalgarh Fort
- Palace Hotel
- Palaces of Himachal Pradesh
- Palaces of Madhya Pradesh
- Pushkar Palace
- Jaisalmer Fort
- Kankarwa Haveli
- Kesar Bhawan
- Kumbhalgarh Fort

Lallgarh Palace and Gajner Palace
 Man Mahal
 Meherangarh Fort
 Narayan Niwas Castle
 Neemrana Fort
 Palaces in Rajasthan
 Palaces of Karnataka
 Rangniwas Palace
 Royal Gaitore
 Samode Palace
 Shikarbadi
 Taragarh
 Palaces of Uttar Pradesh
 Rajwada Fort
 Rawal Kot
 Royal Retreats
 Sariska Palace
 Shiv Nivas Palace
 Udai Bilas Palace

With the last of the 3 menus mentioned above (i.e., Pilgrimages & Spirituality, Royal Retreats and Heritage Sites), after clicking on “Heritage Sites,” a new window popped up with the heading “Properties inscribed on the World Heritage list.” Under that heading, names of India’s most famous heritage structures declared by UNESCO were listed. Each one of those were printed and read thoroughly.

So, the steps were one after another as mentioned below:

First, I clicked on “Heritage Sites.”

Then, a new window popped up with the heading “Properties inscribed on the World Heritage list.”

The properties indicated below are those that appear on the World Heritage list.

Agra Fort
 Ajanta Caves (1983)
 Buddhist Monuments at Sanchi (1989)
 Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park (2004)
 Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus (formerly Victoria Terminus) (2004)

Churches and Convents of Goa (1986)
 Elephanta Caves (1987)
 Ellora Caves (1983)
 Fatehpur Sikri (1986)
 Great Living Chola Temples (1987)
 Group of Monuments at Hampi (1986)
 Group of Monuments at Mahabalipuram (1984)
 Group of Monuments at Pattadakal (1987)
 Humayun's Tomb, Delhi (1993)
 Khajuraho Group of Monuments (1986)
 Mahabodhi Temple Complex at Bodh Gaya (2002)
 Mountain Railways of India (1999)
 Qutb Minar and its Monuments, Delhi (1993)
 Rock Shelters of Bhimbetka (2003)
 Sun Temple, Konarak (1984)
 Taj Mahal (1983)

Indian Trade Tourism Representation

Express Travel & Tourism. In the main page of the “Express Travel & Tourism” magazine’s website, there are various news items related to the Indian tourism industry, which are different in every issue. For example, in the June 2005 issue, some of the headlines were, “We Accord High Preference to Domestic Tourists as They Form the Core of Arrivals,” “Travel Now, Pay Later: An Emerging Trend,” “We are looking at a Growth Rate of 12-15 Per Cent in Tourism Revenue.” However, reading all the monthly issues online from March 2002 to June 2005, I found that not all the issues published articles related to India’s heritage. So, I maintained the same method for this magazine what I did for the Indian Tourism Ministry’s “Newsletter.” Every printed hard copy of “Express Travel & Tourism” magazine from March 2002 to June 2005 (one issue per month) was analyzed for specific content. The criteria for selection of an article were based on the keywords that were used before. When I found any one of the keywords in a headline, I analyzed the

article for its relationship to India's heritage. Also, while reading each article, I found that there were some articles whose heading didn't have any of the above mentioned keywords although they were related to India's heritage. I considered those articles also in my data. I made photocopies of each relevant article for further reference.

Indian Public Tourism Representation

Outlook Traveller. In the main page of the "Outlook Traveller" magazine's website, there are various news items related to the Indian tourism industry, which change in every issue. For example, it has different sections like "Weekender," "Magazine," "Travel News," "Stay," "Outlook Traveller Fare Alert". Looking at all the monthly issues online from March 2002 to June 2005, I found that in the "magazine" section, various travel writers describe their experiences of traveling different places of India (I explained this in detail in "Data Collection" above). I read all the travel writers' documents in each issue for the time period mentioned above, and found that they discussed India's heritage extensively. I maintained the same method for this magazine that I did for the Indian Tourism Ministry's "Newsletter" and "Express Travel & Tourism" magazine. Every printed hard copy of the travel writers' writings in "Outlook Traveller" magazine from March 2002 to June 2005 (one issue per month), was analyzed for specific content. The criteria for selection of an article were based on the keywords that were used before. When I found any one of the keywords in a headline, I analyzed the article for its relationship to India's heritage. Also, while reading each article, I found that there were some articles whose heading didn't have any of the above mentioned keywords but related to India's heritage. I considered those articles also in my data. I made photocopies of each relevant article for further reference.

Researcher's Bias

In this study, I took several steps to minimize bias during the process of data analysis. First, I read the data in its whole and took notes about possible themes or codes. Second, I discussed the notes with one of the dissertation committee members to look for themes. While doing this, I used markers of different colors. For example, the quotes that I thought related to Hindu cultural heritage, I highlighted them with the yellow marker. Similarly, the quotes that related to Muslim architectural brilliance or Colonial heritage, I highlighted them with red and blue respectively. In this process, it was very systematic and distinguishable to have a track of the themes. Then I showed these to the committee member for his feedback. Third, after a list of codes was obtained, I continued to code the data. Fourth, the sections of text coded which were equally agreed by both the committee member and I, were maintained for the next step of data analysis. Fifth, the text coded for each theme was compiled and examined to form the description of the theme. Sixth, I created three separate files for each representations, the Indian Government tourism representation, the Indian Trade tourism representation, and the Indian Public tourism representation. I collected all the quotes of the Indian Government tourism representations and put it in the “Indian Government Tourism Representation” file. Once I had all the quotes of the Indian Government tourism representation, I counted the frequencies of occurrence of each theme representing each religion's heritage, and noted them down in a separate white paper. I followed the same method for the other two tourism representations – the “Indian Trade Tourism Representation” and the “Indian Public Tourism Representation.” After I completed this procedure for all the three representations,

again I showed this to my committee member and took his suggestions. Seventh, I created 3 (three) tables for each tourism representations, describing the frequency of occurrence of each religion's heritage, the major themes of each religion and their brief descriptions. Seventh, I looked at the quotes in all the 3 files (3 different tourism representations) to compare the differences in their representations. I created another table to point out the similarities and differences in all the three tourism representations of India's heritage. As all the themes were highlighted with different colors, it was easier to distinguish the similarities and differences. Eighth, I showed all these 4 tables to my committee member and made necessary additions/modifications to the aspects that were results of my bias. Finally, when my committee member and I were satisfied, I started writing the results.

Researcher's Identity

Palmer (1999) and Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) have argued that in any qualitative research project, it is important to discuss the identity of the researcher and to reveal natural personal biases. As Harding (1991 cited in Pritchard and Morgan 2003: 120-121) indicated, "such biographical exposure is important as it transforms the reflexivity of research from a problem to a resource." Specifically, it can be argued that in studies of 'national identity' the position of the researcher is crucial since the researcher is also a citizen of a country and a member of an ethnic group, not just a researcher. Also, this study relates to 'identity,' and I myself had my own multiple identities while doing the research and writing processes, for example, my lived experiences and beliefs. In this study, as I had the dual roles of being a researcher and a

citizen of India representing the Hindu ethnicity (a Bengali and Brahmin), I dealt with issues of researcher bias. Though one of my dissertation committee members checked closely during the process of conducting the analysis and interpretation of the data, I was the main person to conduct the analysis and interpretation of the data. So, I constantly assessed my involvement as a researcher in the process and dealt with any aspects that were a result of my bias. I regularly contacted my committee member during the data analysis process and he was a constant source of help. Due to his expertise in heritage tourism in Asian countries and previous visit to India, he was meticulous in detecting my biases, which was extremely helpful.

I lived in the USA for four years to pursue my Ph.D. degree. After that, I worked one year in the UK, and during that time finished writing this dissertation. Currently, I am living in the USA. The dissertation committee member, who helped me in the coding of data, is a European, of the Christian religion, who traveled to India and also lives in the USA. Our different backgrounds were helpful in detecting cultural nuances in the data and in discerning the differences between the Indian Government tourism representations, the Indian Trade tourism representations, and the Indian Public tourism representations of India's heritage.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Indian Government Tourism Representation of India's Heritage

A systematic study of the contents of articles in the representation of Indian heritage by the Indian Government tourism representation revealed several themes. The themes are actually each six religions' (Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain) heritage as represented by the Indian Government tourism representation. All the themes and their brief description is mentioned below in Table 6.

Table 6. Indian Government Tourism Representation of India's Heritage

Indian Government Tourism Representation (<i>Website and Newsletter</i>)		
Ethnicities	Themes	Descriptions
Hindu Heritage	Ancientness Beauty of age-old architecture Pilgrimage Myths	Ancient culture Beauty of longstanding temples Travel to holy places Myths of Hindu culture
Muslim Heritage	Architectural brilliance Pilgrimage	Grandeur of mosques, forts, and palaces Mention of pilgrimage sites
Christian Heritage	Colonial heritage Pilgrimage	Pride and prominence Mention of pilgrimage sites

Buddhist Heritage	Arts Spirituality/ pilgrimage	Unique caves and <i>stupas</i> Peace and tolerance/ importance of pilgrimage
Jain Heritage	Beautiful architecture Spirituality/ pilgrimage	Exclusive temples Peace and non-violence/ importance of pilgrimage
Sikh Heritage	Unique architecture Spirituality/ pilgrimage	Holy <i>Gurdwaras</i> (Sikh temples) Religious faith/ importance of pilgrimage
Other Themes (not related to any religion)	Tradition and modernity Blend of religions Muslim atrocities Colonial atrocities Resistance	India's glorious past and modern present Unity of cultures Destruction of Hindu temples Tortures of Colonial rulers Confrontation to Colonial influences in India

Below are the detailed descriptions of each religion's (Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain) heritage in the Indian Government tourism representations (*Website* and *Newsletter*).

Hindu Heritage

An examination of the Indian government's tourism representations of Hindu Heritage revealed four major themes. First, *ancientness* – this theme was demonstrated by ancient culture. Second, *beauty of age-old architecture* – this theme was exemplified by the long-standing temples. Third, *pilgrimage* – this theme was established through

the major form of Hindu travel to holy places. Fourth, *myth* – this theme was demonstrated by myths behind the naming of a place or erection of heritage structures. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Ancientness. Ancientness was the most frequent observed theme in the portrayal of Hindu heritage. Almost all the Indian government's tourism representations, while describing the historical cities and architectures of the Hindus, mentioned their ancient past. For example, in the Indian Government's representations, the ancient South Indian city Madurai and the West Indian city Ajmer were celebrated for their ancientness.

“An ancient city, more than 2,500 years old, Madurai is believed to having been built by the Pandyan King Kulasekara in the 6th century BC... the actual history of Madurai emerges sometime during the 3rd century BC when it was the prosperous Pandyas' capital which had trading contacts with Greece and Rome”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“The city was founded by Raja Ajay Pal Chauhan in the 7th Century A. D. and continued to be a major center of the Chauhan power till 1193 A. D... [and]... it is a centre of culture and education”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

The Indian government's representation of the holy Hindu city of Varanasi had also emphasis on ancientness.

“Varanasi is one of the oldest living cities in the world. Many names have been given to Varanasi, though its recently revived official appellation is mentioned in the Mahabharata and in the Jataka tales of Buddhism”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Beauty of Age-old Architecture. The next frequent theme related to the beauty of age-old architecture. The Indian government's tourism representations celebrated the longstanding Hindu temples and the beauty and grace of them. For example, the Sun Temple at Konark was described as an architectural marvel for the intricacy and plethora of sculptural work:

“Every inch of the remaining portions of the temple is covered with sculpture of an unsurpassed beauty and grace, in tableaux and freestanding pieces ranging from the monumental to the miniature, and the subject matter is fascinating – thousands of images include deities, celestial and human musicians, dancers, lovers and myriad scenes of courtly life”

(Newsletter 2002).

Also, the point of ancientness and exquisiteness was highlighted in the description of the famous erotic sculptures of Khajuraho temples.

“Khajuraho is famous for its magnificent temples... these temples were built between 950 A.D. & 1050 A.D. and represent some of the most exquisite specimens of art and architecture in medieval India”
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Pilgrimage. One more regular theme related to pilgrimage. Often, the descriptions emphasized how important the heritage was for the Hindus in their quest for pilgrimage and spirituality. It was emphasized that pilgrimage is the oldest way of traveling in India, and the Hindu pilgrimage centers number in the thousands and are still increasing.

“Pilgrimage is the oldest way of traveling from one place to other in India. From the first instance of civilization to the present day, millions of Hindus leave their home in search of salvation. The destination could be any place with a legend attached. From the high hills of Himalayas to small islands in Arabian Sea and Bay of Bengal and from the fertile plains of Northern India to the Southern Peninsula, Hindu pilgrimage centers are in thousands and multiplying”
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

The holy city of Ajmer was described as an important pilgrimage center for Hindus:

“Ajmer is also the base for visiting Pushkar, the abode of Lord Brahma, lying to its west with a temple and a picturesque lake, which is a sacred spot for Hindus”

(Newsletter 2003).

Similarly, the holy city of Mathura in the state of Uttar Pradesh was described as how significant it was for the Hindu pilgrims:

“A long line of picturesque ghats - with their steps leading to the water's edge, arched gateways and temple spires extending along the right bank of the River Yamuna, emphasis the sacred character of the town of Mathura. The birthplace of Lord Krishna, "the best known, best loved and most complex of Lord Vishnu's manifestations" - Mathura is today an important place of pilgrimage. The city stretches along the right bank of the Yamuna and the continuous line of ghats along the river makes a splendid spectacle when viewed from the opposite bank [and] “no pilgrimage to Mathura is complete without a visit to its kunds (ponds). Legend has it that there were 159 ancient kunds in all. Of these only four survive and can be seen”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“Today, Mathura is a city of temples and shrines bustling with the thousands of devotees who come to visit the city of Lord Krishna. A splendid temple at the Katra Keshav Dev marks the spot that is believed to be the Shri Krishna Janmasthan - the birthplace of the Lord, by his devotees. Another beautiful shrine, the Gita Mandir, located on the Mathura -Vrindavan Road has a fine image of Shri Krishna in its sanctum. The whole of the Bhagwad Gita is inscribed on the walls of this temple”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Myth. The next common theme was myth. It is apparent from the descriptions that in Hindu mythology history and myth are inextricably mixed. The majority of the descriptions of architectures and monuments included a discussion of a myth. For example, while citing the cause of the erection of the Sun Temple at Konark, it was mentioned that Raja Narasimhadeva built it as a victory monument after a successful campaign against Muslim invaders. This entire temple has been designed as a chariot of the Sun god.

“... chariot of the sun god with 24 wheels, each about 10 feet in diameter, with a set of spokes and elaborate carvings. Seven horses drag the temple. Two lions guard the entrance; crushing elephants and flight of steps lead to the main entrance”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Similarly, while citing the reason for the foundation of the holy cities Rishikesh and Allahabad, a myth was mentioned.

“Legend has it that the sage Raibhya Rishi did severe penance and,

as a reward, God appeared to him in the form of Hrishikesh. Rishikesh also represents the site where Lord Vishnu vanquished the demon Madhu. In the 1960s, the place came into limelight as the place where the pop group Beatles met their guru, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“Allahabad, sacred city of Hinduism was formerly called 'Prayag' in commemoration of a sacrifice done by Lord Brahma. It is best known as host to the mind-boggling number of Kumbh pilgrims who visit this endearing city every 12 years. According to Hindu mythology for the 'Prakrishta Yagna' Lord Brahma chose a piece of land on the earth on the confluence of the three rivers - the Ganga, the Yamuna, and the mythical Saraswati would merge into a confluence. The land being surrounded by these 3 rivers would serve as the prime and central altar and came to be known as 'Prayag' today known as Allahabad. Lord Brahma performed the Prakrista Yajna here. That is how it received its ancient name, Prayag. Allahabad is also called Tirtha-Raja, king of all holy places”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Likewise, a myth was described to explain why the holy city Varanasi (also known as Kashi) was selected by Lord Shiva for his abode:

“Varanasi's associations with Shiva extend to the beginning of time: legends relate to how, after his marriage to Parvati, Shiva left his Himalayan abode and came to reside in Kashi with all the Gods in attendance. Temporarily banished during the rule of the great king Divodasa, Shiva sent Brahma and Vishnu as his emissaries, but ultimately returned to his rightful abode protected by his loyal attendants Kalabhairav and Dandapani. Over 350 gods and goddesses, including a protective ring of Ganesha form a mandala or sacred pattern with Shiva Vishwanatha at its center”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Muslim Heritage

An examination of the Indian government's representations of Muslim Heritage revealed two major themes. First, *architectural brilliance* – this theme was described by the grandeur of mosques, forts and palaces. Second, *pilgrimage* – this theme was described by the mention of several Muslim pilgrimage destinations. Following is a detailed description of the themes.

Architectural Brilliance. Architectural brilliance was the most common theme observed in the Indian government's representation of the Muslim heritage. In the description of all the Muslim architecture, the magnificence of the craft was celebrated. There was mention about the Muslim Emperors' "*passion for building*" and how they have gifted India with some of the finest structures in the world. For example, the Taj Mahal was described as:

"... a sheer poetry in marble, the ultimate realization of Emperor Shah Jehan's dream ... [and] ... it took 22 years in the making, 20,000 people worked to complete the enchanting mausoleum"
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Similarly, the famous Qutb Minar tower in Delhi and Red Fort in Agra were also praised for their engineering merit:

"Built in the early 13th century a few kilometres south of Delhi, the red sandstone tower of Qutb Minar is 72.5 m high, tapering from 2.75 m in diameter at its peak to 14.32 m at its base, and alternating angular and rounded flutings"
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

"Near the gardens of the Taj Mahal stands the important 16th-century Mughal monument known as the Red Fort of Agra. This powerful fortress of red sandstone encompasses, within its 2.5-km-long enclosure walls"
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Likewise, the fine architectural style of the Muslim rulers was emphasized in the description of the mosques in Jaunpur:

"They were great patrons of art and architecture and constructed many fine tombs, mosques and madarsas. These have a distinctive style which bears influences of later Tughlaq architecture... [and]... "Atala Masjid - started in 1377 but completed only in 1408 in the reign of Ibrahim Sharquie. This mosque represents the earliest and finest example of Sharquie architecture, and conforms to the general plan of the orthodox mosque. Its most distinguishing feature is the original treatment of the facade of its prayer-hall composed of three large ornamental archways, the central one of which soaring to 23 mts, is gigantic" ...[and] ... "Jami Masjid - the last great mosque of Jaunpur and also its largest, the Jami Masjid was built by Hussain

Shah in 1458-78. In plan and design it is a larger version of the Atala Mosque. The imposing structure, raised on a high plinth, encloses a courtyard 66 mtr by 64.5 mtr. A lofty dome tops the interior of the prayer hall”
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Pilgrimage. Another common theme of the Muslim heritage in India was the mention of the names of several Muslim pilgrimage sites across the country. For example, important Muslim pilgrimage sites were mentioned in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Haryana, Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh respectively.

“Chote Hazrat Ki Dargah, Jama Masjid, Mecca Masjid, Deval Masjid, Jumma Masjid”

“Dargah of Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chisti: This Sufi saint came to Ajmer from Persia in 1192, died in 1236 and was buried here. His tomb, is visited by thousands of devout Muslims every year. The shrine was erected by Humayun. The Dargah also has mosques which were built by the Mughal rulers Shah Jahan, Jahangir and Akbar. According to historical accounts Akbar used to make a pilgrimage to Ajmer every year”

“The Jama Masjid in Delhi is India's largest mosque. It is a very important symbol for the Muslim community in India. Other mosques in Delhi include Abdu'n Nabi's Mosque, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya Dargah, Madhi Masjid, Begampiri Masjid, Idgah, Moth-Ki-Masjid, Chiragh-I-Delhi's Dargah, Nilli Masjid, Chauburji-Masjid, Jamali-Kamali Mosque, Tomb Palam Mosque, Dargah-Qutb-Sahib, Kalu Saraj Masjid, Quwwatu'l Islam Masjid, Hauz-i-Shamsi, Khirki-Ki-Masjid and Sunehari Masjid”

“Chrar-e-Sharif, Khanqah-e-Moula/ Shah Hamdan Mosque, Hazratbal Mosque, Shahdara Sharief, Idgah, Tomb of Zain-ul-Abidin and Jami Masjid”

“Jumma Masjid, Jumma Masjid - Gulbarga, Khwaza Bande Nawaz Dargah and Solah Khamba Masjid”

“Dargah of Bu Ali Shah Qalandar, Kabuli Bagh Mosque, Pathar Masjid, Humayun's Mosque and Lat Ki Masjid”

“Cheraman Juma Masjid, Kanjiramattom Mosque, Madayi Mosque and Pazhayangadi Mosque”

“Bibi Ka Maqbara, Dargah of Sayyed Burha-ud-din, Hazi Ali Mausoleum, Dargah of Baba Shaha Muzaffar, Dargah of Sayyed Zain-ud-din and Kamar Ali Darvesh Dargah”

“Jami Masjid, Jawab Masjid and Moti Masjid”

“Big Mosque, Nagore Dargah and Thousand Light Mosque”
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005)

Christian Heritage

An examination of the Indian government’s tourism representations of Christian Heritage revealed two themes. First, *colonial heritage* – this theme was exemplified by the Christian/colonial cultural heritage. Second, *pilgrimage* – this theme was described by the mention of several Christian pilgrimage sites/destinations.

Following is a detailed description of the themes.

Colonial Heritage. Colonial heritage was the most common theme observed in the Indian government’s tourism representation of Christian heritage in India. Often, the descriptions vividly mentioned the colonial heritage of the Christian culture. For example, one description mentioned:

“some of the churches of colonial India are comparable to the best in the world and are as much a part of the heritage of India as its ancient temples... [you] must visit these churches and explore the fascinating world of Christianity in India”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Also, while mentioning the Christian/colonial architecture it was stressed that those architecture occupies a place of “*pride and prominence*” in India. This pride and prominence was apparent from the description of San Thome Cathedral Basilica, in the south Indian city of Chennai, and All Saints Cathedral and Mayo Memorial Hall in the North Indian city of Allahabad:

“San Thome derived its name from St. Thomas, the apostle of Christ who is believed to have come to Chennai sometime during 52 AD. It has undergone several renovations from Church to Cathedral to Basilica, and its central hall has 14 wooden plaques depicting scenes from the last days of Christ and there is a 3 ft. high statue of Virgin Mary brought from Portugal”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“This magnificent cathedral was designed by Sir William Emerson in 1870 and consecrated in 1887, is the finest of Anglican Cathedral in Asia is faced in White Stone with red stone dressing. No one visiting the cathedral can fail to be impressed by the beauty of the marble altar with intricate inlay and mosaic work”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“Situated near the Thornhill and Myne Memorial, this large hall has a 180 feet high tower. The interior of this memorial hall was ornamented with designs by Professor Gamble of the South Kensington Museum, London. Completed in 1879 this hall was meant for public meetings, balls and receptions in commemoration of the assassinated Viceroy”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Pilgrimage. Another common theme of the Christian heritage in India was the mention of the names of several Christian pilgrimage sites across the country. For example, important Christian pilgrimage sites were mentioned in the places/states of Delhi, Goa and Kerala respectively.

“Churches in Delhi worth seeing include the Church of the Sacred Heart and the Cathedral Church of the Redemption”

“Goa on India's west coast was once a Portuguese enclave. The legacy of Christianity and of the Gothic architectural style popular in Portugal during previous centuries, can still be seen in the churches of Goa today. Many of the significant churches can be seen in Old Goa and in Panaji, the capital of Goa. Some of the churches of interest are:

“Old Goa: The holy Basilica of Bom Jesus, houses the mortal remains of St. Francis Xavier. It is a famous pilgrimage center among Roman Catholics. Other well-known churches are the Convent and Church of St. Francis of Assisi, Church of St. Cajetan, Church of St. Augustine Ruins, Church and Convent of St. Monica, Church of Our Lady of Rosary, Chapel of St. Anthony and Chapel of St. Catherine.

“Churches worth seeing in Kerala are the Malayatoor Church, Valiya Palli Church, Santa Cruz Basilica and St. Francis Church”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Buddhist Heritage

An examination of the Indian government’s tourism representations of Buddhist Heritage revealed two major themes. First, *Arts* – this theme was demonstrated by the uniqueness of the Buddhist art. Second, *spirituality* – this theme was exemplified by the peaceful and tolerant Buddhist spirituality. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Arts. The most prominent theme related to the Buddhist heritage portrayed by the Indian government was Buddhist arts. Several descriptions praised the uniqueness of the Buddhist art and architecture, for example, the descriptions of the famous Ajanta-Ellora caves, Nalanda - one of the world's oldest universities, and Sarnath museum.

“Beginning with the 2nd century BC and continuing into the 6th century AD, the paintings, and to a lesser known degree, the sculptures in the caves of Ajanta inspired by Buddhism and its compassionate ethos, unleashed a surge of artistic excellence unmatched in human history. The creative use of colour and freedom of expression used in depicting human and animal forms makes the cave paintings at Ajanta one of the high watermarks of artistic creativity. The nearby cave complex of Ellora, though not exclusively Buddhist, continued to foster the artistic legacy of Ajanta for a couple of more centuries”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“Nalanda in Bihar has the ruins of one of the world's oldest universities, founded in the 5th century AD. In the 7th century Hiuen Tsang spent twelve years, both as a student and a teacher, at Nalanda which once had over 3,000 teachers and philosophers, attracting students from countries as far away as Java, Sumatra, Korea, Japan and China”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“Sarnath Museum - Sarnath yielded a rich collection of Buddhist sculptures comprising numerous Buddha and Bodhisattva images.

Considered amongst the finest specimens of Buddhist art, these have been housed at the museum, adjacent to the site. Apart from the above the other objects of Interest at Sarnath are the Dharmrajika Stupa, the magnificent Lion capital that has been adopted as India's National Emblem at Sarnath Museum, the Saddharmachakra Vihar's at excavated ruins”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Spirituality. The next common theme related to the Buddhist heritage was spirituality. The Buddhist cultural heritage relating to peace and tolerance was elaborately described in the Indian government representations. One such description focused on the teachings of the Buddha:

“The Buddha preached that the way to salvation was not dependent on God of Divine Grace but on understanding the way things really are. It is essentially concerned with all living, suffering beings caught in the treadmill of desire and craving”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Another description mentioned how Emperor Ashoka (who ruled from 268 to 239 BC), was inspired and converted to Buddhism after a bloody war.

“After embracing the Faith in 260 BC, Ashoka attempted to rule by the principles of dharma, justice and non-violence associated with Buddha's teaching. Ashoka took major steps to popularize Buddhism throughout his vast empire”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Jain Heritage

An examination of the Indian government's tourism representations of Jain Heritage revealed two major themes. First, *beautiful architecture* – this theme was demonstrated by the beautiful Jain architecture. Second, *spirituality* – this theme was expressed by the importance of pilgrimage and also peaceful and non-violent Jain culture. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Beautiful Architecture. The most common theme related to Jain heritage was the description of its beautiful architecture. The Indian government's tourism representations highlighted the exclusivity of the Jain temples, which was evident from the descriptions of the Jain architecture in the states of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan in India.

“Uttar Pradesh holds immense attraction for all those who desire to see the great Jain architectural splendour”

(Newsletter 2003).

“Ranakpur in the state of Rajasthan is one of the five most important pilgrimage sites of Jainism. It is home to an exceptionally beautiful temple complex in the Aravali ranges and a must visit for the tourists coming to this region. The basement is of 48,000 sq. feet area that covers the whole complex. There are four subsidiary shrines, twenty-four pillared halls and domes supported by over four hundred columns. The total number of columns is 1,444 all of which are intricately carved with no two being alike. The artistically carved nymphs playing the flute in various dance postures at a height of 45 feet are an interesting sight. In the assembly hall, there are two big bells weighing 108 kg whose sound echoes in the entire complex”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Spirituality. The next common theme related to the Jain heritage was spirituality. The Jain cultural heritage relating to peace and non-violence was emphasized in the Indian government's tourism representations, which were revealed in the following quote:

“The innumerable Jain Shrines that dot the state of Uttar Pradesh speak of a myriad intimate association with the lives and activities of the Jain Tirthankars (Jain religious preachers), who spread the message of peace, non-violence, love and enlightenment. It is this that has attracted and moulded the sentiments of millions of people across the nation as well as the world. Today, around 3.2 million Jain devotees live in India”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Also, the representations described several Jain pilgrimage sites and their importance in the Jain culture.

“Shravasti - The third Tirthankar, Lord Sambhavanath was born in this holy place. He is believed to have taken diksha at a Sahetuk forest in the vicinity of Shravasti. Each year, thousands of Jains come to Shravasti to celebrate the birth day of Lord Sambhavanath and to observe one of the most important Jain festivals during the auspicious day of Kartik Purnima”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“Shravabelagola - This holy site in Karnataka has the world's largest monolithic statue - a figure of the Jain saint Bahubali. This giant statue is a place of pilgrimage with devotees offering milk and sandalwood paste, which are poured over the statue on auspicious days during the year”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Sikh Heritage

An examination of the Indian government’s tourism representations of Sikh Heritage revealed two major themes. First, *unique architecture* – this theme was exemplified by the description of unique Sikh temples. Second, *spirituality* – this theme was demonstrated by the spirituality of the Sikh culture. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Unique Architecture. The most common theme related to the Sikh heritage was the emphasis of its unique architecture, which also “*represents a unique harmony between the Muslims and the Hindus way of construction work*” (Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005). For example, the Sikh’s most famous temple, The Golden Temple, was praised for its uniqueness:

“... is built on a 67ft. square platform in the centre of the Sarovar (tank). The temple itself is 40.5ft. Square. It has a door each on the East, West, North and South. The doorframe of the arch is about 10ft in height and 8ft 6 inches in breath. The door panes are decorated with artistic style. It opens on to the causeway or bridge that leads to the main building of Sri Harmandir Sahib. It is 202 feet in length and 21 feet in width. The front, which faces the bridge, is decorated with repeated cusped arches and the roof of the first floor is at the height of the 26 feet and 9 inches... Its architecture represents a unique harmony between the Muslims and the Hindus way of construction work and this is considered the best architectural specimens of the world. It is

often quoted that this architecture has created an independent Sikh school of architecture in the history of art in India”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Spirituality. The next common theme of the Sikh heritage was spirituality. The Indian government’s tourism representations described the importance of the Sikh’s five Gurdwaras (Sikh Temples), which are known as the five Takhts (Thrones), in the Sikh’s cultural heritage. These five Takhts have a very special significance for the Sikh community: *“They are considered the seats of Sikh religious authority. Many important decisions concerning the religious and social life of the Sikh community were made here”* (Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005). All the five Takhts were elaborately described, for example, one of them, *Sri Akal Takht* had the following explanation:

“Akal Takht literally means Eternal Throne. It is part of the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar. The building of the Akal Takht opposite the Golden Temple has a special meaning. While the Golden Temple stands for spiritual guidance the Akal Takht symbolizes the dispensing of justice and temporal activity”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“The Sikh Guru, Guru Amar Das began the construction of the Golden Temple and in his lifetime the holy city of Amritsar developed into an important town. The next Guru, Guru Ram Das, began the construction of the holy lake that surrounds the temple. Guru Arjan Dev conceived the sanctum sanctorum or Harmandir Sahib, which stands today as a hallowed symbol of the Sikh faith. The holy book of the Sikhs, the Guru Granth Sahib was given pride of place in the Harmandir Saheb in 1604. The gurudwara and the holy book are the core of Sikhism, revered by Sikhs worldwide. During the reign of the great Sikh King Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the shrine grew in wealth and importance. The golden Temple stands today, a proud monument symbolizing the religious faith of the Sikh community. A pilgrimage to this holy site is a journey that Sikhs as well as many followers of other religions make, because the sanctity and peace of the holy shrine brings peace to every pilgrim that enters its portals”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Other Themes (not related to any religion)

An examination of the Indian Government's tourism representations revealed five more themes apart from Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, Jain and Sikh heritages. First, *tradition and modernity* – this theme was exemplified by India's glorious past and the country's modern present. Second, *blend of religions & cultures* – this theme was described by the amalgamation of different religions and cultures. Third, *Muslim atrocities* – this theme was emphasized by the destruction of Hindu temples by the Muslim Emperors. Fourth, *Colonial atrocities* – this theme was demonstrated by the tortures of the colonial rulers on Indian freedom fighters. Fifth, *resistance* – this theme was emphasized by the Indian freedom fighters' bravery and the Indian Government's confrontation to the Colonial influence in India. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Tradition and Modernity. Another common theme in the Indian government's tourism representations related to tradition and modernity. Often, the representations emphasized the country's blend of historic past and exciting present. This amalgamation of the past and present was portrayed in the description of two ancient cities in India, Delhi and Chennai.

“Delhi the capital city of India typifies the soul of the country. Several times mighty empires arose and fell here. Today, the city is curious blend of the modern and traditional sky scrappers, beautiful gardens, wide tree lined avenues perpetuate the Mogul passion of landscaping and architectural excellence. There are open air cafes, Yoga Ashrams, sophisticated hotels, glittering shops, roadside wanderers and a world of culture and tradition to be explored.”

Chennai is a vibrant city ever growing, expanding and changing every year... [and]... history has certainly left its mark on this city”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Blend of Religions & Cultures. One of the regular themes in the Indian Government's portrayal of Indian heritage related to the blend of different religions and cultures in the country. It was emphasized many times how India is a hodgepodge of different religions and cultures and how people from various religious beliefs enjoy the festivals together. This mixture of people can be better understood from the following quotes of the Indian Government's representation:

"The Colourful mosaic of Indian festivals and fairs - as diverse as the land, is an eternal expression of the spirit of celebration. Observed with enthusiasm and gaiety, festivals are like gems ornamenting the crown of Indian Culture. They are round the year vibrant interludes in the mundane routine of life"

"Every season brings along new festivals, each a true celebration of the bounties of the rich traditions followed for time immemorial. That's not all! The birthdays of Gods and Goddesses, saints and prophets, great historical happenings and the advent of the New Year, all find expression in colourful festivities. The same festival, though celebrated differently in the various parts of the country, exhibits an eternal harmony of the spirit of celebration"
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Atrocities of the Muslim Emperors. In the Indian government's tourism representations, it was frequently mentioned about the atrocities of the Muslim Emperors in India. It was often mentioned how the Muslim rulers in India destroyed the ancient Hindu temples. For example, in the description of the ancient Hindu pilgrimage city, Varanasi, it was mentioned how the temples were destroyed by the Muslim Emperors:

"A Shiva Temple has stood here for 1500 hundred years but the present temple is not an old one because over the centuries it has been destroyed many times by Muslim invaders. The Mughal Emperor Akbar sponsored the rebuilding of a great temple to Shiva but his great grandson Aurangzeb destroyed it again and built a mosque at the site, which now stands beside it. But the traditions of this city go too deep to be uprooted, it has always possessed the will to endure and the temple rose once again"
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Colonial Atrocities. The theme related to the atrocities of the colonial rulers was frequently found in the Indian Government's representations. There were several descriptions about the patriotism of freedom fighters and the tortures they suffered in the hands of the colonial rulers. One such is the description of the Cellular Jail in Andaman and Nicobar Islands that was used for the purpose of the confinement of the prisoners. As expressed in the following quotation from the data, the patriots who raised their voice against the British Raj were sent to this Jail:

“Cellular Jail stood mute witness to the tortures meted out to the freedom fighters, who were incarcerated in this Jail... [and] ... this colossal edifice has mutely witnessed the most treacherous of inhumane atrocities borne by the convicts, who were mostly freedom fighters”
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

This three-storied jail which the British constructed in 1906 has now been declared a National Memorial and a pilgrimage destination for all Indians: *“a place of pilgrimage for all freedom loving people”* (Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005). It was also mentioned that the heroic freedom struggle by the freedom fighters is now made alive through a short movie show shown daily inside the jail compound in two languages - Hindi and English. There is also a museum, an art and photo gallery related to the freedom fighters which is open to public. Similarly, the Indian government in its representations celebrated the *Martyrs Memorial* in the state of Bihar in the memory of freedom fighters.

“Life-size statues in front of the old secretariat compound have been put up in memory of seven brave young men who faced bullets for the freedom of the country and sacrificed their lives in August 1942 in the historic struggle for India's independence during ‘Quit India’ movement”
(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Resistance. One more regular theme in the Indian government's tourism representations was about resistance to the erstwhile colonial heritage. There were several representations where the government mentioned the changes of names of different places that were given by the colonial rulers. For example, the main train terminus in India's financial capital Mumbai was named Victoria Terminus by the British. However, it has been renamed to Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus.

“Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus... formerly known as Victoria Terminus, F.W. Stevens designed this imposing building in the Gothic style. Work on the Terminus commenced in May 1878 and took 10 years to complete. Victoria Terminus displays exquisite ornamentation and embellishment on the façade and the beautifully executed panels and friezes adorning the walls, arches and windows complement the magnificent exteriors. A life size statue of Queen Victoria is placed in front of the Central Facade. It is from the site of this Terminus that the first train steamed out of Mumbai to Thane in 1853”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Similarly, the Arthur Crawford Market was renamed Mahatma Phule Market.

“Covering an area of 72,000 square yards, the Arthur Crawford Market was designed by William Emerson and completed in 1869. Originally named after an enterprising former Municipal Commissioner, the bustling market was renamed Mahatma Phule Market some years ago”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Indian Trade Tourism Representation of India's Heritage

A methodical study of the contents of articles in the representation of Indian heritage by the Indian Trade revealed several themes. The themes are actually each six religions' (Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain) heritage as represented by the Indian Trade. All the themes and their brief descriptions are given below in Table 7.

Table 7. Indian Trade Tourism Representation of India's Heritage

Indian Trade Tourism Representation (<i>Express Travel & Tourism</i> magazine)		
Ethnicity	Themes	Descriptions
Hindu Heritage	Ancientness Beauty of age-old architecture Pilgrimage Myths	Ancient culture Fine age-old temples Holy temples and places Myths of temples & places
Muslim Heritage	Architectural brilliance	Grandeur of forts & palaces
Buddhist Heritage	Arts Spirituality/ pilgrimage	Intricate cave paintings Enlightenment/ importance of pilgrimage
Jain Heritage	Beautiful architecture Spirituality/ pilgrimage	Exclusive temples <i>Nirvana</i> (salvation)/ importance of pilgrimage

Sikh Heritage

Spirituality/ pilgrimage

Pride in religious faith/
importance of pilgrimage

Christian Heritage

Spirituality

Christian festivals

Other themes
(not related to
any religion)

Tradition & modernity

Mixture of religious
cultures
Atrocities of Muslim
EmperorsGlorious past &
Modern present
Blend of religions and
festivals, arts, cuisine
Destruction of Hindu
temples

Below are the detailed descriptions of each religion's (Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain) heritage in the Indian Trade tourism representations (*Express Travel & Tourism* magazine).

Hindu Heritage

An examination of the Indian Trade tourism representations of Hindu Heritage revealed four major themes. First, *ancientness* – this theme was demonstrated by the ancient culture. Second, *beauty of age-old architecture* – this theme was exemplified by the marvel of craftsmanship in temples. Third, *pilgrimage* – this theme was established through the major form of Hindu travel to holy places. Fourth, *myth* – this theme was demonstrated by myths behind the erection of heritage structures or origins of names behind destinations. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Ancientness. The major theme represented in the Indian Trade tourism representations of Hindu heritage was ancientness. There was frequent mention of the

ancientness of different destinations. For example, the South Indian state, Tamil Nadu and West Indian state Gujarat were celebrated for their ancientness:

“Every district in Tamil Nadu is rich with its own heritage and culture. There are many other tourist attractions like age-old churches and temples of monumental dimensions, whose history and glory can be traced back to ancient periods”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“Kancheepuram is just one of the many places in Tamil Nadu that protects its heritage and culture to this day”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“Tamil Nadu's vivid history spans more than 2000 years and there goes a saying the older it gets the finer it becomes and the legacy left behind in the form of sculptures, monuments, and art takes tourists into the virtual past. The state boasts three monarch dynasties - Cheras, Cholas and Pandyan who have left indelible marks not only in influencing present day culture and tradition but also exposing to the world the grandeur of their marvellous creations”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“A journey through Gujarat unfolds a religious, cultural and historical panorama. A veritable land of temples dotted with important pilgrimage centres like Dwarka, Somnath, Palitana, Pavaghad, Ambaji, Modhera Sun Temple etc, Gujarat is also steeped in history... excavation sites like Lothal and Dholavira, provide a window to our ancient civilization”

(Dhruva 2002a).

Beauty of Age-old Architecture. Another common theme about the Hindu heritage in the Indian Trade tourism representations was descriptions of age-old architecture. The celebration of the longstanding Hindu architecture was found very often in the descriptions of various Hindu temples and destinations.

“Tamil Nadu is renowned worldwide for its excellent temple architecture, thanks to the Chola dynasty (the longest by a dynasty in Indian history). Cholas are the greatest builders of temples in the state and this can be discerned by the architectural style adopted by them”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“The Pallavas are responsible for the construction of the famous Mahabalipuram in the 7th century AD. Mahabalipuram is filled with

unique monuments, including sculptural panels, monolithic panels, structural architecture and cave temples. The beauty of this place is that all the monuments were created out of rocks. These rock monuments are a blend of mythological episodes, epic battles, demons, men and animals”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“Tanjore will hold you spellbound. It is another major heritage spot filled with temples. Connoisseurs of art world over revere the paintings in Tanjore. The Cholas who were responsible for the growth of Tanjore were great administrators and builders, not just of temples but of other public structures too. During their reign, metal casting and making of bronze figures developed to a speciality, an outstanding example of which is the beautiful sculpture of the Cosmic Dancer at Chidambaram. Tanjore is known for its bronze and other metal carvings even today – a remnant of the heritage that was left behind by the greatest dynasty that ruled the South”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“An architectural marvel built in Chalukya style with intricate carvings reflecting the skills of the Sompuras (master masons of Gujarat) is believed to have been built in 4th Century AD”

(Dhruva 2002b).

Pilgrimage. Another common theme related to the Hindu heritage was pilgrimage. Several Hindu holy places were celebrated by different authors in the Indian Trade tourism representation. Also, the authors mentioned the importance of this pilgrimage centers in the Hindu culture, which can be understood from the following quotes.

“[Nashik has] a character of its own, due to its mythological, historical, social and cultural importance. The city is situated on the banks of the Godavari River, making it one of the holiest places for Hindus all over the world”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“[Muktidham Temple] ... in its pure white form, made of Makarana marble, portrays the colours of holiness and peace. Unique to this temple is the fact that the eighteen chapters of the Geeta are written on the wall. Every Hindu, on visiting this temple believes that he has visited the four Dhams (holy centres) in India”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“Already popular as a pilgrim destination, this newly-formed state is home to a number of tourist locales that offer the visitor a wide variety of options. It has traditionally been known as a major pilgrim destination. With the Char Dham being renowned as the ultimate pilgrim destination for the Hindus to attain salvation, the state receives hordes of pilgrims every year. The other favourite being the Kailash Mansarovar Yatra, which leaves many a pilgrim and tourist breathless”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2003).

“Mathura and Vrindavan, as per legend childhood playground of Lord Krishna, and by that token very sacred land for the Hindus. While Mathura is a sprawling city, Vrindavan is a dusty little town. Pilgrims flock in lakhs to both these places. Allahabad is also the venue of the colossal Maha Kumbh Mela, which is held every 12 years and where crores of pilgrim flock to”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2003).

Myth. One more common theme about the Hindu heritage related to narrating myths. Several writers in the Indian Trade tourism representation described myths associated with the Hindu culture. For example, the writers described myths to point out why a particular festival was celebrated, or why a temple was built, or the reason behind the name of a place. The description of these myths is illustrated in the following quotes:

“The Pandyan legend king Kulasekara founded the city of Madurai in 6th century BC in a place believed to be the spot where a few drops of nectar fell from Lord Siva’s locks, when he came down there to bestow his blessings”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“According to legend the original temple was built out of gold by Moon God who is said to have worshiped this Shivling, hence the temple is popularly known as Somnath, one named after the moon. As per the legend it was subsequently built in silver by Ravana, wood by Krishna and in stone by Bhimdev. Famed for its wealth, the temple was destroyed 17 times by invaders, Mahmud of Ghazni being the first in 1026 AD and Aurangzeb the last”

(Dhruva 2002c).

“Although the festival is celebrated across the length and breadth of

India, nowhere is it celebrated on the same grand scale as it is in Mysore. The festival has its origins in Hindu mythology with the legendary Pandava kings in the great epic Mahabharat celebrating the festival as the triumph of good over evil”

(Sivanand 2003).

“Revered as the kingdom of Lord Krishna, Dwarka is one the most sacred and important pilgrimage centres of Gujarat. According to legend, Lord Krishna left Mathura with his Yadava clan and built a golden city on the northern tip of the Saurasthran peninsula, at the confluence of Gomti river and the Arabian sea. Called Dwarka, the city derived its name from the word ‘dwar’, meaning door as it is the entrance to Western India”

(Dhruva 2002d).

Muslim Heritage

An examination of the Indian Trade tourism representations of Muslim Heritage revealed one major theme - *architectural brilliance*, which was exemplified by the grandeur of the Muslim architecture. Following is a detailed description of the theme.

Architectural Brilliance. The prominent theme about Muslim heritage in the tourism trade representation was architectural brilliance. Several authors emphasized this theme in their articles by describing the architectural brilliance of the Muslim heritage in India. In the description of the prominent Muslim destinations and architecture in India (Agra, Lucknow, Aurangabad), the Muslim architectural brilliance was emphasized.

“Aurangabad, a place abundant with Mughal architecture, rich food and lavish experiences. Besides, the Ellora caves, a World Heritage site, tourists will be greeted by the Bibi ka Maqbara, a mausoleum built to be a replica of the Taj Mahal”

(Mukadam 2002).

“Agra with its Taj Mahal and the deserted ruins of Fatehpur Sikri stands testimony to the grandeur of the Moghuls”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2003).

“Lucknow... still retains an architecture and aesthetics exuding the aura of a pre-British Muslim power base”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2003).

“Siddi Sayyid’s mosque, famed for the ten magnificent jali’s (lattice work) screens lining its upper walls, is located in the northwest corner of Bhadra. Built in 1573, the mosque has two spectacular semi-circular screens with floral designs exquisitely carved out of yellow stone. Among the host of mosques dotting the city, the Jami Masjid or Friday mosque is spectacular. A short walk from Teen Darwaja along Gandhi Road, the mosque, built in 1424, has sandstone qibla (the main prayer hall) crowned with three rows of five domes. The 260 elegant pillars supporting its roof are covered with Hindu carvings” ”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

Buddhist Heritage

An examination of the Indian Trade tourism representations of the Buddhist Heritage revealed two major themes. First, *arts* – this theme was exemplified by the fine Buddhist arts. Second, *spirituality* – this theme was demonstrated by the enlightening Buddhist culture. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Arts. The most common theme of the Buddhist heritage was exclusive Buddhist arts. While describing about the Buddhist destinations, many authors pointed out the finery of the Buddhist architecture. These intricacies of the Buddhist architecture were best revealed in the following descriptions:

“An amazing painting was the one which has a three dimensional effect of a protruding necklace. Even ceilings are adorned with intricate designs and decorative themes. One of the wall paintings depicts 1,000 forms of Buddha, which is rather intriguing”

(Fernz 2002).

“Ajanta caves... situated at a reasonable height, the cave temples are cut into the rocky sides of a dramatic crescent shaped gorge, at the head of which is a waterfall that sustains a natural pool. The caves describe the life of Buddha... the technique of painting was unique called Tempera, however, what’s amazing is the fact that the paintings

date back to the fifth century and most of them depict a three dimensional effect. What distinguishes these paintings is the fact that they were painted 1,000 years before the Sistine Chapel in Rome and are much more detailed and intricate”

(Fernz 2002).

Spirituality. The next common theme related to Buddhist heritage was spirituality.

Several authors mentioned the different facets of Buddhist heritage while describing famous Buddhist destinations, which was revealed in the following quotes.

“[Maha Bodhi Temple in Bodh Gaya, Bihar]... is the place where Buddha gained enlightenment. It has remained a sacred place for followers of Buddhism and the place is visited by thousands of pilgrims and tourists both domestic and international”

(Narayan 2002).

“A visit to Ellora unveils its religious heritage divulged by its mosaic of ancient Indian culture. The Buddhist caves have an alluring aura, which emanate an illusive sense of tranquility and serenity, which make it perfect for meditation”

(Fernz 2002).

Jain Heritage

An examination of the Indian Trade tourism representations of the Jain Heritage revealed two major themes. First, *beautiful architecture* – this theme was emphasized by the exclusive Jain architecture. Second, *spirituality* – this theme was demonstrated by the religious Jain culture. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Beautiful Architecture. The most regular theme in the representation of Jain heritage was its massive and magnificent architecture, which was best revealed in the following quote:

“The temple architecture reached its heights of excellence in Gujarat’s Jain temples atop Shertrunjaya mountain. Shetrunjaya enclosure contains about 108 large temples and 872 small shrines with approximately 7,000 images. Built over a span of 900 years, each temple is adorned with intricate carvings and paintings. Italian marble has been used extensively in these

temples, which are eloquent examples of Jain architecture”
(Dhruva 2002e).

Spirituality. The next most common theme about the Jain heritage was spirituality. Several authors mentioned the spirituality of the Jains in India, which was apparent from one author’s description of a famous Jain pilgrimage center:

“A popular pilgrimage and tourist destination, Palitana sees six to seven lakh [1 million = 10 lakh] visitors annually. Shetrunjaya Hill, towering above the small town of Palitana, is the most important pilgrimage centre of Jains in Gujarat...[and] ... The main temple on Shetrunjaya Hill is dedicated to Lord Rishabh (the first Jain Tirthankar) popularly called Adinath, who attained ‘nirvana’ or ‘moksha’ on this hill. This temple was built in the 16th century. The temple has a fabulous collection of jewels and these can be viewed after obtaining special permission”
(Dhruva 2002e, *emphasis added*).

Sikh Heritage

An examination of the Indian Trade tourism representations of the Sikh Heritage revealed one major theme – *spirituality*, which was emphasized by the Sikh cultural tradition and importance of pilgrimage. Following is a detailed description of the theme.

Spirituality. The prominent theme in the Indian Trade tourism representation related to Sikh heritage in India was spirituality. Many authors mentioned the pride of the Sikh community in their pilgrimage centers and how important they were in their culture, which were described in the following quotes.

“The Punjab government was planning to specially market Sikh heritage destinations to Punjabi NRIs, who have high spending potential and look forward to enjoy the rich culture and tradition of their parent state”

(Koul 2003).

“the Hemkund Sahib is also an important pilgrimage destination for Sikhs. Along its shores is the sacred Sikh shrine of Guru Gobind Singh”
(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

Christian Heritage

An examination of the Indian Trade tourism representations of Christian Heritage revealed one major theme – *spirituality*, which was emphasized by the festivals in the Christian churches. Following is a detailed description of the theme.

Spirituality. The prominent theme portrayed in the Indian Trade tourism representations about Christian heritage in India was spirituality. It was emphasized that the festivals in the churches are very popular among the Christians in India, which can be understood from the following descriptions.

“If temple festivals are unique due to their ability to fascinate both spiritual pilgrims as well as art lovers, the festivals in the churches stand apart as they proclaim a unique practice of Christianity. Christianity, it is believed, has a history of 2000 years in Kerala as Christ’s disciple St Thomas came here to spread the faith in 52 AD. The saint had built seven churches in the state, which are still considered as the main centre of Christianity in the country. With a good Christian population, Kerala celebrates almost all Christian festivals in grand scale”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2003).

“Many individual group of Christians also celebrate the special festivals associated with their church like the famed Bandra fair”

(Gantzer and Gantzer 2001).

Other Themes (not related to any religion)

An examination of the Indian Trade tourism representations revealed three more themes apart from Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, Jain and Sikh heritages. First, *tradition and modernity* – this theme was exemplified by India’s glorious past and the country’s modern present. Second, *blend of religions and cultures* – this theme was demonstrated by the mixture of various religions and cultures in India. Third, *atrocities of Muslim rulers* – this theme was emphasized by the Muslim rulers’ destructions of Hindu temples in India. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Tradition and Modernity. Another frequent theme in the Indian Trade tourism representation was the mixture of past cultural heritage and modernity in India. Several authors mentioned how numerous places in India are combinations of tradition and modernity. For example, the states of Gujarat and Tamil Nadu and the cities Nashik and Delhi were described as a mix of tradition and modernity.

“One of the country’s most industrialised and progressive states, Gujarat showcases a perfect blend of the modern milieu and age old traditions”

(Dhruva 2002e).

“Tamil Nadu is not just a state with pilgrimage centres, beach resorts, theme parks but a destination where the ancient past continues to shape a dynamic present”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“Today, Nashik has become a highly industrialised city... one of India’s fastest growing cities... having a perfect blend of the ancient and the modern”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“While the majestic Red Fort, a 16th century Moghul architecture embellished with inlay work on walls and landscaped gardens, the towering Qutub Minar, expansive Purana Qilla reflect the city's brush with history, the discos, pubs, multiplexes, bowling alleys, pool clubs strewn around the city displays its trendy modernity”

(Chattopadhyay 2003).

Blend of Religions and Cultures. An additional theme in the Indian Trade tourism representation was the portrayal of the blend of religions and cultures in India. Many articles in the *Express Travel & Tourism* magazine pointed out how India has become a potpourri of different religions like Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism. Moreover, the culture of the past Hindu, Muslim and Colonial rulers has made the present Indian culture, especially the architecture, cuisine and festivals a unique blend, which was portrayed in the following descriptions.

“Dotted with palaces and gardens, there are a plethora of places depicting the royal past. Built in 1894 by R F Chisholm, Maharaja Sayaji Rao Museum and Picture Gallery houses a large collection (original and reproductions) of European masters like Veronese, Giordano, Zurbaran and some Flemish and Dutch school paintings. Besides this it also showcases Mughal miniatures, palm-leaf manuscripts of Buddhist and Jain origin, South Indian narrative paintings, Tibetan Buddhist artifacts and historic inscriptions”
(Express Travel & Tourism 2003).

“Laxmi Vilas Palace, considered to be one of the most expensive buildings built by an individual in the 19th century, is a fine example of the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture depicting a mix of Hindu architecture with Mughal nuances and Gothic influences”
(Express Travel & Tourism 2003).

“Ellora, the site of 34 impressive cave temples dedicated to Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Ellora unveils its religious heritage divulged by its mosaic of ancient Indian culture, a juxtaposition of Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism”
(Fernz 2002).

Atrocities of Muslim Emperors. Another regular theme in the Indian Trade tourism representation of the Indian heritage related to the atrocities of Muslim Emperors. There were several instances in the articles that pointed out how the Muslim Emperors destroyed the Hindu temples. The following quote describes that fact.

“... a mutilated Nataraja (dancing Shiva) and a ruined Nandi (Shiva’s bull) stand testimony to the widespread destruction wrecked upon the temple by scores of invaders. Yet its beauty and elegance cannot be denied and it is till date, revered by millions of devotees as one of the principle pilgrimage sites in India”
(Express Travel & Tourism 2003).

Indian Public Tourism Representation of India's Heritage

A careful study of the contents of articles in the representation of Indian heritage by the Indian Public tourism representations revealed several themes. The themes are actually each six religions' (Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain) heritage as represented by the Indian Public tourism representation. All the themes and their brief description is mentioned below in Table 8.

Table 8. Indian Public Tourism Representation of India's Heritage

Indian Public Tourism Representation (<i>Outlook Traveller</i> magazine)		
Ethnicity	Themes	Descriptions
Hindu Heritage	Ancientness Beauty of age-old architecture Pilgrimage Myths	Ancient culture Beautiful old temples Visits to holy places Myths of temples, places and pilgrimage centers
Christian Heritage	Colonial heritage	Celebration of colonial Heritage
Muslim Heritage	Architectural brilliance	Artistic finesse
Buddhist Heritage	Arts	Buddha statues and monasteries

Jain Heritage	Marvelous old architecture	Stunning temples
Sikh Heritage	Spirituality	Sikh religion and pilgrimage
Other Themes (not related to any religion)	Colonial heritage Tradition and modernity Muslim Emperors' atrocities Colonial atrocities	Celebration of Colonial heritage (experience) Glorious past and modern present Destruction of Hindu temples Tortures of Colonial rulers

Below are the detailed descriptions of each religion's (Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain) heritage in the Indian Public tourism representations (*Outlook Traveller* magazine).

Hindu Heritage

An examination of the Indian Public tourism representations of Hindu Heritage revealed four major themes. First, *ancientness* – this theme was demonstrated by the emphasis of ancient Hindu culture carried on through several dynasties. Second, *beauty of age-old architecture* – this theme was exemplified by the description of beautiful longstanding Hindu temples. Third, *pilgrimage* – this theme was established through the major form of Hindu travel to holy places. Fourth, *myth* – this theme was demonstrated by myths behind the reasons why Hindus travel to certain pilgrimages, reasons behind the erection of heritage structures or origins of names behind

destinations. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Ancientness. Ancientness was the most common theme in the Indian Public tourism representation of Hindu heritage. Several authors in their descriptions of heritage destinations, temples and pilgrimage centers emphasized the ancientness of the Hindu culture. For example, one author while describing the Hoysala temple towns of Belur and Halebid in South India emphasized on the ancientness associated with the place.

“With some of the most intricate carvings of the Hoysalas, Belur and Halebid boast sculptures and structures typical yet distinctive, reminiscent of the grandeur of an ancient royal civilization... [and] ... hoysala temple towns of Belur and Halebid, with some of the most magnificent temples in India. What the Parthenon is to Greece and the pyramids to Egypt, the Hoysala temples are to South Indian architecture. These temples have become rich repositories of ancient Hindu culture, with several thousands of visitors from all over India and overseas coming to witness their intricate and distinctive architectural style”

(Nanavaty 2002).

Similarly, Hindu ancient cultural heritage was emphasized by one author while describing another destination where even today from early times, the tradition of dance is handed down from teachers to disciples. The following quote describes this tradition.

“Drive out of Bangalore for a cultural high at Nrityagram... strains of music filter through the trees and leaves. Shishyas move from one end of the gurukul to the other, soundless and effortless. Nrityagram takes you back to a time when the guru-shishya parampara existed”

(Bhuchar 2003).

Beauty of Age-old Architecture. The next common theme about Hindu heritage was the beauty of its architecture. Several authors mentioned this theme, which were best revealed from the descriptions of Dilwara temples in the West Indian state of Rajasthan and Ekambaranatha temple in the South Indian town Mahabalipuram.

“Marble has been chiseled and shaped to such beauty and perfection. that the workmen who gave shape to these extraordinary monuments were rewarded in silver and gold equivalent to the amount of marble brought in... [and] ...built, and rebuilt over two centuries starting from the 11th century onwards, the intricacy of the work is unbelievable”
(Roy 2002).

“... at the Ekambaranatha temple at the northern end of the city, everything is god-sized again. This temple was built by three dynasties and sprawls over 12 hectares. The stone doorstops larger than my head, the locks, the chains, the steps, all are designed to awe”
(Anantharaman 2002).

“The 10th century Venkatachalapati Temple dedicated to Shri Venkateswara was built on the outskirts of Tirupati (11 km) at Tirumala. This temple is one of the richest in the world”
(Bhattacharya 2001).

Pilgrimage. Another common theme about Hindu heritage was pilgrimage. There were several descriptions about the Hindu pilgrimage. For example, how every year thousands of devotees travel to Amarnath, a holy place in Kashmir and believed to be the origin of Lord Shiva, by trekking to the shrine through treacherous terrain. Also there was mention about how important it is for people to visit Varanasi, one of the world’s oldest living cities, *“glorified by myth and sanctified by religion”* (Bhattacharya 2001). There were descriptions of several other Hindu pilgrimage centers in India, which can be understood from the following quote.

“What can you say about an event that is more legendary than Woodstock, attracts more people than the Haj, and lasts longer than the Carnival at Rio? When 30 million people come together, once every 12 years, only to take a holy dip where three rivers meet. That this can only be the Mahakumbhmela at Prayag. Millions arrive here on foot or in stretch limos; staying in Swiss tents or sleeping on riverbanks; some lug their valuables while others walk without clothes. Naga sadhus, niggling urchins and neo-millionaire's... all come together in reverence of a Hindu legend”
(Ganguly 2003).

Myth. Another regular theme about Hindu heritage related to myth. Several authors while describing destinations or temples narrated various legends to clarify the reasons, for example, why some Hindu architecture was erected and why tourists visit to some Hindu pilgrimages. The below mentioned quotes are fine examples of these myths.

“From here it is but a small leap into the world of myth and legend that lies waiting for the touch and glance of the visitors that sweep into the crowded town each day. There’s a Mahabalipuram that caters to the visitor on a round trip of the South in tour groups that stop at all the sacred places mentioned in the Ramayana and Mahabharata... for travellers from far-off places, such as the farmers from the north and east, the trip to Mahabalipuram is not a visit to another tourist spot, but a chance to follow in the footsteps of the great heroes of the Hindu epics”

(Doctor 2001).

“Just 16 km south of Mahabalipuram, for instance, there is the famous temple of Thirukalikunram, a spot that marks the place where Jatayu the eagle king lost his golden wings while doing battle with Ravana. At the Shore Temple, strange lights play around the outline that has come to symbolise the image of Mahabalipuram. Maybe that is when the sleeping stone god stirs once more and walks out into the sea. Mahabalipuram is also a place where the gods live and sleep through eternity”

(Doctor 2001).

Christian Heritage

An examination of the Indian Public tourism representations of Christian heritage revealed one major theme - *Colonial heritage*, which was emphasized by the Christian/colonial culture in India. Following is a detailed description of the theme.

Colonial Heritage. The most common theme observed in the Indian Public tourism representation of India’s heritage related to the celebration of colonial heritage. Many of the articles written by travel writers in the description of places vividly

mentioned about the colonial heritage. This is apparent from one travel writer's comment:

“The British journalist Malcolm Muggeridge once prophesied that the last Englishman would doubtless be an Indian. Long after the sun set on the Empire, long after the sahibs had packed their colonial bags and headed home, he reckoned, the natives would cling to Raj remembrances and perpetuate ‘the English way’”

(Venkatesh 2004).

The same writer, while describing a trip to Kumaon, elaborately emphasized how the Raj-era estates and bungalows in Kumaon can offer tourists a bit of colonial history:

“I stayed in a red-roofed, English-style stone cottage with ivy creepers clinging to the walls; and I had generous doses of porridge and pudding—and single malts. So much so that, at the end of it all, I began to feel a good bit like that last Englishman”

(Venkatesh 2004).

Another author described the colonial heritage of Goa:

“With a history as vast as the sea itself, the Portuguese influence can be felt everywhere in Goa, in the churches and chapels, and unbroken sun-soaked beaches”

(Wadhwa 2003).

The description of the South Indian popular hill station Ooty also included the mention of British heritage:

“Founded by the British in the early part of the 19th century, Ooty is home to many Britishers who have fallen in love with this hill station where they discovered a little bit of England”

(Wadhwa 2003).

It was also mentioned how Lord Lytton, Viceroy of India from 1876-1880 described Ooty to his wife: “... such beautiful English rain, such delicious English mud”

(Wadhwa 2003). The same author in another article described that the British established several hill stations in India, and highlighted the beauty of one such lovely hill station – Mussoorie in the following quote:

“Think hill stations, think Mussoorie. One of the oldest hill stations established by the Britishers, Mussoorie is very popular with tourists for its foggy hills and cool winds. Mussoorie was discovered by an adventurous military officer, Captain Young, in 1827. It has everything one expects from a typical hill station - scintillating views of the valleys below, snow-capped mountains, a Mall, a skating rink and wonderful swirling mists”

(Wadhwa 2003).

There were also frequent comparisons of Indian heritage destinations to Western destinations, for example: *“Pune is known as the Oxford of the East”* and *“Lucknow is called the Constantinople of India.”*

Muslim Heritage

An examination of the Indian Public tourism representations of Muslim Heritage revealed one major theme - *architectural brilliance*, which was emphasized by the unique Muslim craftsmanship in mosques, forts and palaces. Following is a detailed description of the theme.

Architectural Brilliance. The prominent theme in the Indian Public tourism representation of the Muslim heritage was architectural brilliance of the Muslim emperors in India. While some authors praised the architectures of famous Muslim cities and pilgrimage centers, others were impressed with the creativity in the architecture in residences of Muslim emperors. These descriptions of the writers about the Muslim architectural brilliance were pointed out in the following quotes.

“[In Ajmer Sharif] ... entering the precincts of the shrine is like entering another world. The clamour of the street falls away under an enormous marble gateway built by Emperor Shahjahan”

(Saran 2001).

“Its walls and pillars are wrought with the most intricate work in stone and paint but they represent more than just artistic finesse”

(Thakur 2002)

“In ancient India, paintings were done on cave walls, palm leaf and buildings. The Mughals introduced the miniature style of paintings on paper, originally from Persia”

(Vaidya 2001).

Buddhist Heritage

An examination of the Indian Public tourism representation of the Buddhist heritage revealed one major theme - *arts*, which were emphasized by the fine Buddhist arts. Following is a detailed description of the theme.

Arts. The prominent theme about Buddhist heritage in India was Buddhist arts.

Many authors in their articles focused on the popularity and uniqueness of the Buddhist arts, which was best portrayed in the following descriptions of authors:

“If you’re not a serious student of Buddhist art, you can still enjoy the subtle colours of the murals, the grandeur of the statues, and the special stillness that Hemis, and all the other monasteries, exude. There are common icons in most of the monasteries. The entrance to most shrines is flanked by murals of the Lords of the Four Quarters. The yellow figure of Kuvera, Lord of the North, holds a banner in his right hand, and a mongoose in his left”

(Patel 2001).

“The figure of the Buddha is ubiquitous, although his manifestations are many. Most popular is Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future. In Likir, the massive 75-ft-high golden image stares implacably across one of the most beautiful vistas on earth. At other gompas, such as the exquisite 12th century complex at Alchi, or the dramatic crumbling mountain-top edifice of Basgo, the images have spent hundreds of years contemplating the smoky lamp-lit gloom inside: the contrast between the great outdoors and the dark, silent interiors encapsulates the sense of Buddhism’s essential inwardness”

(Roy 2001).

Jain Heritage

An examination of the Indian Public tourism representations of the Jain heritage revealed one major theme - *marvelous old architecture*, which was emphasized by the exclusive and old Jain temples. Following is a detailed description of the theme.

Marvelous Old Architecture. The prominent theme about Jain heritage was the description of the wonderful and old Jain temples. Several authors mentioned that as the Jains were the rich financiers of the erstwhile Rajput rulers in India, hence they exerted immense power especially with regard to religious matters. As a result, there are some magnificent Jain temples in India built by the Rajput rulers and devoted to the Jain Tirthankaras (Lords). The below mentioned descriptions are examples of the marvel of the old Jain temples.

“They built numerous temples in and around the city, however, the temple-complex within the fort of seven temples dating back to the 12th & 14th centuries are truly a marvel of architecture. The Parasvanath Temple holds the distinction of being the oldest as well as the most stunning of all the temples”

(Wadhwa 2003).

“Situated 15 km north-west of the city, stands the deserted ruins of the ancient capital-city of Jaisalmer. The city was founded by the Lodra Rajputs and handed down to the Bhatti Devaraja in the 10th century. Worth visiting are the exquisite Jain Temples which were rebuilt in the late 1970's”

(Wadhwa 2003).

“... each of the temples is devoted to one main tirthankara, with a number and symbol to locate his place in the Jain pantheon”

(Dubey 2005).

Sikh Heritage

An examination of the Indian Public tourism representations of the Sikh heritage revealed one major theme - *spirituality*, which was emphasized by the exquisite Sikh

temples. Following is a detailed description of the theme.

Spirituality. The most prominent theme of the Indian Public tourism representations of Sikh heritage was spirituality. Almost all the descriptions related to Sikh heritage nestled around the Sikh's famous temple – The Golden Temple in the city of Amritsar and its importance in the Sikh spirituality, which can be best understood from the following quotes:

“[Amritsar]... this ancient city gains its spiritual sustenance from the most important shrine of Sikhism - The breathtaking Golden Temple rises above the squalor of the city and looks down at the Pool of Nectar, wondering, perhaps, at the monster its presence has created”

(Faleiro 2003).

“The Golden Temple is the focal point of all activity in the city. Being the spiritual and temporal head of Sikhism, it is from this vital core that the temple retains its importance as the most sacred shrine of the Sikh religion”

(Faleiro 2003).

Other Themes (not related to any religion)

An examination of the Indian Public tourism representations revealed three more themes apart from Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, Jain and Sikh heritages. First, *tradition and modernity* – this theme was exemplified by India's glorious past and the country's modern present. Second, *Muslim Emperors' atrocities* – this theme was highlighted by the atrocities of the Muslim rulers in India. Third, *colonial atrocities* – this theme was demonstrated by the tortures of the colonial rulers in India. Following is a detailed description of each theme.

Tradition and Modernity. Another frequent theme about India's heritage represented in the Indian Public tourism representation was the amalgamation of cultural heritage and modernity in India. For example, the same theme of tradition and

modernity was emphasized while describing Chennai, a South Indian city and one of the country's four major cities:

“A wealth of well-maintained museums, historic churches and temples... [and]... Now noisy and fraught with every feature of a big city, Chennai still retains a certain traditional charm. Shored along the Bay of Bengal, the gateway to the South’, Chennai has evolved from a tiny fishing village to the country’s fourth-largest metro”

(Wadhwa 2003).

Atrocities of the Muslim Emperors. One more regular theme about India's heritage representation by the Indian Public tourism representation was the atrocities of the Muslim Emperors. It was mentioned by authors how the Muslim Emperors invaded several places and destroyed the temples, which was best described by one author in the following quote:

“... it was twice attacked by invaders who robbed it of its treasures, leaving behind the ruins of the once-magnificent Shiva temple. The Hoysalas then shifted their capital to Belur, leaving behind Halebid, a city once grand and since reduced to poverty and ruins”

(Nanavaty 2002).

Colonial Atrocities. Another frequent theme about India's heritage representations related to the atrocities performed by the Colonial rulers in India. Some authors described these colonial atrocities vividly in their articles. For example, one author lamented about the British mass killing of innocent people in Jalianwalabagh:

“No student of history or humanity can distance himself from the horror of April 13, 1919. There is a helplessness that continues to resonate in the folkloric images of stampeding innocents stumbling toward the impossibly high walls of the Bagh, diving into the well at one side, trying to escape a madman's ruthless attack on them. When General R.E.H. Dyer commanded his troops to fire upon 20,000 men, women and children, gathered that day to peacefully protest the Rowlatt Act—which enabled the British to imprison without trial any Indian suspected of sedition—he exemplified the callous evil inherent in British colonialism. He killed 372 people, according to official estimates”

(Faleiro 2003).

**Representative Dissonance in the Three Indian Tourism Representations
of India's Six Religions' Heritage**

A methodical study of the contents of articles in the representation of heritage of six religions in India by the three agents of tourism representation (the Indian Government tourism representation, the Indian Trade tourism representation, and the Indian Public tourism representation) revealed one major difference. All three representations described several aspects of heritage (e.g., ancientness, pilgrimage, myth) in a similar vein for four religions – Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Sikh. In some cases in Buddhist, Jain and Sikh religions, the themes were different but the intended meaning of the representations emphasized either ‘ancientness’ or ‘pilgrimage’ or ‘myth.’ However, these are missing from the descriptions of heritage of two other religions – Muslim and Christian. This is mentioned below in the Table 9 and discussed in detail below Table 9. Also, there was a similarity in the representation of Colonial heritage; however, the styles of portrayal was different. For example, there were differences in the way Colonial heritage was celebrated in the representation of Indian Government and Indian Public, which is explained following Table 9.

Table 9. Similarities and Differences in the Representation of Heritage of Six Religions in India by Three Indian Tourism Representations

	Indian Government	Indian Trade	Indian Public
Hindu	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth
Buddhist	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth
Jain	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth
Sikh	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth	Ancientness Pilgrimage Myth
Muslim	Architectural Brilliance	Architectural Brilliance	Architectural Brilliance
Christian	Colonial Heritage	Colonial Heritage	Colonial Heritage

Below are the detailed descriptions of the differences in the three Indian tourism representations (i.e., Indian Government, Indian Trade, and Indian Public) of the six religions' heritage in India.

Ancientness and Myths of Hindu Architecture. All the three representations' portrayal of different Indian religions' architecture was prolific. However, it was the Hindu architecture which was represented with an 'ancient' appeal, and emphasis of 'myths' associated with them. These aspects of 'ancientness' and 'myths' were represented in the architecture of Buddhist, Jain and Sikh architecture but are missing from the representation of Muslim and Christian architecture. Similarly, in the

representation of Hindu as well as Buddhist, Jain and Sikh religions' pilgrimage, 'myths' were described. However, in the representation of the Muslim and Christian religions' pilgrimage, only the names of pilgrimage centers were mentioned but there was no description of myths. The possible reasons for this dissonance in representations between the religions in India are discussed below.

All the three representations emphasized the "ancientness" of the Hindu architecture in India, for example, how old they were and who built them. There may be an important reason for this. Several scholars (Lowenthal 2005; Smith 1997; Uzzell 1989; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Hewison 1987) have argued that a fundamental point in a nationalist justification is dominance of occupation of the area claimed. So, by abundantly portraying the ancientness of the Hindu architecture, all the three representations emphasized that there was a dominant Hindu culture before the arrival of the Muslims and Colonial rulers in India. This supports Lowenthal's (2005: 176) argument, "being ancient makes things precious by their proximity to the dawn of time, to the earliest beginnings... [and] ... the more ancient a lineage the more highly venerated it is." Also, this practice of nations' to create national identity by stressing on 'ancientness' is nicely argued by Wilson (1997: 186).

"All nations need a formal starting-point to their history, normally the moment when the process of 'ethnogenesis' is deemed to have culminated in the beginnings of formal statehood."

Similarly, in India the fight between Hindus and Muslims relating to a disputed heritage site in Ayodhya that "we were there first" stimulates astonishing historical research. Hindus and Muslims both claim priority of the disputed heritage site in Ayodhya as "claims of priority commonly derogate rivals" (Lowenthal 2005: 173).

Also, all the three representations vividly described “myths” of Hindu culture, such as reasons behind the erection of a temple or visiting a pilgrimage. For example, one author in the Indian public tourism representation described the myth of Hoysala temple towns of Belur and Halebid in South India, which was reflected in the following quote:

“Both these temples are masterpieces, with their exteriors adorned with horizontal friezes, sculptured in succession from the bottom. Stories from the Puranas, the Upanishads and other mythological sources have been executed in most exquisite and authentic detail, as have tales from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Each work has significance, a tale to tell”

(Nanavaty 2002).

Similarly, the Indian government elaborately portrayed the myths associated with the holiest city of ‘Varanasi,’ and one of the most popular pilgrimage centers of the Hindus – ‘Vaishno Devi’ respectively:

“Varanasi’s prominence in Hindu mythology is virtually unrivalled. For the devout Hindu the city has always had a special place, besides being a pilgrimage centre, it is considered especially auspicious to die here, ensuring an instant route to heaven. The revered and ancient city Varanasi is the religious centre of the world of Hindus, a city where the past and present, eternity and continuity co-exist. It is beside the holy waters of the Ganga that the activities for which Banaras is held sacred are performed. Everyday thousands of residents and pilgrims bathe, offer prayers to the elements, to the rising sun, and to their dead ancestors who have been carried away by these waters. What draws people to the river is an ingrained belief that these waters can absolve the sins of many generations”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“Every year thousands of pilgrims make the trek to the holy cave site of Vaishno Devi atop a hill near Jammu. The yatra begins at Katra at the foot of the mountain, and is a 13 km uphill climb. While most pilgrims walk up the mountain, you can also ascend by pony, be carried by porters or fly in a helicopter. The fervor with which pilgrims make the journey is because it is believed any boon that you wish for at the holy cave temple, will be granted by Mata Vaishno Devi. The legend of Vaishno Devi, tells the tale of a devotee of Lord Vishnu who defeated a demon Bhairon Nath, by taking on the form of

Kali, when he tried to violate her vow of celibacy. The religious fervour of the devotees and the spectacular scenery of the Pir Panjal Mountains and of the Himalayas on a clear day, combine to make the Vaishnodevi Yatra a truly memorable spiritual journey”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

There are several reasons for the description of “myths” by all the three representations. First, the people of India believe in myths. Goetz’s (1954: 15 cited in Appadurai and Breckenridge 2001: 407) comment about the Indian people that they were “still living in the world of myths,” is very true even today. Several scholars (Palmer 1999; Renan 1882; Smith 1991) have argued that heritage needs to be nourished, and fascinating stories about heritage are not only important to national identity building, but also helps people to construct their own identity. According to Hewison (1989: 17), myth is true to many people:

“... if I describe something as a myth, that does not necessarily mean that it is untrue. Simply, that it is true in a special sense, in that it has truth for great many people, and this general belief gives it a contemporary validity. It may contain elements that are unhistorical or ahistorical, but it adds up to a cultural truth. It may indeed contain a great deal of historically accurate and factually testable material, but this is transformed into a touchstone of national, local, even individual, identity.”

However, there lies an important issue over who controls and appropriates these ‘myths.’ Many scholars have commented on this political aspect of creating ‘myths.’ According to Schopflin (1997: 25), the myths are

“controlled by political and intellectual elites in the community, those who are able to gain the ear of society, those who control the language of public communication – politicians, the monarch, the bureaucracy, perhaps the priesthood, writers and so on.”

Similarly, in Overing’s (1997: 16) words:

“The images of identity and alterity that play such an important role in myth have obvious political as well as social implications. Myths are usually

expressive of specific political visions that distinguish the relative worth of an array of modes of power. In these schemes the appropriateness or monstrosity of specific modes can usually be clearly spelled out.”

Therefore, the myths associated with the Hindu culture were emphasized by all the three representations to praise the Hindu cultural heritage “not because it is demonstrably true but because it ought to be” (Lowenthal 2005: 127). Moreover, “myth is one of a number of crucial instruments in cultural reproduction” (Bourdieu 1993 cited in Schopflin 1997: 20).

It is interesting to note here that the representations of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Sikh architecture, all had similarities of pilgrimage and the description of “myths” associated with them. Although, the Buddhist architecture was represented as symbols of peace, tolerance and ‘enlightenment,’ and the Jain architecture was celebrated for their message of peace and non-violence; the fact of “ancientness” was emphasized in their representations. Both of these two aspects – “myths” and “ancientness” were similar to the representation of Hindu architecture as discussed above. Moreover, in the representation of both the Buddhist and Jain architecture by the Government of India, the description of famous Ellora caves was portrayed as “devoted to Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism.”

“Ellora - Dug side by side in the wall of a high basalt cliff, not far from Aurangabad, in Maharashtra, are 34 monasteries and temples, extending more than 2 kms. Ellora, with its uninterrupted sequence of monuments dating from A.D. 600 to 1000, brings the civilization of ancient India to life. Not only is the Ellora complex a unique artistic creation and a technological exploit but, with its sanctuaries devoted to Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism, it illustrates the spirit of tolerance that was characteristic of ancient India. The Ellora caves are a UNESCO World heritage site”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Also, there was representation of Sikhism as a part of or similar to Hinduism, which

were emphasized in the following quotes:

“Historians and specialists in Eastern religions generally believe that Sikhism is a syncretistic religion, originally related to the Bhakti movement within Hinduism and the Sufi branch of Islam, to which many independent beliefs and practices were added. Some Sikhs believe that their religion is a re-purification of Hinduism; they view Sikhism as part of the Hindu religious tradition. Many Sikhs disagree; they believe that their religion is a direct revelation from God - a religion that was not derived from either Hinduism or Islam. Sikhism does contain many unique postulates and principles that are different from both Hinduism and Islam”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“Perched on the right bank of the roaring Parvati River, Manikaran is situated at an altitude of 1760 m and is located at a distance of about 45 kms, from Kullu, via Bhuntar, in Kullu District of Himachal Pradesh. Manikaran, a place of pilgrimage for Hindus and Sikhs, has many temples and a gurudwara. It epitomize historic temples of Lord Rama, Krishna, Vishnu (Raghunath) and goddess Bhagwati. Raja Jagat Singh built Ram Temple in pyramidal style in the 17th century when the idol of Lord Rama was brought from Ayodhya. The idol was later shifted to Kullu. Raja Dilip Singh renovated the temple in 1889 AD”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

This emphasis in the representation of harmony between Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism can be argued, due to the fact that “Sikh or Jain or Buddhist faith may also be recognized and identified as a Hindu, as all these three religious systems are inalienably linked with Hinduism, as well as Hindu history and culture. Thus, Jainism and Buddhism and Sikhism, in that order, were originally unbound reform movements in Bharat (India), growing from but essentially a part of mainstream society which has been identified as Hindu” (Wikipedia 2005).

This importance of ‘myth’ or ‘ancientness’ was missing from the representation of Muslim and Christian religions’ architecture and pilgrimage by all the representations. Muslim forts and palaces were highlighted for their ‘artistic finesse’

and 'grandeur': "[it was] very easy to slip away through the centuries into the grandeur and intrigues of the Mughal court" (Newsletter 2004), and the Christian churches and cathedrals were dignified in the representations for their magnificence as it was mentioned that they hold "pride and prominence" in India. Also, only the names of the Muslim and Christian pilgrimage centers were mentioned, not the description of any myth. It can be argued that the omission of 'myth' and 'ancientness' from the representation of the architecture or pilgrimage of both of these religions may be due the fact that both the religions are considered alien to India. As suggested by Wilson (1997: 187), "Nationalist historiography likes to narrate a more or less continuous myth of national descent in order to refute the stereotypes of rival mythologies."

Colonial Heritage. Although there were differences in the style of portrayal of different representations, all the three representations were abundant in celebrating India's colonial heritage. The Indian Government's representation focused on the magnificence of colonial architecture in India, and occurrences of famous incidents, which was apparent in the description of Fort St. George in the south Indian city of Chennai, and Victoria Memorial and St. Paul's Cathedral in Kolkata:

"Fort St. George - The British East India Company built it in 1640 AD. The fort houses St. Mary's Church and fort museum. St. Mary's Church the oldest Anglican Church in India built in 1680. This ancient prayer house solemnized the marriages of Robert Clive and Governor Elinu-Yale, who later founded the Yale University in the States"

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

"This is one of India's most beautiful monuments built between 1906 and 1921 on the lines of white marble. It took 20 years to build at a cost of 10 million rupees. The Prince of Wales formally inaugurated it in 1921. Set in beautiful garden grounds, the Victoria Memorial houses a large bronze statue of the Queen Empress Topped with a moving angel. The statues of Motherhood, Prudence, Learning, Art, Justice, Architecture and Charity are

brought from Italy. It also has a 5 meter tall bronze winged figure of Victory, weighing 3 tons. It houses paintings, manuscripts, and other objects of historic value in its Museum and Art Gallery”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“St. Paul's Cathedral measures 71m. in length 24m. in width the spire rising 60m. high. The interior has exquisite scriptural scenes. Above these are the two Florentine frescos. In the centre of the eastern sector is the magnificent alter piece. The massive gold-gilt plate presented by Queen Victoria to Bishop Wilson, and the western windows are of special interest. The candlelight service on Christmas eve is a moving experience”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

There are several reasons why all the three representations celebrated India's colonial heritage. First, unlike the Western World, India is yet to learn efficient conservation of its crumbling forts, palaces and monuments. Sundar (2005: 1) mentioned, “It is a sad commentary on our times that though we talk incessantly about our glorious heritage we do precious little to take care of it.” Second, it is the British who felt impelled to take an interest and responsibility for the conservation of India's heritage, as Sundar (2005:1) lamented, “Given our present indifference, it is pertinent to remember that it took a foreign power for us to appreciate our own heritage and to act to conserve it.” However, Appadurai and Breckenridge 2001: 405) opined, “As far as India is concerned, museums seem less a product of philanthropy and more a product of the conscious agenda of India's British rulers, which led them to excavate, classify, catalogue, and display India's artifactual past to itself.” Goetz (1954: 15 cited in Appadurai and Breckenridge 2001: 407) described how the British started museums in India.

“The museums started under British rule had been intended mainly for the preservation of the vestiges of a dying past, and only subsidiarily as a preparation for the future. Museums were the last haven of refuge for interesting architectural fragments, sculptures and inscriptions which saved

them from the hands of an ignorant and indifferent public or from unscrupulous contractors who would have burned them to lime, sunk them into foundations or melted them down. Into the museums the products of the declining indigenous industries were accumulated, in the vain hope that they might serve as models for the inspirations of artisans and the public. Mineralogical, botanical, zoological and ethnological collections were likewise started, though rarely developed systematically: often they did not grow beyond sets of hunting trophies.”

Finally, as colonial monuments, churches and museums are big tourist attractions in India, most of them are kept intact and celebrated. Recently, the Calcutta government has asked the British government to help restore Calcutta’s British colonial architecture - “the Marxist government sees the conservation-led regeneration of the city’s neglected colonial past as part of a larger scheme for social and economic revival by promoting it as a business and tourist attraction. It feels the need to alter the city’s image from what Kipling described as the ‘city of dreadful night’ - summoning up the Black Hole and the slums where Mother Teresa worked - to ‘The gifted city,’ as it will be promoted, emphasizing its rich cultural and architectural traditions” (The Art Newspaper 2000). Thus, this celebration of the colonial heritage in India also implies that its dissonance is not perceived strongly to risk foreign aid donors and tourists (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).

Interestingly, the Indian Public tourism representation emphasized on the tourism experiences related to the colonial heritage; for example, to be an Englishman for a day in an erstwhile English-style cottage in a hill. One article in the public representation pointed out that the British influence is quiet visible in Ooty:

“... in the hand rolled cigars, chocolate and cheese one enjoys here. You also have the popular derby, and 'hunt' held annually”

(Wadhwa 2003).

Also, one author mentioned how the older population in Goa misses the relaxed and calm life during the Portuguese rule:

“Dr Ribeiro still remembers Portuguese rule and a time when life was more relaxed and calm, ‘susegad’ as they say in Portuguese. But even in these fast-changing times, history has been preserved with delicate care over the years. Antique chinaware, mainly brought from Macau, laden with exquisite motifs, is displayed right next to ancient mirrors in rosewood frames hanging from the wall. As I cross the main courtyard of the house I feel like I have entered a place caught in a time warp”

(Sarkar 2004).

“The last house I visited was probably my most memorable experience. When I walked into the 500-year-old Mendonca house, I was taken aback by its history, which showed on the walls, the designs and motifs. The house was built in the early years of Portuguese influence, during the Hindu rule. The family had strong nationalist affiliations and Renato was arrested by the Portuguese for his Pro-Indian views. I ask him if life has changed after independence. He says, though the Portuguese have gone, they have left a rich heritage behind. With a new phase that Goa has entered, it is ready to welcome influences and people from across the world now”

(Sarkar 2004).

As it can be seen from the above quotes, one author mentioned in the Indian Public representation that many old generations in Goa miss the relaxed and calm Portuguese way of life and not like the present fast Indian pace of life. Thus, for the Indian people who have experienced the lifestyle during colonial India, for them “nostalgia” is one of the major reasons to visit a place, and the tourist industry promotes that. As Lowenthal (2005: 4) mentioned, “If the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all.”

Representative Dissonance in the Three Indian Tourism Representations

A methodical evaluation of the contents of articles in the representation of Indian heritage by the three agents of tourism representation (i.e., Indian Government tourism representation, Indian Trade tourism representation, Indian Public tourism representation) revealed four similarities and one difference, which are mentioned below in Table 10.

Table 10. Similarities and Differences in the Three Indian Tourism Representations

	Indian Government	Indian Trade	Indian Public
Similarities			
Glorious past and Modernity	Ancient & modern	Ancient & modern	Ancient & modern
Blend of Religions & Cultures	Mixture of all faiths	Mixture of all faiths	Mixture of all faiths
Atrocities of the Muslim Emperors	Invaders	Invaders	Invaders
Atrocities of the Colonial Rulers	British Torturers	No mention	British Torturers
Differences			
Resistance	Confrontation to Colonial influence	No mention	No mention

Below are the detailed descriptions of the four similarities and one difference in the three Indian tourism representations (i.e., Indian Government tourism representation, Indian Trade tourism representation, and Indian Public tourism representation).

Similarities

Glorious Past and Modernity. The most prominent similarity of all the three representations of Indian heritage was describing India's glorious past and modern present. It was emphasized in all the three tourism representations about how the Indian cities have retained the charisma of an ancient past of different civilizations along with keeping pace with the modern times. Several representations described, for example, how a fishing village in India became a flamboyant metropolis, how history has left its mark in every corner of an Indian city whereas pubs and software centers have mushroomed simultaneously. For example, the public representation described Delhi - India's capital city and one of the prominent heritage destinations of the country as a mixture of a grand past and modern:

“A booming urban culture amid and reminders of a grand past... [and] ... home of the capital of India, Delhi is the fusion of eight former capitals under different rulers of India. The centre of Indian politics and now a throbbing metropolis, Delhi has all you're looking for — flamboyant restaurants and nightclubs, haute couture boulevards, up market shopping malls, polo grounds, imperial gardens and much, much more”

(Wadhwa 2003).

The Indian Government also portrayed Delhi and Varanasi in a similar vein.

“Delhi blends an historic past and a vibrant present. Delhi has some of the finest museums in the country. Legend has it that the Pandavas, the August heroes of the epic Mahabharata, originally founded Delhi, then called Indraprastha, around 1200 B.C. Present day Delhi is built around the ruins of seven ancient cities. Delhi - a canvas that reflects the complexities, contradictions, beauty and dynamism of a city where the past co-exist with the present. Many dynasties ruled from here and the city is rich in the architecture of its monuments. Diverse cultural elements absorbed into the daily life of city have enriched its character. Exploring the city can be a fascinating and rewarding experience”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“A city which, since it is both an exalted place of pilgrimage and a centre of faith, has been likened to Jerusalem and Mecca. According to the historians,

the city was founded some ten centuries before the birth of Christ. The city is mentioned in Holy Scriptures like 'Vamana Purana', Buddhist texts and in the epic 'Mahabharata. Mark Twain once wrote: 'Banaras is older than history, older than tradition, older even than legend and looks twice as old as all of them put together... [and] ...Varanasi has always been associated with philosophy and wisdom. A place of learning for many years, the Banaras Hindu University carries on this tradition'”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

This representation of India's 'glorious' past by all the three representations is a topic worth studying. I wanted to explore, why all the representations profusely described India's glorious past? According to several eminent scholars (Chandra 1993; Sen 2005; Thapar 2004), there are two historical and political reasons of this. First, the powerful narratives and the politics behind this emphasis of India's 'glorious' past is a resistance to the earlier colonial representations of India as 'backward' and 'stagnant.' The colonial representation was carefully developed in the hegemonic book of well-known British historian James Mill (1823) – “History of British India” (Sen 2005; Thapar 2004). Thapar (2003: 3) described Mill's book:

“By 1823, the History of British India written by James Mill was available and widely read. This was the hegemonic text in which Mill periodised Indian history into three periods - Hindu civilization, Muslim civilization and the British period. Mill argued that the Hindu civilization was stagnant and backward, the Muslim only marginally better and the British colonial power was an agency of progress because it could legislate change for improvement in India.”

Also, Sen (2005: 79) commented on Mill's book:

“Perhaps I should in fairness note the mitigating circumstance that Mill made a conscious decision to write his history of India without learning any Indian language and without ever visiting India.”

Mill described Indian religion (i.e., Hindu) as “The worship of the emblems of generative organs’ and ascribing to God, ‘...an immense train of obscene acts’” (Mill

1823 cited in Giri 2004). Later, Katherine Mayo (1927) wrote a book “Mother India” which

“... was written in the context of official and unofficial British efforts to generate support in America for British rule in India. It added contemporary and lurid detail to the image of Hindu India as irredeemably and hopelessly impoverished, degraded, deprived, and corrupt”

(Rudolph 1990: 166 cited in Sen 2005: 150).

Recently several scholars have argued that for long Western representations of India were as stagnant, mysterious, chaotic, and poverty-stricken (Turner 1994). As Ludden (1996b: 9) opined:

“Such habits of phrasing are not ephemeral or unique to the US Press. They represent cultural patterns that are deeply ingrained. Western accounts of India have long stressed the exotic features that make India foreign to modern, Western, readers: mysticism, yoga, ritual, caste, untouchability, cremated widows (sati) female seclusion (*pardah*), ‘holy war’ (*Jihad*), and for that matter, communalism. The cultural connotations of these patterns of usage indicate the ideological legacy of orientalism, which created the religious stereotypes of Muslims, Hindus, and others that even today rationalize Western power in the world.”

Ludden (1996b: 9) claimed further:

“European imperialism thus invented the religious traditionalism that formed its ideological other in the orient, and this made imperialism appear ideologically as the equivalent of modernization and progress. As a result we can read in history books that Europeans brought modernity to an East that was steeped in religious tradition.”

Therefore, as argued by the Indian scholars mentioned above (Chandra 1993; Sen 2005; Thapar 2004), post-colonial historians of India criticized the negative colonial theories but they did not replace these with alternate theories to explain the past. However, it is the Hindu nationalists (believers in the *Hindutva* movement), who have generalized India’s entire past into a single frame, “glorious” to emphasize that there was once a time in Indian history when everything was great! This glorification of the Hindu

'golden age' is "in some ways an attempt to assuage the hurt of having been reduced to being a colony" (Thapar 2003: 8). This creation of the myth of patriotic awareness is best described in Udayakumar's (2005: 29) words:

"This derivative discourse of nationalist historians pictured the rise of a nation-state in ancient Hindu empires, claimed everything good in India having indigenous origins, and called the Gupta empire (320-540 C E) the "Golden Age." According to this rendition, everything went downhill when the Muslims came in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Prakash 1990)."

The same criticism about the *Hindutva* movement and the glorification of Hindu 'golden age' was emphasized by two of India's prominent Hindu scholars, Amartya Sen and Romila Thapar. Sen (2005: 140) argued

"there is much in common between Mill's imperialist history of India and the Hindu nationalist picturing of India's past, even though the former image is that of a grotesquely primitive culture whereas the latter representation is dazzlingly glorious."

In a similar vein, Thapar (2003: 7) opined that

"till now Mill's periodisation remains, only the colours have changed: the Hindu period is the golden age, the Muslim period the black, dark age of tyranny and oppression, and the colonial period is a grey age almost of marginal importance compared to the earlier two."

Thus, this glorification of Hindu 'golden age' supports Lowenthal's (2005: 143) words,

"we dwell on mythic fables rather than specifics, consolidate history into a generalized past, and revamp a legacy in line with what we think the present is or want it to be."

The second reason of this emphasis on India's past, as argued by Sen (2005) and Thapar (2003) is supported by the large Indian diaspora abroad especially in the US and the UK. Sen (2005: 63) commenting on the Indian diaspora mentioned, "... it is quite important to be able to retain their general Indian nationalist attachment while

embracing any other loyalty they may be persuaded to have (such as *Hindutva*).”

Similarly, Thapar (2004) argued that the Indian diaspora in the Western world, especially in North America and UK, due to their identity crisis have supported this *Hindutva* movement.

In the second case, the linking of India’s grand past with the modern present by all the representations was to stimulate the connection between the two periods. Smith (1997: 50) argued that “the return to a golden age suggests that, despite the ravages of time and the vicissitudes of social change, we are descendants of the heroes and sages of that great age.” Also, Lowenthal (2005: 140) commented on this logic of continuity between the past and present generations:

“the past is essential - and inescapable... without it we would lack any identity, nothing would be familiar, and the present would make no sense” ...[and]... “in linking past with present many feel they are sustaining a hoary, unbroken tradition - a heritage goal.”

Udayakumar (2005: 11) nicely described this politics in India about the creation/ appropriation of a glorious past and linking it to modern present:

“sanitizing the multifarious Indians’ multisided pasts, desensitizing them to the hateful *Hindutva* agenda, and delineating a divisive future where they can be better controlled, *Hindutva* groups present the past - that is, offer it as a gift to the people of India to be taken into the future. The complex histories of “India” get transmuted into a simple conflict over a religious building with emotion-laden identity strings attached to it. The futuristic present is potent and powerful.”

Blend of Religions & Cultures. All the three representations described the mixture of different religions and cultures in India. It was highlighted how people from different religions enjoy the festivals together. This mixture of religions and cultures was best described in the following quotes:

“*Billed as the abode of the Gods, Uttaranchal with the mighty Himalayas*

offers a quaint mix of religion”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2003).

“Let’s take our incredible heritage of festivals. Every change of season is marked by a festival. Every community has its own calendar of festivals and, according to the Anthropological Survey of India, we were able to identify, locate and study 4,635 communities in all the states and union territories of India... If each community celebrates only two festivals, we have at least 9,270 festivals being celebrated every year. But that is only part of it. Every temple, mosque, dargah, church and gurdwara has a festival in addition to the general festivals of its community. Christians, for instance, celebrate Christmas and Easter. Many individual group of Christians also celebrate the special festivals associated with their church like the famed Bandra fair. Similarly, Sikhs celebrate Guru Nanak’s birthday, but the beautiful gurdwara in Dehra Dun attracts thousands of devotees of all faiths when it celebrates its colourful Jhanda Mela”

(Gantzer and Gantzer 2001).

All the three tourism representations celebrated ethnic pluralism in India as in the nation-building process “dominant national narratives are designed, however badly, as meta-narratives that speak for the whole nation” (Edensor 1998: 84).

Edensor (1998), while commenting on the narratives of Taj Mahal in his book *“Tourists at the Taj: performance and meaning at a symbolic site,”* argued that there are two main historical reasons behind the Indian Government’s ‘secular’ national narratives. First, before the Colonial powers established their presence in India, the national narratives celebrated the Hindu ‘Golden Age’ to confront the Muslims. Second, to confront the Colonial powers, the national narratives disregarded religious conflicts. Edensor (1998: 85) described how nationalist historical narrative was created to confront the Muslims:

“Nationalist histories were weapons in the struggle against British rule when it became important to broadcast the achievements of historical eras heroes to counter Eurocentric allegations of backwardness and claims about European superiority. In the early years, the achievements celebrated tended to be from the pre-Muslim Aryan eras and particularly the Hindu ‘Golden Age of ancient India,’ the reign of the Guptas. This mythical example of social harmony ,

cultural excellence and spiritual enlightenment was portrayed as a goal to be recaptured. Similarly, the heroes eulogised were usually figures such as Shivaji, Rana Pratap and Guru Gobind Singh who had battled against Moghul rule. Reconstructed as exemplary figures worthy of emulation, they constructed a patriotic subject who was definitively non-Muslim.”

After India’s independence from Britain in 1947, it was the strategy of all the governments to bring unity in the new nation. Thus, the then government’s main imperative was to unite the diverse people of India and “gain their allegiance to the newly liberated, secular state and for that was required a national identity that recognized the contribution of various cultural and religious traditions” (Edensor 1998: 85). Therefore, as argued by Edensor, to confront the colonial superiority, a national historical narrative has been invented that largely disregarded conflict of several religions in India, and the narrative not only highlighted the positive aspects of Muslim Indian history but also emphasized a harmony among all the religions in India. Similarly, in this study, all the three representations emphasized on the blend of religions and cultures in India. All the representations portrayed the Mughal period lavishly (for example, “the Mughals brought with them a love for gardens, fountains and water,” “The Mughals endowed India with some of the finest structures in the world”). This is apparent from the Indian government’s representation of the Red Fort in New Delhi.

“The Mughal emperor, Shah Jahan, after ruling from Agra for eleven years, decided to shift to Delhi and laid the foundation stone of the Red Fort in 1618. It is called so because of the red stone with which it is built, the Red Fort is one of the most magnificent palaces in the world. India's history is also closely linked with this fort. It was from here that the British deposed the last Mughal ruler, Bahadur Shah Zafar, marking the end of the three century long Mughal rule. It was also from its ramparts that the first Prime Minister of India, pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, announced to the nation that India was free from colonial rule”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

There were many descriptions in all the three representations, where a site was portrayed as an Indian creation - not solely Muslim or Hindu.

“Agra is famous as being home to one of the Seven Wonders of the World, the Taj Mahal. The architectural splendour of the mausoleums, the fort and the palaces is a vivid remainder of the capital in the 16th and early 17th centuries. A pleasant town with comparatively slow pace, Agra is known for its superb inlay work on marble by craftsmen supposedly the descendants of those who worked under the Mughals on the Taj. The city is also famous for its carpets, gold thread embroidery and leather shoes. Agra was once the capital of the Mughal Empire and even today it seems to linger in the past. Not surprising, for the Mughal emperors with their passion for building, endowed the city with some of the finest structures in the world. It is very easy to slip away here through the centuries into the grandeur and intrigues of the Mughal court. Agra is an old city and it is said that its name was derived from Agrabana, a forest that finds mention in the [Hindu] epic Mahabharata”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

This harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims were reiterated in the descriptions of Qutb Minar and its Monuments and of Jama Masjid mosque in Delhi, and of Fatehpur Sikri near Agra respectively:

“The surrounding archaeological area contains funerary buildings, notably the magnificent Alai-Darwaza Gate, the masterpiece of Indo-Muslim art (built in 1311), and two mosques, including the Quwwatu'l-Islam, the oldest in northern India, built of materials reused from some 20 Brahman temples”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“Siddi Sayyid’s mosque, famed for the ten magnificent jali’s (lattice work) screens lining its upper walls, is located in the northwest corner of Bhadra. The 260 elegant pillars supporting its roof are covered with Hindu carvings”

(Express Travel & Tourism 2002).

“Jama Masjid is the largest mosque in India and stands across the road from the Red Fort, built in 1656 by Shahjahan. About 20,000 people can pray here at a time (Drive past).

Architectural Triumph. The vast paved courtyard is a rectangle nearly seventy-five metres by sixty-six metres. The whole of the western chamber is a big hall, standing on 260 pillars all carved from Hindu and Jain traditions. The central courtyard is accessible from the East, though there are three ways on the other side too. The Eastern side entrance leads to another enclosure

containing the mausoleum of Sultan Ahmed Shah. Thus it is an architectural triumph”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

“They speak of the synthesis of religions and cultures that was the spirit of the Akbar era—Ganesh and Krishna in pastel, transoxanian grapes and pomegranates in relief, Timurid and Persian patterns filigreed, elaborately carved depictions of birds and animals in the woods of paradise”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Similarly, this message of harmony in India was emphasized in the description of the Golden Temple of the Sikhs:

“Its architecture represents a unique harmony between the Muslims and the Hindus way of construction work and this is considered the best architectural specimens of the world. It is often quoted that this architecture has created an independent Sikh school of architecture in the history of art in India”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Also, the Indian Government’s representation of Christian festivals in India emphasized their secular appeal. It was mentioned that the Christian festivals are celebrated by all religions in India. For example, while narrating the church festival in Pondicherry every year in June, it was emphasized that the devotees of all faiths attend that festival, which was emphasized in the following quote:

“The Eglise de Notre Dame des Anges on Rue Dumas was built in 1865. The church has an oil painting of Our Lady of Assumption that was donated by Napoleon III. The Eglise de Notre Dame de Lourdes situated in Villiyannur on the outskirts of Pondicherry is built on the same pattern as the Basilica at Lourdes in France. The church festival conducted in June every year draws devotees of all faiths. It is probably the only church that has a temple tank. Moreover, it was mentioned that the Eglise de Notre Dame de Lourdes church in Pondicherry which was built on the same pattern as the Basilica at Lourdes in France is the only church in India, the world, that has a temple tank”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Thus, in the contemporary Indian scenario, the message of unity of all the religions was reiterated in all the three representations.

Atrocities of the Muslim Emperors. Another significant similarity in all the three tourism representations of the Indian heritage related to the description of the atrocities of the Muslim Emperors in India. It was mentioned in several articles how the Muslim Emperors in India not only destroyed Hindu temples but also Buddhist and Jain architectures. It was also emphasized that there were several temples which were not only destroyed once but many times by different Muslim rulers. These Muslim atrocities were best described in one author's descriptions in the Indian Trade tourism representations (*Express Travel & Tourism* magazine):

"Tourist brochures will tell you that there were once 7,000 temples here (but then, inevitably, 'the Muslims came, and now there are fewer than 500')"

(Patel 2002).

Another author in the Indian popular representation (*Outlook Traveller* magazine) vividly described the atrocities of the Muslim rulers in India.

"Reputed to be the most lavish temple in India, stories of its wealth, glory and fame reach legendary proportions. Revenue collected from ten thousand villages was spent on the maintenance of the temple. Two thousand priests attended to the daily rituals of the temple deity and a huge bell with a thick gold chain was used to announce the commencement of the prayers. The arched dome, intricately carved doorways and the graceful figurines of the goddesses all enhance the exquisite experience of Somnath. The first blow to Somnath in 1025 AD, was delivered by Mahmud of Ghazni. Romila Thapar, famed Indian historian commented that, these "effects were to remain for centuries in the Hindu mind and to colour its assessment of the character of Mahmud, on occasion, of Muslim rulers in general"

(Wadhwa 2003).

Kulke and Rothermund (2004: 164) also mentioned in their book, "*A History of India,*" about Mahmud of Ghazni's "meaningless destruction and fanaticism."

"The Hindus were particularly affected by the destruction and looting of their holy places at Thaneshwar, Mathura and Kanauj. The climax of these systematic campaigns was Mahmud's attack on the famous Shiva temple at

Somnath. After a daring expedition across the desert Mahmud reached this temple in 1025. Chronicles report that about 50,000 Hindus lost their lives in defending the temple. Mahmud returned through the desert with a booty of about 20 million gold dinars (about 6.5 tons of gold)”

(Kulke and Rothermund 2004: 164).

By describing the destructions and tyranny done by the Muslim rulers, all the three representations portrayed the message that the Muslims are alien to India, who wanted to establish their presence in the country by destroying the already existing Hindu culture (Edensor 1998). Van der Veer (1996: 268) commented on how the Muslims are generally perceived in India:

“Muslims are not loyal to India, since they do not fully belong; their loyalty lies to powers outside of India, primarily Pakistan, but also the oil - producing countries of the Middle-East; furthermore they are a threat to the Hindu community, since their religion prevents them from observing family planning and allows them to marry four wives so that their number grows much faster than that of the Hindus. These stories are often related to a precolonial past of Muslim hegemony in which Muslims oppressed Hindus.”

Eminent Hindu historian Partha Chatterjee (1993: 102) best described the image of ‘Muslims’ in India who are typically characterized as “endowed with a ‘national character’: fanatical, bigoted, warlike, dissolute, and cruel.” The same image of the Muslims was echoed in the writings of distinguished British-Hindu scholar Sir Nirad C. Chaudhuri, “as we grew older we read about the wars of the Rajputs, the Marathas, and the Sikhs against Muslims, and of the intolerance and oppression of Aurangzeb [*the last Muslim ruler who is infamous for his cruelty to the Hindus*]” (Chaudhuri 1987: 226 cited in Hasan 1996: 202; *emphasis added*). Thus, in the Indian *Hindutva* discourse, “the Muslim is seen as constituting the danger against which the Hindu body politic needs to be secured” (Anand 2005: 204).

Atrocities of the Colonial Rulers. There were also similarities in the different representations of Colonial atrocities in India. It was emphasized how the Colonial rulers tortured the Indian freedom fighters by even creating a separate prison for them to be marooned in the Andaman and Nicobar islands of India. Also, it was mentioned how the Colonial rulers killed hundreds of innocent Indian people in shooting sprees. It is interesting to note, that though the French, Dutch and Portuguese had some parts of India under their Colonial rule, it was the British (termed as “British torturers”) who were specifically referred to in the descriptions of Colonial atrocities. This is perhaps due to the fact that they were the main rulers in India and their attitude in several incidents was violent. One author in the Indian public tourism representation described these atrocities of the British rulers while mentioning the Cellular Jail in Andaman & Nicobar Islands of India.

“The British used the Andaman & Nicobar Islands as a penal colony for Indian freedom fighters. They built a horrendous monument of human torture known as Cellular Jail in 1906 to crush the bodies and the spirit of the freedom fighters. It originally consisted of 7 wings radiating from a central tower, but only three remain. The earthquake in 1946 damaged four wings. Between the wings were the workshops where the prisoners toiled each day to grind oil and make rope”

(Podder 2003).

The Indian Government’s tourism representations also described the atrocities carried out by the Colonial rulers.

“To the left of Chandni Chowk; there was once a gate across the road that was called Khuni Darwaza or the Bloody Gate. The British reoccupied Delhi on 20 September 1857, after fierce resistance by rebels. On 21 September 1857 Bahadur Shah surrendered to Hudson at Humayun's tomb. On 22 September three Mughal princes, Mirza Moghul, Mirza Khizr Sultan and Mirza Abu Bakr were brought by Captain Hudson in a bullock-cart and shot dead at Khuni Darwaza near Delhi Gate. He ordered the princes to take off their upper garments and killed them one by one. The three bodies were carried to the Kotwali and stripped off all the clothes except a rag around

their loins, and laid on stone slabs outside the building before they were buried. The reoccupation of Delhi was followed by massacre and plunder and it was even suggested that whole city be razed to the ground. Mirza Ghalib, the great Urdu Poet, who was a witness to the killings and plunder wrote in his Dastambu: "GOD ALONE knows the number of persons who were hanged. The victorious army entered the city along the main road. Whomsoever they met on the way was killed." The "Khuni Darwaza" still stands in its solitary grandeur"

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

There may be two main reasons why all the representations portrayed the atrocities of the Colonial rulers in India. Schopflin (1997) described in his paper about several myths that nation states appropriate in their national identity building process, of which two myths will be discussed here for their relevancy in the Indian context. Schopflin (1997: 29) argued that there are “myths of redemption and suffering” and “myths of unjust treatment” in which “nations claim about their “sorrowful history and a sense coupled with an experience of loss of power to external conquerors.” These myths are quite evident in all the Indian tourism representations of ‘Colonial atrocities in India.’ For example, from the following quotes (mentioned above) of the Indian government’s representation (“*GOD ALONE knows the number of persons who were hanged*” and “*The ‘Khuni Darwaza’ still stands in its solitary grandeur*”), and Indian tourism popular representations (“*They built a horrendous monument of human torture known as Cellular Jail in 1906 to crush the bodies and the spirit of the freedom fighters*”), a sense of powerlessness and helplessness was emphasized. These uses of mythic narratives by different Indian tourism representations supports Schopflin’s (1997: 29-30) argument:

“These myths, therefore, should be understood as myths of powerlessness and compensation for that powerlessness. They make a virtue of fatalism and passivity; claim a special moral superiority for having suffered... [and]...“Myths of unjust treatment, in which history is a malign actor that has

singled out the community for special, negative treatment, for disfavour. The group has suffered, but that is fate. Here the motif of helplessness tends to be strong.”

Difference

Resistance. The Indian Government’s tourism representation differed from the other two representations on the aspect of resistance to Colonial influence. The Indian Government representation elaborately emphasized that though the Colonial rulers gave/changed the names of several ancient heritage architectures/destinations, their origins were clearly highlighted and their names have been again given according to their original heritage. However, this perspective is completely missing from the other two tourism representations. For example, the Indian Government representation mentioned that the Colonial rulers gave English names to places which originally had Hindu names:

“the Elephanta Island, originally known as Gharapuri (fortress city) has 7th century rock cut Hindu caves situated atop a hill. This cave temple complex is dedicated to Lord Shiva”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Similarly, in Bangalore, the State High court, which is a magnificent building constructed in 1867 in the Gothic Style of architecture was renamed Attara Kacheri (local ‘Kannadiga’ language). The same was mentioned about the Victoria Gardens in Mumbai, which has been renamed as Veermata Jijabai Bhonsle Udyan (in the name of a local famous Marathi woman – ‘Jijabai Bhonsle’). This supports the name change of old cities of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, which have been renamed Mumbai, Chennai, and Kolkata respectively to rid them of Colonial associations. Also, Hindu nationalists, for example, want to change the name of the holy city Allahabad to

Prayag, which they claim was the original name for the town mentioned in the Hindu epic, the *Ramayana*, before the Muslim emperor, Akbar, changed its name. The Indian Government's efforts in this portrayal of the Hindu heritage was nowhere more prominent than the mention of the Gateway of India architecture in Mumbai:

“This 25-meter high stone archway is the landmark of Mumbai. It was designed by George Wittet in the 16th century Gujarat style and was built to commemorate the visit in 1911 of King George V and Queen Mary to India. The Gateway was formally opened by the then Viceroy, the Earl of Reading, on December 4, 1924 [and] near the Gateway stands a statue of the renowned Hindu philosopher, Swami Vivekananda and facing the Gateway is an equestrian statue of Chhatrapati Shivaji installed in a garden”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

Thus, it was stressed that though the British rulers designed the Gateway but it was according to the Gujarat (one of the Indian states) style. Also, although the Gateway is associated with the Colonial heritage, which the Indian government embraces, but it wants to make a point that the Hindus were nothing short of renowned leaders/ personalities (here the case of two statues, *Swami Vivekananda* who is arguably one of India's greatest spiritual celebrities, and *Chhatrapati Shivaji* who is arguably one of the country's most respected Hindu king). This resistance, can be argued, is targeted in opposition of the Western Colonial influence, which according to Greenfield (1992: 222 cited in Hosking 1997: 198) “a psychological state resulting from suppressed feelings of envy and hatred.” However, it can be noted here that both the statues that has been erected are of Hindu national heroes (*Swami Vivekananda* and *Chhatrapati Shivaji*), but not of any other national hero of other religion. For example, it can be argued, the statue of *Tipu Sultan*, who successfully resisted the British army for quite a long time, could have been erected in this effort to resist Colonial influence. BBC (2005) well described the bravery of *Tipu Sultan*:

“Tipu Sultan, known as the dreaded ‘Tiger of Mysore,’ was a legend during his lifetime and is still regarded as an enlightened ruler in India. During the late eighteenth century he bitterly and effectively opposed British rule in southern India, posing a grave threat to the East India Company. It took almost forty years, and most of the Company's resources, before Mysore was added to the areas of British-ruled India.”

Thus, it can be argued that the Government of India's representation of resistance to Colonial influence is a contested topic and has political ramifications as “presentism [of heritage] is often politically motivated” (Lowenthal 2005: 150).

Also, it was emphasized by the different representations how brave the freedom fighters fought against the Colonial rulers, and some authors described how the people of India honor them by erecting their statues. For example, the Indian government in its representations celebrated the Martyrs Memorial in the state of Bihar in the memory of freedom fighters who fought against the Colonial atrocities.

“life-size statues in front of the old secretariat compound have been put up in memory of seven brave young men who faced bullets for the freedom of the country and sacrificed their lives in August 1942 in the historic struggle for India's independence during quit India movement”

(Indian Tourism Ministry website 2005).

By the portrayal of the erection of these freedom fighters' statues, the national narratives “incorporates myths about national heroes... which epitomise and glorify the national character and culture” (Edensor 1998: 84). Recently, the political importance of heritage representation in India has been reemphasized in the protest against the policies of the Congress Party, who are accused of appeasing the ‘Muslims.’ After the Congress Party came to power in 2004 defeating the BJP Party (Bharatiya Janata Party, who are accused of being a Hindu Party), they removed the plaque of Veer Savarkar (a freedom fighter) from the Cellular Jail in Andaman Islands. Savarkar, was a Hindu who spent 12 years as imprisoned in the Cellular Jail, and is alleged to be the mastermind

behind Mahatma Gandhi's assassination (for Gandhi being too considerate of Muslims). However, the BJP Party as well as thousands of Indians protested this decision of the Congress Party. Similarly, there are always disputes and disagreements in the celebration of India's national heroes. For example, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose is arguably the second most famous name among India's freedom fighters after Mahatma Gandhi, but his birthday is yet to be declared as a National Holiday. This is due to the fact that he is from West Bengal, and the Communist Government of the state has always remained in opposition of the Central Governments in India after the country's independence from Britain in 1947. It can be argued then, "inevitably, national narratives are partial, articulating particular power bases by naturalising only specific subjects as great national actors" (Edensor 1998: 82). Therefore, from all the above examples it is apparent that the Indian Government's efforts of resistance to Colonial influence is a contested area as the people in power narrates the national voice, which is not agreed or accepted by all. Thus, in Lowenthal's (2005: xiv) words, "debasement of the 'true' past for greedy or chauvinist ends, heritage is accused of undermining historical truth with twisted myth."

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This study brought several insights into how tourism is interconnected with socio-political dynamics governing India's contemporary state and society. The study showed that in India, how heritage of different religions are represented are important political issues. As heritage is culturally related and comparative, it can be represented in various ways by different agents of tourism promotion.

There was a clear hierarchy of ethnic and cultural identities in all the three representations. Namely, the fact that all the three representations celebrated India's glorious past and modern present appeals to a "Golden Age" or a myth of origin [that] conjures up fantasies of cultural purity and the flowering of 'national genius' (Edensor 1998: 84). According to Bhabha (1994) and Smith (1997), even though nations are modern they claim to "antiquity." While commenting on this creation of 'Golden Age,' Smith (1997: 36-51) opined:

"In order to create a convincing representation of the 'nation', a worthy and distinctive past must be rediscovered and appropriated. Only then can the nation aspire to a glorious destiny for which its citizens may be expected to make some sacrifices... [and]... Memories of a golden age also proclaim an imminent status reversal: though at present 'we' are oppressed, shortly we shall be restored to our former glory."

Specifically, the slice of India's history (and consequently the cultural identity) that seemed to be selected as its anchor was the period before the Muslim conquest of India (from the 3rd millennium BC to the beginning of the 2nd millennium CE). This supports Lowenthal's (2005: 1) opinion:

"memory, history, and relics of earlier times shed light on the past, but the past they reveal is not simply what happened; it is

in large measure a part of our own creation, moulded by selective erosion, oblivion and invention.”

All three representations emphasized the ‘ancientness’ of the Hindu architecture and culture. This emphasis on ancientness of the Hindu architecture and culture supports Lowenthal (2005: 120), who opined that “nationalist activists stress on ancientness as it is symptomatic of superiority - to be first in a place warrants possession; to antedate others’ origins or exploits shows superiority.” Also, the greatest number of references were made to ‘myths’ of Hindu religion. These descriptions of myths support Palmer (1999: 316) who mentioned that in heritage tourism, “the important point is that these mythical discourses, these signs of nationhood, help to construct a sense of national identity within the imagination of the visitor.” In the words of Freud (1875 cited in Strachey 1964: 23), “If we consider mankind as a whole and substitute it for a single human individual, we discover that it, too, has developed delusions which are inaccessible to logical criticism and which contradict reality.” Schopflin and Hosking (1997) commented on the use of myths as a political tool:

“In politics, myth has crucial functions in determining which parts of a community’s self-image are seen as important and which are ignored; thanks to the various myths that communities tell about themselves, what is and is not stressed changes over time. The nature of power, legitimacy, change, meanings, unity and diversity are all deeply affected by myth, as are questions of nationhood, ethnicity and conflict.”

Thus, on the one hand, with the narration of these myths, “claims of superiority can be achieved by the dominant group which are unfathomable to others” (Lowenthal 2005: 121); whereas, on the other hand, stories about these myths help in selling the heritage destinations to tourists.

All three representations celebrated India’s Colonial heritage by praising the

marvel of the Colonial architecture as “heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it” (Lowenthal 1998: X). Moreover, as the Colonial powers created and built many unique museums and architecture, which not only makes the country proud but also those have great touristic value and attract foreign aid donors. For example, there are some unique architecture like the Victorian Bungalows that the British made only in India, which they later made also in England (Alsayyad 2000). Thus, this celebration of Colonial heritage in India supports Bandyopadhyay and Morais’s (2005: 1017) assertion that in the case of India, the building of national identity is inextricably bound up with imperialism, Colonial history, and now the hegemony of world capitalism. Interestingly, the Indian tourism industry emphasized on the tourism experiences related to the Colonial heritage; for example, to be an Englishman for a day in an erstwhile English-style cottage in a hill, or how the old generations in Goa miss the relaxed and calm Portuguese way of life and dislike the present fast Indian pace of life. Thus, “nostalgia” is one of the reasons to visit a place, which is best described by noted heritage scholar Uzzell (1989: 45):

“The presentation of ‘slices of the past’ permits the packaging of romantic and nostalgic vignettes of our heritage which is attractive to tourists and visitors. At best it reduces the educational value of history, and at worst it creates and reinforces myths and promotes sanitized versions of the past where guilt is removed and fantasy rules.”

All the representations repeatedly celebrated the country’s multiethnicity and potpourri of cultures – “unity in diversity.” Edensor (1998: 83) argued that “dominant national narratives are created to speak for the whole nation.” In this study, the ‘dominant national narrative’ created by all the representations was of a blend of different religions and cultures in India. This is important in order to emphasize a

'secular' nationalist narrative to build a national identity in India around "secularism" (Edensor 1998). Although all the three tourism representations attempted to build a harmony among all religious ethnicities in India, the country's cultural identity was structured in religious ethnic terms and is not inclusive.

All three representations frequently mentioned suffering from Muslim destruction and tyranny. As Anand (2005: 207) argued, the image of 'the Muslim' Other in the *Hindutva's* politics of representation is of "morally corrupt, barbaric, violent, rigid, backward, dirty and fanatic." Thus, according to Anand (2005: 206), "these representations of 'The Muslim' as a danger to the security of the Hindu body politic facilitate the politics of hate against the Muslims in India." Also, there were frequent descriptions of Colonial atrocities as it is believed "that invasion and colonization have contaminated national pride, which needs to be rooted out so that India may follow its own inner rhythms, heed its own inward voice and return to its own pure and uncontaminated pristine state" (Smith 1991: 77 cited in Edensor 1998: 84). After liberalization in 1992, India has come a long way from its centralized and closed economy. The industrial facade of India has undergone a thorough change. On the one hand, the impact of American materialism and pop culture is getting more and more accepted in the Indian daily life while, on the other, reactions against American culture are becoming more frequent in India. For example, in recent times, Hindu nationalists have often attempted to close down hotels that celebrate New Year's Eve, shops selling valentine cards and American fast-food shops.

Furthermore, the Indian government celebrated the resistance to Colonial power. The Indian government's resistance to Colonial influence by narrating the bravery of

the freedom fighters, erection of their statues and war heritage supports several scholars (Ashworth 1990; Edensor 1998; Raivo 2000) arguments that these resistances glorify national character and culture, and arouse powerful nationalist feelings. According to Ashworth (2004: 6), nation states' emphasis on 'freedom struggle'

“... introduces the elements of drama and heroism and is strengthened by the ferocity and determination of fighting against odds. It thus produces heroes as role models and foci of identification and critical events, ‘turning points’, around which the narrative can be constructed. Small wonder that almost every existing sovereign state has created for itself a founding mythology derived from the history of an ultimately successful freedom struggle.”

In this way of incorporating histories and myths about national heroes and defining events, re-enforces India's post-colonial nationalism (Bandyopadhyay and Morais 2005: 1016). Also, this supports several authors' (Hasty 2002; Pitchford 1995) argument that heritage tourism can contribute to anti-colonial movements. However, this study showed that in the Indian context, Hindu nationalism is emphasized through the promotion of heritage tourism. The narration of myths is instrumental in this articulation of Hindu nationalism in India as “myth creates an intellectual and cognitive monopoly in that it seeks to establish the sole way of ordering the world and defining world views” (Schopflin 1997: 19).

Another interesting aspect revealed in this study is that, all the three representations avoided mentioning the contested heritage sites in India. As Timothy and Olsen (2006: 273) commented, “One of the hottest issues today in commentary on heritage is the overlapping claims to sacred space by dissimilar religious groups and their adherents.” For example, the Indian Government's representations mentioned the place 'Ayodhya' but avoided any description of the disputed site known as “*Ram*

Janmabhoomi” (birthplace of Lord Ram), where the Babri Masjid mosque existed and was destroyed by the Hindu nationalists. This event is considered as one of the major causes for all the recent Hindu-Muslim riots in the country. However, the Indian Government’s representation described many places in Ayodhya but anything about “*Ram Janmabhoomi*.” There may be an important reason for this omission of contested heritage sites in India in all the three representations. As all the representations abundantly portrayed the blend of religions in India, the mention of disputed heritage sites would then pose a challenge to this attempt of building “unity in diversity” in the country. Moreover, as it is difficult to prove that the disputed heritage sites originally belong to any particular religious identity, they were avoided in all the representations. This supports Lowenthal’s (2005: 170) comments:

“... no account can recover the past as it was, because the past was not an account, it was a set of events and situations. Historical narrative is not a portrait of what happened but a story about what happened.”

Also, none of the three representations mentioned any history of the tribal people of India, who are found scattered throughout the country. One article in the Indian Tourism Ministry’s *Newsletter* (2004: 2), portrayed Northeast India as: “They’re untamed and unexplored; they’re the states of Northeast India.” By presenting these “tribals” as “untamed” the Indian government representation suggested consciously or unconsciously that these people are timeless and primitive, and the mainstream Indian nationals are very different to the conventional “tribals” – politically or culturally. This supports Lowenthal’s (2005: 86) comments that “mainstreams trivialize minority legacies by standardizing them.” This evidence also supports Edensor’s (1998: 84) claim that “dominant national histories often exclude the heritage of subaltern religious

or ethnic groups.” However, such discourses are not unchallengeable but are constantly evolving as the Northeast states and other ethnic minorities in India currently are in transition.

Some authors (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990; Henderson 2002; Light and Prentice 1994; Shackley 2001; Timothy and Boyd 2003) have mentioned that the concept of market planning for heritage tourism is usually made within the public sector or in a partnership between both public and private sectors. A systematic comparison of the Indian Government and Indian Tourism Industry’s representations of the country’s heritage of its six major religious ethnicities revealed that there is a harmony in the representations, as the government creates dominant national narratives which are accepted by the industry. There was no significant difference except the Indian government’s portrayal of postcolonial resistance. So, it can be argued that these mythmaking by the Indian Government promotes nationalist ideologies, which are well accepted by the tourism industry that needs these myths to sell heritage attractions. It is apparent from the results of this study that Indian government’s efforts to build Indian national identity are inextricably linked to Hindu national identity. Although India has the second largest Muslim population in the world, a Muslim President, a Sikh Prime Minister, a Christian leader of the Congress Party (largest oppositional party) and more Christians than all the Scandinavian countries put together, it can be argued that the discourse of heritage and national identity of India discussed in this study is the notion of “relatively affluent” upper caste Hindus. This study suggests, although the Indian Government attempts to promote ethnic pluralism to combat once experienced “Muslim and Imperial tyranny,” the representations revealed the idea of Hindu national

identity. Thapar (1993) commented that “nationalist representations locate cultures by defining a national culture that selects some aspects of history and symbolism, while marginalizing others.” This is very true in the case of India, which the results of this study revealed. Thus, it can be argued, even after almost 60 years of India’s independence, the idea of ‘secularism’ is superseded by the conflicts among various religions in the country. As Thapar (2004) lamented about the continuous representation of the Muslim and the Christian as the ‘Other,’ which according to her, poses a threat to the integrity and security of India. Thus, it can be stated that religion has become the main determinant of political identity in India, as this study showed that political identity building in the name of religion is more important in India than national identity building. Amartya Sen (2005: 316) appropriately suggested:

“... serious problem with the narrow reading of ‘Indian culture as Hindu culture’ is the entailed neglect of many major achievements of Indian civilization that have nothing much to do with religious thinking at all. The focus on the distinctly Hindu religious tradition effectively leaves out of the accounting rationalist and non-religious pursuits in India... [and]... there are good reasons to resist the anti-secular enticements that have been so plentifully offered recently. The winter of our discontent might not be giving way at present to a ‘glorious summer’, but the political abandonment of secularism would make India far more wintry than it currently is.”

This study concludes with asking some important questions, “What heritage or history does the people belonging to the lower caste in the Hindu religion (*Dalits* and *Untouchables*) and also the indigenous people in India (termed as ‘scheduled tribes’) have? Do they have a past at all? What myths they want to tell about their heritage? Thus, a fertile ground stemming from this study would be to investigate what these people think about their heritage.

Opportunities for Future Research

There are two main opportunities for future research stemming from this study.

First, it is important to find out the minority people of India's self-representation or construction of identity, and their concept of heritage and national identity. The data considered in this study (i.e., tourism representations of the Indian Government, Indian Trade and Indian Public) represents the middle-class and upper middle-class people in India as these publications are read by them. However, India has around 650,000 villages and the highest concentration of poverty anywhere in the world with about 350 million people living below the poverty line (United Nations 2005). Although in the last few years there has been drastic improvement, the country's social indicators are still poor by most measures of human development (United Nations 2005). Therefore, the discussion of heritage and national identity in this study does not relate to all the people of India but to the certain classes mentioned above. Thus, this study does not talk about what heritage is represented by the Indian Government and the Indian tourism industry of the lower middle class and poor people in India. Also, as this study takes into account what heritage of the six major religions in India are represented, it misses a significant section of people in India, for example, the indigenous people or "scheduled tribes." Several authors have argued that representations of minorities are dominated by the majorities (Baranovitch 2001; Cohen 2001; Gladney 1994; Leong 1989; Riggins 1997; Williams 1994; Wood 1997). In contrast, as mentioned by quite a few authors (Brown 1999; Muehlebach 2001; Niezen 2003; Ramos 1998; Warren and Jackson 2002), one of the more significant phenomena in recent times has been the efforts by indigenous peoples globally to formalize their self representations in order to

countervail the stereotypes of government representations. For example, Blundell (1989) stated that in the past, Indians all over North America and Indians in Mexico have reproduced their own touristic image. Similarly, in India several ethnic communities have also become active in representing their own culture. Despite the growing body of research on the politics of tourism representations, only few authors (Albers and James 1988; Brandes 1998; Cohen 1993; Mellinger 1994) have examined the difference between ethnic minorities' self-representations and their representations by the majority. Thus, future research opportunities would be to determine if various ethnicities in India accept the Indian government's tourism representations or tries to represent them differently. It is important to note that the ways in which the destinations and their people are represented do have significant implications for how those places and their peoples are perceived, which in turn have great significance for a government towards its effort to building national identity. Moreover, it is important to study the ethnic minorities' self-representations as several authors (Brandes 1998; Mellinger 1994; Pritchard and Morgan 2003) have expressed how the ethnic minorities' reproduce their identity through the discourse of tourism. And, to understand this, it would be worthwhile to explore how these minorities heritage is displayed in primary school (Class VI-X, during this time everyone has to take 'history' as a compulsory subject) history textbooks, local newspapers, bulletins and interviewing those people.

Second, after liberalization in 1992, the confined economic contour of India has undergone a thorough change. Multinational companies have set up their operations in India and goaded the country's industry to accept global business practices, which had a profound impact on the Indian social setting. Thus, keeping in mind all the above

mentioned transformations of the Indian economic and cultural scenario, it would have been worthwhile to look at the Indian Government's tourism representations of the country's heritage since India's independence from Britain in 1947. Although there were neither tourism websites nor *Newsletter* at that time, the print media (especially newspapers) has a history going back over a century in India (Appadurai and Breckenridge 2001). So, there would have been some articles on Indian tourism every year. This would have been obviously helpful to understand how the representations have changed over time, i.e., from 1947 to today.

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www.worldbank.org/data/quickreference/quickref.html

VITA

Ranjan Bandyopadhyay

Assistant Professor
Department of Recreation & Leisure Studies
San Jose State University
One Washington Square
San Jose, CA 95192-0060, USA

Phone: (408) 924 3002
Fax: (408) 924 3061
ranjanb@casa.sjsu.edu

CITIZENSHIP

India

EDUCATION

Ph. D., Leisure Studies (emphasis in Tourism)
The Pennsylvania State University, USA, 2006
Minor: Cultural Anthropology
Dissertation Topic: "Representative Dissonance in
Heritage Tourism in India"
Dissertation Chair: Professor Garry Chick
M.B.A., Marketing & Finance
Lalit Narayan Mishra College of Business Management,
India, 1994
B. Com., Accounting
Calcutta University, India, 1992

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Politics of Representation, Postcolonialism, Heritage
Tourism, Diaspora Tourism

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Assistant Professor
San Jose State University, USA, 2006 -
University Teacher in Tourism
Nottingham University Business School, UK, 2005-2006
Graduate Teaching and Learning Consultant
The Pennsylvania State University, USA, 2004-2005
Graduate Teaching/Research Assistant
The Pennsylvania State University, USA, 2002-2004
Marketing Executive
Visu Consultants Limited, India, 1998-1999

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Bandyopadhyay, R. and Morais, D. B. (2005).
Representative Dissonance: India's Self and Western
Image. *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(4): 1006-1021.
Bandyopadhyay, R. (in review). Identity, Nostalgia
and Diaspora Tourism. *International Sociology*.
Bandyopadhyay, R., Chick, G. and Morais, D. B.
Representative Dissonance in Heritage Tourism in India.
To be submitted to *Annals of Tourism Research*.

FELLOWSHIP

University Graduate Fellowship
The Pennsylvania State University, USA, 2001-2002