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A Study of the Visual Culture of Gravestones in Graveyards of Lahore

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Abstract

Passing by the roads of Lahore, one may witness reckless urban development near graveyards. These graveyards are self-introductory structures and are segregated from the rest by the abodes of the living. The study is about the inscriptions on gravestones in the graveyards of Lahore. The city of Lahore is a historical city with its history narrated through its architecture. One of the key constructions are the cenotaphs of royals; some of them are surrounded by gardens and others with beautifully manifested buildings addressing the time and glory of the past. This study investigates the visual hierarchy of the inscriptions on graves in these graveyards through market trends and techniques followed by their makers and visitors. Graveyards of Lahore, in particular, have a unique consumer culture based on the expressive nature of the people of this city. The techniques, materials and styles of construction of these graves make them more or less similar in their size, appearance and visual effect. Due to these similarities, they don't captivate the human mind as all graveyards of Lahore are similar in their aesthetics, structure and design. This study explores the peculiar nature of these graveyards revealed by analyzing the gravestones placed almost on all the graves from various aspects. There are few researches available in which the inscriptions on gravestones have been addressed as social proclamations. These proclamations, data collection and visual surveys suggested a shift from just documentation to analytical study. Visual documentation of gravestones allows them to be considered as archives which hold a permanent record of the deceased, including their name, alias, age, gender, profession, religion, sect, final words, etc. It also covers the cultural standing of the deceased person through pated images which act as a visual directory of our social norms and beliefs. Grounded theory is applied and convenience and purposive sampling techniques are used to collect data for proper analysis.

Keywords: community, gravestone, visual communication

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Introduction

The selected graveyards belong to the Muslim community and are used by various sects. The class system identified through the location of the graveyard provide data of ownership details. The oldest graveyard is Miānī Sahb, which is as ancient as the time of Mughals in Lahore. There are purpose build graveyards which are the product of the new urban Lahore. They are considered a necessity in the urban style of construction. Model Town graveyard is a gridded (planned) and organized graveyard and is considered as the first graveyard of its type in Lahore. This research is focused on formal and contextual aspects which provide the researchers with an opportunity to identify the cultural impact and the ideological basis that define the roots of graveyard construction. It also yields an understanding of the exclusive skills that craftsmen nurture over generations in stone carving. In regions with a rich historical past and where cultural continuity prevails, the techniques assume a character in which one finds layers of cultural identity, aesthetics and expertise.

2. Literature Review

This is primarily a study of some of the most important monuments of the city, their architectural peculiarities, descriptions and technical drawings with a brief overview of the spiritual tradition of Multan. The book Mazaar, Bazar Design: A Visual Culture is helpful in understanding the ideological basis of thread crafts, as it provides information about the culture of graveyards (Malik, [2006](#)). In addition to that it gives a historical overview of keystone of graves and discuss major political and cultural changes. Survey report on the crafts of Punjab discusses inlay carving as a craft for gravestones known as lapidary; this is a skillful technique of decorating tombstones as artifacts.

The term ‘Gothic’ was coined by 17th and 18th century writers; it implies ‘tasteless’ and ‘bizarre’. The pointed arches and the sharply tapering spires of the Gothic style remind us of the architects involved in the revival of classical styles (Britannica, [1995](#)). This revival and influence that travelled from Buddhist Greco-Roman was evidenced through the schist present in the collections of Taxila and showcased at Lahore and Peshawar museum (Ihsan, [2003](#)).

Singh (2016) elaborates the basic elements of and the stylistic differences among graveyards from a historical point of view. Muslims and Sikhs share burial at Brookwood Cemetery, London. This site has both Muslim and Sikh elements of ornamentation as identification marks on gravestones. The above mentioned case study encompasses common elements used in Sikh and Muslim burials. This connects it with graveyards situated in Lahore using similar practices.

(Tarar, 2008, p. 118) states that the Pakistani state in its early decades struggled to forge a hegemonic cultural identity. He further explains it as a multicultural and multiethnic map used to replicate the official version of an 'imagined community' of a modern Islamic nation. This connects it to the multiplicity of visual culture which exists as symbols used on gravestones.

There are different stylistic features of graveyards situated in Pakistan. An unusual graveyard is in Sindh at *Makli* near *Thatta*. These cenotaphs constitute a visual vocabulary of burials and give them a stylistic expression. They are elevated above the ground which is a prominent feature of the architecture of these burials. These graves have engravings. Verses from the Quran in an arabesque design are laced around the edges at each level. There is expert craftsmanship which shows the aesthetics of the structure (Ihsan, 2000).

Tombstones have been revived in different shapes from time to time in Punjab. There have been changes in the materials used according to the need and availability of materials which brings change and variety in these commemorative stones, intended mostly for personal use to address the public at large. Some of these cultural integration can be witnessed at the *Jehlum* station where they are used as commemorative stones. It addresses the British integration with influences that still exists after the colonial period in the gravestones. It addresses the British integration with influences that still exists after the colonial period in the gravestones.

Inscriptions on gravestones mostly comprise calligraphy which has been a common practice in the region. It became dominant after the integration of Mughal Muslim architecture in the region. States that inscriptions have been an integral part of the art of identifying and communicating messages.

They often communicate prayers for the deceased said for their next life with a personal feeling for the deceased. These inscriptions come in different sizes and are styled commonly at the upper rim of the grave or with the gravestone.

3. Methodology

3.1. Observation

- Control variables are gravestone, gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status.
- Class system identified by locality in the graveyard.

3.2. Reflection

- Dependent variables are symbols, shapes, and icons used in epitaphs.
- Identification of the skill and development of the gravestone craft of the maker.

3.3. Interpretation

Linking observation and reflection.

Type of Study	Data Collection Methods	Sampling Techniques	Sample Size	Modes of Analysis
KAP-survey (Cross Sectional Study) Behavior	Behavioral (Observational notes for information)	Non-Probability	Miani Sahb sample 260, Bibi Pak Daman sample 200, Pir Runki sample 150, Model Town sample 100, Samsani graveyard sample 130, Defense graveyard sample 150.	Descriptive

Cross-Sectional Studies	Semi-Structured Questionnaires. Information taken from the written record which form a tangible asset	Purposive Sampling	Comments 100, samples, sign and symbols. 100 samples.	Observational and Reflective
Retrospective Observation	Observation. Selected subjects were in past condition.		Personal interpretations, nicknames, messages. 250 samples.	Reflection
Longitudinal	Interviews and questions. Field notes and interview guide.	SRS (Simple and Random)	Graveyard caretakers. 25-50.	Interpretation

Contextual analysis is done in relation to literature review and data collected through the interviews of graveyard care takers. The analysis of literature helps in understanding the craftsmanship in relation to culture; hence, the study constitutes a comprehensive survey of graveyards and their culture in Lahore.

The historical development of graveyard tradition has its own ideological basis which is religion. However, cultural practices are more dominant as far as gravestones are taken as case study. They are explored in a general and analytical way with reference to the city of Lahore.

Craftsmen are a source of knowledge and they are extremely helpful in understanding the relevance and development of the craft of gravestone carving. There are interviews that are designed to collect data from craftsmen. The contextual analysis of data helps to understand their approaches, meanings, perspectives, points of emphasis, and contexts. The data is analyzed and then integrated with the visual culture communicated through gravestones. This contextual analysis will help in understanding

gravestones as contributors to the cultural identity of the ordinary people of Lahore city. The findings are compared and combined with those of the literature review.

4. Formal Analysis

The formal analysis focuses on elements and principles (line, shape, form, balance, rhythm, symmetry) along with postmodern approaches such as hybridization, contextualization, visualization and other conventions, such as symbolism, imagery and materials used in the construction of gravestones in Lahore. The analysis will further help to understand how various formal aspects of gravestones are connected with craftwork and personal taste of the target group obtaining it. The relationships between elements and principles contributes to the creation of functional and aesthetic values as line, texture, color, shape, etc through which modernized approaches are interpreted later. Whereas postmodern approaches are layering of symbols, color, and shapes shared by different religions. There are social and cultural effects which are developed by them.

4.1. Miānī Sahb Graveyard

Miānī Sahb graveyard occupies around 1,206 kanals / 60 hectares / 149 acres of land and has a capacity of approximately 300,000 graves. It is managed by the Miānī Sahb Graveyard Committee (MSGC) which was formed on 31 May, 1962. This graveyard was developed during the time of Shahab ud Din Ghauri and the land was extended at the time of Sher Shāh Surī. There are 10,000 graves in Miānī Sahb. This graveyard has the oldest graves in Lahore, some of them are defaced and broken with the passage of time. According to (Ial, 1990), there was a village named muzah Mazang situated outside the walled city and Miānī Sahb was a neighborhood near it. The word Mianī means ‘learned’. This is one of the graveyards of Lahore which has renowned people buried in it, such as the poet Syed Tahir Bandagi, Mian Muhammed Subah Lahori, writer Akhter Shirani, Ahmed Rahi, Poet Sagir Sidiqui, famous scholar called Agha Hashr Kashmiri, writer Saadat Hassan Manto, and Major Shabir Sharif Shaheed. There are many families who own selected areas in this graveyard. This graveyard has mud graves along with cemented slab graves. The epitaph is fixed in the ground, rather than attached with the grave. It is erected at the head side of

the grave of the deceased as an introductory emblem. Ceramic tiles have been used to outline the graves.

There are older graves at Mianī Sahib which were prepared before or around the time of partition. Many of these graves have a simple elevation; they are raised from the ground. Most of them are made from mud, others are just covered with cement and plaster. A few graves have niche and dome at Mianī Sahib with the aim to identify a mystic person or pīr; some of them have the shape of a mosque. Some epitaphs have pillars (satūn) painted with local red color called kūr̄mchī or red color paint. Some of the graves are painted sky blue which is a rare color for graves; whereas white grey or mud colors are also common. Most of them are sealed with tiles which are usually in non-directed colors. Each grave's surface is treated as an area not intended to attract attention but serves only for identification or to make it different from other graves. There are many private enclosures which are restricted for a single family. Also, these areas have identical graves and most epitaphs in these private areas have been constructed using the same material.



Figure 1. Entrance of Mianī Sahb which indicates the mazar of Ghazī i'lm ud Dīn Shaheed



Figure 2. Entrance of Mian Mir graveyard

Baba Sain Mir Mohammed Sahib 1550-1635, popularly known as Mian Mir or Miyan Mir, was a famous Sufi Muslim saint who resided in Lahore near the town of *Dharampura*. He is famous for being a spiritual instructor of Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. The tomb

of Nadra Begum (wife of Dara Shikoh) is also adjacent to Mīan Mīr's tomb. The area is filled with graves and there are old and new graves situated together.

There are different tile graves at the Miān Mir graveyard; some of them are decorated with the pictures of mosques and Kaaba. There are some unusual shapes due to the flat elevation of the graves. In the Miān Mir graveyard, there is a crater in the center which is two to three levels below the surface and with the passage of time, its surroundings have been elevated.

There are different shapes on epitaphs; some have pictures of mosque and Kaaba. There is variety in the presentation of Madina Masjid and Kaaba as elements for epitaphs in different graveyards. The shape of Kaaba is more graphical it represents as Khaṭ Kūfī. There is a mosque which has one minaret, whereas some mosques have four minarets. Some graves have green emblem in the center which represents purity. Epitaphs with niches are of different styles; some are situated on the top of the graves whereas others have niches on all sides and are used to keep black lamps (dia). These niches are made in cement, having Gothic influence in their shape and appearance.

There are private enclosures assigned to families; some have single identical epitaphs on graves constructed with the same material and are of the same size.

4.2. Bibi Pak Daman

The interesting part of Bibi Pak Daman graveyard is that it has two enclosures; one for common people's local graveyard and the other is for the Darbār of Bibi Pak Daman.

This graveyard has the grave of a famous comedian Munawar Zarif. It is visibly dominating due to having three levels which elevate it up to five feet above the ground. Kalma is written in a small font size as compared with the title, that is, the deceased's named film star Muawar Zarif. This graveyard has no enclosed personal spaces for families to own. There are different types of graves; some of them are covered from all sides and their surface has a small opening at the top shaped as *tili* (traditional name of the

shape of the ornament placed in the center), with a circular flower on top carved in the marble. There are graves which have an epitaph carved in their center and erected as the connection between two graves. Epitaphs have petal elements and some have small pillars on their sides. Lotus flower is used at the bottom of the graves which is a Buddhist element. Some graves have lost their identification marks but the emblem with mosque is left with an onion shape dome.



Figure 3. The grave has a carved central panel erected as the connection between two epitaphs. There are few such examples.



Figure 4. An enclosure roofed for the graves of the same family.

5. Graveyard from Late 1900 CE

5.1. Pir Runki

Pir Runki is named due to the fact that a lot of pir / mystics are buried in this graveyard. Graves are 40 to 50 years old. The graves are organic in settlement and mostly the deceased of middle class and lower middle class are buried here.

It has the traditional four petal flower at front. The grave has a book carved in marble with *Drood Pak*. There is a pir buried in Pir Runkī. The burial area is given red color.



Figure 5. The grave has a carved central panel erected as the connection between two epitaphs. There are few such examples. Entrance of the graveyard Pir Runki.



Figure 6. The grave has a carved central panel erected as the connection between two epitaphs. There are few such examples. Private area for family.



Figure 7. The grave has a book carved in marble with *Drood Pak*.



Figure 8. One of the pirs buried in Pir Runkī. The burial area is given red color.

5.2. Model Town

In 1925, a big tract of jungle wasteland was acquired a few miles out of Lahore. It was divided into plots and reconstituted as “The Model Town Co-operative Society”. Everyone who bought a plot became a member of the society; hence, it was easy for him/her to acquire a place in the graveyard. The plan of the town is completely geometrical. It has a series of concentric circular roads crossed by four main roads at right angles and smaller roads in between, all beginning from the inner circle and dividing the area into equal segments. The oldest grave of the Model Town graveyard is dated back to early 1900s. The basic difference in comparison with other graveyards is the material used to build epitaphs, which is cement mixed with marble chips. Red and yellow colors are commonly mixed with marble chips. There is a variety of colors on graves with different styles of epitaphs built with marble frames, which are elevated from the ground and the epitaph is fitted on the top flat; this is the Turkish style of graves.



Figure 9. The oldest grave of Model Town dated back to mid-1900s.



Figure 10. The grave is in cement with marble chips.

There are some identical epitaphs with a single frame for two graves.



Figure 11. Epitaph is fitted on the top flat; this is the Turkish style of graves. Figure 12. Identical epitaphs with a single frame on two graves

6. Samsani Graveyard Johar Town

The epitaph has names of Muhamad (P.B.U.H) and his daughter Fatima (R.A) which shows that the epitaph represents the Shiā'h community. The epitaph is rectangular in shape and the grave represent the Shiā'h sect. There is no date mentioned and the other conventional epitaph information is also missing. There is a flag on the grave to represent the Shiā'h sect. The grave is elevated above the ground. It represents the development in the materials used in the graves, that is, the red tiles. The epitaph has *Luh Qurani* and 100 names of Allah; all of them are extensively inscribed on the gravestone.



Figure 13. The epitaph is rectangular in shape and the grave represents the Shiā'h sect. Figure 14. There is a shed on the grave and it is made of fiber glass. There is a dome on top.

7. Defense Graveyard

This graveyard was built in 1994. It is one of the most organized graveyards of Lahore. The graves are numbered serial wise and the size of graves has been standardized. The record of every year is kept in a separate register at a shop close to the graveyard's entrance. Also, the visitors can buy flowers and holy books to recite in this graveyard. Drinking facility is also there in the form of a water cooler.

Information boards are present at the graveyard entrance. There is a grave which has its ornamentation in the form of an artificial flower mazar in this graveyard. The view resembles an army regiment standing. Children's graves are shorter in comparison with regular size graves in the graveyard. There can be no addition on graves to identify the sect. These graves have only written text about different sects. There are different facilities for visitors provided by the graveyard association. Grave owners are given facilities like benches to sit on or an area to keep flowers. Graves have flowering pots for visitors to put flowers. The marble epitaph is incised in a wooden frame on which information is written; it is also sealed with glass. There are messages of family for the deceased.



Figure 15. The view is like an army regiment standing.



Figure 16. Children's graves are shorter in comparison with regular size graves in the graveyard

8. Technique of Epitaph Carving in Lahore

There are many centers of epitaph making in Lahore. Shah Alam Chowk is famous for the manufacturing of gravestones. Whereas every graveyard has a small area with epitaph sellers, the Mianī Sahb Graveyard is one of the oldest examples. The epitaph market is situated opposite to the Mianī Sahb Graveyard. The writing on epitaphs is done in a simple style. There is no specific *khat* (type of writing) followed by the calligraphers. Red ink is used on a cement slab to write inscriptions in curvature.

Epitaphists work in pairs to carve the epitaphs. Slab is filled with oil colors. It is grinded mechanically. The surface is cleaned with water and cloth.



Figure 17. Epitaph written to be carved



Figure 18. Epitaphists working in pair to carve an epitaph



Figure 19. The slab is being grinded by the machine

8.1. Material Used for Graves and Epitaphs

Cement slabs at Mianī Sahb are used to prepare cemented epitaphs with yellow ochre color mixed in them. The graves at Mian Mir show the colored cement with the addition of marble chips. There are metal epitaphs common at Mian Mir. Tile epitaphs are extensively used. Gutka tiles, also known as tough tile in the market, are used in Model Town graveyard. A mix material composed of red sandstone and grey marble has been used also. However, only grey and white marble is allowed to be used in the Defense graveyard.



Figure 20. The slab is grinded by machine



Figure 21. Dates are taken from the jantrī

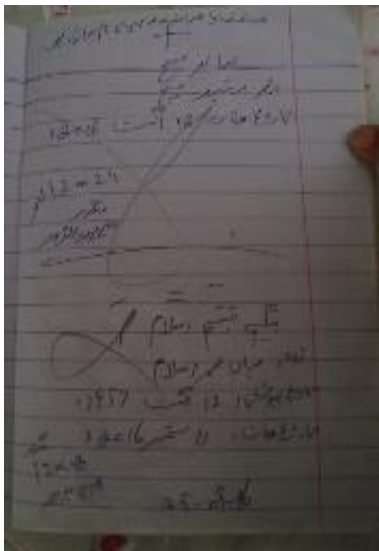


Figure 22. References for the epitaphist are in personal copy with information to be carved. Symbols for different sects are recorded in it.



Figure 23. The shape of the above epitaph is Victorian. The trend is manifested with this certification advertisement from chromolithography in 1919. Source: Zaidi Saima: Mazaar Bazar, oxford.2010.



Figure 24. Epitaph at Mian Mīr



Figure 25. Epitaph at Mian Mīr. Half halo on epitaph.



Figure 26. Epitaph at Mian Mīr. The Victorian style grave at Bībī Pāk Dāman.



Figure 27. Epitaph at Mian Mīr. The epitaph has lotus flower on the top which is a Buddhist element.

9. Symbol, Shape, and Icons Used in the Epitaph

The shape of the epitaph is that of a mehrāb and this shape is traced back to the Umayyad period. There are different symbols for different sects.

Paisley on edges is common on most gravestones. The leaves resemble the lotus flower which is a Buddhist symbol for purity. The dates are taken from the jantrī. Hamsa is used as eye in hand. This ancient symbol is used as a protective amulet by both Jews and Muslims. The Jewish name, Hamsa, is derived from the Semitic root meaning "five." It is called the Hand of Fatima by Muslims named after the daughter of Mohammed (P.B.U.H). It is usually worn around the neck or hung on walls. The epitaph has a shape of mosque included a gumbad with two niches for burning black lamp. There is a sketched caricature of Makkah at Bibi Pak Daman graveyard. In Mian Mir graveyard, there is an epitaph of an unusual shape. There is a cap shape center with two straight corners of equal size. The shape of the cap triangle is Gothic in its effect. It gives more weight to the epitaph. The epitaph is square in shape but it has at its center an emblem of green color which symbolically represents purity. The green tile symbolizes purity whereas Makkah and Madina are erected to show that the buried person was internally connected to them. The epitaph is made with elongated eaves shapes at both ends. This epitaph is Victorian in style. It's an example of pluralistic approach in culture.



Figure 29. Epitaph at Mian Mīr. A metal epitaph shape as a relic / Qadam Mubarak of the Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H.)



Figure 30. Epitaph at Mian Mīr. The epitaph has a dome shape on the top.



Figure 31. The epitaph has ja'eh namāz and book at the edge which symbolically represent Quran.



Figure 32. Stamp in the collection of Lahore Museum having the same elements as those represented on the epitaph. Both represent the way towards Quran.



Figure 33. Victorian style epitaphs at Pir Runki.



Figure 34. The grave is in an enclosed space. Epitaph with a crescent and a star. These are elements used to display loyalty with land.

10. Marketing and Advertisement in Graveyards

There were different advertisements of marble.



Figure 35. Samsānī graveyard



Figure 36. Advertisement at Pir Runki graveyard



Figure 37. There is mobile number written at the bottom.

11. Cast, Designation, Comments and Nicknames on Epitaphs

The epitaph also represents the background of the deceased. One of the major reasons for this differentiation is the sects in which information and elements are engraved or sometimes attached to the epitaphs. There is a trend in epitaph writing mentioning designations and occupations. Poetry is commonly written on all types of graves whether they are old or new, expressing different emotions. They also have serial numbers at the bottom to show that all graves are recorded properly. There are written inscriptions as ‘papa gee’ (Father) showing the relationship with the deceased. Former king of Afghanistan is buried among commoners; whereas trends mostly indicate shrine making for someone who was a king.

The event of death is written on the epitaph as information. Father’s occupation is written on the grave of the son. The deceased’s nickname is written as Mali Sahibah at the epitaph. Husband’s occupation is written on the wife’s grave. At Pir Runki, family business is mentioned as Pakurey Wala.



Figure 38. Poetry on the grave. It also has a serial number at the bottom which is given to every grave in Defense graveyard.



Figure 39. Message written by family at the bottom.



Figure 40. Witten papa gee (Father)



Figure 41. It is the epitaph of a writer.



Figure 42. The epitaph has the list of writings by the deceased.



Figure 43. Former king of Afghanistan



Figure 44. Ex MD of Nespak



Figure 45. DSP's grave at Miān Mir



Figure 46. Furniture business-man's wife's grave at Miān Mīr



Figure 47. Event of death is written on the epitaph.

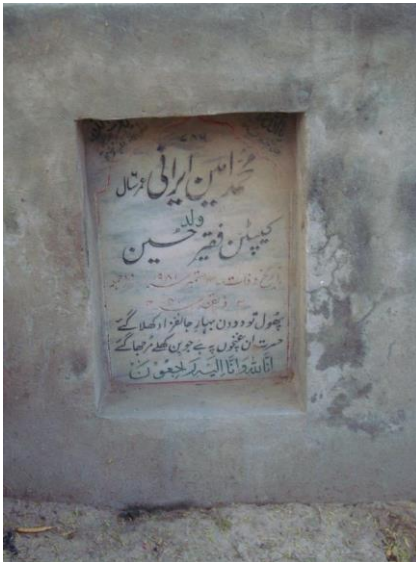


Figure 48. Father's occupation written on son's grave.



Figure 49. The deceased's nickname is written at the epitaph.



Figure 50. Family business written on the grave.



Figure 51. Artificial Jewelry Businessman grave at Mian Mir



Figure 52. Husband's occupation written on wife's grave.



Figure 53. Grave of Pakorey Wala.

12. Conclusion

The research was about the tombstones located in the graveyards of Lahore. Graveyards were selected from three different eras including the oldest,

middle and the contemporary era. They were explored in detail regarding the formation, characteristics and types of gravestones. Miānī Sahb and Miān Mīr graveyards are considered to be the oldest ones. Samsānī and Bibi Pak Daman graveyards are in the middle of their development. The graveyard of Model Town is considered as the source of modern graveyards in Lahore. Samsānī and Defense graveyards have been developed on modern and organized ways; hence, they are considered as the developing future graveyards. The epitaphs present at all of the above graveyards are composed of different types of materials, have different shapes and sizes except the Defense graveyard, which has a standard size for graves.

At the start of the research, the graveyards of Lahore were deemed as boring or bizarre in their appearance and formation. As the research proceeded, it was discovered gradually that graveyards are rich in their character and formation. Every graveyard comprises its own inheritance. Miānī Sahb has lots of writers, poets and other renowned people buried there. Miān Mīr graveyard is filled with the graves of people from the army who have been declared *shāheeds* (martyrs), mostly majors and captains. The Defense graveyard has judges, colonels and people from high ranks. Each graveyard gives an account of the class of people which is buried there. Pīr Rūnkī in *Shādbāgh* is a graveyard for the middle class. A society's graveyard is only for members living in that particular area or having plots in the vicinity.

There is a variety of materials used in the development of graves as well as epitaphs. White grey marble is one of the common materials found in almost all graveyards. The materials also reflect the changing trends and techniques in preparing graves and making epitaphs. There is personal liking and disliking involved of the relatives of the deceased during the preparation of graves. The epitaph is inserted during the preparation of the grave. Readymade marble slabs are available at different marble suppliers near Shah Alam market and Miānī Sahb. The elements have been explained in detail with full references, especially mentioning the source from where these elements have been taken.

The graves have text of different types. Some have wishes, prayers, messages and some of them have events written on epitaphs which are a visual dictionary of the passage of time due to the dates of death and birth

written on them. The graves have marks which show the sect and beliefs of the deceased. There are more changes going on to standardize the graves; the Punjab government (n.d.) is taking an initiative to develop a model graveyard in which all graves will be situated at a single level, only the epitaph will be located on the surface.

There are interesting elements in all graveyards used to identify their style and atmosphere. Each graveyard exists with its own identity in the specification of technique, material and effect.

There are writings which mark the graves of famous sufis, kings and other renowned people present in Lahore as tombs but this research addresses commoners and their expressions on gravestones. This research will be an introduction to the graveyards of common people in Lahore.

13. Recommendations

This research establishes a platform for further research and comparative studies of graveyards related to different religions in modern day Lahore. Moreover, this study can further contribute in the standardization of graveyards by applying quantitative research methods regarding their attributes, through which gravestone regulations can be implemented. Secondly, aesthetics are a part of cultural and social identification which have been lost due to poor craftsmanship and less patronage. They work for only daily wages due to which it is not considered as proper industry.

This research will extend the use of quantitative research paradigm for the future in which a semeiotic model may be used to categorize altitudes regarding gravestones. The results will determine the basis of the future culture of graveyards and stone making in Lahore.

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