

# Lost Cuisine: Food Culture of Partition Refugees from Multan

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**Abstract**—*Food plays a significant role in expressing shared identities, especially for those forcibly exiled. The Partition of Indian subcontinent into India and Pakistan led to one of the greatest migrations of people in history. This paper examines the culinary practices and everyday consumption patterns of the Partition refugees from the region of Multan, West Punjab who survived this forcible displacement. My work is methodologically located in the 'new history' and proposes to examine the rehabilitation of Multani migrants through the medium of food because food is viewed as a potent symbol of kinship bonds. Food, for the Multani community acts as a harbinger of memory, and 'helps to define membership' and shared cultural values. Culinary traditions appear to maintain community ties as 'eating habits both symbolize and mark the boundaries of culture.' This article seeks to invoke a particular memory of sharing and preparing food which has continued, transformed, reconstructed and re-established itself in its rendering of the lived experience of Partition refugees. Although regional ethnicities after Partition exodus—urban and rural—underwent a process of assimilation within the affluent Punjabi identity their distinctiveness continues to survive in their adherence to cultural codes of language, kinship networks and dietary preferences which contextualize self-expression and shared identity.*

On 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 India achieved independence from nearly two centuries of British rule. The price for this freedom was Partition which resulted in one of the greatest migrations in history and impacted the lives of all those who were forcibly uprooted from their homes on both sides of the border as well as those who have inherited these memories. This paper examines Partition narrative albeit through a different lens—Food. Food as a medium of community building and group cohesion has remained largely unexplored in the historiography of Partition's aftermath. The paper therefore attempts to explore the effect of Partition migration on ethnic cuisines which seem to have lost their will to survive and appear on the menu of nostalgia for those who seek out these dishes to revive memories of family cultures lost to present generations. The intent is to explore the 'invisible everyday' in order to recover 'ordinary cuisine' from the 'zone of silence and shadow...of common existence.'<sup>1</sup>

Food studies are now a popular area of interdisciplinary research and 'culinary history' has entered the 'curriculum as a respectable academic field'.<sup>ii</sup> Migration and food studies have emerged as important themes since food plays a symbolic role as 'identity markers' for the migrant community. Culinary traditions appear to maintain community ties as 'eating habits symbolize and mark the boundaries of cultures.'<sup>iii</sup> Food is also understood as a connective constituent of memory which determines the sustenance and reproduction of tradition and community. This is because a cuisine encodes messages in a 'language through which that society unconsciously reveals its structure.'<sup>iv</sup> Succinctly put, 'Food entwines intimately with much that makes a culture unique, binding taste and satiety to group loyalties.'<sup>v</sup> Thus even though social identities experience revision and change over time, sustaining cuisines and food habits provide nostalgia for forgotten foods but are also indicative of a deeper need to connect and retain community identity.<sup>vi</sup> Foodways reflect the cultural values of an ethnic community preserved over time and recollection emerges as an attempt to reclaim identity and understand the everyday reality of times that are lost in official histories.<sup>vii</sup>

This essay specifically examines refugees from the region of Multan through the lens of Multani cuisine and *biradari* or community food habits. The essay positions the self within this refugee narrative to seek out culinary practices and the survival of Multani cuisine in the private and everyday lives as opposed to the flamboyant and rich world of Punjabi cuisine created by extravagant chefs and restaurants in the public sphere. Food remains an important component in the cultural heritage of Hindu and Sikh Partition refugees from West Punjab and their sense of community identity. Although all refugees were categorised as 'Punjabi refugees' there were subtle differences in culture and language of people from Punjab's southern regions of Multan, Dera Gazi Khan, Jhang, Mianwali and Muzaffargarh and those in the north from Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Attock and the central regions of Lahore and Amritsar. The essay attempts to locate food as an arena for exploring the complexities of this refugee experience.

Much of the distinctiveness of Multani cuisine survives in the everyday eating habit of the community. These foods are not subjected to the laws of the market and remain confined to the small pockets in regions where the ethnic minority settled after Partition. Traditional foods include *chilra*, *maal pooray*, *kupri*, *seera*, *multani moth kachori*, *mukund vari*, and of course *Sohan halwa*. These remain popular in Multani homes and Multani neighbourhoods. *Sohan halwa* prepared by traditional sweet makers is very different from that available in general sweet shop. Multanis or Seraikis as they are now called in Pakistan would swear by this. However, this local and ethnic culinary expression has been replaced by a broader migrant Punjabi cuisine which overpowered the indigenous food culture of Delhi in the aftermath of Partition<sup>viii</sup>. It subsumed the various ethnic food varieties into a broader refugee syncretic dietary tradition.<sup>ix</sup> This work thus presents a nuanced understanding of the complexity of the dietary habits of post-partition refugees and its predominance in Delhi's culinary landscape. My work engages with a personal narrative located within the traditional food habits of the Multani community as part of 'little stories' in order to understand the 'grand narratives' of Partition refugee rehabilitation. For it is only with the unfolding of these stories that the complexity and textured layers of partitioned lives can truly be understood.

The refugees from southern Punjab—Multan, Dera Gazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Bahawalpur, to name a few, display cultural nuances distinct from 'Punjabis' of the north but get identified under the overarching umbrella of 'Punjabi.' Their dialects are different from Punjabi and many often did not understand each other's language, forcing refugees to gravitate towards people from their own regions.<sup>x</sup> Thus *galis*, (streets) and *mohallas* (localities) witnessed a convergence of people from regions of their pre-Partition homes in order to recreate the social ties 'which [had] bound them in their ancestral villages.' For most 'it was almost an elemental urge,' to come together hence the cry *sannu pind vaar vasao*, (settle us village-wise) was made to the settlement officers engaged in refugee Rehabilitation. Community or *biradari* networks were thus strong determinants in the refugee lives as a source of emotional and cognitive support.<sup>xi</sup> The Indian State also favoured group allotments as 'living together among friends and relatives or in their own *biradari* gave a sense of security in these distant and foreign lands and helped in their [refugees] mental rehabilitation.'<sup>xii</sup>

Partition refugees countered the trauma of displacement with a sustained effort to preserve collective tradition, most cogently through the medium of food. Many took to selling homemade food items in makeshift roadside stalls and *redis*, or handcarts on Delhi streets as they required no professional expertise and very little capital investment. *Pyaaz*, *Palak* and *Gobi Pakore* remain popular and the most easily available street food even today—especially made fresh in the evenings, around 4 o'clock—to be served hot with evening tea in Punjabi localities of Delhi like Lajpat Nagar, Karol Bagh and Rajendra Nagar. *Bhey* (Lotus stem) and *baingan* (aubergine) pakore are

favoured in Multani dominated areas. Food was more than sustenance for the displaced Punjabi; it became a discourse of tradition and community.

My father's family belonged to Alipur *tehsil* of Muzaffargarh district in the southern province of Multan.<sup>xiii</sup> Alipur experienced limited communal violence in the aftermath of Partition.<sup>xiv</sup> The family was brought to Muzaffargarh in military trucks by the Mahar Regiment of Punjab Border Force. They took shelter for a week in a relative's *Kharkhana*, before leaving for India by train. They then stayed in Shahbad Markanda near Ambala (East Punjab) for almost a year in houses which had been abandoned by the Muslims. Indian Government began its rehabilitation program with temporary allotments in September 1947 under which Land claims were invited from displaced landholders from west Punjab; followed by detailed verifications of their '*parcha*' or 'claim' for the final allotment of land in different parts of Punjab.<sup>xv</sup> Refugees from *tehsil* Alipur were finally resettled in Sonapat *tehsil* (about 25 miles from Delhi) in present day Haryana. My family's trauma of uprooting and travails of life in refugee camps and elsewhere, final compensation and allotment of land in Sonapat in lieu of the landholdings in Alipur was no different from the innumerable accounts of hardship that inform the story of forced migration following Partition.<sup>xvi</sup>

The rehabilitation of refugees from Alipur region in a concentrated geographical location largely contributed to the preservation of their cultural heritage facilitating reconstruction of *biradari* networks which continue to survive even today.<sup>xvii</sup> The sense of cultural bereavement was overcome through community networks nurtured on memories of a shared cultural past. In this retrieval, food marks an important representation of ethnic identity. For as Farb and Armelagos point out, 'long after dress, manners, and speech have become indistinguishable from those of the majority, the old food habits continue as the last vestiges of the previous culture.'<sup>xviii</sup> Food thus becomes intrinsic to a group's cultural identity and taste is used to define '...a sense of common membership in a larger bounded group.'<sup>xix</sup> As food systems establish identity and 'convey the culture of its practitioner' it becomes a repository of traditions and collective identity.<sup>xx</sup> Thus food serves a mnemonic function and remembering and partaking traditional meals contributes to the enhancement of a group's cultural roots. It is therefore with a great sense of nostalgia that these foods are prepared and consumed on special occasions as an affirmation of that ethnic identity.

Over the years there have been variations in the Punjabi cuisine in restaurants but consumption pattern and choices in homes have remained rooted in the traditional past. As the food habits of any region are largely determined by its agricultural produce, the region of Muzaffargarh was known for wheat, sugarcane, cotton, indigo, date-palm, and mango cultivation. Alipur was particularly known for *khes* (thick cotton weaves which can be used as bedspread or even as a wrap in winters), *naswar* or snuff, and *anar*, pomegranates.

The older generation of my extended family continues to be nostalgic about the quality of dates and *anar* and the sumptuous feasts of *bater* (quail) and *teetar* (francolin) that they enjoyed back in Alipur. My father often recalled the mango picnics the family enjoyed at head *panjnad* and the taste of *dariyai* or river fish which could never be matched again in Delhi.

Multani cuisine is marked by certain defining recipes which remain submerged in individual homes. *Swanjana phool* (drumstick flowers) sabzi and raita are favourite recipes and looked forward to by all Multanis, especially during spring when these delicate flowers are available. *Shahtoot* and *phalsa* are relished as fruits in Multani dominated localities. According to Certeau culinary practices signify 'a detailed code of values' which are characteristic of a cultural area in a given period.<sup>xxi</sup> This is most evident in marriage celebrations where Multani cuisine emerged most successfully. These occasions provide the perfect opportunity for family get-togethers to relive a shared cultural taste and renew ties. Earlier weddings were long drawn out community affairs, with compulsory feasting for the *biradari*—at least four days. This *biradari-khana* tradition survived in our family till the 1960s, by which time most of the uncles and aunts of the extended family were married off. However, once the second generation started moving out of Sonapat in search of jobs and better placements, the four-day feasting, *biradari khana*, began to decline. Today, at least for those living outside Sonapat, family lunch on the day of the wedding remains a ritualistic obligation. The menu during these occasions was generally fixed with certain essential dishes.<sup>xxii</sup> During weddings making *churi* was a community affair, where friends and relatives would come together to make enough roti, which was then torn into tiny bits, mashed further into a fine crumb; sugar and ghee was added to make a soft delicious sweet dish which was then distributed in the entire village.<sup>xxiii</sup> *Seera*, made of *dalia* or broken wheat roasted in generous amounts of ghee and cooked with sugar and water remains a favourite in homes even today. Eggplant or *vataun* is another favourite vegetable along with *taalvi* or fried *kadi*.<sup>xxiv</sup> *Taalvi Kadi* or *taka paise vali kadi* as my father called it was made on all special occasions in the family. The dough is made by kneading besan (gramflour), salt and oil; shaped like sausages, steamed and then cut into small pieces and deep fried. This *kadi* is then cooked in gravy. The hectic urban city life deters most people from making these labour intensive and time consuming recipes. Now the *kadi* is available at halwai shops that cater to Multani tastes in Sonapat thus saving preparation time for the younger generation. Many of these dishes are on the verge of extinction and reappear only on special family functions or during festive occasions. The passing away of older generation *halvais* has also impacted the knowledge of certain traditional culinary practices.<sup>xxv</sup>

*Sohan halwa*, tracing its antecedents to Persia is the customary sweet of Multan region in Pakistan as well as of Multanis in India. The traditional version of this *Sohan halwa* is made from *sammak* or wheat sprouts, milk, sugar and ghee is mostly available in Multani dominated areas. For our family, *Sohan halwa*, was prepared in Sonapat by Dhannu halvai, also a refugee from Alipur. Walnuts were the only dry fruit used unlike today. Dhannu Halvai was also responsible for the feasts or *biradari khana*, on all special occasions as no one else could quite create the authentic taste. The *Sohan halwa* made in Sonapat travels to the homes of nearly all the extended family— Delhi, Ghaziabad, Bombay and as children and grandchildren began to settle abroad even to the UK and USA. Dina Nath Thakur, hailing from Alipur and now settled in London carries back no less than 10-15 kg of the *Sohan halwa* to be preserved in his Freezer in order to 'savour the taste of home'. Food strengthens community identity since by 'consuming foods associated with their homelands, individuals can maintain connections despite chronological, spatial or generational separations'<sup>xxvi</sup>

*Kachnar* and *bhey*, or Lotus stems, remain other Multani specialities. *Bhey* is prepared in different ways—sliced and cooked with spices as *sookhi sabzi* or as most Punjabis do—grated and mixed with gram flour and made into *kofta*, cooked in gravy. But my personal favourite is the Multani recipe—*bhey* stems are roasted on fire, charcoal in earlier times, and then cut into pieces and sautéed lightly with ghee, salt and chillies. S.L. Manchanda, an elderly colleague, also hailing from Multan, became quite emotional on being asked to share the lunch of roasted *bhey*— '*Aapne mother ki yaad dila di*', it reminded him of the way his mother cooked the lotus stems.<sup>xxvii</sup>

*Kachnar* (orchid tree) buds have become a rare dish now as they are not easily available in the market. We had a *kachnar* tree with white blossoms in our backyard—they always taste better than the pink variety—and my father would pick out the tender buds which would then be sautéed lightly with potatoes and some herbs. The older generation of Multani's still relish the taste which is not very familiar to the young. Yet another defining recipe of the Multani cuisine is the *mukund vadi*. A time consuming recipe, it is prepared from soaked and ground urad dal and spices. The dough is put under running water in a mesh colandar and kneaded till it acquires elasticity; the gluten is then rolled and steamed, after which it is cut into small pieces and deep fried and cooked in a gravy made from tomato puree, yoghurt and different spices.

The snacks in Multani culinary repertoire are also distinctive. The Multanis make their samosa differently— with a filling of *sookhi dal*, dry cooked yellow gram with spices. In Sonapat, samosa was always made thus. In Delhi they can be found only in the predominantly multani area of Multani Dhanda, located in Paharganj near Connaught place. Multani moth kachori especially popular in Multani Dhanda is now available in other 'Punjabi' areas too. The plate consists of a layer of

cooked rice with a generous topping of moth dal, (moth beans) spices and pickled onions, to be eaten with kachoris or papri serving as spoons.<sup>xxviii</sup>

Two special *rotis*— *doli roti* and *kupri* are exclusive to Multani cuisine. Not many of the present generation are familiar with *Kupri* which was a slightly thick roti made of *gur* (jaggery) and is almost extinct now. *Doli ki roti* survives although it is difficult to prepare individually and is available only in Multani dominated regions. The *roti* is ‘indigenously fermented wheat based bread’ prepared by the migrants. The fermentation is carried out in an earthen pot locally known as ‘*doli*’ hence the name ‘*doli ki roti*’.<sup>xxix</sup> The spices used to impart flavour have antimicrobial properties and the nutritive value of this bread increases with the combination of cereal and legume. Black cardamom, cloves, poppy seeds, nutmeg, fennel, cinnamon, and jaggery are boiled together and left overnight in a warm place; sometimes covered with blankets to facilitate the fermentation process. The dough prepared from this concoction is left to ferment. Once the dough rises the fermenting agent is ready. Small portions of this agent are used to knead dough which is left again to rise to almost double its size. The *puris* are ready to be fried now—small dough balls are flattened by the palms and then deep fried, sometimes with a filling of chana dal or by the more adventurous non-vegetarian ones with *keema* (mince). The process is time consuming and therefore not many make it.

In Delhi, there is only one shop which specialises in making *doli ki roti*. The preparation of this special roti is done by the entire Dudeja family and is considered a ritual. It is available only in the summer months since this time is most conducive to the process of fermentation. The dough and stuffing are made by the women and roti is made by whole family including the children. Only the frying of puri is done by the halvai. The shop located within the premises of a house in a well-known Partition refugee colony was started by Nanak Chand Dudeja, a Partition refugee from Bahawalpur.<sup>xxx</sup> Nanak Chand fled their village along with his parents, wife, widowed sister and her children in the wake of communal killings. His brother-in-law had been killed earlier in the riots. Nanak Chand’s younger son Jawaharlal, who now manages the family shop, recalls the family’s days of struggle as refugees in relief camps till the final allotment of a house in Old Rajinder Nagar in Delhi. His father, who had thus far managed on daily wages, now set up shop selling *namkeen* or savoury items, and *pakor*as in the evenings as tea time snacks. Since the locality was predominantly a Punjabi refugee settlement and the tastes were similar, his business took off. Over time as more and more people began to settle in these colonies the demand for their home products grew. Other shopkeepers and *rediwalas* (hand carts) would buy *namkeen* from them to sell elsewhere. They now sell dal *vadian*, popularly known as multani vadi and Moth dal *vadi* which is their speciality. *Vadi* is a popular Punjabi ingredient in cooking—it can be mixed with potatoes as *aloo-vadian*, or in rice *pulao* and bland vegetables like bottle gourd to make them spicy. The shop also

sells the traditional variety of Multani snacks—*Sohan halwa*, vadi, moth-chawal kachori in the mornings, dal samosa and gobi-matar samosa in winters and of course *doli ki roti*.

Their clients include local Punjabis as well as customers from far off Punjabi dominated colonies like Model Town, Pitampura, Greater Kailash in Delhi, as well as Amritsar and Bombay; some even send it abroad to their relatives. The locals in Rajendra Nagar usually take a small portion of the dough, *peda*, home to make their own fermented dough. In Sonapat too, the dish has become a rarity and only older women familiar with the technique make the fermented dough which is then bought by known families who in turn make *doli ki roti* in their own homes. Raj Batra in Sonapat looks forward to the summer months when the dish can be prepared and enjoyed by the visiting children and grand-children. The nutritive value of this traditional bread needs to be promoted among the young lest it ‘vanished from the meals under the influence of modern dietary habits and changing lifestyle patterns’.<sup>xxxi</sup>

Thus we find that although forcible migration reverberates with its own social and economic challenges, ethnic groups have maintained solidarity by preserving elements of their cultural identity through language, customs and kinship bonds. In this retrieval Food has become a primary symbol for maintaining group solidarity and ethnic expression. Food conveys a sense of belonging and is said to remain ‘the longest as a reference to the culture of origin.’ The different ethnic cuisines emanating from the Punjab regions such as Multan, Dera Gazi Khan, Rawalpindi, Frontier Province might have syncretised under the overarching umbrella of ‘Punjabi’ foodways— *tandoori* chicken, and lamb curries along with *sarson ka saag* and *makke ki roti*—and gained currency within India as well as global acceptance. But as the essay demonstrates regional and ethnic differences of cooking and preparation of daily meals, even the choice of vegetables and spices and preferences for certain sweets and snacks remain largely confined to traditional practitioners within homes and communities. Very few have been adapted for the market and wider tastes. Only a few dishes have found local patronage in the streets and colonies of Partition refugees. After more than seven decades of Partition and displacement, Partition refugees have built a new identity for themselves as well as the nation. A remarkable process of assimilation has amalgamated the distinctive ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities into a compelling social and political ‘Punjabi’ presence. Yet the regional diversity within these people, as demonstrated within the Multani migrant community, survives unobtrusively, not the least, in food preparation and consumption patterns in the many homes and localities, recreating kinship bonds built on the inheritance of fractured Partition memories.

## References

- <sup>i</sup> Levi-Strauss cited in Michel de Certeau *The Practice of everyday life. Vol.2 Living and Cooking*, edited by Luce Giard; translated by Timothy J. Tomasik, New revised and augmented Ed, Minneapolis, London : University of Minnesota Press, 1998, pp. 179
- <sup>ii</sup> Jean- Loius Flandrin and Massimo Montanari ed. *Food: A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, Columbia University Press, paperback, 2013, pp. xvi
- <sup>iii</sup> Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*, Harvard University Press, 1998, p.8
- <sup>iv</sup> Certeau, 1998, pp.180
- <sup>v</sup> Donna R. Gabbaccia, 1998, pp.8
- <sup>vi</sup> Cuisine ‘festivals’ of specific regions and communities and ‘lost recipes of Medieval era’ have become a regular feature in many restaurants in Delhi and elsewhere; blogs ‘resurrecting lost culinary culture’ abound; Chefs and writers are researching ancient recipes to reclaim lost heritage; Hotels like the Oberoi hold culinary conclaves—‘*Rivayat*’ (tradition) to resurrect lost cuisines.
- <sup>vii</sup> Food as reflection of refugee identity has been examined earlier by the author in book chapter, ‘Partition Ethnographies: Food and Memory across borders’ in Ian Talbot Ed. *The Independence of India and Pakistan: New Approaches and Reflections*, OUP, Karachi 2013
- 8 The spread of Punjabi cuisine in the public space and the consequent restaurant culture which developed in Delhi has been examined in Ritu Bhagat, 2013
- <sup>ix</sup> Punjabi cuisine displays the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim influences imbibed over centuries of interaction. Punjabi cuisine was never ‘monolithic’ and exhibits the diverseness of different culinary regions broadly referred to as being from the Pothohar region, Peshawar, Lahore and Amritsar and Sargodha. see Jiggs Kalra and Pushpesh Pant, *Classic Cooking of Punjab*, Delhi: Allied Publishers, 2004, pp. xiii
- <sup>x</sup> Multani language ( now known as ‘Seraiki’) spoken in districts of Multan, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan and southern parts of Dera Ismail Khan, Jhang and Bahawalpur, has been described by E. O’Brien as ‘a rough language [with the] ...the charm of wild flowers in a hedge...’, *Glossary of the Multani Language*, viii; See G.A.Grierson, (compiled and edited) *Linguistic Survey of India*, 1903-28, Calcutta, Vol. 9, pt1, 608ff; My mother, a Punjabi, who hails from Gujranwala, was considered an outsider, *bahr di*, for a very long time by my father’s Multani *biradari*. Both speak different dialects—Multani is spoken in high octane and might sound harsh to a lay person. (My *nani*, maternal grandmother, would always say it sounded like *jamun radak rahe hain* (*jamuns* or Indian blackberries, being shaken in a clay pot).
- <sup>xi</sup> Anjali Gera Roy’s work also alludes to prevalence of ‘*bradri*’ [*biradari*] networks reproducing ‘social hierarchies of a village...in the [new] cityscape...in domestic and public spheres’ years after Partition. Anjali Gera Roy, ‘Adarsh Nagar Diyaan Gallaan: At Home in a resettlement Colony’ In Malashri Lal and S.Paul Kumar eds. *Interpreting Homes in South Asian Literature*, India: Dorling Kindersley, 2007.
- <sup>xii</sup> M.S. Randhawa, *Out of the ashes: An Account of the Rehabilitation of Refugees from West Pakistan in rural areas of East Punjab*, Punjab, 1954, pp.68
- <sup>xiii</sup> Muzaffargarh was a muslim majority area with 86.8 percent Muslims and included the *tehsils* of Alipur, Muzaffargarh, Sanawan, Kot Addu. The District had four Municipalities: Muzaffargarh, Khangarh, Alipur and Khairpur. Jatoi, Layyah (previously Leiah), khairpur, Sitpur, Shaharsultan were some of the important towns. Interview with Satyadev Chaudhary a former Professor of Hindi, University of Delhi, 2004. Chaudhary belongs to Jatoi and has recorded his memoirs in, *Yadein hi Yadein: Tehsil Alipur*, Delhi: Dev Prakashan, 2000
- <sup>xiv</sup> G.D.Khosla, *Stern Reckoning: A Survey of Events leading up to and following Partition of India*, India, 1949, pp.191-96; Hindu officials had been transferred out of the Muzaffargarh district by 15<sup>th</sup> August and the Muslim League ministry had set up a Minorities Board for the safety of non-Muslims. There were however severe attacks on the villages in the first week of September resulting in great loss of life and property. Kirpal Singh, *Select Documents on the Partition of Punjab*, Delhi: National Book Shop, 1991, pp.663
- <sup>xv</sup> Tarlok Singh, *Land Settlement Manual for Displaced Persons in Punjab & PEPSU*, Simla, 1952, Chapter 1; also M.S.Randhawa, 1954, pp.67-68
- <sup>xvi</sup> My great grandfather Bhagat Kanwar Bhan, President of Alipur Municipality, was a broken man who could never really reconcile to the loss of their land and the sense of prestige his family enjoyed in their ancestral village.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Some of the tehsils of Muzaffargarh—Alipur, Leiah, Kot Addu and *kasba* (a unit below tehsil) Jatoi have *biradari* networks in India which not only help in keeping the collective bonds alive, most actively through marriage alliances, but the organizations are also involved in social work addressing issues of health and education for the poor.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Peter Farb and George J Armelagos, *Consuming passions: the Anthropology of eating*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980, pp.6
- <sup>xix</sup> Claude Fischler, ‘Food, Self and Identity’ *Social Science Information* 1988; 27, pp. 275; Richard Wilk, ‘Real Belizean Food: Building local identity in Transnational Caribbean,’ *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 1999, 101(2), pp.244-55
- <sup>xx</sup> Massimo Montanari, , *Food is Culture*, Columbia University Press, 2006, pp.133
- <sup>xxi</sup> Certeau, 1998, pp.168
- <sup>xxii</sup> Satyadev Chaudhary too recalls in his memoirs that marriage ceremonies lasted four days with a different menu for all four days—*kajji dal*; *luchi-chane*; *khirni-malpude* and *kadi seera*.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Churi constitutes the stuff of folklore in Punjab, partaken even by the legendary Heer-Ranjha. Harjeet Singh Gill, *Heer Ranjha and other Legends of the Punjab*, Harman Publishing House, 2003; also Daljit Singh, *Punjab: Socio-Economic Condition (1501-1700AD)*, Punjab: Commonwealth Publishers, 2004. Even today, churi is made for fastidious children as well as adults who wish to relive their childhood. My *nani* (maternal grandmother) would always make it whenever anyone in the house had a bad throat—churi was easy to swallow and the ghee acted as a lubricant for the sore throat.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> *Kadi* is a popular dish with different variants all across north India.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Halvai or confectioner was traditionally an occupational caste and took its name from halwa, a sweet made of flour, ghee, and sugar, flavoured with assorted nuts. Halvai’s were subsequently employed to cook full meals for family functions. Even though caste boundaries have become fluid and not many follow rigid rules of purity, no one refuses to eat any preparation made by halvai’s.

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- <sup>xxvi</sup> Ian Cook, 'Geographies of food: mixing,' *Progress in Human Geography*, 2008, 32(6), pp. 821-33
- <sup>xxvii</sup> S.L. Manchanda, a retired NMML Oral History Research Officer, would often recall his family's struggle to rehabilitate them in Lajpat nagar, a newly formed refugee colony in Delhi. In an interview to Kaur, Manchanda narrated his Partition experiences—their journey from refugee camps, fear of Muslim attacks on their train to the relative safety of Delhi. R.Kaur, *Since 1947: Partition Narratives among Punjabi Migrants of Delhi*, OUP, 2007, pp. 77-78
- <sup>xxviii</sup> *Kachori* is a popular north Indian snack, available at nearly all sweet shops in any city or town; made of flour, salt and oil, the dough is kneaded stiff and filled with a mixture of moong (split yellow gram) or urad dal (split black lentils) and spices. Deep fried on a slow flame so that it is crisp and *khasta* 'flaky' on the outside and hollow inside. The fillings may be different in different regions—from potatoes, peas, to onions. While *papri* is also made of refined flour—small thin round discs are rolled out and deep fried.
- <sup>xxix</sup> Traditionally the inoculums of this bread used to be prepared in the temples and distributed to everyone in the community on some special occasions like fasts when 'basra' food i.e. food prepared on the previous day and not fresh hot food was eaten. Anshu Bhatia and Neelam Khetarpaul, 'Doli ki Roti'— An indigenously fermented Indian Bread: Cumulative effect of germination and fermentation on bioavailability of minerals', *Indian Journal of Traditional knowledge*, Vol. 11(1) January 2012, pp. 109-113.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Bahawalpur lies to the south of Multan. This entire region including Multan, Muzaffargarh, Dera Gazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, and Jhang are Multani speaking areas.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Anshu Bhatia and Neelam Khetarpaul, op. cit